

**Kofi Yakpo**

**A Grammar of Pichi**

Pichi (also known as Fernando Po Creole English) is an Atlantic English-lexifier Creole spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea. It is the most widely spoken language of the country's capital Malabo and is used as a lingua franca throughout Bioko. Pichi is an offshoot of Krio (Sierra Leone) and shares many characteristics with other closely related languages like Aku (Gambia) and Nigerian and Cameroonian Pidgin. This first comprehensive description of Pichi is based on extensive fieldwork in Equatorial Guinea. It presents a detailed analysis of the phonology and grammar of the language and addresses language contact between Pichi and the official language Spanish. The annexes include a collection of annotated and interlinearised texts as well as a Pichi-English wordlist and an English-Pichi finderlist.

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To my daughter Yèni and my son Bafodé



# A Grammar of Pichi

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## Summary

Pichi (also known as Fernando Po Creole English) is an Atlantic English-lexicon Creole spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea. With at least 70'000 speakers, Pichi is the second most widely spoken African language of the country. Pichi is an offshoot of Krio (Sierra Leone) and shares many characteristics with its West African sister languages Aku (Gambia) as well as Nigerian, Cameroonian and Ghanaian Pidgin. At the same time, contact with Spanish, the colonial and official language of Equatorial Guinea, has made a significant impact on the lexicon and grammar of Pichi.

This first comprehensive description of Pichi is based on extensive fieldwork in Equatorial Guinea, and presents a detailed analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. A separate chapter is dedicated to Pichi-Spanish codemixing. The annexes contain a collection of interlinearised and annotated texts of different genres, as well as Pichi-English-Pichi vocabulary lists.

Pichi has seven vowel phonemes and twenty-two consonant phonemes. The language features a mixed prosodic system which employs both pitch-accent and tone. The morphological structure of Pichi is largely isolating. However, there is a limited use of inflectional and derivational morphology in which affixation, tone and suppletive forms are put to use. The plural morpheme is identical with the 3<sub>PL</sub> dependent subject pronoun. Pichi is characterised by a weak verb-adjective distinction. The categories of tense, modality and aspect are primarily expressed through preverbal particles. Pichi is an aspect-prominent language in which aspect, rather than tense, plays a dominant role in expressing temporal relations. Besides that, the modal system includes an indicative-subjunctive opposition. The language is also characterised by a copula system that employs suppletive forms and is differentiated along the semantic criterion of time-stability.

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes: dynamic, inchoative-stative and stative. The language exhibits a subject-verb word order in intransitive clauses and a subject-verb-object order in transitive clauses. Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system which involves transparent and opaque question elements. Clause linkage is characterised by a large variety of strategies and forms, in which a subordinator, a quotative marker, and two modal complementisers stand out as multifunctional elements with overlapping functions. The language also features various types of multiverb constructions. These include secondary predication, clause chaining and serial verb constructions. Amongst the latter figure instrumental serial verb constructions involving the verb *tek* 'take' as well as comparative constructions featuring the verb *pas* '(sur)pass'.





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# Abbreviations

|         |                                      |       |                                 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| -       | morpheme boundary                    | M     | masculine gender                |
| =       | clitic morpheme boundary             | MVC   | multiverb construction          |
| !       | directive clause; vocative           | n.a.  | not applicable                  |
| *       | ungrammatical example                | NAME  | personal name                   |
| ,       | continuative intonation and/or pause | NEG   | negative (marker)               |
| .       | declarative intonation               | NP    | noun phrase                     |
| /       | speech interruption                  | NSPC  | non-specific                    |
| ?       | final: question intonation           | OBJ   | object (case)                   |
| ?       | initial: grammaticality dubious      | OBL   | obligative mood marker          |
| [a]     | IPA transcription                    | PFV   | narrative perfective marker     |
| /a/     | phoneme                              | PL    | plural(iser)                    |
| (a)     | grapheme                             | PLACE | place name                      |
| á       | high tone diacritic                  | POSS  | possessive (case)               |
| à       | low tone diacritic                   | POT   | potential mood marker           |
| %       | boundary tone                        | PP    | prepositional phrase            |
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person          | PRF   | perfect tense-aspect            |
| ABL     | abilitive mood marker                | PST   | past tense marker               |
| ADV     | adverbial(ising suffix)              | Q     | question particle               |
| ASS     | associative preposition              | QUOT  | quotative marker                |
| BE      | identity copula                      | RED   | reduplicant in reduplication    |
| BE.AT   | locative-existential copula          | REP   | repeated word in repetition     |
| CPD     | tone deletion in compounding         | SBJ   | subject (case)                  |
| DEF     | definite article                     | SBJV  | subjunctive marker              |
| EMP     | emphatic marker                      | SG    | singular                        |
| F       | feminine gender                      | SKT   | 'suck teeth', 'chip'            |
| FN      | first name                           | SP    | sentence particle               |
| FOC     | focus marker and identity copula     | SPEC  | specific                        |
| H       | high tone(d syllable)                | SUB   | subordinator                    |
| HAB     | habitual marker                      | SVC   | serial verb construction        |
| INDF    | indefinite                           | TMA   | tense-mood-aspect               |
| INTJ    | interjection                         | TR    | transitive                      |
| INTR    | intransitive                         | V1    | initial verb in MVC             |
| IPFV    | imperfective aspect marker           | V2    | second verb in MVC              |
| L       | low tone(d syllable)                 | VP    | verb phrase                     |
| LN      | last name                            | X     | low tone(d syllable) by default |
| LOC     | locative preposition                 |       |                                 |



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 The language and its speakers

Pichi is an Atlantic English-lexicon Creole language spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea (Ethnologue code 'fpe', latitude 3.7382, longitude 8.7759, cf. Map 2). Pichi is the most widely spoken language of the capital Malabo next to Spanish and it serves as a primary language to probably the majority of the capital's inhabitants. Pichi is also used as a primary language in a number of villages and towns along the Coast of Bioko - amongst them Sampaca, Fiston, Basupú, Barrio las Palmas and Luba (Morgades 2004), and is spoken as a lingua franca throughout Bioko (cf. Map 2 below). The language is also spoken by a sizeable community of people originating from Bioko in Bata, the largest town on the continental part of the country.

Pichi descends from Krio, which first arrived in Bioko, the former Fernando Po, with African settlers from Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1827 (Fyfe 1962: 165). No official figures exist, but there is good reason to assume that Pichi is today the second most widely spoken African language of the country behind Fang, closely followed by Bubi. It is safe to assume that at least 70'000 people of the country's population of 484'000 (2005 UN estimate) use Pichi regularly as a primary or secondary language.

Next to Fang, Pichi and Bubi, over ten other African languages are spoken by the peoples of Equatorial Guinea (Gordon 2005, cf. "Equatorial Guinea"). One of these is another Creole, the Portuguese-lexicon Creole Fa d'Ambô, spoken by the people of the island of Annobón (cf. Map 1). Fa d'Ambô shares historical and linguistic ties with the other Portuguese-lexicon Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (cf. e.g. Post 1994), namely Lungwa Santome and Angolar in São Tomé and Lun'gwiye in Príncipe (but also cf. Granda 1985 on the influence of Pichi on Fa d'Ambô). The other languages traditionally spoken in Equatorial Guinea belong to the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family. In the literature, Pichi is known under the names Fernando Po Creole English (e.g. Gordon 2005), Fernando Po Krio (e.g. Berry 1970, Holm 1989), Fernandino Creole English (e.g. Holm 1989), Pidgin (English) Morgades 2004, p.c.), Broken English (e.g. de Zarco 1938) and Pichinglis (e.g. Lipski 1992). While many older speakers refer to the language as Krio or Pidgin, most present-day speakers refer to it as Pichinglis, Pichin with a nasalised final vowel or Pichi *tout court*.

Pichi is a member of the African branch of the family of Atlantic English-lexicon Creoles. It descends directly from Krio, the English-lexicon Creole that rose to become the language of the Creole community of Freetown, Sierra Leone in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Huber 1999). Throughout the better part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this community, which had

## INTRODUCTION

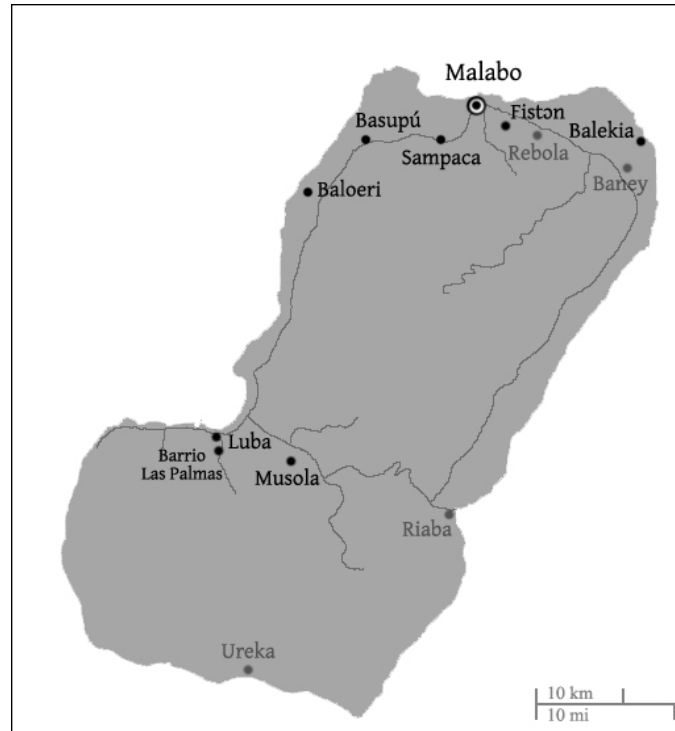
emerged from the horrors of slavery and the slave trade, began to forge a vibrant African-European culture and economy along the West African seaboard (cf. e.g. Fyle 1962; Wyse 1989). Mutual intelligibility within the African branch is quite high. However, an impediment to fluid communication between speakers of Pichi and its sister languages is the divergent path of development of Pichi since 1857. In that year, Spain began to actively enforce colonial rule in Equatorial Guinea. From then onwards, Pichi was cut off from the direct influence of English, the language from which it inherited the largest part of its lexicon. Some of the present-day differences between Pichi and its sister languages can be attributed to internal developments in Pichi. But without doubt, an equally important reason for the separate development of Pichi is the extensive degree of language contact with Spanish, the colonial and present-day official language of Equatorial Guinea.

Spanish colonial rule instilled a negative attitude towards African languages in general. But the lexical similarity between Pichi and English and the supposed simplification of English structures that European observers believed to recognise in a language they did not master, lent additional weight to racist notions about a generally assumed superiority of European languages and their speakers. As a consequence, Pichi was considered an impoverished, debased form of English by Spanish colonial administrators and missionaries (cf. Zarco 1938: 5-7 for a pungent exposition of this view). Pichi, like the other Creole languages of the Atlantic Basin, still has to struggle with this difficult legacy. In spite of its great importance as a community language, and as a national and international lingua franca, Pichi enjoys no official recognition nor support, is conspicuously absent from public discourse and the official media, and has no place in the educational policy of Equatorial Guinea.

Map 1 Continental and insular Equatorial Guinea (in bold)



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



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

## 1.2 Pichi in the past and present

In 1827, the town of Port Clarence (later renamed to Santa Isabel under Spanish colonial rule and to Malabo after independence) was founded by the British on the island of Fernando Po, as Bioko was then called. The advent of European colonialism heralded the decline of the age-old civilisation of the Bubi, the autochthonous people of the island (cf. Sundiata 1994). At the same time, it ushered in the ethnogenesis of the Fernandinos, the Creole people, whose community language was to become Pichi.

The founding of Port Clarence was part of a British scheme to move the Mixed Courts, the judicial body responsible for trying violations of the ban on slave trading based in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, closer to the Bight of Biafra, the gravitational centre of the illicit trade (Fyfe 1962: 165). Krios of Sierra Leonean origin came to play the dominant role in the Creole society of Port Clarence and provided the cultural and linguistic models for the African population of diverse origins of the town (Lynn 1984).

In 1828, Port Clarence had a total population of 867 residents, (del Molino 1993: 659) – 652 Africans and 215 Europeans. The initially small contingent of 36 Sierra Leonean Krios that had come with the first ship from Freetown in 1827, grew to 120 people in 1828. Krios were given a special place in the colonisation scheme of the British. Because they were Christian, often English-speaking and opposed to the slave trade, the British considered the Krios of Freetown to be natural allies in their endeavour to turn Port Clarence into a centre in the struggle against the trade in African lives. From the beginnings of the colony, Krios from Freetown therefore occupied the top layers of society together with the small number of British colonial officials (García Cantús 2006: 116-118).

Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone had been founded in 1787. Thirty years later, the Krio language was thriving and gaining a foothold in the hinterland of Freetown through the extending economic and social network of the town's industrious inhabitants (Huber 1999: 74). Likewise, the social system of Freetown must have favoured the rapid acculturation – including the acquisition of Krio – of the increasing number of liberated Africans that the British marine brought in from its policing activities on the West African coast (Huber 1999). It can therefore be safely assumed that the Freetown Krios who arrived in Port Clarence, whether of African American or African origin, spoke Krio alongside the British or American influenced varieties of English that they are also likely to have known.

The presence of Kru labourers and artisans from the very beginnings of Port Clarence (García Cantús 2006: 115; Díaz Matarranz 2005: 141) well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century also speaks for a quick adoption of Krio as the primary lingua franca of the colony. Since the 1790s, men of the Kru-speaking communities of Liberia had been venturing into other parts of the West Africa in search of work and adventure as fishermen, sailors, harbour workers, and artisans (Singler 1990: 204). The ships, harbour and timber industry of Freetown were the first destination of Kru migrants until they began wandering further afield in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Fyfe 1962: 78). In their dealings with the Krios of Sierra Leone, these men acquired Krio, later developing it into a separate variety with a strong input from varieties of Liberian English (Singler 1990). We can safely assume that many of the approximately 100 Kru men who had also arrived in 1827 already had some competence in Krio from previous work stints in Sierra Leone. In fact, there is no mention in the sources that the Eden called on the Liberian coast, we can therefore assume that the first group of Kru labourers belonged to the established Kru community of the Freetown peninsula that counted 700 members in 1819 (Fyfe 1962: 135).

Throughout the founding decades of the colony, contact with Freetown was upheld through regular boat trips, and there was a steady trickle into Port Clarence of people and goods of Sierra Leonean provenance (del Molino 1993: 62ff.). In later decades, the Fernandinos of Port Clarence would become an integral part of the vast empire of business



and family relations that the Krio diaspora had begun spinning across coastal West Africa by the 1830s (Ajayi et al. 1972: 50-2). An indication of the regularity of these contacts is the arrival in Bioko from Freetown of Maximilian Jones, who was to become the richest plantation owner of Fernando Po in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only in the early 1880s (Fyfe 1962: 460). Conversely, wealthy families of Sierra Leonean stock maintained family ties through visits to Sierra Leone and sent their children to Freetown for education. These contacts, even if they only applied to a small elite, certainly contributed to reinforcing the link between Krio and its developing daughter language Pichi.

Until 1858, the year in which Spain began enforcing its territorial claim over Equatorial Guinea, the social and economic forces at play in Port Clarence were favourable towards the maintenance of Krio as the primary medium of communication of its African residents. The numerical dominance of non-Sierra Leonean Africans of diverse origins very soon after the founding of the town apparently did not challenge the role of Krio. Just like in Freetown, the prestige of Krio to newcomers was nurtured by its status as the language of a culture that united African and European features, a culture that had successfully adapted to the enormous impact that the arrival of Europeans on the West African coast and the slave trade must have had on the lives and minds of Africans of that day and age.

It is difficult to determine the impact of English on Pichi. It can be assumed that competence in various forms of British English was limited to the educated members of Fernandino society, most of whom were of Krio origin. However, Port Clarence was one of the busiest ports in the region and the majority of ships that called there flew the British flag (Lynn 1984: 265-266). The small population of Port Clarence provided indispensable services to the ships and dealt routinely with the crews of ships moored in the harbour. Some of the communication in such situations presumably took place in English. There was thus probably enough opportunity for non-literate residents of Port Clarence to acquire some competence in English and sufficient possibility for lexical and structural influence on Pichi. Equally, missionary education had produced some basic literacy in English, which was the medium of instruction of the Baptist Missionary Society before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1858 (Castro & La Calle 2007: 282). The society had begun proselytising in 1841 and by 1845, 100 residents of Port Clarence were going to mission school and 350 to Sunday school, which was conducted in English (del Molino 1993: 129). Already existing English-derived religious vocabulary in Krio must have been reinforced and spread through missionary education in the African community of non-Krio origin. Younger speakers of present-day Pichi largely employ Spanish religious terminology but English-derived religious terminology can still be heard in the speech of older speakers.

The imposition of Spanish colonial rule from 1858 appeared not to have immediately affected the dynamics of growth of Pichi. Fernandino traders of Port Clarence acted as middlemen in the Palm oil trade with the Bubi far beyond the town limits (Lynn 1984: 267). Regular trading relations between the Fernandinos, the Bubi and the Kru, who had established settlements on the western coast of Bioko, extended periods of residence of individuals from the latter two communities in Bubi villages and intermarriage introduced Pichi into Bubi settlements (del Molino 1993: 116). These changes in language use amongst the Bubi must have been the first signs of the language shift by many Bioko islanders of

Bubi origin to Pichi and Spanish that can still be observed today.

The increasing impact of the Spanish language must have begun to be felt by the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Fernandino élite had begun to adopt Spanish cultural norms if only to ensure its economic survival in the face of increasing pressure by Spanish planters and discriminatory colonial laws. De Zarco's "Broken English" language guide (1938) contains an impressive amount of Spanish-derived lexicon, although we do not know how firmly entrenched these Spanish items were in Pichi.

With the decision by the Spanish colonial administration to turn Equatorial Guinea into a *colonia de explotación* – a colony of exploitation rather than settlement in 1904 (Sundiata 1990: 30) – a process was accelerated that had already been set in motion in the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the influx of large numbers of West African labour migrants. At least 7000 Kru were brought to Bioko between 1914 to 1927 (Sundiata 1990: 45). The influx of Nigerian labourers was even more important. By the 1960s, 85,000 Nigerian farmhands laboured on the cocoa plantations of Fernando Po, all of which were from Southern Nigeria (cf. Lipski 1992: 40). In view of such figures the impact on Pichi of other varieties of West African Creole or Pidgin English, and Nigerian Pidgin in particular, could be taken for granted.

However, some factors militate against a pervasive influence of Nigerian Pidgin on Pichi. Most of the migrant workforce led lives of hard labour on relatively isolated plantations in the interior of Bioko. On the whole, Nigerian migrant workers appear to have had a low social status on Bioko and often became victims of state repression and social stigmatisation, a situation that culminated in the wholesale expulsion of all but a handful of Nigerians during the regime of Macías Nguema in the 1970s.

It is therefore unlikely that Equatoguineans who interacted with Nigerian farmhands on a regular basis would have borrowed Nigerian Pidgin features on a larger scale. On the contrary, speakers of Pichi might have jealously guarded the distinctness of their speech in order to reaffirm their identity as Equatoguineans in a social climate that produced attitudes towards migrant labourers ranging from indifference to hostility. The same holds true for other varieties of West African Pidgin English spoken at one time or the other by migrant communities, whether Ghanaian, Liberian or Cameroonian. In fact, the data assembled in this book speaks for a remarkable degree of continuity between Krio as spoken in Sierra Leone today and present-day Pichi. Nevertheless, the possibility of some influence from Nigerian Pidgin in particular should not be ruled out and needs to be properly assessed.

The forces shaping Pichi today are fundamentally different from those that were operative until the beginning the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Equatorial Guinea is today traversing the most profound economic and social changes since the colonial era. The country is today the fourth largest oil-producer in Africa (The World Fact Book 2008). The capital Malabo, the island of Bioko and the mainland part of the country, even tiny Annobón island are today experiencing a construction boom. Tens of thousands of migrant workers from the West African subregion seek employment in Malabo. The oil boom of the last ten years is once more turning Malabo into the international migratory hub that it was in the founding decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, albeit on a grander scale. Any observant visitor to Malabo will

be struck by the out-of-the-ordinary cultural and linguistic diversity, even by West African standards, of this modestly-sized town.

The role and status of Pichi are being affected by this development. Equatoguineans who have lived or grown up in exile in Nigeria or Cameroon are returning with a utilitarian attitude towards West African Pidgin and Creole varieties. Africans from West African Pidgin-speaking countries work side by side with Equatoguineans and English-speaking expatriates on the oil rigs off the coasts of Bioko and Rio Muni. Speakers of different varieties interact on the markets of Malabo. Equally, the socio-economic position of many migrants is not what it used to be in the heydays of cocoa production. Many are successful businessmen and women. The value of Pichi for business transactions, at the work place and in socialising has made many inhabitants of Malabo aware of its importance as an international language. The usefulness of Pichi is accentuated by the lexical affinity of Pichi and English, which not only allows rudimentary communication between Equatoguinean and English-speaking expatriates and visitors. It also opens a window into the glittering world of international pop culture, which the inhabitants of Malabo are exposed to via television, music and radio.

At the same time, the youth of Malabo in particular, uses Pichi as a vehicle of self-identification with the urban, cosmopolitan culture of the town, and wield the symbolical power of Pichi to linguistically subvert the rigid and normative attitude taken by educators in instilling standard Spanish in schools. The onset of adolescence invariably seems to tilt the balance towards Pichi as the primary medium of non-formal communication in many parts of Malabo.

On the other hand, internal migration from mainland Equatorial Guinea to Bioko and the reinforcement of the political and economic dominance of Fang speakers through the new oil wealth is boosting the prestige of Fang and creating strong incentives to learn it, even in Malabo. At the same time, the present government's ambitious plan for the massive expansion of primary education (PRODEGE) envisages the use of Spanish as the sole medium of instruction and is therefore likely to extend the role of Spanish. It remains to be seen how Pichi will adapt to the profound changes that Equatorial Guinea is going through at this moment.

### 1.3 Language contact

Spanish has left a deep imprint on the lexicon and grammar of Pichi. Code-mixing is an integral part of the linguistic system of Pichi. The pervasive influence of Spanish on Pichi is for one part, the consequence of language policy. Since colonial rule, Spanish has remained the sole medium of instruction at all levels of the educational system (cf. e.g. Lipski 1991: 35-36). There is a widespread competence in different registers of Spanish by Pichi speakers in Malabo (cf. Lipski 1985, 1992). In Malabo, The acquisition of Spanish begins in early childhood, even for many working-class Equatoguineans with little or no school education.

An additional factor favouring code-mixing is the positive attitude towards multilingualism in a highly polyglot society, against the background of a tenacious vitality

of Pichi as a symbol of social identity. Presumably, Pichi-Spanish code-mixing has for a long time served as a badge of identity for the population of Bioko in the course of a long history of immigration by speakers of other varieties of West African English-lexicon Creoles. Today, the language also plays an important role for the self-identification of those who grew up on the island in the face of an accelerated pace of internal migration by Equatoguineans from the mainland. *Bɔn nà ya, gro nà ya*, ‘born here, grown up here’ is the mark which distinguishes Pichi-speaking islanders, irrespective of their ethnic background, from the late arrivals of mainland origin who speak little or no Pichi. Equally, the burgeoning oil economy of Equatorial Guinea has led to increased urbanisation, extending multi-ethnic social networks and the spread of Pichi as a native language. In such a socio-economic environment and amidst a high general competence in the official language Spanish, code-mixing between Pichi and Spanish, rather than being exceptional, is consciously and confidently articulated in daily life (cf. chapter 14 for a detailed description of code-mixing).

Pichi is also in contact with other African languages spoken in the region, amongst them Fang and Bubi, as well as other varieties of West African Creole English, in particular Nigerian and Cameroonian Pidgin. It is left to future research to uncover the impact of these languages on Pichi.

#### 1.4 Variation

The variation recorded in Pichi appears to be determined by a mixture of the factors age, language background and social class. Phonological variation is particularly conspicuous. Some of the variation in Pichi may be captured by a – albeit oversimplified – division of speakers into two groups. Group 1 tends to be made up of younger speakers of up to 30 years and encompasses a larger percentage of speakers who acquired Pichi alongside another language. Group 1 tends to be culturally diverse but it also encompasses a large number of speakers with a Bubi cultural background who have adopted Pichi as a primary language as well as other “nuevos criollos” (Morgades, p.c.) who have been acculturated more recently into the Pichi-speaking urban culture of Malabo. Group 2 consists of the Fernandinos, the old commercial and social élite of the island who implanted the ancestor language of Pichi in Bioko and today use Pichi as a community language. Group 2 is also made up of people of diverse cultural backgrounds who grew up in Malabo in the ambit of Fernandino culture. Group 2 is much smaller than Group 1 and appears to be shrinking at the expense of group 1 through rapid urbanisation, immigration and language shift. The terms “Mesopidgin” and “Acropidgin” employed by Morgades Besari (2004) capture some of the socio-linguistic differences between group 1 and group 2.

In the present work, I account for variation by employing alternate forms where they exist (e.g. *nɔba-neɔ* ‘NEG.PRF’, *tinap-tanap* ‘stand (up)’). In general, however, I describe the register of group 1, which is more representative of the Pichi spoken by the majority of people in the homes and streets of Malabo today. In the following, I present a few generalisations on the variation present in my corpus.

For group 1 speakers, there is no phonemic contrast between the alveolar fricative [s] and the postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (1), and this is systematically applied to all words where group 2 speakers (2) have [ʃ]. Additionally, group 1 speakers insert a palatal glide [j] between [s] and a following mid vowel where group 2 uses [ʃ] as well (3)-(4):

|     | Group 1      |           | Group 2         |                   |
|-----|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>so</i>    | [só]      | 'sew; show; so' | [só] 'sew; so'    |
|     |              |           |                 | [ʃó] 'show'       |
| (2) | <i>finis</i> | [fínis]   | 'finish'        | [fínʃ] 'finish'   |
| (3) | <i>səp</i>   | [sʲóp]    | 'shop'          | [ʃóp] 'shop'      |
| (4) | <i>nesən</i> | [nésjə̀n] | 'nation'        | [néʃə̀n] 'nation' |

Group 1 speakers also tend to neutralise the phonemic distinction between close-mid and open-mid vowels in at least some high-frequency words (5)-(6):

|     | Group 1    |             | Group 2 |                       |
|-----|------------|-------------|---------|-----------------------|
| (5) | <i>ʃ</i>   | [fə ~ fɛ]   | [fə]    | 'Ass'                 |
|     | <i>mə</i>  | [mó ~ mó]   | [mó]    | 'more'                |
| (6) | <i>mek</i> | [mék ~ mék] | [mék]   | 'make; SBV'           |
|     | <i>lèk</i> | [lèk ~ lèk] | [lèk]   | 'like' (preposition)' |

Group 1 speakers also share a tendency towards optional nasalisation in [i] final words with an H.X tonal configuration (7) and prenasalisation of [j] initial words as in (8). This may lead to the formation of homophones like (9) and (10) for group 1 speakers:

|      | Group 1      |          | Group 2 |              |
|------|--------------|----------|---------|--------------|
| (7)  | <i>ləki</i>  | [lókɪn]  | [lókɪ]  | 'be lucky'   |
|      | <i>təsti</i> | [tóstɪn] | [tóstɪ] | 'be thirsty' |
| (8)  | <i>yàndá</i> | [njàndá] | [jàndá] | 'yonder'     |
| (9)  | <i>yus</i>   | [njús]   | [jús]   | 'use'        |
| (10) | <i>nyus</i>  | [njús]   | [njús]  | 'news'       |

There is also some variation in the use and acceptance of certain grammatical structures. For example, group 1 speakers seem to prefer the negative perfect marker *nea* over *nəba*. Equally, a serial verb construction featuring the verb *ste* 'be long time' is not readily accepted as grammatical by most group 2 speakers. It appears to be a relatively recent development. Conversely, other types of serial verb constructions (SVCs) are more common with group 2 than with group 1. Amongst them are SVCs involving the verb *tek* 'take' (cf. 13.2.3) and motion-direction SVCs involving the verbs *go* 'go' and *kan* 'come' (cf. 13.2.1). Group 1 speakers instead tend to employ a combination of a verb and a prepositional phrase in these contexts. A final area characterised by variation is the depth of Pichi-Spanish language contact. In some areas, a fuller range of the Pichi lexicon lies within the grasp of



group 2 speakers. For example, the names of weekdays, numerals and religious terminology are almost exclusively expressed in Spanish by group 1 speakers. Group 2 speakers have access to both sets of the lexicon. They may employ *lunes* ‘Monday’ in a code-mixed sentence, but are equally capable of using *mɔnde* ‘Monday’. Similarly, for most group 1 speakers, Pichi numbers above five are rarely if ever used (cf. 14.3.1). Conversely, group 2 speakers master a wider range of the Pichi numeral system. However, even with this group, Pichi numbers above twenty are seldom heard. Finally, I should mention that the speech culture to which Pichi belongs is generally characterised by an absence of the rigid linguistic norms that typify other parts of the world with a history of prescriptive linguistic nationalism. Hence there is a great deal of tolerance for linguistic variation.

## 1.5 Affiliation

Pichi belongs to the African branch of the family of English-lexicon Atlantic Creoles (cf. e.g. Baker 1999; Baker & Huber 2001; Holm 2000). Besides Pichi, the branch consists of Krio (Sierra Leone), Aku (Gambia), Ghanaian Pidgin English, Nigerian Pidgin and Cameroonian Pidgin. The branch may also be seen to share some degree of relationship with certain varieties of Liberian English (cf. Singler 1997).

The American branch of this family includes languages like Sranan Tongo, Saramaccan (also known as Saamaka) and Ndyuka (Surinam), other English-lexicon Creoles of the Caribbean basin, amongst them Jamaican Creole, Trinidadian Creole, and Miskito Coast Creole (Nicaragua and Honduras) as well as languages like Afro-Seminole Creole (Mexico and the USA), and Gullah (USA). Some linguists also posit a historical relation of African American English(es), spoken by African Americans throughout the USA, with this branch (cf. e.g. Rickford 1999; Dillard 1972, 1973).

Within the African branch, Pichi is most directly related to the Krio language of Sierra Leone. A comparison of the phonology, grammar and lexicon of Krio and Pichi reveals striking similarities between the two languages (cf. Fyle and Jones 1980 for an overview of Krio). There is sufficient linguistic and historical evidence to suggest that Pichi, Krio and its Gambian descendant Aku also have at least partially common origins with Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroonian Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English (cf. e.g. Huber 1999, Wyse 1989).

The tree diagram in Figure 1.1 below represents the lexical similarity of a select number of relevant languages. The tree was generated by the ‘Automated Similarity Judgement Program’ (ASJP), a collaborative project aimed at the classification of the world’s languages by means of computerised lexicostatistical analysis (cf. reference on ‘ASJP’). The tree is based on a 40-item vocabulary list extracted from the 100-item Swadesh list:

Figure 1.1. ASJP lexical similarity tree diagram

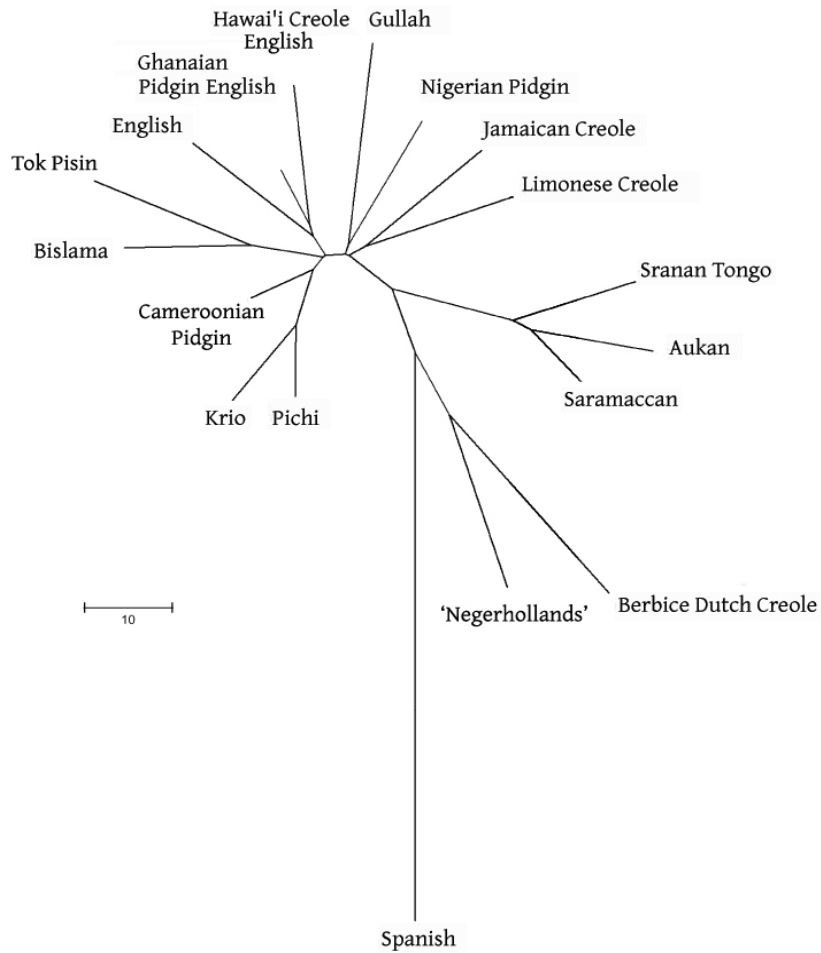


Figure 1.1 includes the African English-lexicon Creoles Pichi, Krio, Cameroonian Pidgin, Ghanaian Pidgin English and Nigerian Pidgin as well as the American English-lexicon Creoles Gullah, Jamaican Creole, Limonese Creole, Sranan Tongo, Ndyuka (referred to as 'Aukan' in the tree) and Saramaccan. For comparison, I have also included the Dutch-lexicon Creoles Berbice Dutch Creole, the extinct 'Negerhollands' as well as the three English-lexicon Pacific Creoles Hawai'i Creole English, Bislama and Tok Pisin. Also present are English as well as Spanish. The latter language has contributed at least one item of the 40-word list to Pichi, namely *estrella* 'star'. The degree of lexical similarity between any pair of languages in the tree can be determined by measuring the distance between them from

endpoint to endpoint. Ten units on the scale bar correspond to ten units on the tree and in the numerical distance matrix in (11) below. The match is only approximate, however, because there are 161 distances in the data and only 33 segments in the tree. Also note that even though the diagram looks like a genetic family tree, it is only a mathematical representation of lexical distances. Languages are grouped in their relation to all other languages rather than in their relation to each other. Therefore languages on the same branch are not necessarily lexically most similar to each other. Rather, they share a high proportion of the distance to all other languages in tree. Nevertheless this branching order allows the majority of lexically most similar languages to branch off the same branch (i.e. Krio and Pichi; Tok Pisin and Bislama; Jamaican Creole and Limonese Creole; Sranan Tongo, Ndyuka and Saramaccan). Some lexically close languages are however also found on separate branches (i.e. Pichi, Krio and Cameroonian Pidgin vs. the lexically similar Ghanaian Pidgin English and Nigerian Pidgin).

The numerical distance matrix which served as the basis for the graphic representation in Figure 1.1 reveals the following, descending order of lexical similarity between Pichi and the other languages represented in the set (I have omitted the distances between all the other permutations of language pairs for the sake of brevity). The scale is from 0.00 (lexical identity of Pichi and the corresponding language) to 100 (greatest lexical distance between Pichi and the corresponding language):

| (11) | Language                | .00 = Lexical identity |
|------|-------------------------|------------------------|
|      | Pichi                   | 0.00                   |
|      | Krio                    | 19.85                  |
|      | Cameroonian Pidgin      | 21.39                  |
|      | Ghanaian Pidgin English | 28.34                  |
|      | Nigerian Pidgin         | 36.86                  |
|      | Hawai'i Creole English  | 37.24                  |
|      | Jamaican Creole         | 38.05                  |
|      | Bislama                 | 38.36                  |
|      | English                 | 42.05                  |
|      | Saramaccan              | 43.16                  |
|      | Gullah                  | 44.34                  |
|      | Limonese Creole         | 45.48                  |
|      | Tok Pisin               | 45.88                  |
|      | Sranan Tongo            | 53.30                  |
|      | Ndyuka ('Aukan')        | 55.02                  |
|      | 'Negerhollands'         | 65.43                  |
|      | Berbice Dutch Creole    | 70.11                  |
|      | Spanish                 | 94.20                  |

The order in (11) not only reflects the lexical affinity between Pichi and its closest relative Krio. It also shows the proximity of the other African members of the Atlantic English-lexicon Creoles and Pidgins. At the same time, it shows the lexical distance between Pichi

and the Dutch-lexicon Atlantic Creoles Berbice Dutch Creole and ‘Negerhollands’ as well as Spanish. The ordering of languages also reveals a degree of lexical similarity between Pichi and the Caribbean English-lexicon Atlantic Creoles, and notably, the Pacific Creoles represented in the figure. These similarities may be attributed to a variety of factors, which have been discussed in a substantial body of literature (cf. e.g. Aceto 1999; Baker 1999; Baker & Huber 2001; Faraclas 2007; Hancock 1987; Holm 1986, Huber 1999a/b, McWhorter 1997).

The relation between Pichi and Krio merits some attention. A comparison of these two languages yields systematic lexical and structural correspondences. But it also reveals some differences. To begin with, both languages share a large percentage of non-basic vocabulary, as shown in (12)(a), with the same tonal configurations. However, the Yoruba (b), Mende (c) and Temne (d) component of the Pichi lexicon appears to be much smaller than that of Krio and is limited to a few words in the corpus (data from Fyle & Jones 1980):

| (12) | Pichi             | Krio                | Gloss                   |
|------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| a.   | à                 | à                   | ‘I’                     |
|      | <i>pəsin</i>      | <i>pəsin</i>        | ‘person’                |
|      | <i>(s)tik</i>     | <i>(s)tik</i>       | ‘tree’                  |
|      | <i>yay</i>        | <i>yay</i>          | ‘eye’                   |
|      | <i>yes</i>        | <i>yes</i>          | ‘ear’                   |
|      | <i>bəbí</i>       | <i>bəbí</i>         | ‘breast’                |
|      | <i>bələ</i>       | <i>bələ</i>         | ‘belly; foetus’         |
|      | <i>wàtá, wətá</i> | <i>wàtá, wətá</i>   | ‘water’                 |
|      | <i>dətí</i>       | <i>dətí</i>         | ‘be dirty’              |
|      | <i>fədón</i>      | <i>fədóm</i>        | ‘fall’                  |
|      | <i>chəp</i>       | <i>chəp; it</i>     | ‘eat’                   |
|      | <i>hos</i>        | <i>hos</i>          | ‘house’                 |
|      | <i>títí</i>       | <i>títí</i>         | ‘girl’                  |
|      | <i>makit</i>      | <i>makit; maket</i> | ‘market’                |
|      | <i>wəwó</i>       | <i>wəwó</i>         | ‘be messed up; ugly’    |
|      | <i>bəkú</i>       | <i>bəkú</i>         | ‘be much’               |
|      | <i>yàngá</i>      | <i>nyàngá</i>       | ‘be ostentatious’       |
|      | <i>duya</i>       | <i>duya</i>         | ‘please’                |
| b.   | <i>ogi</i>        | <i>ogi</i>          | ‘corn porridge’         |
|      | <i>kusé</i>       | <i>kushé</i>        | ‘expression of empathy’ |
|      | —                 | <i>órèwá</i>        | ‘goodbye greeting’      |
| c.   | <i>yóní</i>       | <i>nyóní</i>        | ‘red ant’               |
|      | <i>bləkós</i>     | <i>bləkós</i>       | ‘scrotum; penis’        |
|      | <i>kàndá</i>      | <i>kàndá</i>        | ‘skin; bark’            |
|      | —                 | <i>rombo</i>        | ‘patch on clothing’     |
| d.   | <i>yàbas</i>      | <i>yàbas</i>        | ‘onion’                 |
|      | —                 | <i>kunkùbé</i>      | ‘kind of boat’          |

INTRODUCTION

The two languages also share a number of lexical items common to numerous African and American English-lexicon Creoles. These were first compiled by Smith (1987, 2001) and termed “Ingredient X, Y, and Z”. In (13), I list all the relevant words contained in the Pichi corpus. They comprise “Ingredient X” words of African origin (a), “Ingredient Y” words of Portuguese origin (b), “Ingredient Z” words of English origin (c) as well as a few function words of diverse origin (d):

| (13) | Ingredient X, Y, Z | Gloss                  |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|
| a.   | <i>sosó</i>        | ‘only’                 |
|      | <i>pətəpətə</i>    | ‘mud; slimy substance’ |
|      | <i>akará</i>       | ‘bean cake’            |
|      | <i>fufú</i>        | ‘fufu’                 |
| b.   | <i>sàbí</i>        | ‘know’                 |
|      | <i>pikín</i>       | ‘child’                |
| c.   | <i>kech</i>        | ‘catch’                |
|      | <i>yer(i)</i>      | ‘hear’                 |
|      | <i>ěf(ě)</i>       | ‘if’                   |
|      | <i>bwel</i>        | ‘boil’                 |
|      | <i>(s)pwel</i>     | ‘spoil; spend’         |
| d.   | <i>nà</i>          | ‘FOC’                  |
|      | <i>ùna; ùnu</i>    | ‘2PL’                  |
|      | <i>mek</i>         | ‘imperative; SBJV’     |
|      | <i>dè</i>          | ‘IPFV’                 |
|      | <i>de</i>          | ‘there’                |
|      | <i>de</i>          | ‘BE.AT’                |

Some of the differences in vocabulary between the two languages owe to the same phonological characteristics that differentiate the members of group 1 (Pichi) and group 2 (Krio) in the preceding section (cf. examples (1)-(10)(6)). Hence, most speakers of Pichi make no phonemic distinction between alveolar and postalveolar fricatives (14)(a); the phonemic distinction between close-mid and open-mid vowels is neutralised by most speakers (b).

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

| (14) | Pichi      |          | Krio        |       | Gloss   |
|------|------------|----------|-------------|-------|---------|
| a.   | <i>sut</i> | [sút]    | <i>shut</i> | [ʃút] | ‘shoot’ |
| b.   | <i>fɔ̃</i> | [fɔ̃~fò] | <i>fɔ̃</i>  | [fɔ̃] | ‘ASS’   |



|    |                |               |                 |           |             |
|----|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| c. | <i>frən</i>    | [frən ~ frəm] | <i>frəm</i>     | [frəm]    | ‘from’      |
| d. | <i>sməl</i>    | [símó ~ sùmó] | <i>sməl</i>     | [smól]    | ‘be small’  |
| e. | <i>big</i>     | [bík]         | <i>big</i>      | [bíg]     | ‘be big’    |
| f. | <i>(s)trən</i> | [(s)trón]     | <i>(s)trəng</i> | [(s)tróŋ] | ‘be strong’ |

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

The role of the respective superstrates English (for Krio) and Spanish (for Pichi) can be read from the impact of these two languages on institutional and administrative terminology (15)(a), the numeral system above ten (b), and other lexical items (c). The use of a larger number of English-derived lexical items in Krio corresponds with a stronger presence of Spanish-derived lexicon in Pichi:

| (15) | Pichi                    | Krio            | Gloss         |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| a.   | <i>profē(sor); ticha</i> | <i>ticha</i>    | ‘teacher’     |
|      | <i>Camerún</i>           | <i>Cameroon</i> | ‘Cameroon’    |
|      | <i>aeropuerto</i>        | <i>epot</i>     | ‘airport’     |
| b.   | <i>diez</i>              | <i>tɛn</i>      | ‘ten’         |
|      | <i>doce</i>              | <i>twelf</i>    | ‘twelve’      |
|      | <i>las dos</i>           | <i>tu òklók</i> | ‘two o’clock’ |
| c.   | <i>bikàs, porque</i>     | <i>bikàs</i>    | ‘because’     |
|      | <i>sube; go əp</i>       | <i>go əp</i>    | ‘go up’       |
|      | <i>sigue</i>             | <i>kəntinyu</i> | ‘continue’    |

There is a high degree of correspondence between the forms of Pichi and Krio function words and the categories they express. For example, the forms and functions of the TMA markers in (16) are largely coterminous:

| (16) | Pichi      | Krio       | Gloss      |
|------|------------|------------|------------|
|      | <i>dè</i>  | <i>dè</i>  | ‘IPFV’     |
|      | <i>gò</i>  | <i>gò</i>  | ‘POT’      |
|      | <i>bìn</i> | <i>bìn</i> | ‘PST’      |
|      | <i>dən</i> | <i>dən</i> | ‘PRF’      |
|      | <i>fɛ</i>  | <i>fɛ</i>  | ‘ASS’      |
|      | <i>kìn</i> | <i>kìn</i> | ‘HAB; ABL’ |

However the distribution of the markers in (16) is not always identical in the two languages. For example, the Krio data reveals more combinatorial possibilities of the habitual marker *kìn* ‘HAB’ with other TMA markers (cf. Smith, D. 2001), while the Pichi imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’ seems to have a broader range of functions than the Krio cognate form. Moreover, Krio has at least two auxiliary constructions which are not attested in my data. The verb *blant* is only employed as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘reside’ in Pichi. In Krio, the verb *blant* is employed as an auxiliary verb to express habitual aspect. Consider the following example (Krio sentences have been adapted to the Krio standard orthography in the following examples):

- (17) Olu      **blant**    **go**    London   fɔ̃    Krisməs.  
 NAME    HAB        go    PLACE    ASS    Christmas  
 ‘Olu always goes to London for Christmas.’ [Yillah & Corcoran 2006: 181]

Further, Krio employs the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ together with the preposition *pàn* ‘on’ in an, albeit lectally restricted auxiliary construction to express progressive aspect (18). The construction is rejected by Pichi speakers (19):

- (18) Olu      **de**        **pàn**        kam  
 NAME    BE.AT    on        come  
 ‘Olu is coming (right now).’ [Yillah & Corcoran 2007: 179]

- (19) \*À        **de**        **pàn**        chɔp.  
 1SG.SBJ BE.AT    on        eat  
 \*I’m eating. [ye07je 025]

Conversely, there is no data to suggest the existence in Krio of the Pichi egressive SVC involving the verb *kàmót* ‘go/come out’ (20) or, obviously, the continuative construction featuring the Spanish-derived verb *sigue* ‘continue’ (21). Equally, an adverbial SVC involving the V1 *ste* ‘stay; be a long time’ appears to be unique to Pichi (22):

- (20) Wì    **kàmót**        **chɔp**        naw        so.  
 1PL    come.out    eat        now        so.’  
 ‘We just ate right now.’ [ge07fn 208]

- (21) À        **sigue**        **ple**        bəl    soté        ivin        tən.  
 1SG.SBJ    continue    play    ball    until    evening    time  
 ‘I continued playing ball until the evening.’ [be07fn 189]

- (22) À        **ste**        **chɔp**.  
 1SG.SBJ    stay        eat  
 ‘It’s been a long time since I ate.’ [au07ec 078]

The literature on Krio also indicates a wider range and a more pervasive use of serial verb constructions than attested for Pichi. For instance, Krio has a resultative SVC featuring dynamic verbs in the V2 position (23) and a GIVE-type SVC in order to mark a recipient or beneficiary (24). Both types of constructions are not attested in Pichi:

- (23) Dì human **kuk** rɛs **sɛl**.  
 DEF woman cook rice sell  
 ‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ [Finney 2004: 72]

- (24) I **bay** klos **gi** ìn pìkín.  
 3SG.SBJ buy clothing give 3SG.POSS child  
 ‘He bought some clothes for his child.’ [Finney 2004: 72]

In contrast, resultative state of affairs similar to (23) above may only feature stative property items in the V2 position. Such constructions in Pichi are best seen to involve secondary predication (25):

- (25) Dèn dɔn **bil** dì hos **strɔn**.  
 3PL PFV build DEF road be.strong  
 ‘The house is solidly built.’ [ra07ve 069]

Similarly, Pichi may only employ a less integrated type of multiverb construction, namely clause chaining, in order to express a sentence like (24). Note that unlike the Krio sentences above, the Pichi example in (26) exhibits resumptive subject marking, i.e. the subject is repeated with the second verb in the series:

- (26) **Yù tek** dì mɔní **yù gi** mi.  
 2SG take DEF money 2SG give 1SG.EMP  
 ‘You took the money (and) gave it to me.’ [ro05de 033]

The Krio-English dictionary (Fyle & Jones 1980) also reveals a large ideophonic component of the Krio lexicon. In (27), I list a few of the ideophones found in the aforementioned work but not attested in my Pichi data nor confirmed by elicitation:

|      |                    |  |
|------|--------------------|--|
| (27) | Ideophone          | Gloss  |
|      | <i>fiðfó</i>       | ‘thoroughly’                                       |
|      | <i>pàsha pàsha</i> | ‘sound of heavy footed animal coming out of water’ |
|      | <i>fep</i>         | ‘of eating/drinking completely’                    |
|      | <i>chwéneéné</i>   | ‘sound of frying in oil’                           |
|      | <i>kop-kàp</i>     | ‘sound of dressed person walking in shoes’         |
|      | <i>konkóng</i>     | ‘sound of hollow metallic object being hit’        |
|      | <i>pwèt</i>        | ‘sound of breaking wind’                           |
|      | <i>pyet</i>        | ‘very small bit’                                   |
|      | <i>gbap</i>        | ‘sound of sudden shutting or fastening’            |
|      | <i>tolóng</i>      | ‘of sudden standing up; erectly’                   |

Numerous questions, however, remain open due to the lack of specific data on Krio. For instance, although *mek*-directives (cf. 12.6.5) are attested in Krio, it is unclear to what extent the generalised indicative–subjunctive opposition in Pichi is mirrored in Krio.

## 1.6 Previous research on Pichi

The present work is the first in-depth description of the phonology and grammar of Pichi. Mariano de Zarco (1938) is a language guide with a small grammar section and a detailed vocabulary list. De Zarco contains many useful observations and provides a rough overview of the structure of Pichi as spoken in that period. De Zarco’s work is, however, fraught with methodological deficiencies characteristic for its time. The terminology and approach are borrowed from the descriptive traditions of European school grammar and important areas of the grammar of Pichi are not covered. Beyond that, the book is steeped in racist and colonialist ideology and contains many comments that betray the author’s view of Creoles being supposedly inferior types of languages. Lipski (1992) provides the first brief overview of the grammar, the history, and present-day use of Pichi.

The most extensive work on Pichi so far has been done by Morgades Besari, Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Equatorial Guinea and one of the most renowned philologists of the country. Her published work (e.g. 2004) contains valuable information on the use of Spanish and Pichi in Equatorial Guinea. Her unpublished work encompasses analyses of Pichi grammar, wordlists as well as a collection of stories and proverbs, many of which are falling into oblivion. Aside from that, CEIBA Ediciones (Barcelona) has published a series of works dealing with the precolonial and colonial history and the political economy of Fernando Po, as well as the pivotal role of the Fernandinos in the making of present-day Bioko (cf. e.g. Del Molino (1993) and García Cantús (2006)).

## 1.7 Standardisation and orthography

No commonly accepted standard orthography is in use for Pichi. The transcription I use in this work follows the Krio orthography employed in the seminal Krio-English Dictionary of Fyle & Jones (1980) and subsequent revisions (Coomber 1992). In code-mixed sentences, Spanish material is rendered using the standard Spanish orthography. Tone is marked on all Pichi words throughout this book. The decision to employ the Krio orthography was made on pragmatic grounds. The Krio orthography is based on conventions which have guided the graphicisation of many other languages in the region, in particular the IPA-based Africa Alphabet (International African Institute, 1930) and the African Reference Alphabet (UNESCO, 1978). The use of the Krio standard orthography for Pichi also facilitates the comparability of data with Krio.

In 2006, Morgades Besari developed an orthography for Pichi for the Institute of Linguistics of the Guinean Academy of Sciences (CICTE), which is inspired by norms for writing Spanish as well as the Bubi language. The orthography represents the first effort at promoting a standard script for Pichi. Below, I list the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols and their orthographic equivalents in the standard Krio alphabet and the Morgades orthography. Differences between the Krio and the Morgades orthography are in bold:

| (28) | IPA symbols | Krio orthography | Morgades orthography |
|------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|
|      | p           | p                | p                    |
|      | b           | b                | b                    |
|      | t           | t                | t                    |
|      | d           | d                | d                    |
|      | k           | k                | k                    |
|      | g           | g                | g                    |
|      | tʃ          | ch               | ch                   |
|      | <b>dʒ</b>   | <b>j</b>         | <b>dj</b>            |
|      | f           | f                | f                    |
|      | v           | v                | v                    |
|      | s           | s                | s                    |
|      | ʃ           | sh               | sh                   |
|      | ʁ           | r                | r                    |
|      | <b>h</b>    | <b>h</b>         | <b>j</b>             |
|      | m           | m                | m                    |
|      | n           | n                | n                    |
|      | <b>ɲ</b>    | <b>ny</b>        | <b>ñ</b>             |
|      | ŋ           | ng               | ng                   |
|      | l           | l                | l                    |
|      | <b>j</b>    | <b>y</b>         | <b>i</b>             |
|      | <b>w</b>    | <b>w</b>         | <b>u</b>             |
|      | i           | i                | i                    |
|      | u           | u                | u                    |

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|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| e | e | e |
| o | o | o |
| ɛ | ɛ | ě |
| ɔ | ɔ | ǒ |
| a | a | a |

As a consequence of the differences presented above, the Krio orthography employs the vowel-approximant combinations (ay), (aw) and (ɔy) (eg. *blay* ‘basket’, *stawt* ‘corpulent’, *bɔy* ‘boy’) where the Morgades orthography uses the vowel-vowel sequences (ai), (au) and (oi) (eg. *blai* ‘basket’, *staut* ‘corpulent’, *boi* ‘boy’). The Morgades orthography also uses the vowels (u) and (i) in word-initial position (e.g. *iai* ‘eye’) where the Krio orthography employs the approximants (w) and (y) (e.g. *yay* ‘eye’). Where the Morgades orthography has the advantage of simplicity by not introducing new symbols, the use of (w) and (j) in the Krio orthography allows the distinction between approximant-vowel and vowel-vowel sequences. Only in the latter can each of the two segments bear a lexical tone in Pichi. Other than that, an advantage of the Morgades orthography is that it may be reproduced with the symbols of a conventional Spanish keyboard without requiring the IPA symbols [ɛ] and [ɔ].

I have opted for a “shallow” system of tonal notation with as few tone-marks as possible (cf. Bird 1998). The system applies to both accented and tonal words. Unmarked monosyllables and penultimate syllables always bear a high tone. When a high tone occurs elsewhere in the word it is marked so by an acute accent [ó]. Conversely, a low-toned mono- or penultimate syllable always bears a grave accent [ò]. Unmarked syllables not covered by these notation rules are always low. Examples of tonal notation are given in (29):

| (29)   | Orthographic representation  |                    | Phonetic representation |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| High-toned monosyllable remains unmarked                     | <i>go</i>                    | ‘go’               | [gó]                    |
| High-toned penultimate syllable remains unmarked             | <i>waka</i><br><i>banana</i> | ‘walk’<br>‘banana’ | [wákà]<br>[bànáà]       |
| High-toned syllable elsewhere in the word bears acute accent | <i>nyóní</i>                 | ‘ant’              | [jóní]                  |
| Low-toned monosyllable bears grave accent                    | <i>ɛf</i>                    | ‘if’               | [ɛf]                    |
| Low-toned penultimate syllable bears grave accent            | <i>màmá</i>                  | ‘mother’           | [màmá]                  |

Further, tonal notation applies to the morpheme (i.e. the root) not the phonological word. Therefore, in multimorphemic words featuring the clitics *us=* ‘Q’ and *=án* ‘3SG.OBJ’ and in compounds, each morpheme or component is notated separately up to the morpheme breaks (-) and (=). For compounds, this implies that the tonal notation over all but the last



component differs from the original lexical notation due to the tonal derivation process that characterises compounding:

| (30)   | Orthographic representation          |                                   | Phonetic representation    |
|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Bimorphemic question words remain unmarked                   | <i>us=ten</i>                        | ‘when’                            | [ús=tén]                   |
| Multimorphemic verb + clitic words are marked separately     | <i>tek=àn</i><br><i>tròwé=àn</i>     | ‘take=3SG.OBJ’<br>‘throw=3SG.OBJ’ | [ték=àn]<br>[tròwé=àn]     |
| Components of compound nouns and verbs are marked separately | <i>Malàbo-bɔy</i><br><i>òva-chɔp</i> | ‘Malabo-boy’<br>‘over-eat’        | [màlàbò-bój]<br>[òvâ-chóp] |

## 1.8 Methods and data

This grammatical description of Pichi is based on the analysis of a corpus of 46,060 words of dialogues, narratives, procedural texts and elicitations. The data was collected during three stays of four weeks each in Malabo between 2003 and 2007. Recordings were conducted in the quarters of Ela Nguema, Nyúmbili and *nà tən* ‘in town’, the historical centre of Malabo. Recordings were done with a digital mini disc recorder, and transcribed and analysed using the SIL Toolbox 1.5 programme. The analysis of tone was done from connected speech and words spoken in isolation using the Praat 5.0 software. During my first stay in Malabo, I used Ghanaian Pidgin English and Spanish as my working languages. During subsequent visits, I conducted my research exclusively in Pichi.

Much of my approach is guided by linguistic typology and the descriptive apparatus developed in research on African languages. I try to describe as much variation as feasible. I largely avoid comparative or etymological observations with respect to English and African languages and try to look at Pichi ‘from the inside’. This grammar is also being prepared for publication in Spanish by CEIBA Ediciones (Barcelona) in an abridged version intended as a reference grammar for use in Equatorial Guinea by researchers and university students, teachers and educationists, as well as other individuals who are interested in the linguistic heritage of the country.

In Equatorial Guinea, I worked with altogether 17 language consultants. All speakers have been using Pichi continuously since childhood onwards. Without exception, they are inhabitants of Malabo since birth or infancy. Most of them use Pichi more often than any other language and at least half of the speakers view Pichi as the language they know best. Additionally, all speakers also know at least one of the following other languages in varying degrees of proficiency: Fang, Bubi, Fa d’Ambô, Kombě, Lungwa Santome, Nigerian Pidgin, Twi, Spanish, French, English and German. There is a slight bias in the data towards speakers with a Bubi linguistic background. Firstly, I was introduced to Malabo and the Pichi language through contacts with members of the Bubi community. Secondly, there are

indications that the majority of people who use Pichi as their primary language are from a Bubi background. The numerical dominance by these ‘nuevos criollos’ over the ‘old’ Creole community of Fernandino descent (Morgades, p.c.) represents a significant shift in the social dynamics of the language which is reflected in my choice of speakers.

Table 1.1 lists relevant information on language consultants. Speakers are sorted alphabetically along the ‘code’ column. The symbol ‘n.n.’ in the last row of the ‘speaker’ column stands for incidental data collected from strangers in the streets, markets, and other public places in Malabo. Not included in the list is my speaker code [ko]. The symbols for gender are (F)emale and (M)ale. Age is provided in brackets of 10+, 20+, 30+, etc. The column ‘languages’ specifies self-identified language knowledge. The symbol (h) in the ‘languages’ column indicates home languages used for interaction within the (extended) family. Languages are listed in alphabetical order but home languages come first. Basic information on social class can be deduced from the ‘activity’ column. The column ‘residence’ indicates the neighbourhood of Malabo in which the respective speakers are domiciled. Detailed information on the corpus is provided in Table 1.2 further below.

Table 1.1 Language consultants

| Code | Speaker   | F/M | Age | Languages  | Activity               | Residence  |
|------|-----------|-----|-----|--|------------------------|------------|
| ab   | Abuela    | F   | 80+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish (h)                                 | Child rearing, farming | Town       |
| au   | Agustín   | M   | 30+ | Fang (h), Spanish (h), Pichi, French                             | Senior civil service   | Ela Nguema |
| be   | Beatriz   | F   | 20+ | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish                                     | Child rearing          | Ela Nguema |
| bo   | Aboki     | F   | 40+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                                     | Trade                  | Town       |
| ch   | Charlie   | M   | 10+ | Pichi (h), Spanish   | School goer            | Ela Nguema |
| dj   | Djunais   | M   | 20+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                                     | Cook                   | Ela Nguema |
| eb   | Ebongolo  | M   | 20+ | Kombě (h), Pichi, Spanish  |                        | Ela Nguema |
| ed   | Eduardo   | M   | 30+ | Fa d’Ambô (h), Lungwa Santome (h), Fang, English, Pichi, Spanish | Civil servant          | Ela Nguema |
| f1   | Fita 1    | M   | 20+ | Unknown  | Mechanic               | Nyúmbili   |
| f2   | Fita 2    | M   | 20+ | Unknown  | Mechanic               | Nyúmbili   |
| fr   | Francisca | F   | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English, French                          | Civil servant          | Ela Nguema |
| ge   | Lage      | F   | 30+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English                                  | Restaurant owner       | Ela Nguema |
| he   | Hermina   | F   | 30+ | Kombě (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish                                  | Child rearing          | Ela Nguema |
| hi   | Hilda     | F   | 50+ | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi, English                            | Trade                  | Town       |
| ku   | Tia Kuki  | F   | 50+ | Kombě (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish                                  | Trade                  | Ela Nguema |

|    |               |     |      |  |                 |             |
|----|---------------|-----|------|--|-----------------|-------------|
| kw | Kwame         | M   | 40+  | Twɪ (h), English, Pichi, Spanish                           | Security Guard  | Kolwàtá     |
| li | Lindo         | M   | 30+  | Kombě (h), Pichi (h), Spanish                              | Worker          | Ela Nguema  |
| lo | Lourdes       | F   | 30+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English                            | Manager         | Town        |
| ma | Maria         | F   | 30+  | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish                               | Domestic worker | Nyúmbili    |
| mi | Miguel        | M   | 10+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                               | School goer     | Town        |
| ne | Nenuko        | M   | 30+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                               | Mechanic        | Ela Nguema  |
| pa | Pancho        | M   | 20+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                               | Hustler         | Ela Nguema  |
| ra | Maura         | F   | 20+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                               | Secretary       | Los Angeles |
| ro | Mami Rose     | F   | 50+  | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish                               | Domestic worker | Ela Nguema  |
| sa | Don Samuel    | M   | 70+  | Kombě (h), Fang, Pichi, Spanish                            | Entre-preneur   | Town        |
| to | Tia Tòkó      | F   | 50+  | Bubi (h), Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Nigerian Pidgin, English | Accountant      | Town        |
| tr | Doña Trinidad | F   | 70+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), English, French                    | Academic        | Town        |
| ur | Ursus         | M   | 30+  | Pichi (h), Bubi, Spanish                                   | Worker          | Ela Nguema  |
| ye | Bòyé          | M   | 20+  | Pichi (h), Spanish (h), Bubi                               | Worker          | Ela Nguema  |
| nn | N.N           | M/F | Div. | Diverse  | Diverse         | Diverse     |

Table 1.2 provides information on the corpus. The list is sorted alphabetically according to the ‘text code’ column. The ‘type’ column indicates the text genre, ‘contents’ provides a short description of the text. The column entitled ‘word count’ provides an indication of the relative length of texts. An asterisk (\*) after the ‘text code’ indicates that the corresponding text is contained (in part or in full length) in the Text section of this book:

Table 1.2 Corpus

| Text code | Type                    | Contents                             | Speakers       | Word count |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| 03ab*     | Narrative               | Sickness                             | ab, fr         | 1911       |
| 03ay      | Narrative               | Youth memories                       | ab             | 2384       |
| 03cb      | Conversation            | Female-male relations                | hi, bo         | 2872       |
| 03cd*     | Conversation            | House-building; joking; home affairs | dj, fr, ko, ye | 1827       |
| 03do*     | Procedure               | Preparation of a dish                | dj             | 778        |
| 03ft      | Narrative               | Family history                       | fr             | 2771       |
| 03wt*     | Narrative; conversation | Supernatural encounter               | dj, fr, ru     | 813        |
| 03fp      | Procedure               | Car maintenance                      | f1, f2, kw     | 274        |

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|       |                                      |   |            |      |
|-------|--------------------------------------|---|------------|------|
| 03gm  | Narrative                            | Language issues                                   | to         | 683  |
| 03hm  | Narrative                            | Working in Gabon                                  | ma         | 3983 |
| 03ni  | Conversation                         | Life in Nyúmbili                                  | ma, ko     | 468  |
| 03sb  | Narrative; procedure                 | Supernatural encounters                           | ed, kw     | 3073 |
| 03sh  | Narrative                            | Anecdotal story                                   | ma         | 291  |
| 03sp  | Narrative                            | Student days in Cuba                              | ed, kw     | 1324 |
| 05ae  | Elicitation                          | Complementation,<br>lexical aspect                | dj, ye     | 1930 |
| 05be  | Elicitation                          | Spatial relations                                 | dj         | 1431 |
| 05ce  | Elicitation; conversation            | Basic vocabulary,<br>metalinguistic discussion    | dj, pa, ye | 2329 |
| 05de  | Elicitation                          | Relativisation, adverbial<br>relations, questions | ro         | 620  |
| 05ee  | Elicitation                          | Copula meanings                                   | ro         | 1101 |
| 05fe  | Elicitation                          | Colours, numbers, time                            | ro         | 256  |
| 05rr  | Conversation; procedure              | Cooking at home                                   | ro, ye     | 1278 |
| 05rt  | Narrative                            | Marital affairs                                   | ro, ye     | 891  |
| 07ae  | Elicitation                          | Grammatical relations                             | dj         | 3213 |
| 07ce  | Elicitation                          | Derivation  | au         | 739  |
| 07de  | Elicitation                          | Double objects                                    | ye         | 205  |
| 07he  | Elicitation                          | Questions, conversation                           | be, lo     | 242  |
| 07je  | Elicitation                          | Pragmatic routines                                | ye         | 1072 |
| 07fn  | Conversation                         | Field notes                                       | Diverse    | 1304 |
| 07ga* | Conversation                         | Anecdotal story, joking                           | la, ne, ye | 430  |
| 07me  | Elicitation                          | Multiverb constructions                           | pa         | 1077 |
| 07pe* | Elicitation (video)                  | Caused positions                                  | li, dj     | 783  |
| 07re  | Elicitation (video)                  | Reciprocity                                       | dj         | 494  |
| 07se  | Elicitation (video);<br>conversation | Staged events,<br>metalinguistic discussion       | au, fr, ra | 2649 |
| 07ve  | Elicitation                          | Derivation  | ra         | 571  |

The corpus presented in Table 1.2 consists of altogether 34 texts of different genres totalling 46,060 words. Based on the figures of the ‘word count’ column, narratives constitute approximately 37 percent of the total corpus (the word count of texts with two genres has been divided by two). This genre encompasses life stories and family histories, illness and near-death accounts, supernatural encounters and other emotionally charged experiences as well as travel and life abroad. Conversations amount to 25 percent of the corpus. The topics range from house-building to gender relations, jesting and joking to metalinguistic discussions during elicitation. In many of the conversations recorded, in particular those involving peer-to-peer communication, form is just as important as content. These conversations ‘for their own sake’ are characterised by emphatic, expressive and figurative language.

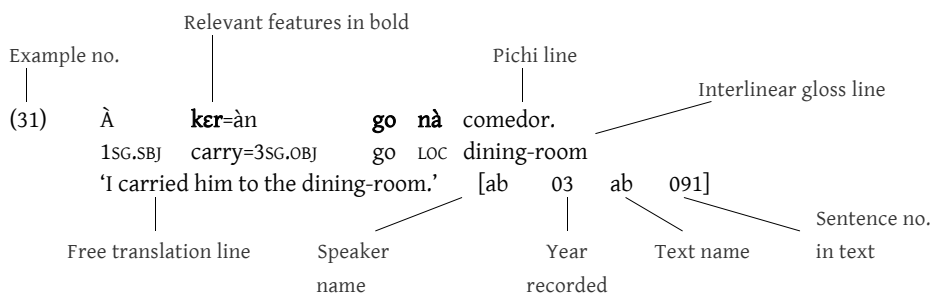
Procedural texts account for some 7 percent of the corpus. They describe various types of routines, for example the preparation of dishes, car maintenance and repair,

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

## 1.9 Presentation of data

Figure 1.2 below shows how language data is presented in this work. Explanations are provided for the elements in the example:

Figure 1.2 Presentation of data



In every example, the free translation is followed by a text code in squared brackets. Whenever an example features elicited data, the second letter of the text code is an 'e', e.g. [dj07ae 137] and [ra07ve 069]. Common parentheses in the free translation line contain supplementary and disambiguating translation material. Squared brackets provide contextual or other relevant meta-information. Punctuation in the Pichi examples follows intonation: A full stop indicates an utterance-final boundary tone, a comma continuative intonation. A slash denotes a speech interruption and hence an incomplete sentence. Spanish words are rendered in the Spanish orthography. However, I do not provide category labels for Spanish grammatical morphemes, since this would have complicated interlinear glossing and given Spanish material undue prominence.

A final note is in order on the notion of frequency employed throughout this work. When an exact percentage is not given, certain expressions may indicate the relative frequency or importance of a phenomenon. The expressions in the left column of (32)

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correspond approximately to the percentages given in the right column below (cf. Michaelis et al, in prep.):

| (32) | Expression  | Approximate percentage |
|------|---|------------------------|
|      | Pervasive, the overwhelming majority, the vast majority   | 90%                    |
|      | The majority, very common, a high frequency               | 70%                    |
|      | About half, equally often, fairly common                  | 50%                    |
|      | The minority, a low frequency                             | 30%                    |
|      | Marginal, a small minority, a small number, seldom, rare, | 10%                    |

## 2 Structural overview

The following five sections present an overview of typologically relevant characteristics of Pichi. A detailed treatment of the aspects covered can be found in the corresponding chapters.

### 2.1 Lexicon and grammar

Pichi is a Creole language featuring a phonology, grammar and lexicon from different sources. The majority of roots in the lexicon of Pichi are derived from Krio, the ancestor language of Pichi. Krio in turn, derives most of its lexicon from English lexical sources. Compare the following English-derived words in Pichi and Krio:

| (33) | Pichi         | Krio          | Etymology    | Gloss              |
|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|
|      | <i>finis</i>  | <i>finish</i> | < finish     | 'to finish'        |
|      | <i>tròwé</i>  | <i>tròwé</i>  | < throw away | 'throw away; pour' |
|      | <i>human</i>  | <i>human</i>  | < woman      | 'woman'            |
|      | <i>dan</i>    | <i>da(t)</i>  | < that       | 'that'             |
|      | <i>pàntáp</i> | <i>pàntáp</i> | < upon top   | 'on; top'          |

However, there are often phonological differences between the English etymons of Pichi roots as well as the meanings and functions of English-derived items in the linguistic system of Pichi. Consider the following sentence:

|      |  |       |         |           |           |
|------|--|-------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| (34) | Mì                                       | layf, | è       | tranga    | bad.      |
|      | 1SG.POSS                                 | life  | 3SG.SBJ | be.strong | extremely |
|      | 'My life was really tough.' [ab07fn 224] |       |         |           |           |

The five words in the example above are English derived, hence *mì* < 'me'; *layf* < 'life'; *è* < 'him'; *tranga* < 'strong'; *bad* < 'bad'. However, contrary to the English emphatic and object pronoun *me* the Pichi possessive pronoun *mì* is low-toned (hence 'unstressed' in terms of English phonology) and is found in a different syntactic position with a different grammatical function than *me*. Equally, the use of a resumptive subject pronoun coreferential with a preceding definite noun (*è* '3SG.SBJ') is very common in Pichi but a rather



marked feature in English. The word *tranga* is a verb in Pichi, not an adjective like English *strong* and also has a different range of meanings than the latter word. Finally, the use of the value property item *bad* as a value-neutral adverb of degree is commonplace in Pichi but not usually found in European and European-derived varieties of English.

Conversely, Pichi has a lot in common with other West African languages in terms of its grammatical categories, morphosyntax, semantic structures and pragmatics. For example, the functional range of the potential mood marker *gò* only partially corresponds to that of the English future markers *will* and *going to*. The marker *gò* serves to express related modal and temporal notions like potential mood and future tense (35) conditional and hypothetical mood (36) as well as habitual (37):

- (35) È            **gò pul** yu=àn            tuməro.  
1SG.SBJ    POT pull 2SG.EMP=3SG.OBJ    tomorrow  
'He'll tell it [the story] to you tomorrow.' [ye07de 018]

- (36) Èf yù chəp    əl dis chəp    we è        no dən,  
if 2SG eat        all this food    SUB 3SG.SBJ    NEG done  
  
tuməro        yù **gò sik**.  
tomorrow    2SG POT sick  
  
'If you eat/ate all this food that is not done, you'll/'d be  
sick tomorrow.' [ro05ee 045]

- (37) Dì de wən    mì        mà má **gò gət** sòn    fayà.wúd    we  
DEF day SUB    1SG.POSS mother POT get some fire.wood    SUB  
  
dèn brok=àn    nà fam,    è        **gò tel** dən,  
3PL break=3SG.OBJ LOC farm    3SG.SBJ POT tell 3PL.EMP  
  
dèn **gò go** tot=àn    fər=àn.  
3PL POT go carry=3SG.OBJ ASS=3SG.OBJ  
  
'On those days that my mother would get some fire wood that had been  
broken up at the farm, she would tell them (and) they would go and carry  
it for her.' [ab03ay 023]

Some of the specificities of Pichi semantic structures transpire in the following sentences. The concept 'be alive' is rendered through the collocation *de layf* 'BE AT life'. The structure involves a locative construction in which the noun *layf* is a complement to the locative-existential copula *de*. This semantic structure of an existential or locative expression involving a noun with the meaning 'life' is documented for other languages of the West African coastal belt (e.g. Twi and Ewe (Huttar et al. 2007: 65)):

- (38) À        no bìn si    mì        grànmá    we è        **de layf**.  
1SG.SBJ    NEG PST see 1SG.POSS grandmother SUB 3SG.SBJ    BE.AT    life  
'I didn't see my grandmother while she was alive.' [ro05ee 147]

Similarly, many body states can be expressed in a construction, in which the body state noun is found in subject position, while the experiencer is in the object position. This construction is markedly different from the equivalent expression in English (i.e. ‘I’m sleepy’) but fits in with an areal pattern as well (cf. Huttar et al. 2007: 64):

- (39) Smɔltɛn slip kech=àn.  
 shortly sleep catch=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Shortly afterwards, he became sleepy/ fell asleep.’  
 [Lit. ‘Sleep caught him.’] [ab03ab 050]

Spanish lexical material is integrated into Pichi speech due to extensive Pichi-Spanish code-mixing. In a selected portion of the corpus, approximately 50% of all nouns, 30% of all verbs and 62% of all numerals used were of Spanish origin. However, in a token count (i.e. the number of occurrences) the number of Spanish words is considerably lower with 19% Spanish nouns, 5% Spanish verbs and 47% numerals. Code-mixing affects mostly nouns and verbs but other word classes are also mixed-in from Spanish. For example, Spanish adjectives (40) and some conjunctions (41) are also regularly found in Pichi sentences:

- (40) Wan yay de **blanco** è no dè si.  
 one eye BE.AT white 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see  
 ‘One eye is white, it doesn’t see.’
- (41) Yù nea get pìkín **porque** yù nea mared.  
 2SG NEG.PRF get child because 2SG NEG.PRF marry  
 ‘You don’t yet have a child, because you aren’t yet married.’

A moderate number of Spanish words may be considered borrowings. They form an integral part of the Pichi lexicon and are often preferred to their counterparts of Krio origin. Consider the Spanish-origin verbs *sube* ‘go up’ and *baja* ‘go down’ in (42). These verbs are far more frequent than their Pichi equivalents *go ɔp* ‘go up’ and *go dɔn* ‘go down’.

- (42) (...) Pancho mek lɛkɛ se è dè **sube** bìhén we  
 NAME make like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind SUB  
 è **baja** mɔ.  
 3SG.SBJ go.down more  
 ‘(...) Pancho pretended to go up behind and then went down again.’ [ye03cd 178]

Equally, virtually the entire numeral system as well as the date nomenclature and the system of telling the time have been borrowed into Pichi from Spanish:

- (43) So yù want de de **las** **cuatro**, wì dɔn **de**  
 so 2SG want BE.AT there the.PL four 1PL PRF BE.AT

**las tres y veinte.**  
the.PL three and twenty

'So you want to be there at four (and) we're already here  
at three twenty. [ma03ni 005]

A much smaller percentage of words of mostly West African origin was also inherited from Krio (44). Many of these are tonal words (a) and some occur in lexicalised reduplications (b) or ideophones (c). The etymology is from Fyle & Jones 1980; the language of origin is set in parentheses in the rightmost column:

| (44) | Word            | Gloss                    | Etymology         |   |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---|
| a.   | <i>okobó</i>    | 'impotent man'           | < <i>okobo</i>    | 'impotent man; impotency' (Yoruba)        |
|      | <i>wàyó</i>     | 'cunning'                | < <i>waayo</i>    | 'cunning; trickery' (Hausa)               |
| b.   | <i>wuruwuru</i> | 'confusion'              | < <i>wuruwuru</i> | 'confused' (Yoruba)                       |
|      | <i>chàkrá</i>   | 'waste; destroy'         | < <i>tshikra</i>  | 'be drunk; behave like drunk'<br>(Fulani) |
|      | <i>fityáy</i>   | 'cheek, insult'          | < <i>fityay</i>   | 'arrogance, pride' (Mende)                |
| c.   | <i>gbìn</i>     | 'sound of heavy<br>thud' | < <i>gbi</i>      | 'sound of heavy thud' (Mende)             |

The number of words that originate from Bubi, the autochthonous language of Bioko island and the African language with which Pichi has had the longest period of contact is limited to very few items in my corpus (e.g. *bàta* 'buttocks; *tòpé* 'palm-wine').

Words from other Equatoguinean languages, for example Fang, the largest language of Equatorial Guinea in terms of speakers, do not seem to constitute part of the lexical stock of Pichi. One exception is the widely-used interjection *ékié*, of Fang origin which may be roughly translated with 'good gracious'.

## 2.2 Phonology

Pichi is a tone language which exhibits a mixed prosodic system, a typologically unusual feature that also characterises other Atlantic English-lexicon Creoles (cf. e.g. Alleyne 1980, Devonish 2002, Good 2004, Rivera Castillo 1998). Around 95% of the words in my corpus are characterised by pitch accent. In accented words only one syllable bears a lexically specified H tone while other syllables remain toneless. The remaining 5% are fully tonal words, in which all syllables are lexically specified for H or L tones. Tonal words are not normally affected by tonal processes such as tone spreading or deletion, nor do they bear intonational boundary tones. Grammatical tone is also employed for inflection and derivation (cf. below). In sum, the use of lexical tone is relatively restrained as compared to other African tone languages of the region (cf. e.g. Oyelaran 1971 for Yoruba).

Pichi has two distinctive tones, a high (H) and a low (L) tone as well as a default low tone (X) over toneless syllables. Every word has at least one lexically specified H tone and as a consequence a specific tonal configuration. The possible tonal configurations for bisyllabic words follow:

| (45) | Word          | Pitch class | Gloss          |
|------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
|      | <i>drɔngɔ</i> | H.X         | 'be dead drunk |
|      | <i>wàtá</i>   | X.H         | 'water'        |
|      | <i>nyɔní</i>  | H.H         | 'ant'          |
|      | <i>àna</i>    | L.L         | '2PL'          |

Pichi also features a number of tonal processes. Thus we find the spreading of tones to right-adjacent toneless syllables, downdrift and downstep, tone deletion and tone floating. In the latter process a lexical tone is set afloat when two adjoining vowels merge or one of two adjoining vowels is deleted. An example follows.

In (46), the final consonant /k/ of *mek* 'SBJV' is deleted. This creates a vowel hiatus, which in turn leads to the deletion of the first, higher vowel [é] of *mek* in favour of the second, lower vowel [à]. This creates a rising-falling contour over *mâ* (=mek à)

|      |                              |          |      |         |     |      |   |           |     |    |    |      |
|------|------------------------------|----------|------|---------|-----|------|---|-----------|-----|----|----|------|
| (46) | <b>Mek</b>                   | <b>à</b> | tɛl  | yu      | dì  | say. | → | <b>Mâ</b> | tɛl | yu | dì | say. |
|      | <b>H</b>                     | <b>L</b> | H    | H       | L   | H    |   | <b>HL</b> | H   | H  | L  | H    |
|      | SBJV                         | 1SG.SBJ  | tell | 2SG.EMP | DEF | side |   |           |     |    |    |      |
|      | 'Let me tell you the place.' |          |      |         |     |      |   |           |     |    |    |      |

Pichi has a seven vowel system featuring the phonemes /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/. Sequences like /aj, aw, ɔj/ are analysed as vowel-approximant combinations. The consonant phonemes of Pichi amount to twenty-two: /p, b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, f, v, s, ʃ, h, m, n, ɲ, l, w, j, kp, gb/. The co-articulated labiovelar plosives /kp/ and /gb/ are marginal and only occur in ideophones. There is not much sandhi in Pichi. However, phonological processes involving nasals and nasalisation are very rich. The following three sentences exemplify the assimilation to following segments of the final nasal consonant /n/ in the personal pronoun *dèn* '3PL'.

|      |                          |          |      |         |        |     |    |     |
|------|--------------------------|----------|------|---------|--------|-----|----|-----|
| (47) | Dèn                      | bòkú.    |      | [dèn    | bòkú]  |     |    |     |
|      | 3PL                      | be.much  |      |         |        |     |    |     |
|      | 'They're many.'          |          |      |         |        |     |    |     |
| (48) | Dèn                      | go de.   |      | [dèn    | gó dé] |     |    |     |
|      | 3PL                      | go there |      |         |        |     |    |     |
|      | 'They went there.'       |          |      |         |        |     |    |     |
| (49) | Dèn                      | kan      | gi   | yu.     | [dɛ̃ŋ  | kãŋ | gí | jú] |
|      | 3PL                      | PFV      | give | 2SG.EMP |        |     |    |     |
|      | 'They gave (it) to you.' |          |      |         |        |     |    |     |

## 2.3 Morphology

Pichi has the distributionally defined word classes of nouns, verbs, adjectives, as well as prepositions. Besides that, numerous sentential and phrasal elements, many of which may be seen to form small word classes of their own, serve to modify nouns, verbs and sentences.

There are only a handful of adjectives in Pichi. Unlike other property items, adjectives may appear in predicate adjective constructions as complements to the locative-existential copula *de* (50). In contrast, most property items are (inchoative-)stative verbs (51). But a minority of property items are also lexicalised as dynamic verbs, as evidenced by the presence of the imperfective marker *dè* with *kres* ‘be crazy’ in (52):

- (50) Tidé dì human **de** fayn.  
 today DEF woman BE.AT fine  
 ‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]
- (51) È saful, è slo.  
 3SG.SBJ be.careful 3SG.SBJ be.slow  
 ‘It [the car] is careful, it’s slow.’ [dj07ae 137]
- (52) Yù **dè** kres.  
 2SG IPFV be.crazy  
 ‘You’re crazy.’ [ro05ee 038]

Nouns form part of an open class, which can be extended by compounding, while verbs, adjectives and prepositions belong to closed classes. Hence code-mixing with Spanish and the prolific use of verb-noun collocations in which the verb is generic (i.e. *get* ‘get’, *mek* ‘make’, *gi* ‘give’) serve to derive new verbal meanings. Sentence (53) features a noun-verb collocation with the generic verb *mek* ‘make’ and the mixed-in noun *análisis* ‘analysis’:

- (53) Dèn ròn go **mek** análisis.  
 3PL run go make analysis  
 ‘They hurried to make (an) analysis.’ [ab03ab 116]

Pichi has a largely isolating morphosyntax. The morphological shape of words mostly remains unchanged. Individual words are combined in specific ways in order to express grammatical functions and relations. For example, the categories of tense, modality and aspect are expressed through phonologically distinct preverbal particles. The verb stem is not altered:

- (54) Dan awa à **bin don** dè slip.  
 that hour 1SG.SBJ PST PRF IPFV sleep  
 ‘(At) that time, I was already sleeping.’ [ye07fn 059]

Besides that, there is a limited use of inflectional morphology in the pronominal system, in which both tone and suppletive forms are used to express case relations. For example, the dependent subject pronoun à '1SG.SBJ' has the allomorphs *mì* '1SG.POSS' and *mi* '3SG.EMP'. In the following example, tone alone distinguishes possessive from objective case of the 1SG personal pronoun:

- (55) Dèn      tif      **mi**      **mì**      sus.  
 3PL      steal      1SG.EMP      1SG.POSS      shoe  
 'They stole my shoes from me.' [ge07fn 023]

Two elements can be considered full clitics: the object pronoun =à*n* '3SG.OBJ' and the question particle *us* 'Q'. Other elements are clitic-like to a lesser degree: dependent person pronouns may be said to be proclitic to the following element of the predicate, the pluraliser *dèn* 'PL' to the preceding noun.

The object pronoun =à*n* '3SG.OBJ' is enclitic to the preceding verb, preposition or locative noun (the 'host') with which it forms a single phonological word. One indication of cliticisation is that the final consonant of the host of =à*n* is always pronounced at the morpheme boundary. For phonotactic reasons, the underlying /r/ of a specific group of Pichi words only surfaces when these words are followed by the clitic =à*n* '3SG.OBJ':

- (56) Dì de **kli**a.  
 DEF day be.clear  
 'The weather is clear.' [ye07je 122]
- (57) Wèn      à      gò **kliar=à**n,      (...)  
 SUB      1SG.SBJ      POT clear=3SG.OBJ  
 'When I clear it, (...)' [dj03do 045]

Aside from that, Pichi exhibits a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy in the pronominal system. This type of suppletion is conditioned by pitch configuration and determines the complementary distribution of the two 3SG object pronouns =à*n* '3SG.OBJ' and *in* '3SG.EMP'. The following two examples present these two allomorphs in use:

- (58) Yù dè      nyàngá=**à**n.  
 2SG IPFV      put.on.air=3SG.OBJ  
 'You're being ostentatious to him.' [ch07fn 225]
- (59) Mek      à      traduce      **in**  
 SBJV      1SG.SBJ      translate      3SG.EMP  
 'Let me translate it.' [to07fn 226]

Pichi makes good use of compounding in order to derive new words which may function as nouns and verbs in a clause. Compounding involves the deletion of the lexical H tone over all but the final component of the compound word:

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| (60)          | Compound        | Components     | Gloss               |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Compound noun | <i>bít-fùfú</i> | beat-fufu      | 'pounded fufu'      |
|               | <i>kòl-wàtá</i> | cold-water     | 'cold water'        |
|               | <i>dày-man</i>  | die-man/person | 'dead body'         |
| Compound verb | <i>ovà-klin</i> | over-clean     | 'clean excessively' |
|               | <i>ovà-hət</i>  | over-heat      | 'heat excessively'  |
|               | <i>trən.yés</i> | strong.ear     | 'be disobedient'    |
|               | <i>opìn.yáy</i> | open.eyē       | 'be enlightened'    |

Compounding is, however, rivalled, possibly surpassed in frequency by other means of concatenating words. In associative constructions, two nouns are juxtaposed and there is no derivational process of compounding involved:

| (61) | Compound            | Components    | Gloss                           |
|------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
|      | <i>plàntí fùfú</i>  | plantain fufu | 'fufu made from plantain'       |
|      | <i>human fəl</i>    | woman fowl    | 'hen'                           |
|      | <i>Guinea pikín</i> | Guinea child  | 'person of Equatoguinean stock' |

Compounds and associative constructions form part of a continuum of 'possessive' constructions which provide various means of modification to words. Two other such constructions are the dislocated possessive (62) and the *fə*-prepositional construction (63). The choice for either of these possessive strategies follows subtle rules grounded in tonal phonotactics, syntax, semantics and pragmatics:

|      |  |         |         |     |      |          |        |          |           |    |    |
|------|--|---------|---------|-----|------|----------|--------|----------|-----------|----|----|
| (62) | Nà   | de      | à       | kan | sàbí | mì       | mà     | má       | <b>in</b> | pà | pá |
|      | FOC  | there   | 1SG.SBJ | PFV | know | 1SG.POSS | mother | 3SG.POSS | father    |    |    |
|      | <b>in</b>  | fambul. |         |     |      |          |        |          |           |    |    |
|      | 3SG.POSS   | family  |         |     |      |          |        |          |           |    |    |
|      | 'It is there that I got to know my mother's father's family.' [fr03ft 044] |         |         |     |      |          |        |          |           |    |    |

|      |  |        |       |     |     |     |      |       |           |          |       |
|------|--|--------|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----------|----------|-------|
| (63) | Afta   | Miguel | Angel | we  | nà  | dì  | las  | pikín | <b>fə</b> | mì       | àntí. |
|      | then   | NAME   | NAME  | SUB | FOC | DEF | last | child | ASS       | 1SG.POSS | aunt  |
|      | 'Then, there is Miguel Angel who is the last child of my aunt.' [fr03ft 143] |        |       |     |     |     |      |       |           |          |       |

Morphological reduplication can be applied to dynamic verbs in order to derive verbal number. Syntactic reduplication, i.e. repetition, may apply to all content words. Both types of reduplication involve the full iteration of a word, but only the former involves a morphological process, namely the process of tonal deletion characteristic of compounding:

|      |  |     |      |                      |        |     |           |
|------|--|-----|------|----------------------|--------|-----|-----------|
| (64) | Wetin  | yù  | dè   | <b>chènch-chench</b> | nɔmba  | dèn | sɔ?       |
|      | what   | 2SG | IPFV | RED.CPD-change       | number | PL  | like.that |
|      | 'Why do you constantly change (telephone) numbers like that?' [ye03cd 131] |     |      |                      |        |     |           |

Syntactic reduplication involves duplication via repetition. The meaning of the reduplicant varies with that of the reduplicated word. The expression of plural number does not lie within the range of syntactic reduplication. The repetition of property items and nouns renders intensive and emphatic meanings (65), that of numerals a distributive sense (66):

- (65) Fò m̀ fambul fambul fambul à no sàbí  
 ASS 1SG.POSS family family family 1SG.SBJ NEG know  
 b̀̀kú b̀̀kú p̀sin d̀n.  
 much much person PL  
 ‘Within my immediate family I don’t know really many people.’ [fr03ft 031]

- (66) **Quinientos quinientos quinientos.**  
 fifteen fifteen fifteen  
 ‘Fifteen each.’ [hi03cb 058]

Apart from tonal deletion, the second morphological process put to the service of derivation is affixation. The suffix *-wan* ‘ADV’, etymologically related to the numeral *wan* ‘one’, derives manner adverbials:

- (67) È fayn fò dring **sm̀l-wan.**  
 3SG.SBJ be.fine ASS drink small-ADV  
 ‘It’s good to drink moderately.’ [ma03hm 071]

Pichi also makes use of conversion whereby words may appear in the syntactic positions of others without a formal change in category. In this way, verbs may be used as nouns and nouns and many verbs as adverbials. It is, however, not common for nouns to occur in the syntactic positions of verbs.

## 2.4 Nominal and verbal systems

Pichi employs prenominal and postnominal modifiers. Amongst them we find a post-posed pluraliser that is identical with the 3PL dependent subject pronoun, which may also express number with personal names to form an associative plural (68). The 3PL dependent pronoun is also used with impersonal reference in order to background an agent and form a backgrounding passive (69):

- (68) À d̀n explica **B̀yé d̀n,** se (...)  
 1SG.SBJ PRF explain NAME PL QUOT  
 ‘I have explained to B̀yé and the others that (...)’ [ru03wt 045]



- (69) **Dèn dòn bil** dì hos tròn.  
 3PL PRF build DEF house strong  
 'The house is solidly built.' [ra07ve 069]

Determiners like the definite article *dì*, the indefiniteness expressions *wan* 'one; a' and *sòn* 'some; a' precede the nouns they refer to. This rule also applies to the pluraliser *dèn* in the rare instances, in which it is employed as a plural definite article *cum* demonstrative (70). A demonstrative may also precede a possessive pronoun (71):

- (70) Wèt ɔl **dèn fronteras** **dèn** we dèn dè chench.  
 with all PL borders PL SUB 3PL IPFV change  
 'With all those borders that are changing.' [fr03ft 102]

- (71) (...) **di m̀** fambul de (...)  
 this 1SG.POSS family there  
 '(...) this family member of mine there (...)' [ed03sb 108]

Other noun phrase elements also categorically precede their heads: attributively employed property items, numerals, all quantifiers except *ɔl* 'all' which may be 'floated' and possessive pronouns. A small number of noun phrase modifiers follow the head noun, amongst them the focus particle *sef* 'EMP, self'.

Four features are distinguished in the use of personal pronouns: person, number, syntactic (in)dependence and case. Except the suppletive forms *m̀* '1SG.POSS' (which substitutes for *à* '1SG.SBJ') and *in* '3SG.POSS' (which substitutes for *è* '3SG.SBJ'), dependent subject pronouns are also employed for the expression of possessive case. Further, the expression of object case is taken care of by the clitic object pronoun *=àn* '3SG.OBJ' and the independent personal pronouns.

The Pichi system of aspect marking represents a typologically widespread type in which the expression of perfective and imperfective aspect is not fully symmetrical (cf. e.g. Sasse 1988). On the one hand, there is a general imperfective aspect marker *dè* which covers functions generally associated with the imperfective domain such as progressive (72), habitual (73), but also modal functions such as future tense (74) and hypothetical modality (75):

- (72) À **dè smel** dì sent fɔ̀ lèk haw è **dè kuk** plàntí.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV smell DEF scent ASS like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook plantain  
 'I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.' [dj05ae 025]

- (73) ɛni de dèn **dè chop** rɛs, ɛni de.  
 every day 3PL IPFV eat rice every day  
 'Every day they eat rice, every day.' [ed03sp 117]

- (74) À        **dè lef**      nà Luba    soté    dì neks    wik.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC PLACE    until    DEF next    week  
 ‘I’m staying in Luba until next week.’ [dj05ce 014]
- (75) À        **dè tek** mì      pikín    go nà hospital, claro.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV take 1SG.POSS child    go LOC hospital clear  
 ‘I would take my child to hospital, of course.’ [hi03cb 140]

On the other side, the expression of perfective aspect is less uniform. For one part, it is covered by the use of the bare verb, so-called factative TMA (Welmers 1973) for dynamic verbs (76). However factative marked stative and inchoative-stative verbs do not automatically receive a perfective, inchoative (i.e. a entry-into-state) reading. Instead factative marking with non-dynamic verbs most commonly yields an imperfective reading, namely present tense (or ongoing state) (77):

- (76) À        **pas**        dì dòmót    bìhén    say, à        **go** fɛn      sǐgá.  
 1SG.SBJ pass    DEF door    behind side 1SG.SBJ go look.for cigarette  
 ‘I passed through the entrance at the back, I went to look for a cigarette.’  
 [ro05rt 016]
- (77) À        **get** mǎdèlǎ.  
 1SG.SBJ get mother-in-law  
 ‘I have a mother-in-law.’ [ro05de 009]

The use of the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ yields typical perfective aspect meanings in a more predictable way. However its use is specialised to foregrounded sections of narrative discourse as in the following excerpt:

- (78) a. À        **kan go** nà mì      ònkúl    ìn        pàpá    ìn        let brɔ̀da.  
 1SG.SBJ PFV POT LOC 1SG.POSS uncle    3SG.POSS father    3SG.POSS late brother  
 ‘I went to my uncle’s father’s late brother.’ [ab03ay 098]
- b. Mì        let pàpá    ìn        brɔ̀da, à        **kan de**      nà ìn        hos.  
 1SG.POSS late father    3SG.POSS brother 1SG.SBJ PFV BE.AT    LOC 3SG.POSS house  
 ‘My late father’s brother, I came to be in his house.’ [ab03ay 099]

Beyond that Pichi features separately grammaticalised aspectual readings of prospective, ingressive, egressive, completive, continuative, iterative and habitual. Tense is expressed either by default through the use of aspect marking or overtly by means of the past marker *bin* ‘PST’ and the potential mood marker *gò*. The use of *bin* largely depends on discourse-pragmatic factors. The past marker is generally employed in temporally remote, backgrounded, orienting and supportive sections of narratives.

- (79) Mi      **bìn de**      de,      à      **bìn mek**      dasòl,      dis,  
 1SG.EMP   PST   BE.AT   there   1SG.SBJ   PST   make   only   this  
 à      **dè mek**      finga      dèn,      manicura.  
 1SG.SBJ   IPFV   make   finger   PL   manicure  
 ‘(As for me, when) I was there, I only made, this, I used to make fingers,  
 manicure.’ [ma03hm 055]

The Pichi system of modality exhibits an indicative-subjunctive opposition. Subjunctive mood is instantiated in the modal complementiser *mek* ‘SBJV’ and occurs in contexts characterised by the presence of deontic modality. Firstly, subjunctive mood appears in directive main clauses such as imperatives and other ‘mands’. The following sentence contains a 3SG affirmative and negative jussive:

- (80) **Mek**      è      fòdón      insay      dì      glas,      **mek**      è  
 SBJV      3SG.SBJ   fall      inside      DEF   glas      SBJV      3SG.SBJ  
**no**      fòdón      nà      gròn!  
 NEG   fall      LOC   ground  
 ‘Let it fall into the glas, don’t let it fall onto the floor!’ [dj05be 170]

Secondly, subjunctive mood is present in the subordinate clauses of deontic modality inducing main verbs, i.e. verbs whose meaning contains an element of causation, manipulation, proposal, desire and other affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. For example, same (optionally) or different subject (obligatory) subjunctive clauses follow the deontic main verb *want* ‘want’ (81):

- (81) È      nak      dì      plet      pàn      dì      tebul      bìkəs      è      **want**  
 3SG.SBJ   hit   DEF   plate   on   DEF   table   because   3SG.SBJ   want  
**mek**      dì      plet      brok.  
 SBJV      DEF   plate   break  
 ‘He hit the plate on the table because he wanted the plate to break.’ [au07se 194]

Thirdly, subjunctive mood occurs in purpose clauses, irrespective of the semantic class of the main clause verb. Purpose clauses may additionally be introduced by the clause linker *fò* ‘ASS’. But the modal complementiser is sufficient on its own to signal the purpose relation:

- (82) Dèn      kan      ker      mi      nà      Madrid      (**fò**)      **mek**      dèn      go      opera      mi.  
 3PL   PFV   carry   1SG.EMP   LOC   PLACE   ASS   SBJV   3PL   go   operate   1SG.EMP  
 ‘They took me to Madrid in order to go and operate on me.’ [fr03ft 026]

## 2.5 Sentence structure

Pichi exhibits a subject-verb word order in intransitive clauses (83), and a subject-verb-object order in transitive clauses (84). Full nouns occur on their own as subjects. But frequently a coreferential dependent pronoun additionally appears in the predicate which refers to the preceding definite subject. Sentence (83) presents both alternatives:

- (83) Dì chia blak, dì chia è blak.  
 DEF chair be.black DEF chair 3SG.SBJ be.black  
 ‘The chair is black, the chair (it) is black.’ [dj05ae 121]

- (84) È dòn chàkrá mared.  
 3SG.SBJ PRF destroy marriage  
 ‘She has ruined (the) marriage.’ [ro05rr 005]

Pichi negation revolves around the general negator *no* ‘NEG’, which functions as a negative particle in verb negation and as a negative quantifier in NP negation. Besides *no*, Pichi has one polarity sensitive monomorphemic item which exclusively occurs in negative clauses, namely the negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’. All other negative expressions are syntactic phrases consisting of *no* employed as a negative quantifier followed by a generic, noun, e.g. *no say* ‘NEG side’ = ‘nowhere’, *no pəsin* ‘NEG person’ = ‘nobody’, *no bədi* ‘nobody’, *no wan de* ‘NEG one day’ = ‘never’.

Sentence negation is characterised by negative concord. Whenever the verb is negated, non-specific NPs are normally also preceded by *no* ‘NEG’ (85). Verb negation is also employed when the clause contains the negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’ (86):

- (85) Dis sənde **no bədi** **no** de nà strit.  
 this sunday no body NEG BE.AT LOC street  
 ‘This Sunday, nobody is in the streets.’ [ro05ee 136]

- (86) **No natin** **no** de we è fayn lək kəmpin.  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.AT SUB 3SG.SBJ be.fine like friend  
 ‘There is nothing as nice as a friend/ friendship.’ [ro05ee 138]

Negation is asymmetrical in two contexts. The focus marker and identity copula *nà* ‘FOC’ is replaced by the suppletive negative form *nəto*. Equally, affirmative perfect tense-aspect is expressed via the TMA marker *dən* ‘PRF’ (87), while the negative perfect is formed by a suppletive allomorph, i.e. either of the free variants *nəa* or *nəba* ‘NEG.PRF’ (88):

- (87) Yù **dən** bən fo pikín, (...)  
 2SG PRF give.birth four child  
 ‘You have given birth to four children, (...)’ [hi03cb 187]

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- (88) È            **nca**        bɔn            pikín.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF give.birth child  
 ‘She hasn’t given birth to a child yet.’ [fr03ft 139]

Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system which involves four types of transparent and opaque question elements (cf. Muysken & Smith 1990): (1) a clitic question particle; (2) simple, monomorphemic elements; (3) bimorphemic question words composed of either a question particle and a generic noun, or an independent question word and a content word; (3) question phrases.

| (89) Type     | Example              | Gloss               |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Clitic        | <i>us=</i>           | ‘Q’                 |
| Monomorphemic | <i>udat</i>          | ‘WHO’               |
|               | <i>wetin</i>         | ‘WHAT’              |
|               | <i>haw</i>           | ‘HOW’               |
| Bimorphemic   | <i>us=tɛn</i>        | ‘WHEN’              |
|               | <i>us=tin</i>        | ‘WHAT’              |
|               | <i>us=pəsin</i>      | ‘WHO’               |
|               | <i>us=kayn pəsin</i> | ‘which person’      |
| Phrase        | <i>wetin mek</i>     | ‘what make’ = ‘WHY’ |
|               | <i>fə wetin</i>      | ‘ASS what’ = ‘WHY’  |

Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the question clause. Questioned objects appear at the beginning of the sentence (90) or in their original position (91):

- (90) **Wetin** yù want no?  
 what 2SG want know  
 ‘What do you want to know?’ [dj05ce 086]

- (91) Yù want no **wetin**?  
 2SG want know what  
 ‘You want to know what?’ [dj05ce 087]

Question elements are often placed under focus, but not obligatorily so. Note the following example, in which a possessor noun is questioned and under focus with the particle *nà* ‘FOC’:

- (92) **Nà udat** ìn mòtó Pancho dè yus?  
 FOC who 3SG.POSS car NAME IPFV use  
 ‘It’s whose car Pancho is using?’ [dj05ce 118]

The use of focus structures in the formation of declarative sentences is also commonplace.

The reflexive anaphor and emphatic particle *sef* 'self; EMP' is the most frequently used form in particle focus (93). But other elements also play a role, i.e. *senwe* 'EMP' (94) or the sentence particle *ò* (cf. e.g. (97) below):

- (93) Naw è dòn day **sef**.  
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMP  
 'Now he is even dead.' [ma03sh 016]

- (94) Di wan, yu **senwe** yù dè go.  
 this one 2SG.EMP EMP 2SG IPFV go  
 'This time, you yourself are going [to die].' [ed03sb 040]

The two elements *nà* (affirmative) and *nòto* (negative) are employed in cleft constructions to signal presentative and contrastive focus of constituents of all degrees of complexity (95). The Spanish focus device *es que* 'it is that' also forms an integral part of the Pichi system of signalling focus and is employed to focus entire sentences (96):

- (95) **Nòto** klos gò fayn yu si no que  
 NEG.FOC clothing POT fine 2SG.EMP if NEG that  
**nà** yu get fò fayn yù sef.  
 FOC 2SG.EMP get ASS fine 2SG self  
 'It's not clothes that would make you beautiful, it's rather you  
 that has to make yourself beautiful.' [dj07ae 176]

- (96) **Es que** è fayn we yù no sàbí se è  
 it.is that 3SG.SBJ fine SUB 2SG NEG know QUOT 3SG.SBJ  
 kòmót fò dì animal.  
 come.out ASS DEF animal  
 'It's that it's fine when you don't know that it has just come out  
 of the animal.' [ed03sp 105]

Pichi cleft constructions are reduced cleft constructions - constructions lacking overt relative structures. The out-of-focus part of the sentence is not usually expressed as a relative clause.

Verbs may also be singled out for focus individually in a construction termed predicate cleft (cf. e.g. Holm 1988: 179; Koopman 1980, 1984; Muysken 1977). In Pichi predicate cleft constructions, the focused verb appears twice in the sentence, namely fronted in the initial focus position directly after the focus marker *nà*, and at the same time in its original syntactic position in the out-of-focus part of the sentence.

- (97) **Nà go** à dè go ò.  
 FOC go 1SG.SBJ IPFV go SP  
 '[Mind you] I'm going.' [ch07fn 151]

Predicate cleft signals presentational or contrastive focus of a situation and produces intensifying, emphatic meanings. Neither temporal or causal adverbial meanings, nor factive clauses are expressed through predicate clefting (cf. Lefèbvre 1994).

Pichi exhibits a rich variety of constructions for expressing comparison. They include the cross-linguistic types of Exceed-1 and Exceed-2 comparatives (Stassen 1985). The language employs particles and verbs for expressing comparatives, superlatives and equatives. Sentence (98) exemplifies one of the most common ways of expressing comparative degree. It features the comparee *dì tin* ‘the thing’, the parameter verb *bòkú* ‘be much’, the comparative particle *mə*, the standard marker *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ and the standard *dì wàtá* ‘the water. As can be seen, the expression of comparison involves the use of a serial verb construction in which the verb *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ functions as the standard marker:

- (98) Pero    ěf    dì tin    kan    **bòkú**    **mə**    **pas**  
 but    if    DEF thing    PFV    be.much    more    pass  
 dì wàtá,    è    gò lef    wan    pasta,    (...)  
 DEF water    3SG.SBJ    POT remain    one    paste  
 ‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste  
 will remain (...)’ [dj03do 059]

In general, relative comparison featuring an explicit standard is less common than absolute comparatives and superlatives, in which the standard must be recovered from discourse context. Speakers prefer to employ the rich inventory of inherently graded verbs, adverbs, particles, phrases or suprasegmentals for the expression of gradation. Example (99) features the idiomatic phrase *pas mak* ‘beyond the pale’, sentence (100) the degree compound verb *òva-dòtí* ‘be excessively dirty’:

- (99) Dì sməl    wan    dòn dè tək **pas mak**.  
 DEF small    one    PRF IPFV talk pass mark  
 ‘The small one already talks unbelievably well.’ [lo07fn185]
- (100) Dì hos    **òva-dòtí**.  
 DEF house    over.CPD-be.dirty  
 ‘The house is excessively dirty.’ [au07ec 027]

The use of vowel lengthening and extra-high pitch in order to signal excessive degree is conventionalised with the preposition *soté* ‘until’ when it is employed as a clause-final degree adverbial with the meaning ‘extremely’ (1058):

- (101) Dèn kech=àn    dèn bit=àn    **soté.e** [sǒté:].  
 3PL catch=3SG.OBJ 3PL beat=3SG.OBJ until.EMP  
 ‘They caught him and beat the hell out of him.’ [pa07fn 556]

The forms that express BEING and HAVING in Pichi form part of a web of linked and overlapping functions. The linkages extend to the formation of focus structures, identity, existence and possession clauses. Pichi employs overt copulas in all relevant contexts. The language has no null copula. Compare the following identity predication involving the copula and focus marker *nà* ‘foc’ and the copula verb *tən* ‘turn; become’:

- (102) Mì pàpá **nà** dəkta bət mi no gò **tən** dəkta.  
 1SG.POSS father FOC doctor but 1SG.EMP NEG POT turn doctor  
 ‘My father is a doctor but I won’t become a doctor.’ [ro05ee 024]

The expression of identity is provided by the elements *nà*, *nəto* and *bi*. These forms are in complementary distribution with each other. Equative clauses are characterised by asymmetries and suppletion in the use of personal pronouns, polarity and TMA marking. For one part, the two lexically distinct forms *nà* and *nəto* express affirmative and negative time-stable BEING respectively.

- (103) **Nà** kàndá f̃ kòko-nát.  
 FOC skin ASS COCO.CPD-nut  
 ‘It’s the shell of a coconut.’ [li07pe 037]

- (104) Mi **nəto** sməl gəl.  
 1SG.EMP NEG.FOC small girl  
 ‘I’m not a small girl.’ [ro05ee 019]

Secondly, when identity is overtly marked for TMA a wholly different copula form, namely *bi* ‘BE’ is recruited:

- (105) Mi **gò bi** dəkta.  
 1SG.EMP POT BE doctor  
 ‘I [EMP] will be a doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]

The identity copulas and focus markers *na/nəto* incorporate 3SG reference by default. Copula clauses with pronominal reference other than 3SG require the use of independent emphatic pronouns as in (104) above. The highly idiosyncratic features of identity copula expression in Pichi with respect to pronominal reference, TMA marking and polarity suggest that these are grammaticalised topic-focus structures. In these structures, a topical subject, which may be a full noun or an emphatic pronoun, is followed by a focus construction consisting of *nà/nəto* and a focused NP. The NP under focus represents the identified element.

The element *de* ‘BE.AT’ functions as a locative-existential copula. Accordingly, this form is used to express relatively transient, less permanent existence in time (106) and space (107). The element *de* also occurs as a copula in predicate adjective constructions (cf. e.g. (50) above). Hence *de* may take adverbials and adjectives as complements:



STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW

- (106) Wì **de** las dos y media.  
 1PL BE.AT the.PL two and half  
 ‘It’s two thirty.’ [dj05ce 056]
- (107) Yù fon **de** nia tebul.  
 2SG phone BE.AT near table  
 ‘Your phone is near (the) table.’ [ro05ee 109]

Prepositions, locative nouns and locative verbs play a part in expressing spatial relations. Other means include motion verbs and motion-direction SVCs as well as locative adverbs. Prepositions differ from locative nouns because they cannot be employed in the syntactic position of nouns and require explicit mention of the ground, usually a nominal complement (108). In contrast, an explicit mention of the ground is not required when locative nouns are employed (109):

- (108) (...) è lef dɛn **pàn dī tebul.**  
 3SG.SBJ leave 3PL.EMP on DEF table  
 ‘(...) she left them on the table.’ [li07pe 020]
- (109) Yù dè klem fò rich **pàntáp.**  
 2SG IPFV climb ASS arrive top  
 ‘You’re climbing in order to reach the top.’ [au07se 086]

Locative verbs express manners of location such as location, posture and adhesion (cf. Ameka 2007). They may be used as inchoative-stative verbs in intransitive clauses and as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses. In the latter type of clause, the figure is the object (110) while in intransitive clauses, the figure is the subject (111).

Note the causativising effect on the locative verb *sídón* ‘sit (down)’ when it is used transitively and the effect on the tense reading. When the verb is employed transitively as a bare dynamic verb it acquires a past tense reading as in the first example. When *sídón* is employed intransitively as an inchoative-stative verb, as in the second example, it usually acquires a default present tense reading:

- (110) È **sídón dī píkín** nà butaca.  
 3SG.SBJ seat DEF child LOC armchair  
 ‘She seated the child in (the) armchair.’ [dj07ae 234]
- (111) **Dèn sídón** nia dèn sɛf.  
 3PL sit near 3PL self  
 ‘They’re sitting next to each other.’ [dj07re 028]

A large number of Pichi verbs are labile verbs that can be manipulated in their stativity in the same way as *sídón* above. The class of labile verbs include change of state verbs, locative verbs, most property items, experiential verbs and aspectual verbs.

Note how the undergoer subject of the intransitive clause in (112) becomes an actor subject in the transitive clause in (113). Also take note of the default present tense reading of the unmarked inchoative-stative verb *lɔn* ‘be long’ in (112). Now compare this with the way the verb acquires a progressive sense when it is used as a dynamic verb together with the imperfective marker *dè* in (113):

- (112) Dan human **lɔn** bad.  
 that woman be.long extremely  
 ‘That woman is extremely tall’ [li07pe 064]

- (113) Dan wan yù **dè lɔn** dì tək, yù fit.  
 that one 2SG IPFV lengthenDEF talk 2SG can  
 ‘(As for) that, you’re lengthening the word, you can (do that).’ [dj05be 203]

There are only a few intransitive verbs in Pichi. Amongst them feature a few motion verbs (e.g. *flay* ‘fly’, *waka* ‘walk’, *swin* ‘swim’, *kan* ‘come’), a weather verb (i.e. *fɔl* ‘(to) rain’), body-state and body-function verbs (e.g. *tɔsti* ‘be thirsty’; *belch* ‘belch’) as well as a few verbs of diverse semantic classes (e.g. *lukət* ‘watch out for’, *fɛt* ‘fight’). These verbs require that participants other than the subject are expressed in prepositional phrases. For example, the transitive use of *fɛt* ‘fight’ is ungrammatical (114). A second participant can only be expressed via a coordinate structure involving a prepositional phrase (115):

- (114) \*Djunais *dè fɛt* **Bòyé**.  
 NAME IPFV fight NAME  
 \*Djunais is fighting Bòyé. [dj07ae 395]

- (115) Djunais **wèt** **Bòyé** *dèn dè fɛt*.  
 NAME with NAME 3PL IPFV fight  
 ‘Djunais and Bòyé are fighting.’ [dj07ae 394]

All transitive verbs may also occur in double object constructions in which the first object is the beneficiary and the second the patient (e.g. *tif* ‘steal’ in (55) further above). However, transfer and communication verbs like *gi* ‘give’, *das* ‘give as a present’ and *lan* ‘learn; teach’ may be said to constitute truly ditransitive verbs. With these verbs, double object constructions are the only way of expressing the relation between an agent, a recipient and a patient. A recipient object cannot alternatively be expressed by a prepositional phrase.

In the following example involving *gi* ‘give’ the prepositional phrase introduced by *fɔ* ‘ASS’ can only denote a beneficiary with the recipient being implied by context. Hence the first translation is ungrammatical:

- (116) Dèn **gi** dì m̀nɪ́ **fɔ** mi.  
 3PL give DEF money ASS 1SG.EMP  
 ‘They gave the money (to someone) for me.’ [lo07fn 555]  
 \*They gave me the money.

There are numerous lexicalised verb-object combinations in Pichi in which syntactic objects – which I term ‘associative objects’ – occupy non-core semantic roles as diverse as manner (117), goal, instrument, purpose or source:

- (117) Nà China mòtó dèn **fulop** **pipul**.  
 LOC PLACE car PL be.full people  
 ‘In China cars are full of people.’ [au07fn 107]

The pronominal and focus particle *sef* serves as a reflexive and reciprocal pronoun at the same time. Reflexive and reciprocal meaning are disambiguated through the existence of plural referents and context:

- (118) È dè so ìn **sef** tu mōch.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV show 3SG.POSS self too much  
*Lit.* ‘He’s showing himself too much’ = ‘He brags too much.’ [ye07je 133]
- (119) **Dèn** dè luk dèn **sef**.  
 3PL IPFV look 3PL self  
 ‘They’re looking at each other.’ [dj07re 001]

Pichi clause linkage is characterised by a large variety of strategies and forms. Amongst these, the quotative marker *se* and the subordinator *we* stand out as highly multifunctional elements with often overlapping functions. The subordinator *we* introduces relative clauses, time and manner clauses. Besides that one of the most important functions of *we* ‘SUB’ is its use as a clausal coordinator in sentences like the following one. Here, the first two occurrences of *we* represent straightforward uses of *we* as a clausal coordinator, the third occurrence suggests a temporal reading of *we* as ‘when’:

- (120) **We** wì kan kan nà tòn, **we** à bigín go skul,  
 SUB 1PL PFV come LOC town SUB 1SG.SBJ begin go school  
**we** à bìn get, à tink se seis años.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PST get 1SG.SBJ think QUOT six years  
 And then we came to town, and then I began to go to school, when I was,  
 I think six years old.’ [fr03ft 016-017]

Hence, an important function of *we* is to serve as a clausal connective that can be translated as ‘and (then)’. The comitative and instrumental preposition *wèt* ‘with, and’ may only be employed to coordinate noun phrases:

- (121) Lydia **wèt** Junior, nà dèn à sàbí.  
 NAME with NAME FOC 3PL.EMP 1SG.SBJ know  
 ‘Lydia and Junior, it’s them I know.’ [fr03ft 134]

The quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ occurs with the more lexical meaning ‘say’, albeit slightly restricted in its distribution compared to other speech verbs. The quotative marker also introduces direct speech following speech verbs and introduces clauses that specify the perceived matter of preceding cognition and perception verbs. There is no difference between direct and indirect speech other than pronominal reference. Note the presence of the object pronoun *yu* in direct speech in (122), rather than a 3SG pronoun as would have been the case in indirect speech:

- (122) Yɛ, à kan tɛl=àn **se** ‘chica, mi no lɛk **yu**  
 yeah 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.EMP NEG like 2SG.EMP  
 bòt wì fit de lɛk kɔmpin’.  
 but 1PL can BE.AT like friend  
 ‘Yeah, I told her “girl, I don’t love you but we can be like friends”.’ [ru03wt 029]

Clauses like (122) may simply be analysed as complement clauses. However the behaviour of *se* is characterised by the kind of polyfunctionality that has been observed for quotative markers in other languages of the region as well (cf. Güldemann 2008). For example, *se* may be followed by a clause, a phrase or a member of a list or quote as in this example:

- (123) Krio mà má dèn, we dèn dè tɔk Pichi dèn kìn **tɔk se ‘grin’**.  
 Krio mother PL SUB 3PL IPFV talk Pichi 3PL HAB talk QUOT green  
 ‘The elderly Krio women, when they talk Pichi, they usually say “green”.  
 [as opposed to “verde” like younger people]. [dj05ce 257]

Beyond that *se* ‘QUOT’ may introduce clauses that provide adverbial modifications of reason, manner (124), time, purpose and condition. Many of these *se*-clauses are strongly reminiscent of the deictic and quotative core function of *se*. For example, although *se* is employed as a lexical verb in (125) the entire construction looks very much like a purpose relation because the quote introduced by *se* renders inner speech:

- (124) Dèn pul dì mòtó nà garaje **se** dèn dè pus=àn.  
 3PL remove DEF car LOC workshop QUOT 3PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.’ [ref]
- (125) So è go nà bus, è **se** è dè  
 so 3SG.SBJ POT LOC forest 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 go kil bif.  
 go kill wild.animal  
 ‘So he went to the forest, (and he said he was going) to kill game.’ [ma03sh 004]

A *se*-clause may also function as a noun complement and modify a noun in a way no different from a relative clause:

- (126) (...) dī **say** [se yù no gò gèt hàmbóg fò pipul dèn].  
DEF side QUOT 2SG NEG POT get irritation ASS people PL  
 ‘(...) the place where you wouldn’t be bothered by people.’ [ma03ni 009]

Rather than subscribing to a narrow view of *se* as a complementiser, it can be seen as a kind of deictic device which highlights following material as relevant for and connected with the preceding material.

Pichi also makes use of serial verb constructions in order to express aspectual and modal notions. Compare the egressive SVC involving the V1 *kòmót* ‘come out’ and the expression of ability and (root) possibility via the V1 *fit* ‘can’:

- (127) We yù **kòmót** **sik** dan sik nà Pànyá (...)  
SUB 2SG come.out sick that sick LOC Spain  
 ‘When you had just fallen sick with that sickness in Spain (...)’ [ab03ab 018]

- (128) È no **fit** **du=àn** mɔ.  
3SG.SBJ NEG can do=3SG.OBJ more  
 ‘He can’t do it again [He wouldn’t dare do it again].’ [ro05rt 041]

SVCs may also express complex situations with a motion component. Motion-direction SVCs feature the V2 *go* ‘go’, *kan* ‘come’, *kòmót* ‘go out’ and *rich* ‘arrive’ (129). Motion-action SVCs involve either *go* or *kan* as V1 and often convey a purposive sense (130):

- (129) À **ker=àn** **go** nà comedor.  
1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room  
 ‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ [ab03ab 091]

- (130) Apás tumɔro à gò **go** **si** mì màamá.  
after tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT go see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘After tomorrow, I will go see my mother.’ [ro05ee 131]

SVCs are also employed to introduce theme and instrument participants (131), to express complementation (132) and to provide adverbial modification (133). However, most types of SVCs are formed with a restricted number of verbs and may hence be analysed as lexicalised compound verbs. It is also worthy of note that Pichi has no SVC of the GIVE type in order to mark a beneficiary or recipient:

- (131) È kìn de lèk se dèn **tek** wan blak làpá dèn **koba** yu.  
3SG.SBJ HAB BE.AT like QUOT 3PL take one black cloth 3PL cover 2SG.EMP  
 ‘It is usually so that they cover you with a black cloth.’ [ed03sb 119]

- (132) À **si** sòn wayt pàmbód dè **kan**, (...)  
1SG.SBJ see some white bird IPFV come  
 ‘I saw a white bird come (...)’ [ed03sb 174]

- (133) Yù **dən ste kan?**  
 2SG PRF stay come  
 ‘Did you come long ago?’ [ge07fn 164]

Other multiverb constructions are farther removed from the tightly integrated types of SVC presented above. Constructions like the following one are best analysed as involving reduced clause functioning as secondary predicates. In these constructions, the V2 is always construed as temporally overlapping with the V1. This may lead to differential aspect marking as in this example:

- (134) È        **mit**        mi        à        **dè kuk**        sɛf.  
 3SG.SBJ meet    1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook    EMP  
 ‘He came across me while I was actually cooking.’ [ro05de 023]

SVCs are less central to clause linkage and event integration than the variety of constructions might suggest. They generally constitute somewhere between 10-20% of the clause linkage types in a given text. However, SVCs are more frequent and varied in type in the speech of older (50 years+) speakers.

### 3 Segmental phonology

The segmental system of Pichi features a phoneme inventory of twenty-two consonants and seven vowels. There is a good deal of free and allophonic variation in the use of these phonemes. Phonological processes include nasalisation, the use of clitics and the appearance of an underlying word-final /r/ during cliticisation as well as the reduction of consonant clusters by deletion and insertion. In general, however, Pichi speakers tend to fully articulate consonants and vowels. The majority of Pichi words consist of one or two syllables. There are no phonemic long vowels but words may feature clusters of up to three consonants. The segmental system of Pichi interacts in various ways with the suprasegmental system (cf. chapter 4).

#### 3.1 Consonants

The maximal inventory of twenty-two consonant phonemes in Pichi is presented in IPA symbols in Table 3.1. Details on the status and distribution of these phonemes are discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.6.2.1.

Table 3.1. Consonant and approximant phonemes

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

The following (near-) minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of the segments contained in Table 3.1:

Table 3.2 Consonant phoneme minimal pairs

|           |              |         |          |              |         |              |
|-----------|--------------|---------|----------|--------------|---------|--------------|
| /p/ /b/   | <i>plant</i> | /plant/ | 'plant'  | <i>blant</i> | /blant/ | 'reside'     |
| /t/ /d/   | <i>tɛn</i>   | /tɛn/   | 'time'   | <i>dɛn</i>   | /dɛn/   | '3PL.EMP'    |
| /k/ /g/   | <i>kɔn</i>   | /kɔn/   | 'corn'   | <i>gɔn</i>   | /gɔn/   | 'gun'        |
| /tʃ/ /dʒ/ | <i>chɔch</i> | /tʃɔtʃ/ | 'church' | <i>jɔch</i>  | /dʒɔtʃ/ | '(to) judge' |
| /f/ /p/   | <i>fat</i>   | /fat/   | 'fat'    | <i>pat</i>   | /pat/   | 'part'       |
| /v/ /b/   | <i>grɛví</i> | /grɛví/ | 'gravy'  | <i>bɛbí</i>  | /bɛbí/  | 'baby'       |
| /s/ /t/   | <i>sɔn</i>   | /sɔn/   | 'some'   | <i>tɔn</i>   | /tɔn/   | 'town'       |
| /r/ /l/   | <i>rɔn</i>   | /rɔn/   | 'run'    | <i>lɔn</i>   | /lɔn/   | 'be long'    |
| /h/ ø     | <i>hol</i>   | /hol/   | 'hole'   | <i>ol</i>    | /ol/    | 'be old'     |
| /m/ /n/   | <i>mòtó</i>  | /mòtó/  | 'car'    | <i>nòto</i>  | /nòto/  | 'NEG.FOC'    |
| /ŋ/ /n/   | <i>tɔn</i>   | /tɔn/   | 'town'   | <i>tɔŋ</i>   | /tɔŋ/   | 'tongue'     |
| /ɲ/ /y/   | <i>nyu</i>   | /ɲu/    | 'be new' | <i>yu</i>    | /ju/    | '2SG.EMP'    |
| /j/ /w/   | <i>yes</i>   | /jes/   | 'ear'    | <i>wes</i>   | /wes/   | 'buttocks'   |
| /kp/ /gb/ | <i>kpù</i>   | /kpù/   | 'IDEO'   | <i>gbìn</i>  | /gbìn/  | 'IDEO'       |

### 3.2 Consonant allophony and alternation

#### /b/ and /v/:

The voiced labio-dental plosive /v/ is a marginal phoneme as in *grɛví* [grɛví] 'gravy' and *gív=àn* [gívàn] 'give him/her/it'. In most of the few words featuring /v/, this phoneme is in free variation with /b/, i.e. *vajin* [bádʒìn~vádʒìn] 'virgin', *ivin* [íbìn~ívìn] 'evening', *ova* [óbà~óvà] 'over; be excessive', *seven* [sébèn~sévèn] 'seven' and *riva* [ríbà~rívà]. Such a variation is also encountered in the Spanish-derived lexicon of most speakers, as in *abuela* [abuɛla~aβuɛla~avuɛla] 'grandmother'. The orthographic representation chosen for words which alternate between [b] and [v] and feature an underlying /v/ is (v) but alternating words are given with both variants in the Pichi-English vocabulary section.

In contrast, an underlying /b/ does not alternate with /v/. Hence, we find *fiba* [fíbà] 'resemble', *liba* [líbà] 'liver', *sub* [súb] 'shove', *hib* [híb] 'throw', *baba* [bábà] 'cut hair' and *dɛbul* [dɛbùl] 'devil'.

#### /tʃ/ and /dʒ/:

This voiceless post-alveolar affricate tends to be unstable with many speakers and optionally alternates with the voiceless palatal plosive [c] and sometimes with the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ], particularly in word-final position. Hence we find *tɔch* [tótʃ~tótɕ~tótʃ] 'touch'. A small number of speakers, all of which belong to group 1 (cf. 1.4) exhibit an allophonic variation between /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in some words, with the latter allophone appearing in word-final position before the clitic =àn '3SG.OBJ', i.e. *jɔch=àn* [dʒódʒàn] 'judge him/her/it'.

The vast majority of speakers, however, and group 1 speakers in particular, use word-final /tʃ/ in every environment including ones which are not prone to devoicing, i.e.



*chench=àn* [tʃéntʃàn] ‘change him/her/it’. I have accounted for the fact that most speakers exhibit no such variation by opting for (ch) in the orthography even though word-final /tʃ/ may be an allophone of /dʒ/ for a minority of speakers in words like *jɔch* ‘judge’ (but not in others, e.g. *kech* ‘catch’).

#### /s/:

The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is attested as a free variant of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in a few words in the data in word-final position as in *ɛks* [ɛgz~ɛks] ‘egg’ as well as between two vowels in word-medial position, e.g. *isi* [izi~isi] ‘be easy’ and *lesi* [lezi~lesi] ‘be lazy’. I take [z] to be a non-phonemic, lexically determined variant of [s] in these words.

Furthermore, most group 2 speakers (cf. 1.4) apply an opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/ (rendered by the grapheme (sh)), which produces minimal pairs like *so* [só] ‘sew’ and *sho* [ʃó] ‘show’. For group 1 speakers this opposition is, however, neutralised in favour of /s/ and they employ the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in any position in which group 2 speakers may use the voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. Group 1 speakers therefore produce homonyms like *so* [só] ‘sew’ and *so* [só] ‘show’.

Additionally, group 1 speakers usually insert a palatal glide /j/ between /s/ and either of the mid vowels /e/ and /ɔ/ where group 2 speakers only employ /ʃ/. This inter-group variation applies to the following words in the data: *kwesən* [kwésjən~kwésɔn] ‘question’, *nesən* [nésjən~néɔn] ‘nation(ality)’, *seb* [sjéb~séɔ] ‘share’, *sek* [sjék~séɔ] ‘shake’, *sem* [sjém~jém] ‘shame’, *sət* [sjót~jót] ‘be short, shirt’ and *səp* [jóp] ‘shop’. Although the insertion of /j/ is optional, it is very common with the words listed, and is extended to one more word in the corpus, which does not feature an initial /ʃ/ with group 2 speakers, namely *sen* [sjén~sén] ‘same’. The insertion of /j/ is, however, not generalised to the two other words in the corpus featuring a sequence of the phonemes /se/. Hence, we find *se* [sé] ‘quor’ and *fəseka* [fəsékà] ‘due to’.

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

#### /n/ and /m/:

The realisation of the alveolar nasal /n/ and the bilabial nasal /m/ is conditioned by a number of factors, which are covered in (3.5.2).

#### /ny/ and /ɲ/:

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

In a second, equally small group of words, I posit the phoneme /ɲ/, compare the minimal pair *nyu* [nú] ‘be new’ vs. *yu* [jú] ‘2SG.EMP’. The other words that do not alternate in my data and therefore appear to feature a word-initial /ɲ/ rather than the cluster /nj/ are

*nyàngá* [ɲàngá] ‘put on airs’, *nyànkwé* [ɲànkwé] ‘(the) nyànkwé (dance)’, *nyóní* [ɲóní] ‘ant’ and *nyus* [ɲús] ‘news’. The phoneme /ɲ/ is also found in a word-medial, syllable onset position in two words in the corpus, namely in the place name *Pànyá* [pànjá] ‘Spain’ and in the ideophone *menyemenyé* [méjíméjé] ‘in a whining fashion’.

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

#### /j/:

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

Further, /j/ is optionally inserted between either of the velar consonants /g/ and /k/ and the front vowels /a/ and /ɛ/. However, this process only applies to a few relevant words of English origin with which it however occurs in the majority of instances. The corpus contains the following words to which this applies: *gadin* [gádìn~gjádìn], *gal* [gál~gjál] ‘girl’, *gel* [gél~gjél] ‘girl’, *kap* [káp~kjáp] ‘cap’, *kápìnta* [kápìntà~kjápìntà] ‘carpenter’ and *ker* [kér~kjér] ‘carry’. In contrast, a /j/ is not normally inserted in other words of English origin like *get* [gét] ‘get’, *kan* [kán~kám] ‘come’ and *kayn* [káj] ‘kind’ as well as a group of words of non-English origin with an X.H. pitch pattern, amongst them *gàrí* [gàrí] ‘gàrí’, *kàkà* [kàkà] ‘defecate’, *kasara* [kàsàrà] ‘cassava’ and *kàndá* [kàndá] ‘skin’.

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

#### /r/:

The phoneme /r/ is realised as a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] by a majority of speakers and as an alveolar tap [r] by a minority. We therefore find the following variants: *mared* [mared~màred] ‘marry’, *dring* [dríng~dʒíng] ‘drink’, *ker* [kér~kér] ‘carry’ and *rés* [rés~rés] ‘rice’. Speakers who use [ʁ] also occasionally realise this phoneme as [ʀ]. The orthography employs (r) for all variants and for phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

#### /h/:

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

With a second and larger group, /h/ may be inserted at the beginning of the vowel-initial word. Such a prothetic /h/, although optional, occurs more often than not with most

words in this group. Hence we find variants like *ansa* [ánsà~hánsà] ‘respond’, *aks* [áks~háks] ‘ask’, *opin* [ópìn~hópìn] ‘open’ and *evi* [évi~ébi~hévi~hébi] ‘be heavy’. In some instances, it is however impossible to determine whether a word-initial /h/ is prothetic or part of the segmental structure of a word because the data contains no recorded instance without an initial /h/. Some of the words to which this applies are *human* ‘woman’, *help* ‘help’, *hebul* ‘be able’, *hia* ‘year’, *hasis* ‘ashes’ and *hos* ‘house’. I have chosen to render these words with an initial /h/.

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

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

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

### 3.3 Vowels

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

Table 3.3. Vowel phonemes

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

The following (near-)minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of the segments contained in Table 3.3:

Table 3.4. Vowel phoneme minimal pairs

|            |       |        |
|------------|-------|--------|
| <i>min</i> | /min/ | ‘mean’ |
| <i>mun</i> | /mun/ | ‘moon’ |

|            |       |           |
|------------|-------|-----------|
| <i>mɛn</i> | /mɛn/ | 'heal'    |
| <i>man</i> | /man/ | 'man'     |
| <i>yɛs</i> | /jɛs/ | 'ear'     |
| <i>yɛs</i> | /jɛs/ | 'yes'     |
| <i>ɔl</i>  | /ɔl/  | 'all'     |
| <i>ol</i>  | /ol/  | 'be old'  |
| <i>kɔl</i> | /kɔl/ | 'call'    |
| <i>kol</i> | /kol/ | 'be cold' |

### 3.4 Vowel allophony and alternation

Pichi shows some lexically determined vowel alternation. Hence we find alternate forms like *kɛr~kɛri~kari* 'carry, take' *lɛk~layk* 'like'; *gɛl~gal* 'girl'; *ɔnu~ɔna* '2PL'; *wɔnt~want* 'want'. Other than that, there is some variation in the use of mid-vowels, with a tendency towards the reduction of phonemic contrasts. Furthermore, Pichi has vowel-vowel combinations as well as sequences consisting of an approximant and a vowel. There are no phonemic long vowels in Pichi. The properties of sequences of non-identical vowels are covered in 3.6.2.2.

#### /e/ and /ɛ/:

Minimal pairs such as *yɛs* [jɛs] 'yes' vs. *yɛs* [jɛs] 'ear' establish the phonemic status of the unrounded close-mid front vowel /e/ and the unrounded open-mid front vowel /ɛ/. However, many speakers collapse the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ by raising /ɛ/ towards /e/. The opposite direction is far less common.

Hence, variants like the following ones are attested: *lɛk* [lɛk~lɛk] 'like', *chɛk* [tʃɛk~tʃɛk] 'check', *kɛr* [kɛr~kɛr] 'carry' and *nɛk* [nɛk~nɛk] 'neck'. The use of either variant of a content word also often conditions the vowel quality of preceding or following function words (cf. 3.5.3).

#### /o/ and /ɔ/:

The phonemic status of the rounded close-mid back vowel /o/ and the rounded open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ is evident in minimal pairs like *kol* [kól] 'be cold' vs. *kɔl* [kól] 'call' and *fɔ* [fɔ] 'ass' vs. *fɔ* [fó] 'four'. Nonetheless, many speakers also neutralise this phonemic contrast by raising /ɔ/ towards /o/. With content words this neutralisation is less common than /e~ɛ/ alternation. However, it is almost generalised with group 1 speakers (cf. 1.4) in words with grammatical functions such as the associative preposition *fɔ* [fɔ~fò] 'Ass', the comparative adverb *mɔ* [mó~mó] 'more', the negator *no* [nó~nó] 'NEG', the coordinator *ɔ* [ɔ~ò] 'or', the TMA marker *nɔba* [nóbà~nóbà] 'NEG.PRF' and the negative focus marker *nɔto* [nótò~nótò] 'NEG.FOC'.

### 3.5 Phonological processes

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

#### 3.5.1 Lenition and fortition

Lenition, the weakening of segments, may affect stops in intervocalic position as in *bigín* [bìvín] ‘begin’. Strengthening, or fortition affects voiced obstruents, which are generally devoiced in word-final position. Devoicing therefore produces the following word-final variant of segments:

- |       |   |          |   |   |         |
|-------|---|----------|---|---|---------|
| (135) | Big.dé<br>big.day<br>‘Festivity’        | [bigdé]  | → | È big.<br>3SG.SBJ be.big<br>‘It’s big.’ | [è bík] |
| (136) | Hib=àn!<br>throw=3SG.OBJ<br>‘Throw it!’ | [hibàn]  | → | Hib!<br>throw<br>‘Throw!’               | [híp]   |
| (137) | Bàd.hat<br>bad.heart<br>‘be mean’       | [bàdhat] | → | È bad.<br>3SG.SBJ be.bad<br>‘It’s bad.’ | [è bát] |

#### 3.5.2 Nasals and nasal place assimilation

A number of processes involve nasals and nasalisation. These apply in diverse ways to different groups of words. We have seen that /n/ prothesis or prenasalisation is optional with a small group of words featuring an initial /j/ (cf. 3.2). Secondly, the following group of verbs with a word-final /i/ and an H.X pitch configuration is optionally (and very frequently) subjected to word-final nasalisation (realised as /n/ or nasalisation of the final /i/): *gridi* [grídì~grídìn] ‘be greedy’, *hangri* [hángrì~hángrìn] ‘be hungry’, *honti* [hóntì~hóntìn] ‘hunt’, *hori* [hórì~hórìn] ‘hurry’, *isi* [ísì~ísìn] ‘be easy’, *lesi* [lésì~lésìn] ‘be lazy’, *lòki* [lókì~lókìn] ‘be lucky’, *sori* [sórì~sórìn] ‘be sorry’, *wori* [wórì~wórìn] ‘worry’ and *tosti* [tóstì~tóstìn] ‘be thirsty’. This group of words may be contrasted with a second group that also features a word-final /i/, but exclusively occurs with a word-final nasal. In this latter group we find words such as *fisín* [físìn] ‘(to) fish’, *ivin* [ívìn] ‘evening’, *mònin* [mónìn] ‘morning’ and *pikín* [pikìn] ‘child’.

A third group of words features a word-final /i/, but is not attested with a final /n/. This group includes words with an XH pitch configuration, such as *rèdí* [rèdí] ‘be ready’, *grèví* [grèví] ‘gravy’ and *dòtí* [dòtí] ‘be dirty’. It also contains monosyllabic words like *mi* [mí] ‘1SG.EMP’, *si* [sí] ‘see’, and *gri* [grí] ‘agree’.

A fourth group involves function words that are subjected to nasal place assimilation. The relevant words are the personal pronouns =*àn* '3SG.OBJ', *dèn* '3PL' and *dɛn* '3PL.EMP', the preposition *fràn* 'from' and the locative noun *bòtón* 'under(side)', the TMA marker and verb *kan* 'PFV; come', the determiner *sòn* 'some, a' and the pronominal *sen* 'same'. In these words, the final nasal /N/ (denoting either of the two nasal consonants /n/ and /m/) is conditioned by the place of articulation of the following segment:

- (138) *Dèn* *bòkú.* [dèm **bòkú**  
3PL be.much  
'They're many.'
- (139) *Dèn* *go de.* [dɛŋ **gó dé**  
3PL go there  
'They went there.'
- (140) *Put=àn* *de!* [pútàn **dé**  
put=3SG.OBJ there  
'Put it there!'

Anticipatory nasalisation of a vowel preceding the nasal consonant of these function words is also commonplace (141). The word-final nasal of these words may be deleted altogether, in which case a nasal trace is left behind with the preceding vowel (142):

- (141) *Dèn* *kan* *gi* *yu.* [dɛŋ **kãŋ** *gí jú*  
3PL PFV give 2SG.EMP  
'(Then) they gave (it) to you.'
- (142) *Haw* *dèn* *dè* *kól=àn?* [háw *dèn* *dè* *kól* **ã**  
how 3PL IPFV call=3SG.OBJ  
'How is it called?'

Before a pause, hence when there is no assimilatory pressure from following segments, the word-final /N/ in these function words may either be realised as /n/ or /m/, as in (143) and (144) respectively.

The analysis of a subcorpus revealed that a two-thirds of prepausal instances of /N/ were realised as /n/, with the remaining third being realised as /m/. However, instances of prepausal /kaN/ necessarily involve the content word 'come' rather than the homonymous preverbal aspect marker *kan* 'PFV'. The Pichi equivalent of the content word 'come' is more often pronounced as [kám] than as [kán] (145):

- (143) *À* *sàbí=àn.* [à **sàbíàn**  
1SG.SBJ know=3SG.OBJ  
'I know her.'

- (144) A            gɛt sòn      dèn.                    [à gét sòn dèm]  
 1SG.SBJ    get   some    3PL  
 ‘I have some of them.’
- (145) Kan!  
 come  
 Come!    [kám]

The orthographic choice of (n) for /N/ with grammatical words reflects these tendencies. Nevertheless, the content word ‘come’ is also written as *kan* in order to preserve the orthographic unity of the etymologically related aspect marker and content word.

### 3.5.3 Vowel assimilation

Pichi does not exhibit a fully-fledged system of vowel harmony. Nonetheless, the language features two harmonic height alternations along the front axis, which are optional and subject to ideolectal variation. Firstly, the mid-vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ of pre- and postverbal function words may harmonise with the height of the mid-front vowel of the verb. This process therefore affects the personal pronouns è ‘3SG.SBJ’, dèn ‘3PL and dɛn ‘3PL.EMP’ as well as the imperfective marker dè ‘IPFV’.

Compare (146) and (147). Note that in (146) the speaker also collapses the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/ in *mek /mek/* ‘make’ (cf. 3.4):

- (146) Dèn dè mek=àn      so.                    [dèn    dè mékàn só]  
 3PL IPFV make=3SG.OBJ like.that  
 ‘They do it like that.’
- (147) Dèn dè kech      dɛn      de!                    [dèn    dè kech      dén dé]  
 3PL IPFV catch    3PL.EMP    there  
 ‘They catch them there.’

The second height alternation along the front axis involves /e/ and /i/ and is limited to two function words. The 3SG.SBJ pronoun è and the imperfective marker dè may harmonise in height with the vowel of the following word. In (148), the 3SG.SBJ pronoun harmonises with the vowel of the following TMA marker *bìn* ‘PST’. In (149), the imperfective marker *dè* harmonises with the vowel of *si* ‘see’:

- (148) È            bìn dray.                    [ɪ    bìn dráy]  
 3SG.SBJ    PST    be.dry  
 ‘He was lean (before).’
- (149) À            dè si dì lamp                    [à dì sí dì lamp]  
 ‘1SG.SBJ IPFV see DEF lamp  
 ‘I see the lamp.’

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

### 3.5.4 Insertion and deletion

We have seen that the insertion of consonants affects various types of words (cf. 3.5.2 and the entries /h/, /s/, /j/ and /n/ in 3.6.2.1). Deletion is less frequent. In general, vowels and consonants of content words tend to be fully articulated (except cf. (151)-(152)). Nevertheless, high-frequency (function) words tend to be phonologically reduced or fused with adjoining words to a greater degree than other words. One function word, the TMA marker *nea* ‘NEG.PRF’ is not pronounced as the fuller variant [névâ-nébâ] in natural speech in the corpus. The virtually complete sound change of this TMA marker is reflected in the orthographic choice of *nea* (150).

This contrasts with the pronunciation of the functionally equivalent word *noba* [nóbâ-nóbâ] ‘NEG.PRF’ which occurs equally often in the reduced and full variants. Note that segment deletion may have repercussions for the use of tone (cf. 4.2.2):

- (150) Dèn      nea      rich      de.                      [dèn      **néà**      rích      dé]  
           3PL        NEG.PRF    arrive    there  
           ‘They haven’t arrived there yet.’

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

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



The tendency to avoid clustering also frequently leads to the insertion of an epenthetic vowel into coda consonant clusters featuring liquid-stop sequences. Hence, with the three possible coda clusters /lp/, /lt/ and /lk/ (cf. Table 3.8), insertion produces free variants like *help* [hélp~hélèp] ‘help’, *belt* [bélt~bélèt] and *milk* [mílk~mílìk] ‘milk’. In addition, Pichi speakers manifest a marked tendency to avoid the clustering of consonants across word boundaries. This leads to the deletion of word-final consonants as in (151) and (152) below.

(151) À dè si big big faya. [à dè sí **bí bí** fájà]  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire  
 ‘I was seeing a huge fire.’

(152) Ìf yù hol wan mòtó (...). [ìf jù **hó** wā mòtó]  
 if 2SG hold one car  
 ‘If you drive a car (...).’

The deletion of word-final consonants and the reduction of word-initial clusters is indicative of a general tendency towards CV syllable structures where this is possible. Other processes involving insertion are covered in 3.2 and in 3.6.3 (cliticisation). The latter section also covers the insertion of a linking /r/.

### 3.6 Phonotactics

The distribution of some consonants and vowels has already been touched upon in 3.2 and 3.4. The following sections provide details on the ordering principles of Pichi phonemes.

#### 3.6.1 The word

The vast majority of Pichi words are mono- and bisyllabic. In addition, most words are pitch-accented and hence carry a single H tone over their only, penultimate or final syllable (cf. 4.1.4). This aligns the vast majority of roots with a typologically widespread pattern in which these particular syllables enjoy a prominence peak of some sort. The presence of a single H tone per word and knowledge of the possible tonal configurations of accented words therefore provides a means of metrically delineating the prosodic word in very much the same way as stress in stress-accent languages.

In two contexts, a difference may arise between the prosodic and the phonological word. The latter may be composed of more than one morpheme but has the suprasegmental characteristics of the prosodic word, namely one H tone only. Firstly, after cliticisation, multimorphemic phonological words carry a single H tone like any monomorphemic accented word e.g. *bifór=àn* ‘before=3SG.OBJ’ = ‘in front of her/him’. Secondly, compounding creates phonological words composed of two, sometimes more morphemes. Compounds may consist of non-identical (e.g. *wàka-stik* ‘walk.CPD-stick’ = ‘walking-stick’) or identical components (e.g. *ràn-rən* ‘RED.CPD-run’ = ‘aimless running around’). Irrespective of their

internal composition, compounds also bear a single H tone like other accented, monomorphemic words of the language.

In a third context, there is a mismatch between suprasegmental phonotactics and the meaning of the word. A small number of Pichi words has a tonal configuration suggestive of them being bimorphemic. However, one morpheme has no derivable meaning. It is opaque although it bears an H tone like an independent prosodic word. A group of words that features this pattern involves *de* ‘day’ as the second component, e.g. *yéstà.dé* ‘\*yesta.day’ = ‘yesterday’, *hólì.dé* ‘\*holi-day’ = ‘holiday’. The latter word also has a prosodically integrated variant with a single H tone over the final syllable, i.e. *hólì.dé* ‘holiday’.

### 3.6.2 The syllable

The syllable template in Pichi is (C)(C)(C)(V)(C)(C). A vowel constitutes the syllable nucleus. There are a few single-vowel roots, all of which are function words, e.g. *à* ‘1SG.SBJ’, *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ or *ò* ‘SP’. The language has heavy syllables, in which the coda is filled with at least one consonant as well as light syllables, in which the coda is left empty and the word ends in a vowel.

The distinction between heavy and light syllables is of relevance in two contexts: While any verb with a heavy word-final syllable may take the clitic *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ as an object pronoun, only verbs with a certain type of light syllable may be followed by the clitic 3SG object pronoun. This is so because only specific vowel sequences are allowed. A word-final light syllable also behaves differently from a heavy syllable when an utterance-final boundary tone associates with it (cf. 4.1.1 and 4.4.1).

Pichi has many words with initial biconsonantal clusters. Some word-initial clusters consisting of three consonants also exist. But both bi- and triconsonantal word-initial onsets tend to be broken up by deletion and insertion (cf. 3.5.4). Word-final consonant clusters contain up to two segments and involve nasals, liquids and approximants as the penultimate segment, or the fricative /s/ as the final segment of the coda. In connected speech, a word-final consonant, whether as the final consonant of a clustered coda or the only consonant of a coda, is often deleted.

#### 3.6.2.1. Distribution of consonants

Table 3.5 presents the distribution of the twenty-two Pichi consonants in syllables (syllable-initial in the onset and syllable-final in the coda) and words (initial, medial and final). The following abbreviations apply: IO = word initial-onset; MO = word-medial onset; MC = word-medial coda; FC = word-final coda.

Table 3.5 Distribution of consonant phonemes

|    | p | b | t | d | k | g | tʃ | dʒ | f | v | s | r | h | m | n | ɲ | l | w | j | kp | gb |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| IO | + | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | +  | +  |
| MO | + | + | + | + | + | + | +  | +  | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | -  | -  |
| MC | + | - | - | - | + | - | -  | -  | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | +  | -  |
| FC | + | + | + | + | + | + | +  | -  | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | +  | -  |

Table 3.5, allows the conclusion that all twenty-two consonant phonemes save /ɲ/ occur as word-initial onsets. All consonants except /ɲ/, /kp/ and /gb/ occur as word-medial onsets as well. The latter two phonemes are only attested as word-initial onsets in ideophones. Eleven consonants appear in word-medial codas out of which two consonants appear as word-medial onsets in only two words each, namely /ɲ/ (*Pànyá* ‘Spain’ and *menyemenyé* ‘nag in a childlike fashion’) and /h/ (*bihén* ‘behind’ and *wahala* ‘trouble’). Sixteen consonants occur in word-final codas. Examples for the distribution of consonants follow in Table 3.6:

Table 3.6 Examples for consonant distribution

|      | IO                     | MO                      | MC                       | FC                   |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| /p/  | <i>pepa</i> ‘paper’    | <i>kàpú</i> ‘fight’     | <i>bàptáys</i> ‘baptise’ | <i>tep</i> ‘tape’    |
| /b/  | <i>bet</i> ‘bite’      | <i>liba</i> ‘liver’     | —                        | <i>hib</i> ‘throw’   |
| /t/  | <i>təch</i> ‘touch’    | <i>nəto</i> ‘NEG.FOC’   | —                        | <i>put</i> ‘put’     |
| /d/  | <i>dasəl</i> ‘only’    | <i>əda</i> ‘other’      | —                        | <i>bləd</i> ‘blood’  |
| /k/  | <i>kuk</i> ‘cook’      | <i>bàkú</i> ‘much’      | <i>dəkta</i> ‘doctor’    | <i>luk</i> ‘look’    |
| /g/  | <i>gəd</i> ‘God’       | <i>bigín</i> ‘begin’    | —                        | <i>beg</i> ‘ask for’ |
| /tʃ/ | <i>chəp</i> ‘eat’      | <i>machis</i> ‘matches’ | —                        | <i>wach</i> ‘watch’  |
| /dʒ/ | <i>jump</i> ‘jump’     | <i>vajin</i> ‘virgin’   | —                        | —                    |
| /f/  | <i>fut</i> ‘foot, leg’ | <i>fufú</i> ‘fufu’      | <i>afta</i> ‘then’       | <i>ləf</i> ‘leave’   |
| /v/  | <i>visít</i> ‘visit’   | <i>grèví</i> ‘gravy’    | —                        | —                    |
| /s/  | <i>ste</i> ‘stay’      | <i>pəsin</i> ‘person’   | <i>listin</i> ‘listen’   | <i>nɛks</i> ‘next’   |
| /r/  | <i>rəb</i> ‘rub’       | <i>tòrí</i> ‘story’     | <i>malerya</i> ‘malaria’ | <i>ber</i> ‘bury’    |
| /h/  | <i>hed</i> ‘head’      | <i>bihén</i> ‘behind’   | —                        | —                    |
| /m/  | <i>mek</i> ‘make’      | <i>màmá</i> ‘mother’    | <i>hàmbóg</i> ‘bother’   | <i>nem</i> ‘name’    |
| /n/  | <i>nak</i> ‘hit’       | <i>finis</i> ‘finish’   | <i>winda</i> ‘window’    | <i>bìn</i> ‘PST’     |
| /ɲ/  | <i>nyəní</i> ‘ant’     | <i>Pànyá</i> ‘Spain’    | —                        | —                    |
| /l/  | —                      | —                       | <i>bàngá</i> ‘palm tree’ | <i>ling</i> ‘lean’   |
| /w/  | <i>let</i> ‘be late’   | <i>pala</i> ‘parlour’   | <i>sołya</i> ‘soldier’   | <i>pul</i> ‘remove’  |
| /j/  | <i>win</i> ‘defeat’    | <i>awa</i> ‘hour’       | <i>pawda</i> ‘powder’    | <i>haw</i> ‘how’     |
| /kp/ | <i>ya</i> ‘here’       | <i>faya</i> ‘fire’      | <i>drayva</i> ‘driver’   | <i>yay</i> ‘eye’     |
| /gb/ | <i>kpu</i> ‘IDEO’      | —                       | —                        | —                    |
|      | <i>gbin</i> ‘IDEO’     | —                       | —                        | —                    |

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

More than one consonant may appear in syllable onsets and codas. The following table lists the possible permutations of consonant clusters in syllable onsets. Up to three consonants may cluster in onsets. Note however, that clusters of three consonants are may be broken up by deletion and insertion (cf. 3.5.4).

At the same time, the sequences /gj/, /kj/ and /sj/ may be said to arise through phonological processes alone (cf. also 3.2). The sequences /gj/ and /kj/ surface through optional /j/ epenthesis in words like *gal* [gál~gjál] ‘girl’ and *ker* [kér~kjér] ‘carry’ while the sequence /sj/ appears in variants like *səp* [sóp~sjóp] ‘shop’ (cf. also 3.2).

Table 3.7 Onset consonant clusters

| Structure               | Composition        | Example       | Translation |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|
| CCV                     | Stop + fricative   | <i>pre</i>    | ‘pray’      |
|                         |                    | <i>brok</i>   | ‘break’     |
|                         |                    | <i>tren</i>   | ‘train’     |
|                         |                    | <i>drim</i>   | ‘dream’     |
|                         |                    | <i>kres</i>   | ‘be crazy’  |
|                         |                    | <i>gri</i>    | ‘agree’     |
|                         | Stop + liquid      | <i>ple</i>    | ‘play’      |
|                         |                    | <i>blo</i>    | ‘relax’     |
|                         |                    | <i>glas</i>   | ‘glas’      |
|                         |                    | <i>klas</i>   | ‘class’     |
|                         | Stop + approximant | <i>pyə</i>    | ‘be pure’   |
|                         |                    | <i>bwəl</i>   | ‘boil’      |
| <i>èskyús</i>           |                    | ‘excuse (me)’ |             |
| <i>tyusde</i>           |                    | ‘Tuesday’     |             |
| <i>gal /gjal/</i>       |                    | ‘girl’        |             |
| <i>ker /kjer/</i>       |                    | ‘carry; take’ |             |
| Fricative + stop        | <i>kwata</i>       | ‘quarter’     |             |
|                         | <i>spétikul</i>    | ‘glasses’     |             |
|                         | <i>ston</i>        | ‘ston’        |             |
| Fricative + nasal       | <i>skul</i>        | ‘school’      |             |
|                         | <i>sməl</i>        | ‘small’       |             |
| Fricative + liquid      | <i>snek</i>        | ‘snake’       |             |
|                         | <i>slo</i>         | ‘be slow’     |             |
| Fricative + approximant | <i>kònfyús</i>     | ‘confuse’     |             |

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|      |                                |                   |                         |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
|      |                                | <i>fwifwifwí</i>  | 'sound of wind blowing' |
|      |                                | <i>seb /sjeb/</i> | 'divide; share'         |
|      |                                | <i>swet</i>       | '(to) sweat'            |
|      | Fricative + fricative          | <i>fray</i>       | 'fry'                   |
|      | Affricate + approximant        | <i>jwen</i>       | 'join'                  |
|      | Nasal + approximant            | <i>nyus</i>       | 'news'                  |
| CCCV | Fricative + stop + fricative   | <i>stret</i>      | 'be straight'           |
|      |                                | <i>skrach</i>     | 'scratch'               |
|      | Fricative + stop + approximant | <i>spwel</i>      | 'spoil; spend'          |
|      |                                | <i>styu</i>       | 'stew'                  |
|      |                                | <i>skwis</i>      | 'squeeze'               |

Coda clusters are limited to maximally two consonants. Possible cluster permutations in the coda are listed in Table 3.8:

Table 3.8 Coda consonant clusters

| Structure               | Composition        | Example        | Translation |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------|
| VCC                     | Stop + fricative   | <i>eks</i>     | 'egg'       |
|                         |                    |                |             |
|                         | Nasal + stop       | <i>lamp</i>    | 'lamp'      |
|                         |                    | <i>pent</i>    | 'paint'     |
|                         |                    | <i>kɔnk</i>    | 'snail'     |
|                         | Nasal + affricate  | <i>chench</i>  | 'change'    |
|                         | Nasal + fricative  | <i>sɛns</i>    | 'brain'     |
|                         | Liquid + stop      | <i>help</i>    | 'help'      |
|                         |                    | <i>bɛlt</i>    | 'belt'      |
|                         |                    | <i>milk</i>    | 'milk'      |
|                         | Liquid + affricate | <i>belch</i>   | 'belch'     |
|                         | Approximant + stop | <i>wayp</i>    | 'wipe'      |
|                         |                    | <i>drayv</i>   | 'drive'     |
| <i>tayt</i>             |                    | 'be tight'     |             |
| <i>hayd</i>             |                    | 'hide'         |             |
| <i>layk</i>             |                    | 'like'         |             |
| <i>stawt</i>            |                    | 'be corpulent' |             |
| <i>prawd</i>            |                    | 'be boastful'  |             |
| Approximant + fricative | <i>layf</i>        | 'life'         |             |
|                         | <i>nays</i>        | 'be nice'      |             |

|                      |              |            |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| Aproximant + nasal   | <i>fayn</i>  | 'be fine'  |
|                      | <i>rawn</i>  | 'surround' |
| Approximant + liquid | <i>stayl</i> | 'manner'   |

### 3.6.2.2. Distribution of vowels and approximants

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

Most words that do have an initial vowel are function words: personal pronouns (e.g. *à* '1SG.SBJ', *è* '3SG.SBJ', *ùna* '2PL' and *in* '3SG.EMP'), question words (e.g. *udat* and all words featuring the clitic question particle *us=* 'Q'), clause linkers (e.g. *adònké* 'even if', *èf* 'if' and *afta* 'then'), locative nouns (e.g. *insay* 'inside' and *òntóp* '(on)top'), quantifiers (e.g. *ada* 'other', *eni* 'every') and interjections (e.g. *ékié* 'good gracious', *ay* 'expression of pain'). Some content words also feature a word-initial vowel (e.g. *arata* 'rat', *ech* 'age(-grade)', *ivin* 'evening' and *enta* 'enter'). In contrast, vowels in word-final position are very common and we find them throughout all word classes (e.g. *mi* '1SG.SBJ', *bùtú* 'stoop over', *soté* 'until', *no* 'know', *bèlé* 'belly', *fò* 'ASS' and *sista* 'sister'). There are certain restrictions on sequences of vowels. Not only are there no phonemic sequences of two identical vowels (i.e. long vowels) in Pichi. There are also only certain types of licit vowel combinations. In vowel-vowel sequences each vowel constitutes a syllable onto itself and individually bears a lexical tone. Admissible vowel sequences are provided in Table 3.9.

A comparison of Table 3.9 and Table 3.10 below reveals a pattern: Opening sequences are realised as vowel-vowel sequences while closing sequences are realised as vowel-approximant strings:

Table 3.9 Vowel sequences

|   |   |   |    |    |    |
|---|---|---|----|----|----|
|   | i | u | o  | ε  | a  |
| i |   |   | ió | iε | ia |

In the three vowel-vowel sequences that Pichi has, each vowel individually bears a lexical H or X tone. The vowel string /ia/ has an HX (hence phonetically [HL]) pitch configuration. There is a free variation between the sequences /ia/ and /iε] in all relevant words. Hence we find variants like the following ones:

- (153) /ia~iε/
- |             |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>fia</i>  | [fíè~fíà]   | '(to) fear' |
| <i>kliá</i> | [kliá~kliε] | 'be clear'  |
| <i>bíá</i>  | [bíà~bíè]   | 'endure'    |

The data contains two words whose syllable structure confirms the inadmissibility of vowel-

sequences other than the ones provided in Table 3.9 above. The locative noun *bihén* ‘behind; rear’ and the noun *wahala* ‘trouble’ are the only words in the corpus featuring an /h/ in the onset of a word-medial syllable. The presence of /h/ in this position may be seen to result from insertion and subsequent conventionalisation. This is because the inserted /h/ prevents an illicit [LH] pitch sequence over /iɛ/ as in \**bìén* and over /aa/ as in \**wàála*.

The only vowel sequence attested with an [LH] pitch configuration (hence phonemically XH) is the string /ió/. The only two words in the corpus featuring this sequence are given in (154):

- (154) /ió/      *Krìó*      [Krìó]      ‘Krio’  
                  *bìo bìó*      [bìó bìó]      ‘lo and behold’

Sequences involving an approximant and a vowel are presented in Table 3.10. Pichi features both falling and rising sequences. In the former, the vowel comes first (e.g. /ɔj/), in rising sequences, the vowel follows the approximant (e.g. /wi/). The table reveals that the logically possible sequences \*/ji/ and \*/ɔw/ are unattested in Pichi:

Table 3.10 Sequences involving an approximant and a vowel

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

The validity of the distinction between vowel-vowel sequences and sequences involving approximants is supported by a number of indications. In strings featuring approximants only the vowel bears an, invariably high, lexical tone and can constitute a syllable nucleus. Being a sonorant, the approximant in such strings also bears pitch. But its pitch frequency is always lower than that of the adjacent vowel; it resonates along due to its sonority but is not lexically specified for tone. In contrast, we have seen that in vowel-vowel sequences each vowel is not only lexically specified for tone. The first and second vowel also bear phonetic tones polar to each other.

The circumstances surrounding cliticisation also speak to the validity of differentiating between vowels and approximants. Due to a restriction imposed by tonal phonotactics, =*àn* may not encliticise to a vowel-terminal verb if the final vowel of the verb carries a low tone (cf. 3.6.3). Monosyllabic verbs featuring an approximant as the final segment may, however, take the object pronoun =*àn*. Compare the verb *bay* ‘buy’ in (155):

- (155) Yù want **bay=àn** nà puerto (...)  
 2SG want buy=3SG.OBJ LOC harbour  
 '(If) you want to buy it at the harbour (...).'

If the word-final approximant /j/ in *bay* /baj/ 'buy' were a vowel, syllabic and a mora in its own right it should be low-toned in accordance with Pichi tonal phonotactics (since it is preceded by a high-toned vowel /á/). A low-toned final vowel would, in turn, block the encliticisation of =àn as it does with other verbs with a final low tone. This is, however, not the case, since the sequence /aj/ is monomoric and bears a single high tone. There is thus no restriction on the encliticisation of =àn. The same principle applies to other verbs with a final approximant, e.g. *alaw=àn* 'allow=3SG.OBJ' = 'allow her/him'.

The distribution of approximants in the syllable may be read from the tables given in 3.6.2.1. Some observations are in order here on variation in strings of approximants and vowels. The verb *drɛb* 'drive' features the variants /drɛb~drajb/. However this free alternation is not encountered with other words to which it could potentially apply. Hence on the one hand, we find *bɛt* /bɛt/ and *fɛt* /fɛt/ 'fight'. On the other hand, words like *brajt* /brajt/ 'be bright', *tajt* /tajt/ 'be tight' and *wajp* /wajp/ 'wipe' do not have less complex variants with a monosegmental /ɛ/ instead of the bisegmental /aj/.

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

|         |         |               |                 |                |
|---------|---------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (156)   | Group 1 | <i>bɔy</i>    | /bɔ́j/          | 'boy'          |
|         |         | <i>ɔyl</i>    | /ɔ̀jl/          | 'oil'          |
| Group 2 |         | <i>spwɛl</i>  | /spwɛ́l~spɔ́jl/ | 'spoil; spend' |
|         |         | <i>bwɛl</i>   | /bwɛ́l~bɔ́jl/   | 'boil'         |
|         |         | <i>jwɛn</i>   | /dʒwɛ́n~dʒɔ́jn/ | 'join'         |
| Group 3 |         | <i>swɛla</i>  | /swɛ́là/        | 'swallow'      |
|         |         | <i>kwɛnch</i> | /kwɛ́ntʃ/       | 'die off'      |
|         |         | <i>kwɛsən</i> | /kwɛ́sjən/      | 'question'     |
|         |         | <i>wɛl</i>    | /wɛ́l/          | 'be well'      |

Note that group 1 contrasts with group 2 in that /ɔj/ in group 1 is either word-final (i.e. *bɔy*) or word-initial and the nucleus of a syllable without an onset (i.e. *ɔyl*). In turn, words in group 3 are either bisyllabic (i.e. *kwɛsən* and *swɛla*) and feature a consonant cluster in the coda (i.e. *kwɛnch*) or begin with the alternating feature (i.e. *wɛl*). Hence the characteristic environment for the /wɛ~ɔj/ alternation is a monosyllabic word with a heavy syllable, a single consonant in the coda and an onset featuring a stop (or a stop component like the affricate /dʒ/.



### 3.6.3 Cliticisation

Cliticisation in Pichi is characterised by the following features: segmental reduction, the loss of morphosyntactic independence and inseparability from the host, and a partial loss of lexical meaning. Two elements can be considered full clitics by these criteria: the object pronoun =à'n '3SG.OBJ' and the question particle us= 'Q'. Other elements are clitic-like to a lesser degree: dependent person pronouns may be said to be enclitic to the following element of the predicate, the pluraliser dèn 'PL' to the preceding noun.

The object pronoun =à'n '3SG.OBJ' is enclitic to the preceding verb, preposition or locative noun (the 'host') with which it forms a single phonological word with a single H tone like the majority of Pichi phonological words. The pronoun =à'n '3SG.OBJ' may also encliticise to a preceding H-toned object pronoun in double object constructions (cf. 11.3.4).

One diagnostic of cliticisation is that the final consonant of the host of =à'n forms the onset of the syllable containing =à'n. This is best exemplified with a group of Pichi words that may optionally feature a word-final underlying /r/. The relevant words are the verbs *kliar(r)* 'to clear'; *hiar(r)* 'to hear'; *fiar(r)* 'to fear'; *biar(r)* 'to bear', the locative nouns *niar(r)* 'near' and *bifò(r)* 'before' as well as the associative preposition *fò(r)*. For some speakers, all vowel-final words with the potential to occur in the clitic environment may feature a word-final /r/, in which the segment is best seen as a 'linking /r/'. Hence for example, *dràngo(r)* 'get dead drunk' and *kàba(r)* 'cover'.

This underlying /r/ only surfaces when the relevant words are followed by the clitic =à'n '3SG.OBJ'. For reasons given in (3.6.4), the surfacing of an underlying consonant is necessary at the boundary between the host and the clitic =à'n (phonological representation of the relevant words in squared brackets):

- (157) Dì de [klíà].  
 DEF day be.clear  
 'The weather is clear.' [ye07je 122]

- (158) Wɛn à gò [klíar=à'n], (...)  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ POT clear=3SG.OBJ  
 'When I clear it, (...)'

When a word featuring the word-final vowel sequence /ia/ serves as a host to =à'n, the /ia/ vowel string is usually reduced. Instead of two vowels with each serving as a syllable nucleus and a tone-bearing unit, we now have an approximant-vowel sequence with a single nucleus and a single tone-bearing unit (159). This creates a bisyllabic word and a footed tonal domain, the preferred word structure in Pichi (cf. also 4.1.1).

- (159) Èf à bìn hiar=à'n, à fò go. [Èf a bìn (h)jéràn à fò gó]  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST hear=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ ASS go  
 'If I had heard it I would have gone.'

For the same reasons that hold for words with a final /r/, the optional word-final /n/ of the

relevant group of verbs may surface between verb and clitic. In the second of the following two examples, the nasalised final vowel of *səri* ‘feel sorry’ is realised as /n/ before the clitic =*àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

(160) À səri [sóri] se è kil dì fəl.  
 1SG.SBJ feel.sorry QUOT 3SG.SBJ kill DEF fowl  
 ‘I feel sorry that he killed the fowl.’

(161) À səri=*àn* [sórin=*àm*] bókú.  
 1SG.SBJ feel sorry=3SG.OBJ much  
 ‘I feel very sorry for her.’

Further, =*àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ sometimes refers to singular and plural objects alike. Such a lack of number specification may be attributed to a certain degree of loss of lexical meaning. In such instances, =*àn* may be seen to function as an agreement or transitivity marker on the verb. In the following sentence, =*àn* refers to the preceding plural NP *tin dèn* ‘thing PL’ = ‘things:

(162) ɔl dì sməl tin dèn ya so, nà tin dèn  
 all DEF small thing PL here like.that FOC thing PL  
 we mi dè mek=*àn* nà hos.  
 SUB 1SG.EMP IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house  
 ‘I went to school but all the small things here are things that  
 I [EMP] make at home.’

The pronoun also undergoes a higher than usual degree of segmental reduction, hence we find the variants [=*àn*~*ã*~*à*]. Further, since =*àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ may not be stressed, the corresponding emphatic pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ is employed instead of =*àn* in the echo question in (163)(b):

(163) a. Yù si=*àn*?  
 2SG see=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Did you see him?’  
 b. **In?** (\**àn*?)  
 3SG.EMP 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Him?’

The question element *us*= ‘Q’ is proclitic to generic nouns in question words. These question words form single inseparable prosodic units, which are only stressed in their entirety. However, the degree of phonological adaptation of *us*= varies. In the high-frequency question words *us=tin* ‘WHAT’, *us=kayn* ‘WHICH (kind)’ and *us=say* ‘WHERE’, the /s/ in *us*= ‘Q’ is often not pronounced (164)-(165):

- (164) Dèn tif yu us=tin [útfɪn]?  
 3PL steal 2SG.EMP Q=thing  
 ‘What was stolen from you?’
- (165) Nà us=kayn [úkájɲ] stayl yù tek kan nà ya?  
 FOC Q=kind style 2SG take come LOC here  
 ‘How did you come here?’

At the same time, the equally heavy-duty question words *us=tɛn* ‘when’ (166) and *us=wan* ‘which (one)’ never show signs of phonological erosion:

- (166) Soté us=tɛn [ústɛn] yù gò de ya?  
 until Q=time 2SG POT BE.AT here  
 ‘Until when will you be here?’

### 3.6.4 Phonologically conditioned allomorphy

Pichi features a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy involving a verb, preposition or a locative noun and its 3SG pronominal object. The allomorphs are *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ and *in* ‘3SG.EMP’. This inflectional feature is relevant in the context of the cliticisation of *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’. The conditioning factor of allomorphy is the pitch configuration that arises at the morpheme boundary between a host word with a final vowel and the following clitic 3SG dependent object pronoun *=àn*.

As shown in section 3.6.3, cliticisation leads to the creation of a phonological word encompassing the host word and the clitic *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’. I have also shown that the only admissible (phonetic) pitch configurations over word-internal vowel sequences are [HL] and [LH] (cf. 3.6.2.2). If the host of the low-toned *=àn* ends in a vowel and this final vowel bears an H tone, the resulting phonological word has an [HL] pitch configuration in conformity with Pichi rules of well-formedness.

Compare cliticisation involving the host words *sàbí* ‘know’ (167) and *nyàngá* ‘put on airs’ (168), which both bear a final H tone:

- (167) Ûna sàbí=*àn*? [ùna sàbí*àn*]  
 2PL know=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Do you [PL] know him?’
- (168) Yù dè nyàngá=*àn*. [jù dè nyàngá*àn*]  
 2SG IPFV put.on.airs=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You’re being ostentatious to him.’

However, if the final vowel of the host of *=àn* ends in an L tone, the resulting pitch configuration would be [LL] within the phonological word. This is an illicit pitch configuration over word-internal, adjacent vowels in Pichi:

- (169) \*Yù fiba=àn    \*[jù f**bà**àn]  
 2SG resemble=3SG.OBJ  
 \*You resemble him.

The avoidance of an illicit pitch configuration is also what causes the surfacing of the underlying consonant /r/ during cliticisation (cf. 3.6.3). If /r/ were not to surface, the pitch configuration over the adjacent vowels of *fia* ‘fear’ (170) or *fɔ* ‘ASS’ (171) and the clitic =à**n** would be [LL], hence inadmissible:

- (170) \*À dè f**ia**=à**n**.    \*[à dè **fià**àn]  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV fear=3SG.OBJ  
 \*I fear her.

- (171) \*È tot=à**n** f**ɔ**=à**n**.    \*[è **tót**àn f**ò**àn]  
 3SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ ASS=3SG.OBJ  
 \*He carried it for her.

In order to avoid an illicit pitch configuration in instances like (169)-(171), the 3SG dependent clitic pronoun =à**n** ‘3SG.OBJ’ is replaced by the 3SG independent emphatic pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’. In cases involving verbs like *fiba* ‘resemble’ the lack of a surface or underlying final consonant would give rise to an [LL] pitch configuration at the morpheme boundary between host and clitic. The pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ is not a clitic and forms a phonological word in its own right. Since there is a word boundary between the preceding word and *in* ‘3SG.EMP’, there are no restrictions on the pitch configuration over the two bordering vowels. The pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ is therefore employed as an allomorphic variant of =à**n** ‘3SG.OBJ’ with all relevant Pichi words with a final L-toned vowel. Compare (169) above and (172) below:

- (172) Ok, à no chɛk se è **fiba in**.  
 ok 1SG.SBJ NEG check QUOT 3SG.SBJ resemble 3SG.EMP  
 ‘Ok, I don’t think she resembles him.’

Besides the Pichi verbs to which this applies, all Spanish-derived verbs take *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ instead of =à**n** ‘3SG.OBJ’ as their object pronoun. These verbs always features a final toneless, phonetically L-toned vowel (cf. also 14.2.2):

- (173) M**ek** à t**raduce in** naw.  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ translate 3SG.EMP now  
 ‘Let me translate it now.’

The emphatic pronoun *in* is also employed as an object pronoun when speakers opt not to pronounce the underlying /r/ in the group of words that feature it. Here too, the use of *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ prevents the formation of an illicit pitch configuration. Compare (170)-(171) above with (174)-(175) below:

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(174) À        dè **fi**     **in.**  
3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.EMP  
'I fear her.'

(175) Dì tin        de     **fɪ in.**  
DEF thing BE.AT ASS 3SG.EMP  
'The thing is his.'

## 4 Suprasegmental phonology

Pichi exhibits a mixed suprasegmental system in which individual words are either pitch-accented or tonal. This system is similar to the ones identified in other Atlantic Creoles (cf. e.g. Alleyne 1980, Berry 1971, Devonish 1998, 2002; Faraclas 1987; Finney 2004; Fyle 1971; Good 2004, 2006; Jones 1990; Rivera Castillo 1998; Rivera Castillo and Faraclas 2005; Rountree 1972a). The tonal component of the lexicon is considerably smaller than the pitch-accented one. All in all it appears that tone is not as functionally loaded as in the linguistic systems of many other languages of the region (cf. e.g. Oyelaran 1971 for Yoruba).

The mixed character of the Pichi suprasegmental system is also manifest in the way intonation is produced. Intonation involves level boundary tones, extra-high pitch accents as well as utterance-final contours, some of which may combine to produce pitch configurations similar to the intonational melodies of pure pitch-accent and stress-accent languages.

In the following, I use the term ‘accent class’ when referring to words in which only one syllable is lexically specified for a high tone, irrespective of the number of syllables that the word may have. The term ‘tone class’ is used to refer to words, in which every syllable is lexically specified for high and/or low tones. Members of these two classes are ‘accented’ and ‘tonal’ words respectively. The term ‘pitch class’ designates the various fixed pitch patterns or configurations that both accented and tonal words fall into.

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

The approximate pitch values of each syllable are given in Hertz (Hz) on the vertical axis. The horizontal axis provides the time elapsed (1.0 = 1 second). The utterance presented in each figure is repeated in numbered examples. In these examples, the second line shows the lexical, hence phonemic tone of each syllable. When a tonal process is described, the relevant sentence is once more repeated after the arrow (→) and the second line provides phonetic tone, i.e. the actual pronunciation of the sentence after the tonal process under discussion has taken place.

## 4.1 Characteristics of tone

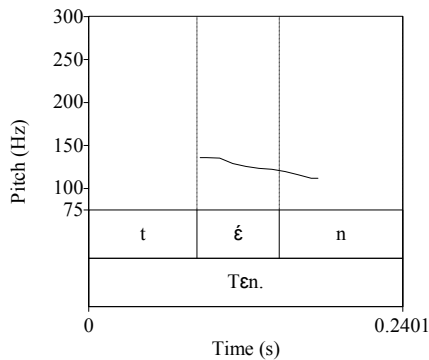
Pichi has two distinctive tonemes and employs lexical and morphological tone in a significant way. The language features a stratified lexicon divided into accented and tonal words which are members of a large but unevenly distributed number of pitch classes.

### 4.1.1 Tone-bearing units

The tone-bearing unit in Pichi is the syllable. Evidence comes from the interaction of lexical tones and boundary tones over utterance-final syllables. Pichi speakers tend towards the construction of bimoraic tonal feet, ideally composed of polar tones. In utterance-final position, a boundary tone will associate with the final tone-bearing unit of the utterance (cf. 4.3.2). If the utterance-final word is monosyllabic, the default option is for the boundary tone to dock onto existing segmental material. The sonorants /N/, /l/ and /r/ may bear phonetic tone in Pichi. Hence an utterance-final /N/, may carry a boundary tone.

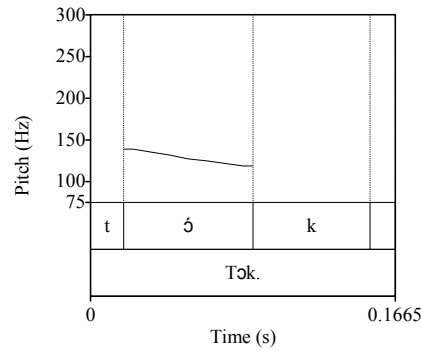
Consider the citation form of *tɛn* ‘time’ in Figure 4.1. Here the declarative L% (L boundary tone), which follows the lexical H tone over /ɛ/, is spread out over the vowel and the final /n/. Sonorants like /n/ do not, however, bear lexical tone by themselves. Rather, they always bear the tone of the left-adjacent vowel. In contrast, when the final segment is incapable of bearing tone, pitch is simply borne by the previous segment capable of doing so. The final obstruent in *tək* ‘talk’ in Figure 4.2 cannot bear tone, so the utterance-final declarative L% is borne by the vowel alone:

Figure 4.1 Citation form of *tɛn*



(176) **Tɛn.**  
HL%  
‘Time’

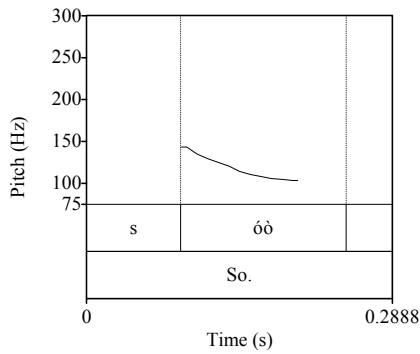
Figure 4.2 Citation form of *tək*



(177) **Tək.**  
HL%  
‘Talk’

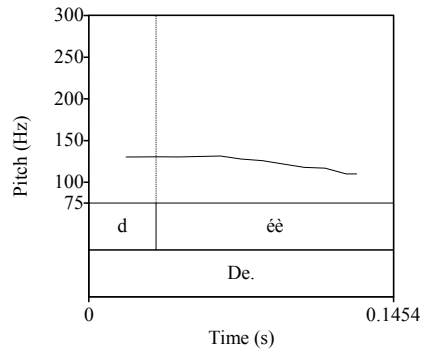
When the utterance-final word is a light (vowel-final) monosyllable, the vowel may be lengthened, sometimes up to two beats. I assume that the lengthening of light monosyllables is caused by the metric preference of Pichi for footed tonal domains within the word boundary. Heavy monosyllables with a final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

Figure 4.3 Citation form of *so*



(178) **So.**  
**HL%**  
 ‘So.’

Figure 4.4 Citation form of *de*

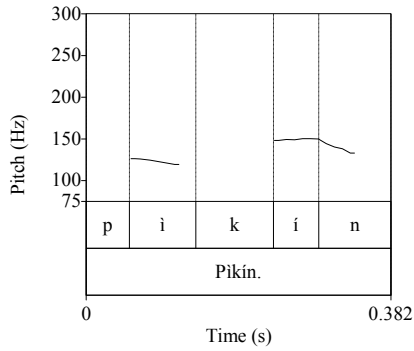


(179) **De.**  
**HL%**  
 ‘There.’

All polysyllabic words with a toneless final syllable (the H.X.(X) classes, cf. 4.1.4) exhibit the same kind of utterance-final fall over their final syllable and I will not dwell on them here. But polysyllabic words with a final H tone deserve attention. In utterance-final position, words from the (X).X.H class with a final sonorant exhibit the same kind of contour as sonorant-final monosyllables. The declarative L% spreads out onto both vowel and sonorant. Compare the following two sonorant-final words:

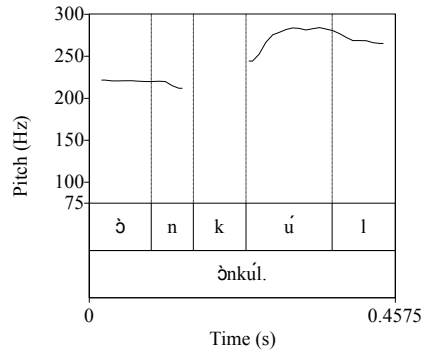


Figure 4.5 Citation form of *pikín*



- (180) *Pikín.*  
 x.HL%  
 'Child.'

Figure 4.6 Citation form of *ɔ̀nkúl*



- (181) *ɔ̀nkúl.*  
 x.HL%  
 'Uncle.'

Polysyllabic words from the (X.)X.H class with a final obstruent exhibit the same pattern as H-toned heavy monosyllables. The utterance-final fall is limited to the vowel, which alone is capable of bearing phonetic tone.

Compare *slipás* 'slippers' in Figure 4.7 below. In contrast, *dòtí* 'be dirty' in Figure 4.8 shows that the declarative L% is not realised on the right edge of utterance-final (X.)X.H words with a light, vowel-final syllable. With this group of words, declaratives simply end in the lexical H tone of the utterance-final syllable:

Figure 4.7 Citation form of *slipás*

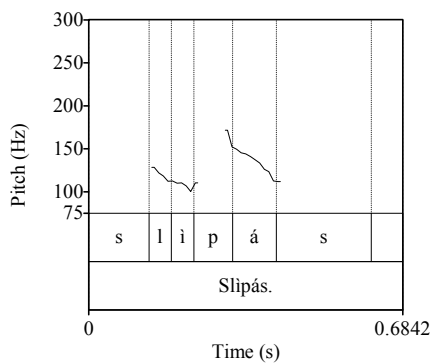
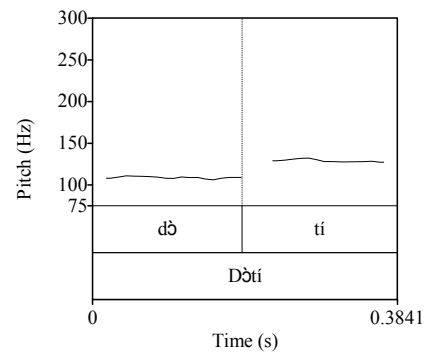


Figure 4.8 Citation form of *dòtí*



(182) *Slipás.*  
 L.HL%  
 ‘Slippers.’

(183) *Dòtí.*  
 L.H  
 ‘be dirty.’

An explanation for the differences between the two pitch classes represented by *slipás* and *dòtí* respectively is that with (X.)X.H words like *dòtí*, the bimoraic tonal foot can be constructed over the two utterance-final syllables. This process is once more rendered impossible by the presence of the utterance-final obstruent in (X.)X.H words like *slipás*. However, the declarative L% boundary tone in vowel-final words from this class is not deleted. Evidence suggests that it is active underlyingly in causing downstep (cf. 4.2.3). These facts are good evidence that all accented words bear an overt or underlying word-final L tone irrespective of their syntactic position (cf. Devonish 2002: 137ff for a similar analysis of Krio and Faraclas 1996: 280ff of Nigerian Pidgin).

#### 4.1.2 Distinctive tones

Pichi contrasts two level tones, a high tone (H) and a low tone (L). Toneless syllables (X) are unspecified for tone and bear a phonetic low tone by default. H tone is the more active tone in tonal processes (cf. 0). H rather than L participates in tone spreading, is more active in pitch register expansion, and, most importantly, is the only lexically specified tone over accented words in Pichi. Contour tones do not constitute tonemes in their own right. Instead, they may result from the succession of a lexical tone and a polar floating tone over a single tone-bearing unit (cf. 4.2.2).

Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 below present the pitch trace and segmentation of the two pitch-accented words *hasis* (H.X) ‘ashes’ and *dòtí* (X.H) ‘be dirty’ respectively. Both words are said in isolation by a male speaker. Like all words belonging to an accent class, these words bear a single H tone over the accented syllable, while the other syllable is unspecified for tone:

Figure 4.9 H.X pattern

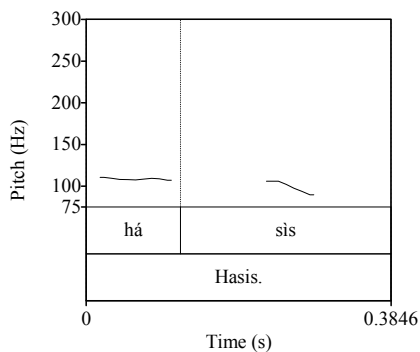
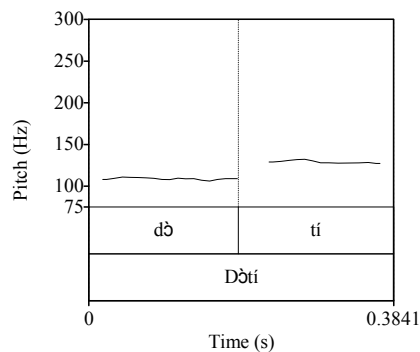


Figure 4.10 X.H pattern



The two words above represent the tone patterns of the second and third largest pitch classes in my corpus. These two pitch classes are characterised by some differences (cf. Table 4.1). The mean pitch on the L-toned syllable of *d̀̀tí* is 109.17 Hz, that of the H-toned syllable 129.27 Hz. Hence the difference in pitch between the High and Low level tones amounts to 20.1 Hz. With *hasis* the mean pitch of the H tone is 108.59 Hz, while the mean Low tone is situated at 99.72 Hz. The difference in mean pitch between H and X therefore stands at 8.87 Hz. This difference is just about half of that between X and H in *d̀̀tí*:

Table 4.1 Pitch values

| Hertz           | <i>d̀̀tí</i> | <i>hasis</i> |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Mean Hz of H    | 129.27       | 108.59       |
| Mean Hz of L    | 109.17       | 99.72        |
| Highest Hz of H | 132.20       | 110.33       |
| Lowest Hz of H  | 127.26       | 107.35       |
| Highest Hz of L | 110.78       | 105.83       |
| Lowest Hz of L  | 107.47       | 93.50        |

The relatively small difference in mean pitch between the syllables of *hasis* conforms to a general pattern. In words with an H followed by an X, H is carried over into the toneless syllable. In the second half of the toneless syllable there is, however, a rapid fall in pitch. This fall through the final syllable typifies members of the H.X class. In contrast, the H tone in both *d̀̀tí* and *hasis* remains stable. Additionally, the H and X tones over *d̀̀tí* are clearly set apart. The default L of the toneless syllable shows no sign of rightward spreading.

Words fully specified for tone, hence belonging to one of the tone classes (cf. Table 4.2) may bear a single or more L tones and more than one H tone. Tonal words are not usually affected by downstep within the word boundary (cf. also 4.2.3):

Figure 4.11 H.H pattern

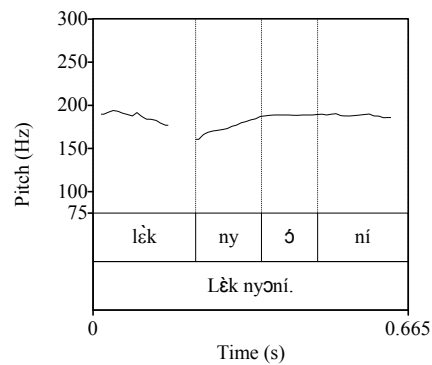
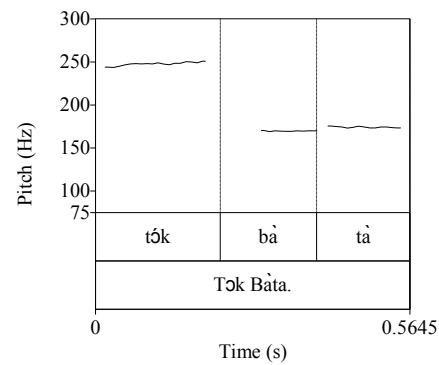


Figure 4.12 L.L pattern



Compare the pitch traces of the utterance-final tonal words *nyɔni* ‘ant’ and *Bàta* ‘Fang’ in the collocations *lèk nyɔni* ‘like ants’ and *tək Bàta* ‘speak Fang’ above. Note that both H tones in *nyɔni* and both L tones in *Bàta* remain at the same levels throughout the utterance. Equally, like all tonal words, the final syllables of these two tonal words do not bear an utterance-final boundary tone (in this case a declarative L%):

When words of Spanish-origin are inserted into Pichi structures, Spanish stress-accent is generally converted into a Pichi pitch accent. In the process, the lengthening characteristic of Spanish stressed syllables may be reduced. However, the higher pitch, which is also characteristic of the stressed syllable in Spanish, is retained and may be raised by a notch in order to conform to the relative pitch of a Pichi H tone.

The two Tables below feature the utterance-final Spanish word *abril* ‘April’ and the Spanish word *nigeriano* ‘Nigerian’ in the collocation *nà nigeriano* ‘FOC Nigerian’ = ‘He is a Nigerian’. The pitch configurations over these two words closely resemble those of Pichi words with a word-final (Figure 4.13), and a penultimate (Figure 4.14) H tone respectively:

Figure 4.13 Pitch over Spanish *abril*

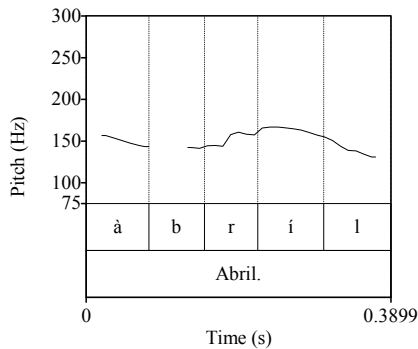
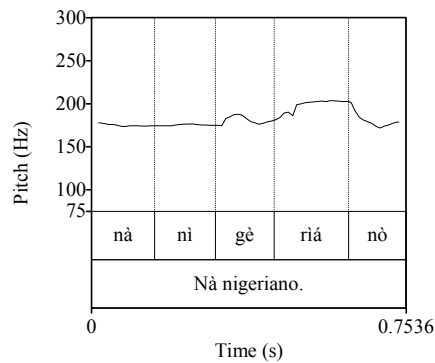


Figure 4.14 Pitch over Spanish *nigeriano*



### 4.1.3 Lexical and morphological tone

A small number of monosyllabic roots are distinguished from each other by pitch alone. The list in (184) contains most words in the corpus to which this applies. In conformity with a general pattern, (more) functional words are L-toned while the corresponding content words are H-toned:

|       |            |        |            |                     |
|-------|------------|--------|------------|---------------------|
| (184) | L tone     |        | H tone     |                     |
|       | <i>bày</i> | ‘by’   | <i>bay</i> | ‘buy’               |
|       | <i>bàt</i> | ‘but’  | <i>bət</i> | ‘hit with the head’ |
|       | <i>dè</i>  | ‘IPFV’ | <i>de</i>  | ‘day; there’        |
|       | <i>dì</i>  | ‘DEF’  | <i>di</i>  | ‘this’              |

|            |        |            |                        |
|------------|--------|------------|------------------------|
| <i>lèk</i> | 'like' | <i>lɛk</i> | '(to) like'            |
| <i>sò</i>  | 'so'   | <i>so</i>  | 'like this; sew; show' |
| <i>wèt</i> | 'with' | <i>wet</i> | 'wait'                 |

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

## (185) Homophones

|              |                          |             |                   |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>de</i>    | 'day; there; BE AT'      | <i>lif</i>  | 'leaf; live'      |
| <i>àn</i>    | '3SG.OBJ; and'           | <i>lɔs</i>  | 'loose; louse'    |
| <i>dia</i>   | 'deer; expensive'        | <i>nà</i>   | 'FOC; LOC'        |
| <i>bia</i>   | 'beer; bear'             | <i>no</i>   | 'know; NEG'       |
| <i>blo</i>   | 'blow; relax'            | <i>nyus</i> | 'news; use'       |
| <i>fəl</i>   | 'fowl; to rain'          | <i>pia</i>  | 'avocado; pair'   |
| <i>fɔs</i>   | 'be first; force'        | <i>rayt</i> | 'right; write'    |
| <i>fil</i>   | 'feel; field'            | <i>rɛs</i>  | 'rest; rice'      |
| <i>hat</i>   | 'heart; to hurt'         | <i>rɔn</i>  | 'run; be wrong'   |
| <i>hia</i>   | 'hear; here; year; hair' | <i>so</i>   | 'sew; show'       |
| <i>hol</i>   | 'hole; hold; whole'      | <i>sɔt</i>  | 'shirt; short'    |
| <i>(h)ɔt</i> | 'extinguish; hot'        | <i>tɔn</i>  | 'town; turn'      |
| <i>klos</i>  | 'clothing'               | <i>tu</i>   | 'too (much); two' |
| <i>kɔs</i>   | 'cost; (to) insult'      | <i>we</i>   | 'way; SUB'        |
| <i>lef</i>   | 'leave; left'            | <i>wich</i> | 'bewitch; which'  |

Morphological tone is employed in the personal pronoun paradigm in order to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same lexeme from one another (e.g. *mì* '1SG.POSS - *mi* '1SG.EMP', *dèn* '3PL' - *dɛn* '3PL.EMP'). Pichi also features a morphological tonal process. (cf. 4.2.4). In addition, there are three items which have morphologically different forms, but presumably derive from a common etymon and are distinguished by pitch alone: *dè* 'IPFV' - *de* 'BE.AT', *dì* 'DEF' - *di* 'this', *gò* 'POT' - *go* 'go'. All low-toned monosyllabic roots are words with more or less grammatical functions, such as personal pronouns (e.g. *à* '1SG.SBJ'), determiners (e.g. *dì* 'DEF'), TMA markers (e.g. *bìn* 'PST', *kìn* 'HAB'), clause linkers (e.g. *ɛf* 'if'), or prepositions (e.g. *pàn* 'on'). All low-toned function words of the corpus, except dependent personal pronouns, are listed in (186):

## (186) Low-toned function words

|            |           |               |            |
|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| <i>dì</i>  | 'DEF'     | <i>lèk(è)</i> | 'like'     |
| <i>sòn</i> | 'some, a' | <i>nà</i>     | 'LOC; FOC' |
| <i>bìn</i> | 'PST'     | <i>pàn</i>    | 'on'       |
| <i>dè</i>  | 'IPFV'    | <i>tò</i>     | 'to'       |
| <i>gò</i>  | 'POT'     | <i>wèt</i>    | 'with'     |

|              |        |               |       |
|--------------|--------|---------------|-------|
| <i>kìn</i>   | ‘HAB’  | <i>àn</i>     | ‘and’ |
| <i>màs</i>   | ‘OBL’  | <i>ò</i>      | ‘or’  |
| <i>bày</i>   | ‘by’   | <i>èff(è)</i> | ‘if’  |
| <i>f̃</i>    | ‘ASS’  | <i>b̀t</i>    | ‘but’ |
| <i>f̃r̀n</i> | ‘from’ | <i>s̀</i>     | ‘so’  |

There are, however, limits to this pattern of morphological differentiation by tone. The monosyllabic roots *d̀n* ‘down; done; PRF’, *kan* ‘come; PFV’ *mek* ‘make; SBJV’, *se* ‘say; QUOT’ and *wan* ‘one; a’ also have a more grammatical besides their lexical meaning. Yet, their different functions are covered by segmentally and suprasegmentally identical forms.

Finally, Pichi exhibits one morphological tonal process. In compounds and morphological reduplication, the H tones over all non-final components are deleted and replaced by X (hence a default L tone). The final component, in turn, retains its original pitch configuration. Example (187) features a compound noun and (188) a reduplication:

- (187) *Fisin* human → ***Fisin***-human  
 H.X H.X **L.L-H.L**  
 ‘(to) fish’ ‘woman’ ‘fisherwoman’
- (188) *D̀n d̀ l̀k d̀ say.* → *D̀n d̀ l̀k-l̀k ̀l say.*  
 L L H L H L L **L-H** H H  
 3PL IPFV lock DEF side 3PL IPFV RED.CPD-lock all side  
 ‘They’re closing the place.’ ‘They’re constantly closing every place.’

#### 4.1.4 Pitch classes

Pichi features a phonologically stratified lexicon. Some 95 percent of roots contained in my lexical data-base are accented words. Accented words bear carry a single H tone. The remaining 5 percent of roots are tonal words of which every syllable is fully specified for tone. Many (e.g. *nỳǹ* ‘ant’ < Mende *ỳǹ* ‘red ant’) but not all (e.g. *ap̀s* ‘after’ < English ‘half-past’) tonal words originate from African languages or are monosyllabic function words with an L tone over their only syllable (e.g. *d̀* ‘IPFV’).

The near-totality of accented words bear a single H tone over their only, penultimate or final syllable. All other syllables before or after the H-toned syllable are toneless. Tonal words, on the other hand, are fully specified for H and L tones.

The distinction between accent and tone class is of little if any relevance for monosyllabic words. Nonetheless, the following factors speak to an accentual classification of H-toned monosyllables. Some monosyllables may occur in variants that are bisyllabic due to the insertion of a toneless epenthetic vowel. The vowel may be inserted into a syllable-final consonant cluster featuring a liquid-stop sequence as in (189), in which case the bisyllabic root exhibits an H.X configuration:

(189) *help* [hélp~héłɛp] ‘help’

A toneless epenthetic vowel may also be found between the consonants of a syllable-initial consonant cluster. In this case, the bisyllabic variant has an X.H pattern (190)

(190) *sməl* [smól~símól~sùmól] ‘be small’                      *slip* [slíp~sílíp] ‘lie down’

In contrast, L-toned monosyllables are best analysed as tonal rather than toneless. L-toned monosyllables do not lose their tone in the course of any tonal process and are consistently pronounced with an L tone in all environments. It is noteworthy that these facts provide Pichi with a lexical contrast between accentually (H) and tonally specified (L) minimal pairs (cf. the monosyllables listed in (184) above).

Table 4.2 below contains a classification according to pitch class of the simplex roots contained in the lexical data base of my corpus (cf. Faraclas 1996: 273; Good 2004, 2006 for a classification of pitch configurations in Nigerian Pidgin and Saramaccan respectively). A few examples are provided for each pitch class. I have subdivided the pitch classes into major and minor classes according to the number of tokens in the respective class. Monosyllabic H-toned roots and words in the ‘pitch class’ column with a toneless (X) syllable are accented, others tonal. Not included in this table are ideophones, which feature a number of idiosyncratic tonal patterns and often involve lexicalised reduplication and triplication (cf. 5.6.3 and 9.1 for a detailed treatment).

A word is in order here on frequency. Although members of the monosyllabic L-toned pitch class only contribute a total of 19 roots and 2.5 percent of the total in terms of individual entries, they warrant being counted as a major pitch class. The members of this class constitute the backbone of the grammatical system of Pichi: the personal pronouns à ‘1SG.SBJ’, è ‘3SG.SBJ’, =àn ‘3SG.OBJ’; the TMA markers *dè* ‘IPFV’, *gò* ‘POT’, *bin* ‘PST’; the preposition *fɔ̃* and the homonymous forms *nà* ‘LOC’ and *nà* ‘FOC’ outrank any other root of the language in a frequency count. This makes this pitch class perceptually just as salient as the two top-ranking H and H.X pitch classes. In contrast, the minor tone classes are composed of a few individual words each, which together make up 6% of roots in the corpus.

Table 4.2 Distribution of pitch classes over types

| Pitch class     | Examples  | No. of items | % of total |
|-----------------|---|--------------|------------|
| <b>Major</b>    |   |              |            |
| H               | <i>bay</i> ‘buy’, <i>aks</i> ‘ask’, <i>ker</i> ‘carry, take’              | 413          | 54.1       |
| H.X             | <i>drəngo</i> ‘be dead drunk’, <i>kəmpin</i> ‘friend’                     | 178          | 23.3       |
| X.H             | <i>bàkú</i> ‘be much’, <i>sàbí</i> ‘know’, <i>wàtá</i> ‘water’            | 107          | 14.0       |
| L               | <i>dè</i> ‘IPFV’, <i>gò</i> ‘POT’, <i>sən</i> ‘some, a’, <i>fɔ̃</i> ‘ASS’ | 19           | 2.5        |
| <i>Subtotal</i> |   | 717          | 94.0       |

|                 |  |     |       |
|-----------------|--|-----|-------|
| Minor           |  |     |       |
| X.H.X           | <i>ɔspitul</i> ‘hospital’, <i>wahala</i> ‘trouble’                               | 14  | 1.8   |
| H.H             | <i>nyóní</i> ‘ant’, <i>soté</i> ‘until’, <i>sosó</i> ‘only’, <i>apás</i> ‘after’ | 11  | 1.4   |
| X.X.H           | <i>ɔndàstán</i> ‘understand’, <i>prɔpàtí</i> ‘property’                          | 10  | 1.3   |
| H.X.X           | <i>kápinta</i> ‘carpenter’, <i>mérèsin</i> ‘medicine’                            | 6   | 0.8   |
| L.H.H           | <i>okobó</i> ‘impotent man’  | 3   | 0.4   |
| L.L             | <i>Bàta</i> ‘PLACE’, <i>jòmba</i> ‘affair’                                       | 2   | 0.3   |
| <i>Subtotal</i> |  | 46  | 6.0   |
| <i>Total</i>    |  | 763 | 100.0 |

Table 4.2 points to additional characteristics of the corpus. With 54.1 percent, about half the roots are H-toned monosyllables. Another 25.2 percent are polysyllabic roots with an H tone over the penultimate syllable (of which a mere 1.8 percent have more than two syllables). Together, these two groups constitute an overwhelming majority of 79.3 percent of all roots. An additional 15.3 percent bear an H tone over the final syllable. Most roots in the corpus, namely 94,6 percent therefore carry an H tone over the only syllable, the penultimate syllable or the final syllable.

It should also be mentioned that many of the Spanish items that find their way into code-mixed Pichi sentences bear a penultimate H tone in accordance with their original Spanish penultimate syllable stress. This holds in particular for the frozen 3SG present insertion form of the Spanish verb (cf. 14.2.2). Spanish-origin items therefore constitute an additional group of words with predictable pitch configurations.

In sum, most Pichi words are forecastable in their pitch pattern. Nevertheless, tonal contrasts are perceptually very salient in the corpus. High frequency L-toned TMA particles and L-toned dependent pronouns, as well as H-toned independent pronouns combine with equally frequent H-toned monosyllables or H.X words to create polar, footed [LH] and [HL] sequences across word boundaries. At the same time, downstep creates [HL] sequences even between two H tones, while downdrift, pitch resets at prosodic junctures, the use of extra-high pitch and intonational boundary tones each contribute their part to the undulating and pulsating auditory impression that Pichi leaves.

#### 4.1.5 Pitch class variation

Some Pichi words vary in their pitch configuration. In Table 4.3, I list words that appear in two different tonal variants. The forms in the ‘variant 2’ column may optionally be employed in the environments specified further below:



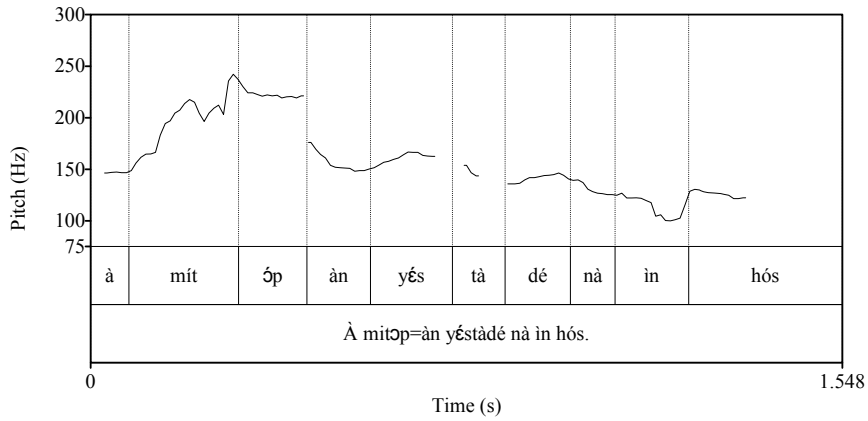
Table 4.3 Pitch class variation

|    | Pitch classes | Variant 1       | Variant 2       | Segmentation     |             | Gloss                    |
|----|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| a. | X.H~H.H       | <i>kòmót</i>    | <i>kámót</i>    | * <i>kəm-</i>    | * <i>ót</i> | ‘go out, come out’       |
| b. | H.X~H.H       | <i>kechəp</i>   | <i>kechóp</i>   | <i>kech-</i>     | <i>əp</i>   | ‘realise’ (< ‘catch up’) |
|    |               | <i>wekəp</i>    | <i>wekóp</i>    | <i>wek-</i>      | <i>əp</i>   | ‘wake (up)’              |
|    |               | <i>mitəp</i>    | <i>mitóp</i>    | <i>mit-</i>      | <i>óp</i>   | ‘meet’                   |
|    |               | <i>lukət</i>    | <i>lukót</i>    | <i>luk-</i>      | * <i>ət</i> | ‘watch out’              |
|    |               | <i>(s)tinap</i> | <i>(s)tináp</i> | * <i>(s)tin-</i> | * <i>ap</i> | ‘stand (up)’             |
| c. | X.H~H.X       | <i>mòtó</i>     | <i>mótó</i>     | —                | —           | ‘car’                    |
|    |               | <i>məmí</i>     | <i>məmi</i>     | —                | —           | ‘mum’                    |
| d. | X.H.X~H.X.X   | <i>abuēla</i>   | <i>[ábwèlà]</i> | —                | —           | ‘grandmother’            |

A look at the ‘segmentation column’ of Table 4.3 points towards the possible origins of pitch class variation in the words listed under (a) and (b). These two groups of words are the reflexes of bimorphemic English items. However, while the English etyma of these words are segmentable, many of the Pichi equivalents are not. Only words featuring *-əp* ‘up’ as their second component are fully segmentable, even if *-əp* is semantically opaque in these concatenations. With all other members of groups (a) and (b), at least one component of the word has no meaning in Pichi (cf. (267) for further evidence for this analysis from compounding).

Nevertheless, all words appear to have retained some of the prosodic structure of their bimorphemic English etyma. The possibility of assigning stress to each of the two components independently in English has been lexicalised as two consecutive H tones in the corresponding Pichi word. As a consequence, Pichi has a small class of words of English rather than African origin, which are fully specified for tone, albeit only in utterance-medial position. In utterance-final position, the declarative L% boundary tone operates as usual over the second syllable of these words. Figure 4.15 below reveals that the H.H variant of *mitəp* ‘meet’ has a pitch contour like a tonal word fully specified for H tones. The syllable *-əp* does not bear a downstepped H tone as would be the case if it were a prosodically independent H-toned monosyllable in this position. Instead, the H tone over *-əp* continues the upward movement beginning over *mit-*:

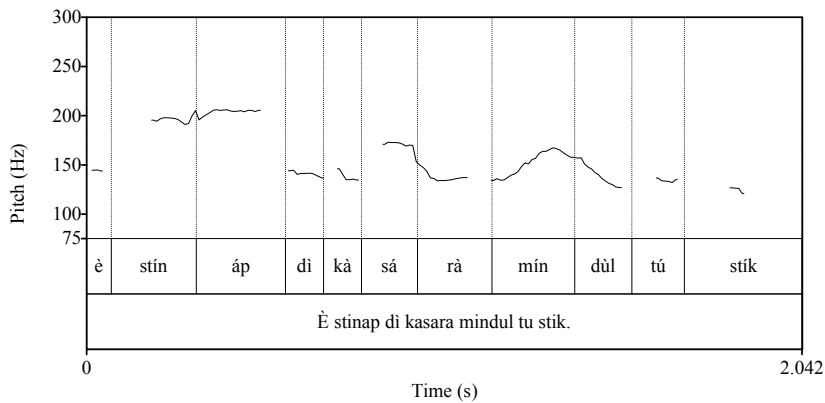
Figure 4.15 Utterance-medial H.X pattern



- (191) À      mítóp=àn      yéstàdé      nà in hos.  
 L      H.X=L      H.X.H      L L H  
 1SG.SBJ meet=3SG yesterday LOC 3SG.POSS house  
 'I met him yesterday in his house.' →
- À      **mítóp**=àn      yéstàdé nà in hos.  
 L      H.H=L      H.L.H L L H

Also compare the utterance-medial pitch contour of *stinap* 'stand up' with its two H tones in Figure 4.16. The pitch is also extra-high due to emphatic stress caused by elicitation:

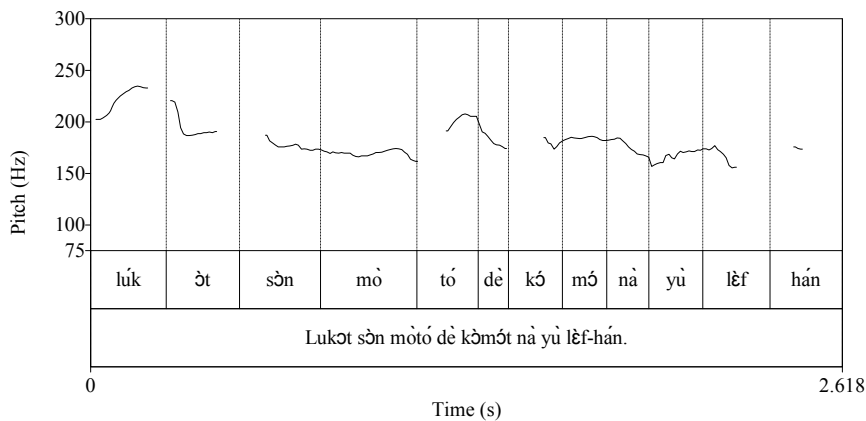
Figure 4.16 Utterance-medial H.X pattern



- (192) È            stináp            dì kasara mindul tu stik dèn.  
 L            H.X            L X.H.X H.X        H H L  
 3SG.SBJ stand.up DEF cassava middle two tree PL  
 ‘He stood up the cassava between two trees.’ →
- È            **stináp**            dì kasara mindul tu stik dèn.  
 L            H.H            L L.H.L H.L        H H L

The following pitch trace exemplifies two further instances of pitch class variation. The verb *kòmót* ‘go out’, has an X.H pitch pattern when it occurs in the citation form or in utterance-final position. Aside from that, *kòmót* may optionally bear an H.H configuration in utterance-medial position as in Figure 4.17. At the same time the verb *lukət* ‘watch out’, which may also vary in pitch class, retains its H.X configuration because it is followed by an intonation break (indicated by the comma):

Figure 4.17 Utterance-medial X.H pattern



- (193) Lukət,            sòn            mòtó            dè kòmót            nà yù lèf-hán.  
 H.X            L            X.H            L X.H            L L X-H  
 watch.out    some    car            IPFV come.out    LOC 2SG left.CPD-hand  
 ‘Watch out, a car is coming out on your left.’ →
- Lúkət**,            sòn            mòtó            dè **kómót**            nà yù lèf-hán.  
 H.L            L            L.H            L H.H            L L L-H

In utterance-final position we only find the H.X and X.H variants of the words listed in Table 4.3 (a) and (b). The final syllable of these words therefore behaves like any other

utterance-final word from these pitch classes: The declarative L% associates with the final syllable of the utterance, where it operates a downward drift as with *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ in the left Table or it remains unpronounced as in *kòmót* ‘go out’ in the right one:

Figure 4.18 Utterance-final H.X pattern

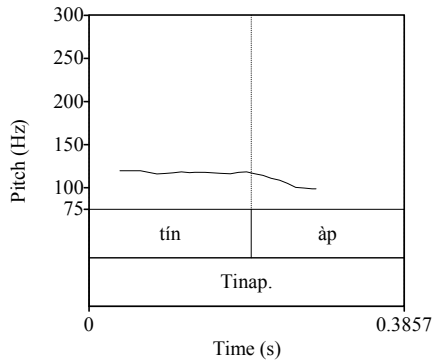
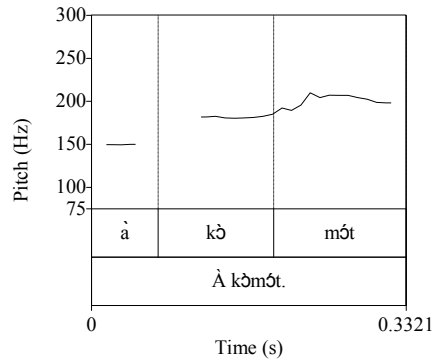


Figure 4.19 Utterance-final X.H pattern



(194) Tinap. → **Tinap**  
 H.X            H.L%  
 stand.  
 ‘Stand up’

(195) À kòmót. → À **kòmót.**  
 L            X.H            L    L.H  
 1SG.SBJ go.out  
 ‘I went out.’

The following two pitch traces provide further evidence for pitch class variation with group (a) and (b) words. Compare utterance-medial *mitəp* ‘meet (up)’ in Figure 4.15 with the citation form of *mitəp* in Figure 4.20 and an utterance-final *wəkəp* ‘wake (up)’ in Figure 4.21. Both cases feature the usual utterance-final fall induced by the declarative L%:

Figure 4.20 Utterance-final H.X pattern

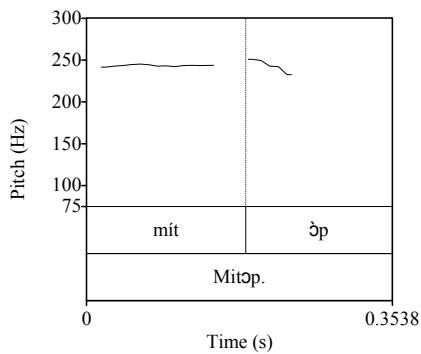
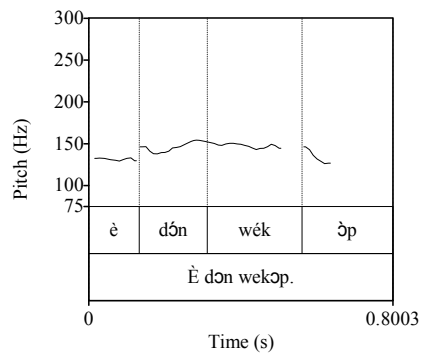


Figure 4.21 Utterance-final H.X pattern



|       |   |       |   |
|-------|---|-------|---|
| (196) | Mitəp.<br>H.X<br>meet<br><br>'(To) meet.' → | (197) | È      dən      wekəp.<br>L      H      H.X<br>3SG.SBJ    PRF    wake.up<br><br>'She has woken up.' → |
|       | <b>Mitəp.</b><br>H.L                        |       | È      dən <b>wekəp.</b><br>L      H      H.X   |

The foregoing analysis shows that the words listed under (a)-(b) in Table 4.3 are located at the interstice of pitch accent and tone. In utterance-medial position, they behave like tonal words with two lexically specified H tones. In utterance-final position, they feature a single H tone like other accented words.

There are two other words in the corpus with an English etymology which belong to the H.H pitch class. However they have not been listed above because they show no signs of pitch class variation. The two H-toned words *apás* 'after (temporal)' and *soté* 'until' are prepositions. Thus by their very nature, they would not occur utterance-finally and hence have no opportunity to vary in their pitch class. Nevertheless, *soté* does occur utterance-finally with an H.H configuration as an adverb of degree (cf. 8.7.3). However the adverbial meaning of *soté* feeds directly on its prepositional function and the sense of an 'unfinished' phrase that it conveys when it occurs utterance-finally.

In contrast, I attribute pitch class variation in group (c) and (d) of Table 4.3 to the metric preferences of Pichi. We have seen that a minority of 15,3% of roots in the corpus bear an H over their final syllable (cf. Table 4.2). In the vast majority of cases, word boundaries are demarcated by the presence of an H tone with the word-initial (or only) syllable. This view is confirmed by the variants of group (d). The trisyllabic noun *abuela* 'grandmother' is an established loan from Spanish - so established it appears, that it is not only integrated into the prosodic system of Pichi by bearing an H tone on the second syllable where the Spanish etymon bears stress. The word may also be subjected to H tone shift from the penultimate to the ante-penultimate syllable. The word *abuela* is thereby aligned to the majority pattern in Pichi, in which an H tone is borne by the first (or only) syllable.

## 4.2 Tonal processes

Pitch changes conditioned by various factors may take place within a tonal domain. A tonal domain may be confined to the word, may cut across a word boundary in specific phono-syntactic phrases and involve a whole clause or sentence. The tonal processes attested in the data are described in 4.2.1 to 4.2.4. A summary of these processes is given in Table 4.4:

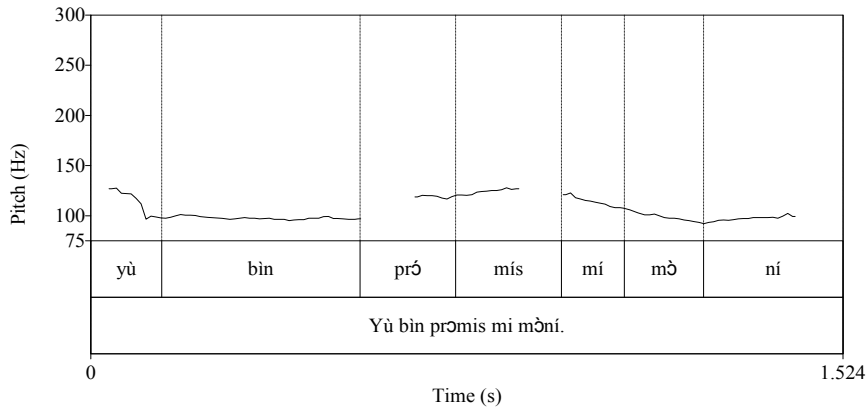
Table 4.4 Tonal processes

| Process     | Description  | Conditioning factor   | Tonal domain                                 |
|-------------|--|---|--|
| Spreading   | H spreads rightwards to toneless syllable(s) of accented words                             | (1) Stress: an H is raised to extra-high and then spreads                         | (1) Word                                     |
|             |  | (2) Tonal plateauing: a toneless syllable hemmed in by two H tones is raised to H | (2) Verb-object phrase; modifier-noun phrase |
| Floating    | H is set afloat and docks onto a right-adjacent L-toned segment to form an HL contour tone | Vowel deletion and vowel merging  | Adjacent function words                      |
| Declination | H tones are progressively lowered across the utterance                                     | (1) Downdrift: an H is lowered by a preceding L                                   | Clause, sentence                             |
|             |  | (2) Downstep: an H is lower in pitch than a left-adjacent H                       |  |
| Deletion    | The lexical tone is deleted and the toneless syllable is realised as a default L           | (1) Derivation of compounds and reduplicants                                      | (1) Phonological word                        |
|             |  | (2) Question intonation overwrites final lexical tone                             | (2) Word                                     |

#### 4.2.1 Spreading

H tones may spread rightwards to adjacent toneless syllables of the word. Tone spreading typically occurs utterance-medially in two contexts. Firstly emphatic or lexical stress may raise the pitch of an H tone which then spreads rightwards onto toneless syllables of the same word. The stressed, hence extra-high tone over the first syllable of *prəmɪs* 'promise' in Figure 4.22 spreads to the second syllable:

Figure 4.22 H tone spreading



- (198) Yù bin prǝmis mi mǝní. → Yù bin **prǝmis mi** mǝní.  
 L L H.X H X.H L L **+H.H H** L.H  
 2SG PST promise 1SG.EMP money  
 ‘You promised me money.’

Secondly, H tone spreading occurs in specific phono-syntactic environments. This process involves tonal plateauing (cf. also Good 2006), a form of tonal assimilation. Two such environments were identified in the data. Firstly, when the toneless syllable of a bisyllabic verb with an H.X. pattern is hemmed in by the preceding H tone and the H tone of the following object, the toneless syllable is raised to H. In Figure 4.23, the toneless syllable of *finis* ‘finish’ is raised in pitch to the level of an H tone. The pitch trace in Figure 4.24 exemplifies the same tonal process with *vǝmit* ‘vomit’ and the following object *chǝp* ‘food’:

Figure 4.23 H tone spreading

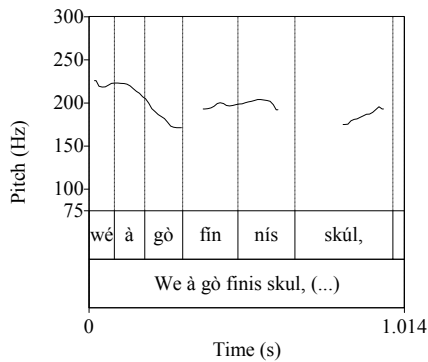
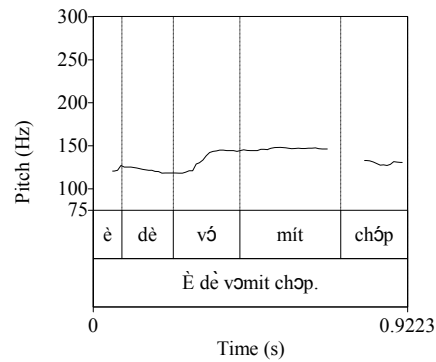


Figure 4.24 H tone spreading



|       |                           |         |     |              |                   |       |                                |      |              |              |
|-------|---------------------------|---------|-----|--------------|-------------------|-------|--------------------------------|------|--------------|--------------|
| (199) | We                        | à       | gò  | finis        | skul (...)        | (200) | È                              | dè   | vòmít        | chòp.        |
|       | H                         | L       | L   | H.X          | H                 |       | L                              | L    | H.X          | H            |
|       | SUB                       | 1SG.SBJ | POT | finish       | school            |       | 3SG.SBJ                        | IPFV | vomit        | food         |
|       | 'When I finish school.' → |         |     |              |                   |       | 'He is vomiting (the) food.' → |      |              |              |
|       | We                        | à       | gò  | <b>finís</b> | <b>skul (...)</b> |       | È                              | dè   | <b>vòmít</b> | <b>chòp.</b> |
|       | H                         | L       | L   | <b>H.H</b>   | <b>H</b>          |       | L                              | L    | <b>H.H</b>   | <b>H</b>     |

A second phono-syntactic environment that favours rightward H tone spreading is a modifier-noun phrase. The toneless syllable of a bisyllabic property item in prenominal position and with an H.X pattern may be raised to H if it is immediately followed by a noun with an initial (or only) H tone. An example for this process is provided in (206) further below. In the NP, the toneless syllable of the modifier *fulis* 'foolish' is raised to an H tone because it is followed by the H-toned noun *man* 'man'.

#### 4.2.2 Floating

Pichi makes extensive use of floating boundary tones for the purpose of intonation (cf. 4.3.2). Aside from that, a lexical tone may be set afloat when two adjoining vowels merge or one of two adjoining vowels is deleted. Tone floating is particularly likely to occur in the contact zone between an H-toned high frequency function word and a following L-toned vowel. In (cf.), the final consonant /k/ of *mek* 'SBJV' is deleted. This creates a vowel hiatus, which in turn leads to the deletion of the first, higher /e/ of *mek* in favour of the second, lower vowel /à/. The rising-falling contour over *mâ* (*mek*=à) is clearly visible.

In Figure 4.26, the final segment of *haw* 'how' is deleted and the lexical H tone is set afloat. The vowel merger between /a/ and the following low-toned dependent personal pronoun /è/ creates an HL contour tone:

Figure 4.25 Vowel deletion sets tone afloat

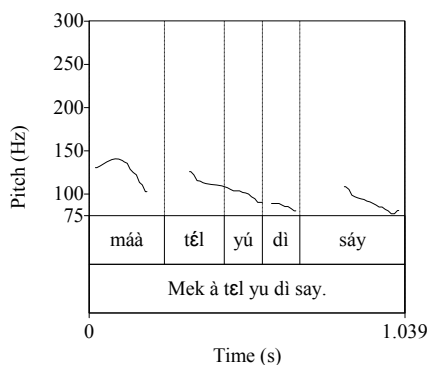
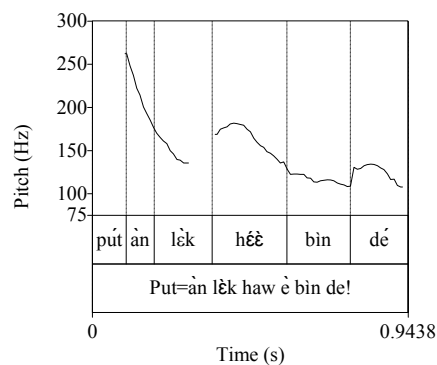


Figure 4.26 Vowel merger sets tone afloat



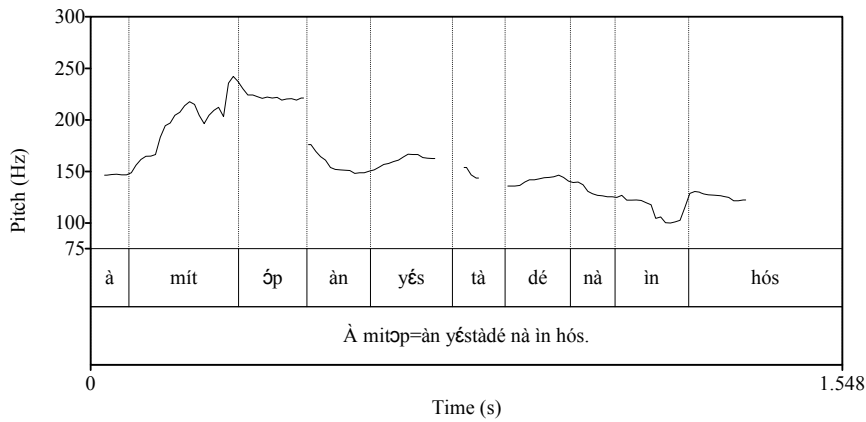


|       |                              |         |      |         |      |      |        |                       |           |           |         |     |       |   |
|-------|------------------------------|---------|------|---------|------|------|--------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----|-------|---|
| (201) | Mek                          | à       | tel  | yu      | dì   | say. | (202)  | Put=àn                | lèk       | haw       | è       | bìn | de!   |   |
|       | H                            | L       | H    | H       | L    | H    |        | H                     | L         | L         | H       | L   | L     | H |
|       | SBJV                         | 1SG.SBJ | tell | 2SG.EMP | DEF  | side |        | put=3SG.OBJ           | like      | how       | 3SG.SBJ | PST | BE.AT |   |
|       | 'Let me tell you the place.' |         |      |         |      |      | →      | 'Put it like it was!' |           |           |         |     |       | → |
|       | <b>Mâ</b>                    | tel     | yu   | dì      | say. |      | Put=àn | lèk                   | <b>hê</b> | bìn       | de!     |     |       |   |
|       | <b>HL</b>                    | H       | H    | L       | H    |      | H      | L                     | L         | <b>HL</b> | L       | H   |       |   |

### 4.2.3 Downdrift and downstep

Downdrift and downstep contribute to a general downward cline of pitch in utterances. An utterance normally begins with a high pitch onset and declines progressively with every lexical tone. Downdrift (indicated by ↓H) causes an H to be lowered by a preceding L tone as in Figure 4.27. The overall effect of downdrift is visible by the roughly equivalent pitch over the initial L-toned personal pronoun à ‘1sg.sbj’ and the final H-toned noun *hos* ‘house’:

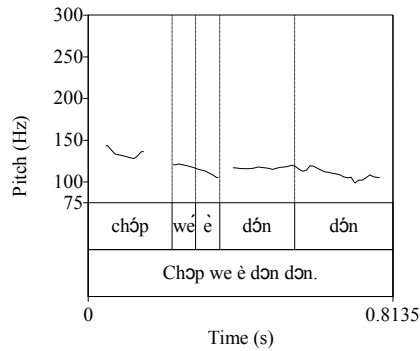
Figure 4.27 Downdrift



|       |                                     |                 |                 |     |          |             |   |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----|----------|-------------|---|
| (203) | À                                   | mitóp=àn        | yéstådé         | nà  | ìn       | hos.        |   |
|       | L                                   | H.X=L           | H.X.H           | L   | L        | H           |   |
|       | 1SG.SBJ                             | meet=3SG        | yesterday       | LOC | 3SG.POSS | house       |   |
|       | 'I met him yesterday in his house.' |                 |                 |     |          |             | → |
|       | À                                   | <b>mitóp=àn</b> | <b>yéstådé</b>  | nà  | ìn       | <b>hos.</b> |   |
|       | L                                   | ↓ <b>H.H=L</b>  | ↓ <b>H.L.↓H</b> | L   | L        | ↓ <b>H</b>  |   |

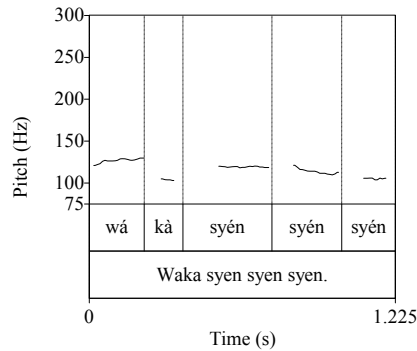
The second phenomenon involving declination is downstep (indicated by -H). In a series of adjacent H tones, each tone may be lowered successively in relation to the preceding one. Downstep is exemplified below by the two successive homophones in Figure 4.28 and the iteration in Figure 4.29 below:

Figure 4.28 Downstep



- (204) Chòp we è dòn dòn.  
 H H L H H  
 food SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF done  
 'Food that is done.' →  
 Chòp **wé** è dòn **dòn**.  
 H -H L H -H

Figure 4.29 Downstep



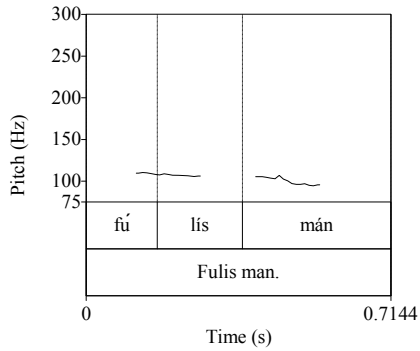
- (205) Waka sen sen sen.  
 H.X H H H  
 walk same REP REP  
 'Walk exactly in one line.' →  
 Waka sen **sen** **sen**.  
 H.L H -H -H

#### 4.2.4 Deletion

Tone deletion occurs in two contexts. In compounds (including reduplications), the lexical H tone over the first component is deleted. The syllable whose tone has been deleted becomes toneless and is pronounced as an L tone by default. The second component retains its original pitch configuration. Tone deletion therefore forms an intrinsic part of a derivational process in Pichi (cf. 5.4.1). The second context in which tone deletion occurs is when a boundary tone overwrites the utterance-final lexical tone of a word (cf. 4.4.4).

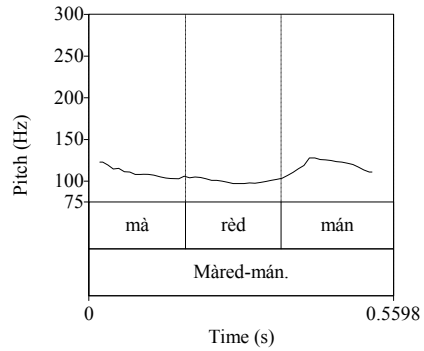
Figure 4.30 presents the pitch trace of an NP headed by the noun *man* 'man'. The noun is modified prenominally by the verb *fulis* '(be) foolish', which has an H.X pitch pattern. The pitch of the utterance-final H tone over *man* stands at roughly the same level (albeit slightly downstepped and falling due to declarative intonation) as that of the preceding H tones over the first and second syllables of *fulis*. Note that the second, lexically toneless syllable of *fulis* bears a phonetic H tone due to tonal plateauing (cf. 4.2.1):

Figure 4.30 Simplex noun



- (206) Fulis man.  
 H.L H  
 foolish man  
 'Foolish man.'

Figure 4.31 Compound noun

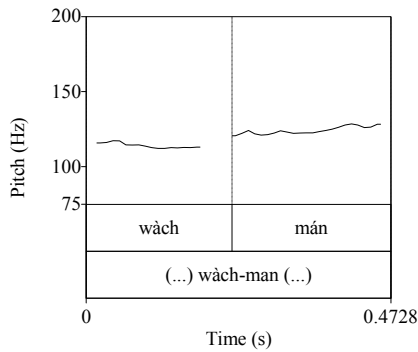


- (207) **Mà**red-man  
 L.L-H  
 marry.CPD-man.  
 'Married man.'

In contrast, the pitch trace in Figure 4.31 above exemplifies tone deletion. The head noun *man* 'man' is also modified by a verb with an H.X pattern, namely *mared* 'marry, be married'. However, *mared* and *man* form a single phonological word, the compound noun *màred-man* 'married man'. The lexical H tone over the first syllable of *mared* 'marry, be married' has been deleted in the process and replaced by a default low tone (the downward cline over the first syllable is caused by a pitch reset at the beginning of the utterance). At the same time, *man*, the final component of the compound retains its H tone (which falls slightly due to its utterance-final position).

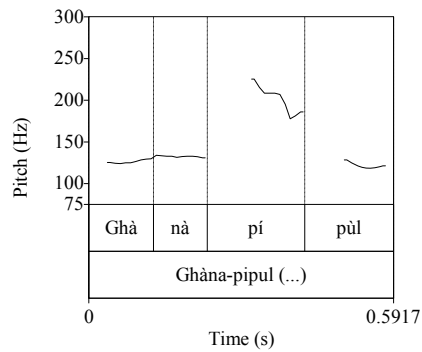
Figure 4.32 below presents the pitch trace of the compound noun *wàch-man* 'watchman', consisting of two monosyllabic components, namely the verb *wach* 'watch' and the noun *man* 'man'. As in all compounds, the lexical H-tone over the initial component (*wach*) has been deleted and replaced by a default L-tone. In contrast, the H-tone over the final component (*man*) remains unchanged. The resulting compound noun therefore features an X.H pitch configuration, which is pronounced as L.H. Note that the compound in Figure 4.32 is in utterance-medial position. Hence, *man* 'man' does not exhibit a fall, as it would if it were in utterance-final position:

Figure 4.32 Monosyllabic components



- (208) (...) **wàch**-man (...)  
 L-H  
 watch.CPD-man  
 ‘(...) watchman (...)’

Figure 4.33 Bisyllabic components

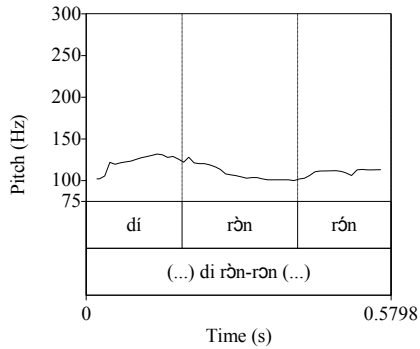


- (209) **Ghà**na-pìpul (...)  
 L-L-H-L  
 PLACE.CPD-people  
 ‘Ghanaians (...)’

Figure 4.33 above exemplifies the formation of a compound with two bisyllabic components, namely the place noun *Ghana* ‘Ghana’ and the common noun *pipul* ‘people’. *Ghana* is a pitch-accented word with an H.X pitch configuration. Hence it bears a single lexical H tone over the first syllable. Once more, the process of compounding involves the deletion of the H-tone over the initial component (*Ghana*) of the compound. Conversely, the noun *pipul* retains its original H.X pitch configuration. The pitch contour graphically shows the rise over the first syllable of *pipul* by more than a 100 Hz above the level of the L-toned syllables of the compound. As expected, the second syllable of *pipul* retains its default low tone as well. It remains at roughly the same pitch level as the two L-toned syllables of *Ghana*.

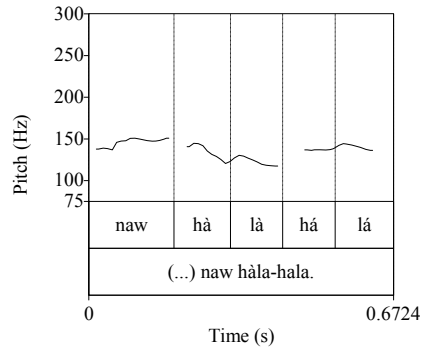
Reduplicated verbs exhibit virtually the same suprasegmental characteristics as compound nouns. The pitch trace of the reduplicated (and sentence-medial) monosyllabic *rən* ‘run’ in Figure 4.34 is indicative of an X.H pitch configuration over the two identical components. This parallels the pitch trace over the compound *wàch-man* ‘watchman’ above. We must therefore assume that reduplication involves the same derivational process as compounding: the lexical H-tone over the first component is deleted and replaced by an X, a default low tone:

Figure 4.34 Monosyllabic reduplicated verb



- (210) (...) dí **rɔ̀n-rɔ̀n** (...)  
           H   L-H  
           this RED.CPD-run  
           ‘(...) this running around (...)’

Figure 4.35 Bisyllabic reduplicated verb



- (211) (...) naw **hãlã-hãlã**.  
           H       L-L-H.H  
           now     RED.CPD-shout  
           ‘(...) now (it was) constant shouting.’

Likewise, the pitch contour over the bisyllabic reduplicated verb *hala* ‘shout’ in Figure 4.32 resembles that of the compound noun *Ghàna-pìpul* ‘Ghanaians’ above, even if the differences between the H and L tones are less pronounced in the latter compound. Here too, the H-tone over the first component of the reduplicative compound is erased and replaced by a default L-tone. At the same time, there is a slight difference between the two compounds. Although the right component of *hàlã-hãlã* is in utterance-final position in Figure 4.35, the toneless (hence L-toned) second syllable of the base does not exhibit the characteristic utterance-final fall. Instead, the utterance-final syllable stands at approximately the same pitch level as the preceding H-toned syllable of *hala*. As a result, we have a sequence of two phonetic L-tones over the reduplicant followed by a sequence of two phonetic H-tones over the base.

Such a configuration over bisyllabic reduplicated verbs with an H.X configuration is the more common alternative. The less common alternative is for the second syllable of the bisyllabic base to feature a phonetic L-tone like the second syllable of *pìpul* ‘people’ in Figure 4.33 above. This fact speaks to the conventionalised operation of H-tone spreading during reduplication; the H-tone of the first syllable of the base spreads to the second syllable due to emphatic stress.

The tendency of reduplicated verbs towards a pitch configuration featuring a sequence of L.L-H.H phonetic tones points towards symmetry as a defining formal characteristic of Pichi reduplication. Not only is the segmental material of the entire base copied and preposed. There is also the quest for suprasegmental symmetry – Pichi employs the means at its disposal – i.e. H-tone spreading – to create a ‘symmetrical’ sequence of two phonetic H tones over the base, which is polar to the succession of two phonetic L-tones

over the reduplicant. The succession of two identical tones over each component creates tonal feet which are, in prosodic terms, no different from simplex XH words or XH compounds consisting of two monosyllables.

### 4.3 Stress

In Pichi, an H tone is the only consistent indicator of prominence. There are other phonetic features which may increase the prominence of a syllable or series of syllables and may be exploited for stylistic effect. Segments may be lengthened or may be pronounced with increased volume; they may be pronounced with a breathy or creaky voice, and the speech rate may be slowed down or accelerated. But the data does not reveal any systematic appearance of other phonetic features with prominent syllables other than an H tone. Word stress in the sense of an automatic, metrically conditioned culmination of phonetic features other than pitch alone, does not exist in Pichi.

Nevertheless, there are two features which I refer to as ‘stress’. Firstly, an extra-high tone may be exploited to signal focus or emphasis (cf. 4.3.2). Secondly, Pichi employs lexical stress; certain types of words with grammatical and pragmatic functions almost exclusively occur with a higher-than-usual pitch (cf. 4.3.3).

#### 4.3.1 Stressability

Speaker-controlled, emphatic stress may apply to single, several or all items within a syntactic phrase. Eligible constituents are usually accented words.

Most function words are, however, lexically determined in their stressability in one of two ways: A small number of H- and all L-toned function words are unstressable. They never receive stress at all. A second group of function words almost exclusively occurs with an extra-high tone. With these items, it is not non-stressability but rather the use of an extra-high tone that is lexically assigned. Table 4.5 summarises the stressability of the relevant groups of words:

Table 4.5. Stressability of items

| Stress class | Word class   | Items  |
|--------------|--|--|
| Stressable   | Pro(nouns), verbs                                    | Nouns and noun modifiers, independent (emphatic) pronouns, verbs   |
|              | Some adverbs & clause linkers                        | <i>bikas</i> ‘because’, <i>so</i> ‘like that’, <i>naw</i> ‘now’ and other H-toned adverbs  |
| Unstressable | Preverbal TMA markers<br>Dependent personal pronouns | <i>bìn</i> ‘PST’, <i>dè</i> ‘IPFV’, <i>dən</i> ‘PRF’, <i>gò</i> ‘POT’, <i>kan</i> ‘PFV’, <i>kin</i> ‘HAB’<br><i>à</i> ‘1SG.SBJ’, <i>yù</i> ‘2SG’, <i>è</i> ‘3SG.SBJ’, <i>=àn</i> ‘3SG.OBJ’, <i>wì</i> ‘1PL’,<br><i>ùna</i> ‘2PL’, <i>dèn</i> ‘3PL, PL’ |

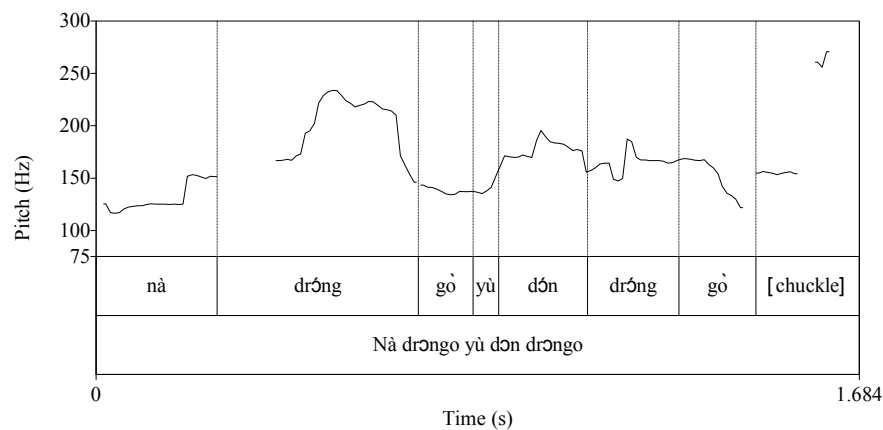
|                    |                         |   |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---|
|                    | Prepositions            | e.g. <i>fə</i> 'ASS', <i>frən</i> 'from', <i>lək</i> 'like', <i>nà</i> 'LOC', <i>wèt</i> 'with'   |
|                    | Copula/focus marker     | <i>nà</i> 'FOC'   |
| Lexically stressed | Question elements       | <i>haw</i> 'how', <i>us=</i> 'Q-', <i>udat</i> 'who', <i>wetin</i> 'what'   |
|                    | Demonstratives          | <i>di(s)</i> 'this', <i>dan</i> 'that', <i>dat</i> 'that'   |
|                    | Negators                | <i>no</i> 'NEG', <i>nəto</i> 'NEG.FOC'  |
|                    | Clause linkers          | <i>if</i> 'if', <i>mek</i> 'SBJV'   |
|                    | Modifications of degree | Lexicalised repetitions, e.g. <i>big big</i> 'huge'; adverbial modifiers of degree, e.g. <i>bad</i> 'extremely', <i>fayn</i> '(real) good', <i>soté</i> 'extremely' |

### 4.3.2 Emphatic stress

Emphatic stress is controlled by speakers in order to focus and emphasise constituents and entire sentences. Eligible constituents are nouns, pre- and post nominal modifiers, verbs, either alone or as part of serial verb constructions, verb modifiers such as adverbs and ideophones, verbs and their objects as well as adverbials. Emphatic stress is produced in two ways. Firstly, focused or emphasised constituents may bear a higher than usual pitch, an extra-high tone on their H-toned syllable(s). The extra-high tone may spread rightwards onto following toneless syllables until the word boundary is reached (cf. 4.2.1).

Figure 4.36 features the clefted verb *drəŋgo* 'be dead drunk'. In the pitch trace, the emphatic character of the predicate cleft construction is evident in two ways. The H-toned syllable of *drəŋgo* bears an extra-high tone and the segment /r/ is lengthened for emphasis. The utterance in Figure 4.36 shades off into a chuckle from the fifth syllable onwards, which produces a wavering pitch trace:

Figure 4.36: Predicate cleft and extra-high tone for emphasis

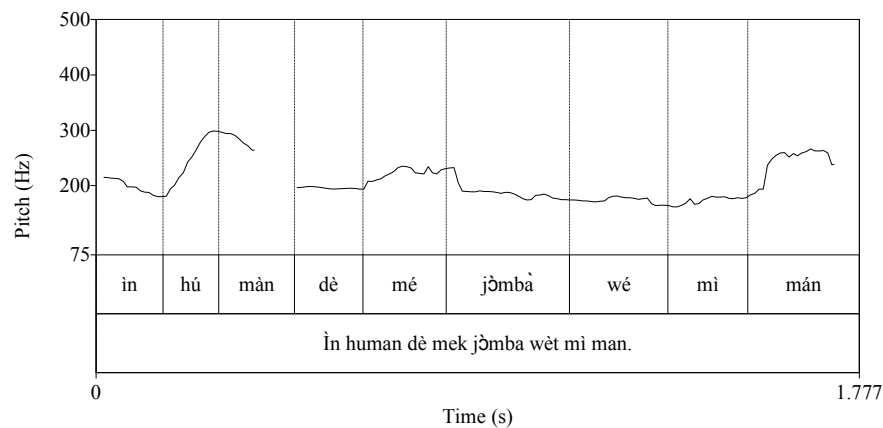


- (212) Nà drɔŋgo                    yù dɔn drɔŋgo.  
 L H.X                            L H H.X  
 FOC be.dead.drunk    2SG PRF be.dead.drunk  
 ‘You’re absolutely dead drunk.’ →
- Nà [drrrɔŋgo]                    yù dɔn drɔŋgo.  
 L +H.L                            L H H.L

Secondly, entire clauses or sentences may be placed under focus or stressed through emphatic stress, which thereby fulfils the same function as emphatic intonation covered in 4.4.2 further below. There are two principal means of stressing sentences, which are often used together. The last H tone of the utterance may be raised to an extra-high pitch as in Figure 4.37. Here the H tone of the utterance-final word *man* ‘man’ has been raised to an extra-high level.

The sentence nonetheless bears declarative intonation. The word *man* still exhibits the utterance-final fall characteristic of the declarative L%, but at a significantly higher pitch level than in conventional declarative clauses. At the same time, the noun *human* ‘woman’ is also subjected to emphatic stress. The extra-high tone over the H-toned syllable is visibly higher than the following H-toned verb *mek* ‘make’ (the interruption of the pitch trace is due to breathy voice):

Figure 4.37 Utterance-final extra-high tone for emphasis



- (213) Yù human dè mek jòmba wèt mì man.  
 L H.X L H L.L L L H  
 2SG woman IPFV make affair with1SG.POSS man.  
 ‘Your wife is having an affair with my husband.’ →

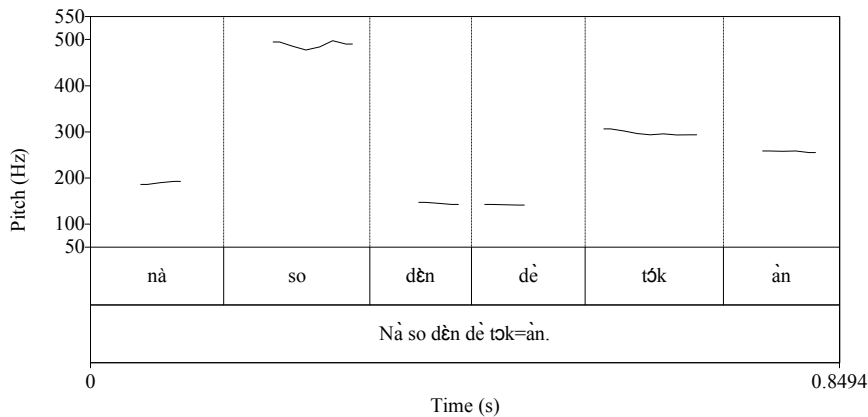


Yù human dè mek jòm̃ba wèt mì **man.**  
 L H.L L H L.L L L **+HL%**

The use of an utterance-final extra-high tone is often accompanied by “pitch range expansion” (Yip 2002: 276). Alternatively pitch range expansion may be accompanied by the use of the emphatic boundary tone instead of the utterance-final extra-high tone (cf. 4.4.2). During pitch range expansion, the pitch range between H and L tones is widened throughout the entire utterance by pronouncing H tones with a higher-than-usual pitch and optionally, L tones with a lower than usual pitch. This creates a strongly undulating pitch contour over the entire utterance.

Figure 4.38 graphically depicts the dramatic rises and falls that may characterise pitch range expansion. The female speaker begins with an L-toned *nà* at 190 Hz, rises to 490 Hz with H-toned *so*, then falls to an all-time low with *dèn* at 145 Hz until the pitch range gradually evens out towards the end of the utterance:

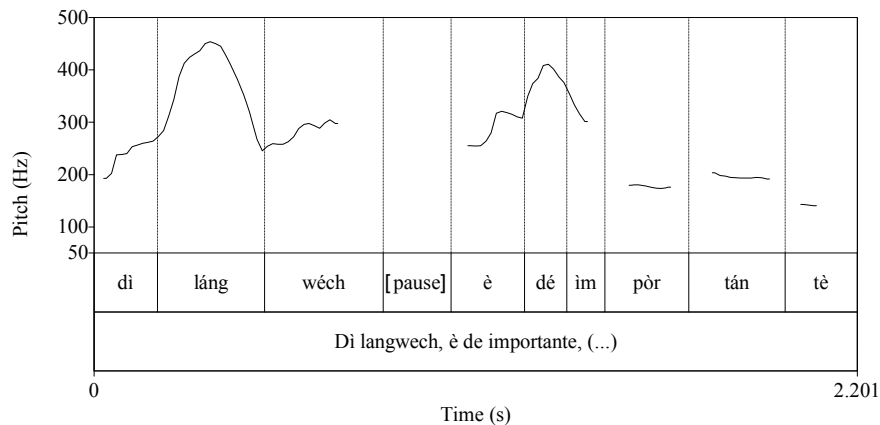
Figure 4.38 Pitch range expansion for emphasis



(214) Nà so dèn dè tók àn. → Nà **so dèn dè tók** àn.  
 L H L L H L L **+H +L +L +H LH%**  
 FOC like.that 3PL 1PFV talk=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘That’s how they say it.’

The following utterance exemplifies the interaction of emphatic stress with topic and focus. The left-dislocated topic *dì langwech* ‘the language’ is set off from the remainder of the sentence by a pause and by the H% continuative boundary tone, which functions as a ‘floor-holding’ device for following material (cf.4.4.4). The extra-high tone on the H-toned syllable of *langwech* signals focus of the dislocated topic. At the same time, the extra-high tone over the copula verb *de* signals predicate or clausal focus:

Figure 4.39 Emphatic stress, focus and topic



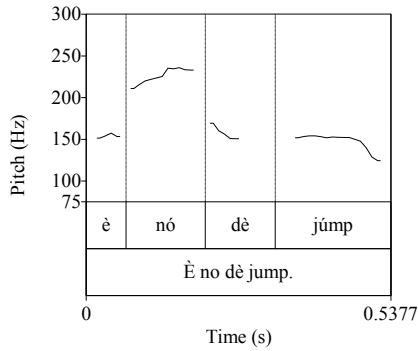
- (215) Dì langwech, è de importante, (...)  
 L H.X L H X.X.H.X  
 DEF language 3SG.SBJ BE.AT important  
 'The (home) language, it is important, (...)' →
- Dì **langwech**, è **de** importante, (...)  
 L **+H.LH%** L **+H** L.L.H.L

### 4.3.3 Lexical stress

Lexically stressed items very often bear a higher-than-usual pitch. They are key elements in pragmatically marked contexts, e.g. the question elements *haw* 'how', *wetin* 'what', *udat* 'who', *us=tin* 'what'; the subjunctive marker *mek*; the negator *no*; modifications of degree via repetition like *big big* 'very big' and the degree adverb *bad* 'extremely'.

The negator *no* 'NEG' in Figure 4.40 bears the characteristic extra-high tone associated with stressed items. The steep rise and sharp fall before and after *no* are clearly visible. The occurrence of lexically stressed items in an utterance has another noticeable effect. When an inherently stressed item follows an H-toned item, downstep may be suspended. Figure 4.41 features the verb *mek* 'make' immediately followed by *mek* 'SBJV'. In spite of the adjacency of these two H-toned items, *mek* 'SBJV' does not exhibit downstep, which is characteristic for non-initial H tones in a succession of H tones. On the contrary, a slight rise can be observed over *mek* 'SBJV' before the pitch movement falls in assimilation to the following low-toned *dèn* '3PL'.

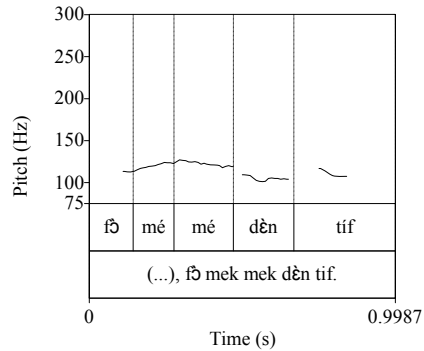
Figure 4.40 Lexically stressed negator



(216) È no dè jump.  
 L H L H  
 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV jump  
 ‘He’s not jumping.’ →

È **no** dè jump.  
 L **+H** L H

Figure 4.41 Lexically stressed SBJV marker

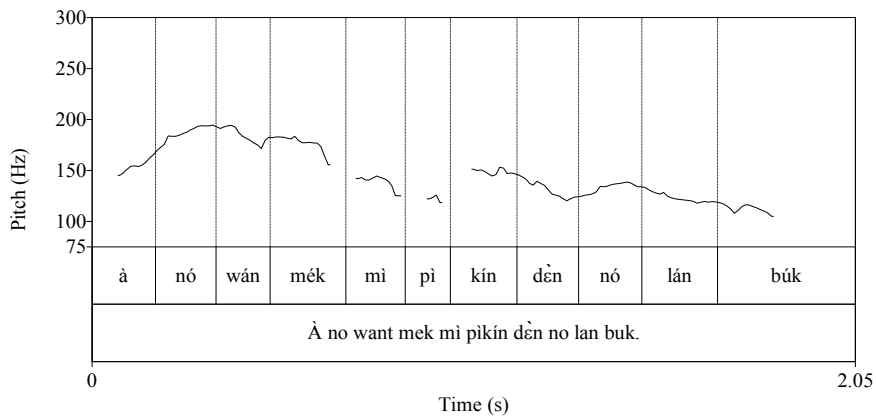


(217) (...) fɔ̃ mek mek dɛ̀n tif.  
 L H H L H  
 ASS make SBJV 3PL steal  
 ‘(...) in order for them to steal.’ →

(...) fɔ̃ mek **mek** dɛ̀n tif.  
 L H **+H** L H

Both processes, the assignment of an extra-high tone and the suspension of downstep, are also evident in Figure 4.42. For one part, the first negator *no* bears an extra-high tone. Secondly, while the H tone over the following verb *want* ‘want’ is downstepped, the H tone over the lexically stressed subjunctive marker *mek* ‘SBJV’ is instead raised to the same extra-high pitch of the preceding negator *no*:

Figure 4.42 Suspension of downstep due to lexical stress

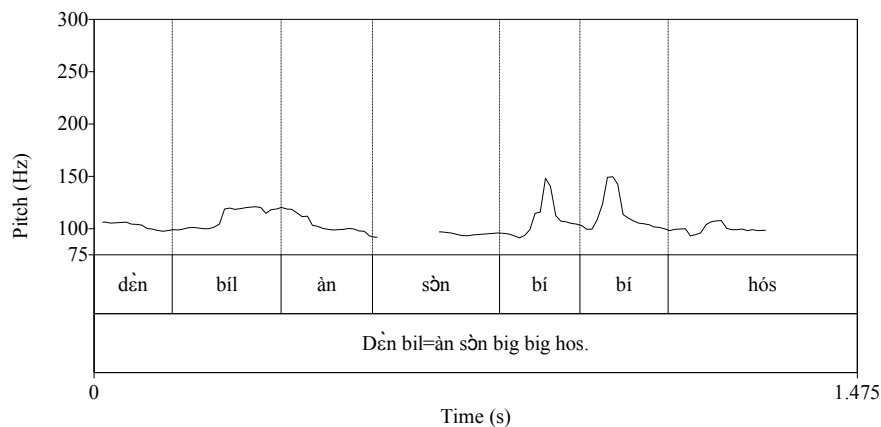


(218) À      no want    mek      mì      pìkín    dèn no    lan      buk.  
 L      +H H      H      L      X.H    L H H    H  
 1SG.SBJ NEG want    SBJV    1SG.POSS child    PL NEG learn    book  
 ‘I don’t want my children not to study.’ →

À      no want    **mek**      mì      pìkín    dèn **no**    lan      buk.  
 L      +H H      +H      L      L.H    L +H H    H

The final example presents the occurrence of lexical stress in modifications of degree. Degree modifications are often lexically stressed, whether instantiated in simplex forms or in repetitions. Both components of the repetition *big big* ‘be very big’ in Figure 4.43 below carry an extra-high tone. There is no sign of downstep within the reduplicated sequence:

Figure 4.43 Lexical stress



(219) Dèn      bil=àn      sòn      big big      hos.  
 H      H=L      L      H H      H  
 3PL      build=3SG.OBJ    some    big REP    house  
 ‘They built him a huge house.’ →

Dèn      bil=àn      sòn      **big big**      hos.  
 H      H=L      L      +H +H      H

#### 4.4 Intonation

Pichi employs lexical tone so there is not as much leeway for manipulating pitch to form intonational melodies across the entire utterance as in stress-accent languages (cf. e.g. Pierrehumbert 1980 for an overview of English intonation). Instead, stress, sentence-final particles and utterance-final boundary tones and contours interact in Pichi in order to fulfil the pragmatic and grammatical functions associated with intonational melodies in stress-accent languages. Pichi boundary tones are floating tones, which are inserted at the right edge of an utterance. These boundary tones serve pragmatic functions by differentiating sentence types like declaratives from questions. They also fulfil grammatical functions by linking clauses.

One feature that enables one to distinguish accented words from tonal ones, is that the latter are not attested with intonational boundary tones. Boundary tones only display the kind of interaction presented in Table 4.7 further below with accented words. The final H-toned syllables of tonal words do not appear to allow the association of boundary tones (cf. 4.4.6).

Four boundary tones and contours, represented by % in the following (cf. Pierrehumbert 1980), were identified in the corpus. Their functions (cf. Hirst & Di Cristo 1998: 18ff.) with declaratives and questions are summarised in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6 Utterance type and intonation

| Boundary tone/contour | Declaratives             | Questions |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| L%                    | Non-emphatic             | Content   |
| LH% (additive)        | Emphatic<br>List         | —<br>—    |
| No tone               | Continuative<br>Emphatic | —<br>—    |
| LH% (substitutive)    | —                        | Yes-no    |

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

Table 4.7 below shows how lexical tones and boundary tones interact. The leftmost column contains the word-final lexical tone (LT) over the last syllable of the utterance. The top row contains the relevant boundary tone (BT). The boxes in the table contain the (contour) tones over the utterance-final syllable that result from the interaction of LT and BT. These tones represent the phonetic output, the way the tone is actually pronounced.

Some of these output tones are level, others are contour tones of varying complexity:

Table 4.7 Interaction of lexical tones and boundary tones

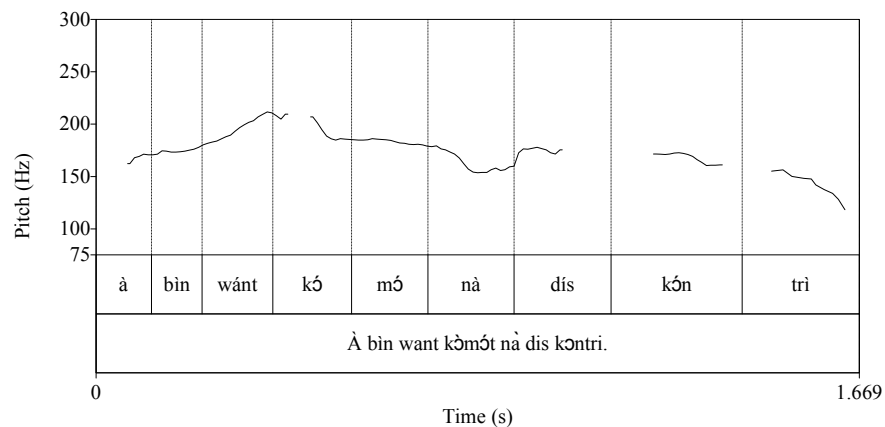
| LT / BT | Example                                      | L%       | LH% (EMP) | No tone   | LH% (Q) |
|---------|--|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| X       | <i>Pichi</i> 'Pichi'<br>H.X                  | L (fall) | LH        | L (level) | LH      |
| L       | <i>dèn</i> '3PL'<br>L                        | L (fall) | LH        | L (level) | LH      |
| H       | <i>go</i> 'go' <i>pikín</i> 'child'<br>H X.H | HL       | HLH       | H         | LH      |
| H       | <i>b̀̀bí</i> 'breast'<br>X.H                 | H        | HLH       | H         | LH      |

Lexical tones are not overwritten by boundary tones save in one instance. In yes-no questions, the utterance-final lexical tone is deleted and replaced by the question boundary contour tone. This is why the rightmost column in Table 4.7 features the same LH% boundary tone in the utterance-final position with all pitch classes.

#### 4.4.1 Declarative intonation

Non-emphatic declaratives feature an L%, which is also found on the right edge of the citation form of words. The declarative L% causes an utterance-final fall to the bottom of the pitch register. Compare the word-final toneless syllable of *k̀̀ntri* 'country' in Figure 4.44:

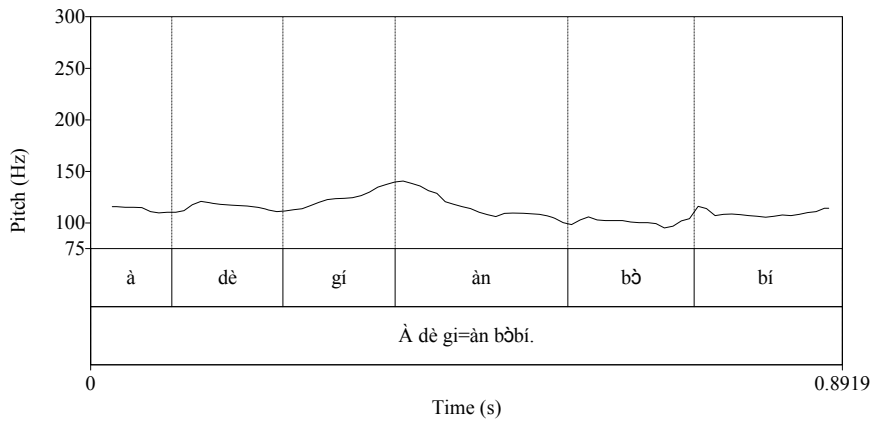
Figure 4.44 Declarative L% over H.X word



- (220) À      bìn want      kòmót      nà      dis kòntri.  
 L      L H      X.H      L      H H.X  
 1SG.SBJ PST want go.out LOC this country  
 ‘I wanted to leave this country.’ →
- À      bìn want      kòmót      nà      dis **kòntri**  
 L      L H      H.H      L H H.L%

In contrast, polysyllabic vowel-final words with a final lexical H tone do not usually feature an utterance-final fall in non-emphatic declaratives. They retain their word-final H tone. Compare *b̀̀b̀̀bí* ‘breast’ in Figure 4.45 (cf. also 4.1.1):

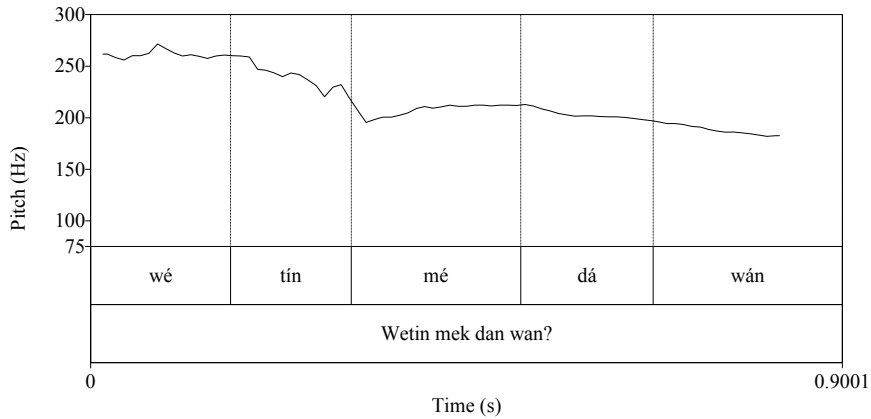
Figure 4.45 Unpronounced declarative L% over X.H word



- (221) À      dè      gi=àn      b̀̀b̀̀bí.  
 L      L      H=L      X.H  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give =3SG.OBJ breast  
 ‘I’m breast-feeding her.’ →
- À      dè      gi=àn      **b̀̀b̀̀bí.**  
 L      L      H=L      L.H

Content questions feature the same boundary tone as declaratives. Compare the utterance-final fall over the monosyllable in Figure 4.46:

Figure 4.46 L% with content question



- (222) Wetin mek dan wan? → Wetin mek dan **wan?**  
 H.X H H H H.X H H **HL%**  
 what make that one  
 ‘What causes this?’

#### 4.4.2 Emphatic intonation

Emphatic intonation expresses meanings like extra-emphasis, insistence, impatience or reproach. There are two ways of signalling emphasis at the sentence level in Pichi. One way involves the use of the emphatic LH% boundary tone. A second way does not involve the use of a boundary tone. Sentence emphasis is rather achieved through the use of the various means of emphatic stress outlined in 4.3.2 above.

The emphatic LH% is an additive contour tone. It succeeds the lexical tone of the utterance-final syllable, which may therefore count up to three beats in length. Additionally, the last lexical H before the LH% boundary contour tone is often pronounced with an extra-high tone due to emphatic stress. This peculiar combination of an extra-high lexical tone and a contour boundary tone creates an intonational melody very similar to the ones found in non-tonal stress-accent languages, and can be seen as another manifestation of the mixed character of the Pichi prosodic system.

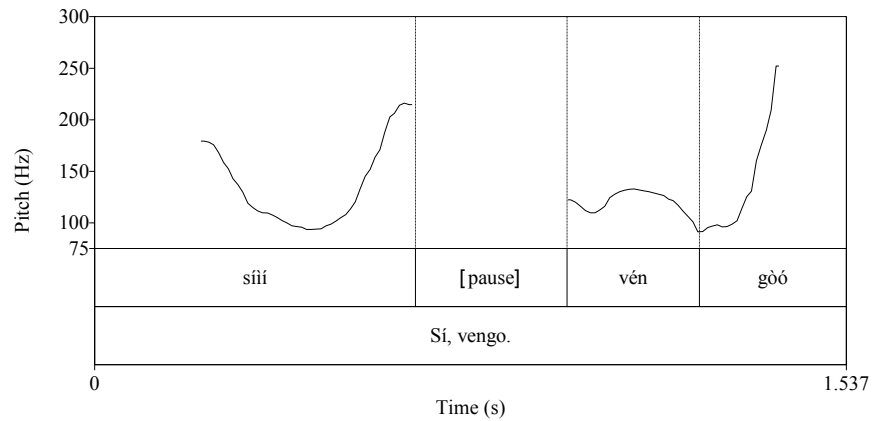
This is all the more so because evidence suggests that the LH% boundary contour tone is a loan from Spanish together with the meanings associated with it. The LH% contour boundary tone is also employed for list intonation (cf. 4.4.3). The following Table presents the pitch trace of an utterance with emphatic meanings recorded with a native speaker of peninsular Spanish. I employ a tonal notation for comparability.

Compare the contour over the utterance-final unstressed syllable (hence ‘low-



toned’ in terms of Pichi prosody) with that borne by the utterance-final low-toned syllable in Figure 4.48 further below. Also compare the emphatic contour over the phonologically independent, stressed *sí* ‘yes’ with that of the high-toned *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ in Figure 4.49:

Figure 4.47 Emphatic intonation in peninsular Spanish

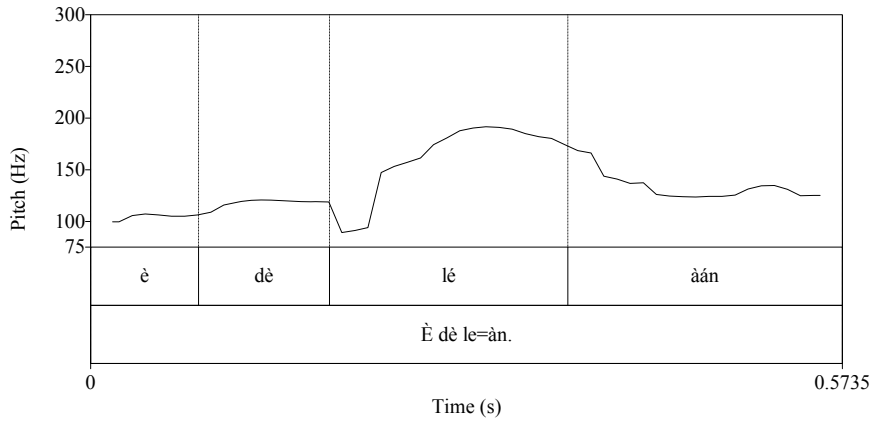


- (223) *Sí* vengo. → ***Sí*** **vengo.**  
 H H.X H.LH% H.LH%  
 yes I.come  
 ‘Yes [you should know that!], I’ll come.’

Phonemically, an utterance-final X or L-toned syllable, to which the emphatic LH% boundary tone associates, bears an LLH sequence of tones. Phonetically, the utterance-final syllable is realised as a relatively flat LH contour. Figure 4.48 depicts the utterance-final rise over the L-toned monosyllable =*an* ‘3SG.OBJ’.

Note that the LH% contour over an utterance-final X- or L-toned syllable in emphatic declaratives is virtually identical with the utterance-final contour of these two syllable types in questions (cf. 4.4.5). In practice, however, there is little room for ambiguity between these two diametrically opposed pragmatic types.

Figure 4.48 Emphatic LH% over L-final word

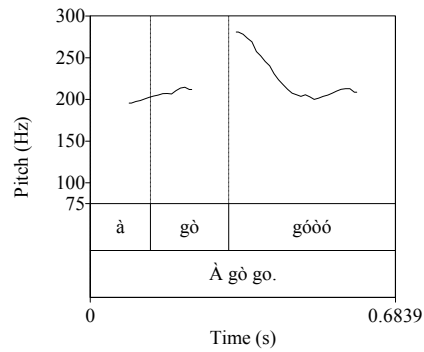
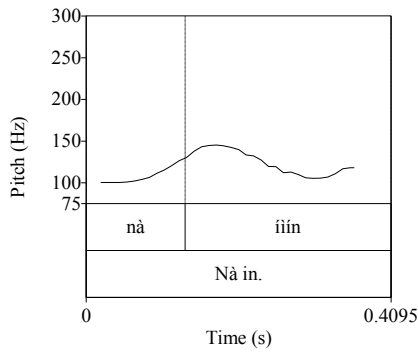


(224) È      dè      le=àn.      →      È      dè      le=àn.  
 L      L      H=L                      L      L      H=LH%  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV      lay=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘She is laying it (on the table).’

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

Figure 4.49 Emphatic LH% over H-final word

Figure 4.50 Emphatic LH% over H-final word



(225) Nà in. → Nà in.  
 L H L H.LH%  
 FOC 3SG.EMP  
 ‘That’s it [you should know that].’

(226) À gò go. → À gò go.  
 L L H L L H.LH%  
 1SG.SBJ POT go  
 ‘I’ll go [you don’t need to remind me to].’

The HLH contour is not only borne by H-toned monosyllables. An utterance-final, H-toned syllable of a polysyllabic word also bears this contour. Compare *b̀̀bí* ‘breast’ and *ch̀̀kch̀̀k* ‘thorn’ in the following Tables. The two words were pronounced with emphatic intonation during vocabulary elicitation because the speakers expected me to be familiar with them:

Figure 4.51 H% over vowel-final X.H word

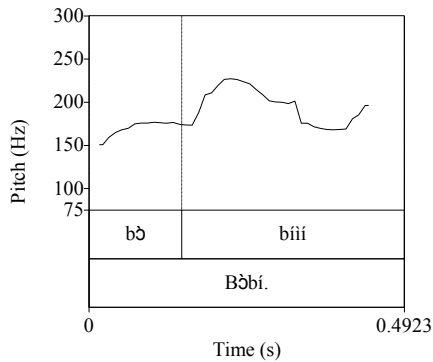
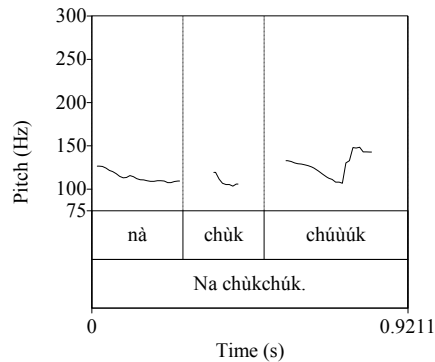


Figure 4.52 H% over obstruent-final X.H word



(227) B̀̀bí. → B̀̀bí.  
 X.H L.HLH%  
 breast  
 ‘Breast [that’s self-evident].’

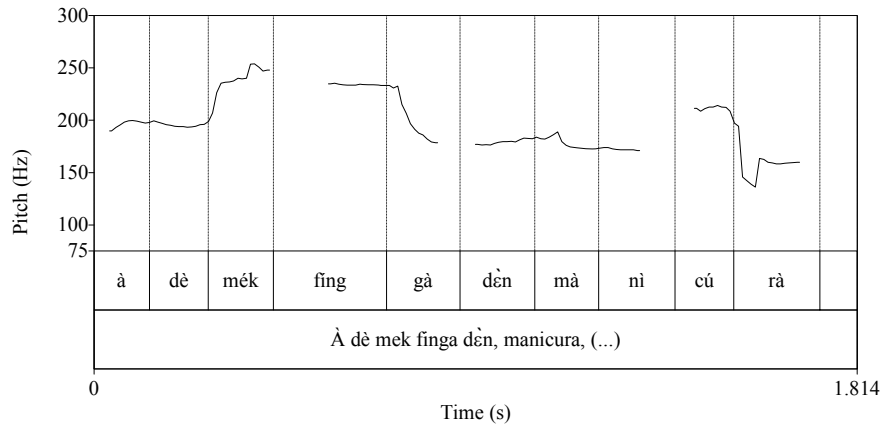
(228) Nà ch̀̀k.ch̀̀k. → Nà ch̀̀kch̀̀k  
 L X.H L L.HLH%  
 FOC thorn  
 ‘It’s a thorn [that’s self-evident].’

#### 4.4.3 List intonation

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

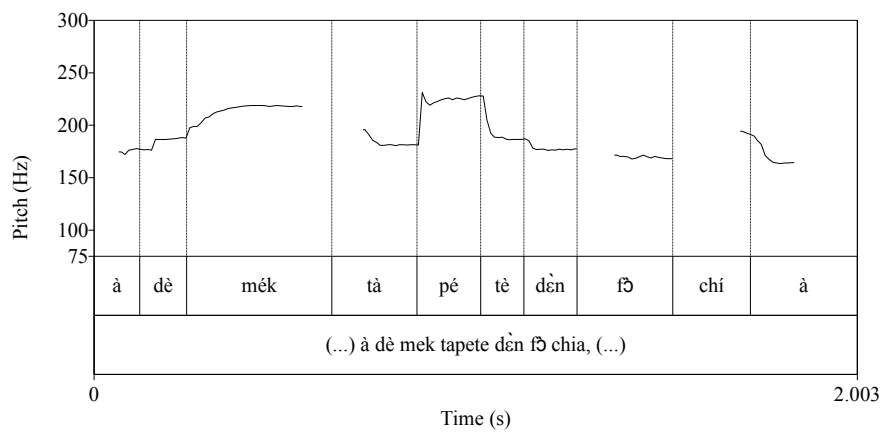
The following three pitch traces form part of a list. Take note of the LH contour over the L-toned dependent pronoun *d̀̀n* ‘3PL’ before the short pause, as well as the LH contour borne by the X-toned final syllable of *manicura* ‘manicure’ in Figure 4.53 and *chia* ‘chair’ in Figure 4.53 and compare this with the declarative L% over *de* ‘there’, the closing sentence of the list in Figure 4.55:

Figure 4.53 List intonation



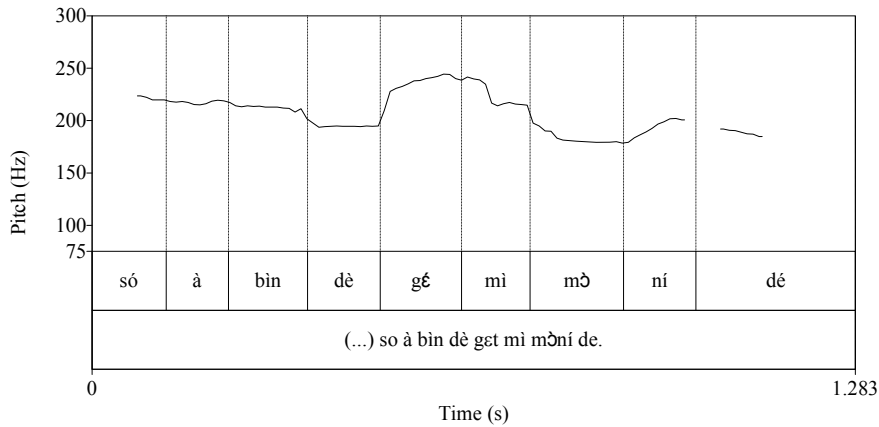
- (229) À      dè mek      finga      dèn,      manicura,      (...)  
 L          L H          H.X      L          X..X.H.X  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV make      finger PL      manicure  
 'I was making fingers, manicure (...)' →
- À      dè mek      finga      **dèn,**      manicura,      (...)  
 L          L H          H.L      **LH%**      L.L.H.LH%

Figure 4.54 List intonation



- (230) (...) à dè mek tapete dèn fɔ chia, (...)  
 L L H X.H.X L L H.X  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV make cloth PL ASS chair  
 ‘(...) I was making chair-drapings, (...)’ →
- (...) à dè mek tapete dèn fɔ chia, (...)  
 L L H L.H.L L L H.LH%

Figure 4.55 Declarative L% over final item in list



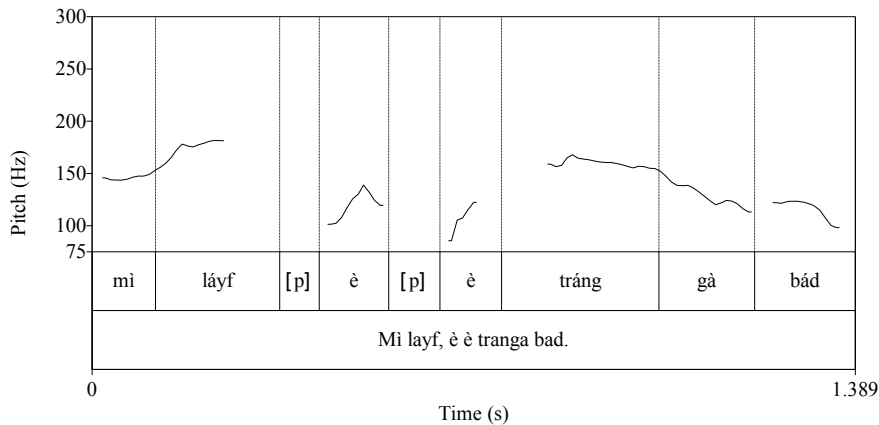
- (231) (...) so à bìn dè get mì mɔní de.  
 H L L L H L X.H L  
 so 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV get 1SG.POSS money there  
 ‘(...) so I was getting my money there.’ →
- (...) so à bìn dè get mì mɔní **de.**  
 H L L L H L L.H **HL%**

#### 4.4.4 Continuative intonation

The absence of a boundary tone, usually before a prosodic break (a brief but audible pause) signals continuative intonation. When continuative intonation is applied, the lexical tone of the relevant syllable simply maintains its pitch and is therefore pronounced with the same pitch as it would in utterance-medial position. Continuative intonation functions as a floor-holding device, a juncture marker on the right edge of utterances in order to prepare the ground for following material. Continuative intonation therefore plays an important role in signalling topic and focus next to the particles employed for this purpose (cf. 8.4).

In Figure 4.56, the topical NP *mì layf* ‘life’ is set off from the rest of the utterance by a pause. The monosyllable *layf* ‘life’ bears continuative intonation. Compare this to the utterance-final monosyllable *bad* ‘bad’, which features declarative intonation. The symbol [p] indicates a pause. The pitch trace of the pronoun *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ is slightly distorted due to creaky voice:

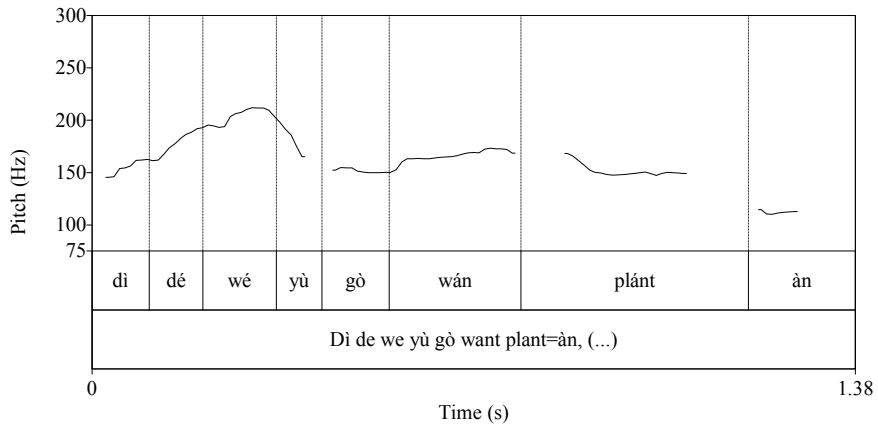
Figure 4.56 Continuative intonation over left-dislocated topic



- (232) Mì      **layf,**      è,      è      tranga      bad.  
 L      HØ%      L      L      H.X      H  
 1SG.POSS      life      3SG.SBJ      3SG.SBJ      be.strong      extremely  
 ‘My life, it, it was really tough.’      →
- Mì      **layf,**      è,      è      tranga      bad.  
 L      HØ%      L      L      H.L      HL%

Continuative intonation is also employed as a juncture marker between linked clauses. Here, it may occur alone as a prosodic clause linker between juxtaposed clauses, or in conjunction with an overt clause linker. Figure 4.57 and Figure 4.58 are two clauses linked in a sequential, temporal relation. The adverbial time clause is introduced by *dì de we* ‘(the day) when’ in Figure 4.57. In the example, continuative intonation is found over the rightmost L-toned monosyllable *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’. The absence of the utterance-final L% of declarative intonation halts the fall of the lexical L tone to the bottom of the pitch register:

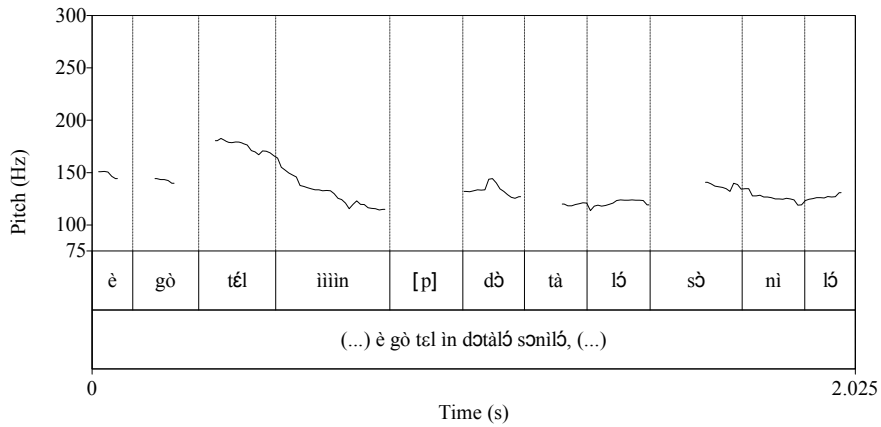
Figure 4.57 Continuative intonation over adverbial clause



- (233) Dì de we yù gò want plant=**àn**, (...)  
 L H H L L H H=L  
 DEF day SUB 2SG POT want plant=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘The day you would want to go plant it (...)’ →
- Dì de we yù gò want plant=**àn**, (...)  
 L H H L L H H=LØ%

The second clause in sequence features a lexical H over the utterance-final syllable. Here, continuative intonation produces no effect other than the maintenance of the lexical H tone. Compare *dətàlɔ́* ‘daughter-in-law’ and *sənìlɔ́* ‘son-in-law’ in Figure 4.58:

Figure 4.58 Continuative intonation over non-final clause



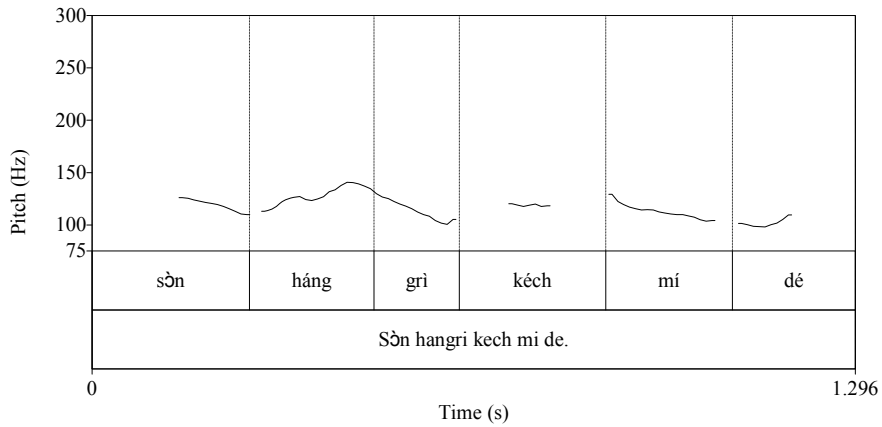
(234) (...) è gò tél òn dotàló, sòniló, (...)  
 L L H L L.L.H L.L.H  
 3SG.SBJ POT tell 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law son-in-law  
 ‘(...) she would tell her daughter-in-law, son-in-law, (...)’ →

(...) è gò tél òn dotàló, sòniló, (...)  
 L L H L L.L.HØ% L.L.HØ%

Continuative intonation is also used as a stylistic device in ‘unfinished’ utterances such as the one in Figure 4.59. The final syllable retains its H tone or may even rise slightly towards the end. This emphatic variant of declarative intonation is employed for stylistic effect and expresses assertion’. Compare the utterance-final, H-toned monosyllable *de* ‘there’:



Figure 4.59 Continuative intonation for stylistic effect

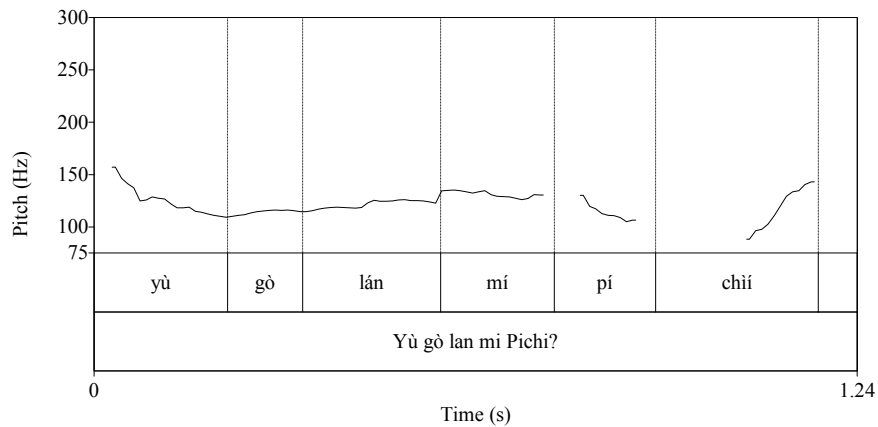


- (235) Sòn    hangri    kech    mi    de.  
 L       H.X       H       H       H  
 some   be.hungry   catch   1SG.EMP   there  
 ‘I became really hungry there [you wouldn’t believe how much].’ →
- Sòn    hangri    kech    mi    **de.**  
 L       H.X       H       H       **HØ%**

#### 4.4.5 Question intonation

Yes-no questions are formed with an LH contour boundary tone. As opposed to emphatic intonation, question intonation is substitutive: The lexical tone over the utterance-final syllable is replaced by the question LH%. In this way, the utterance-final syllable of a yes-no question invariably bears an LH contour, irrespective of its original tone. Compare the pitch contour over the toneless, hence L-toned second syllable of *Pichi* ‘Pichi’ in Figure 4.60:

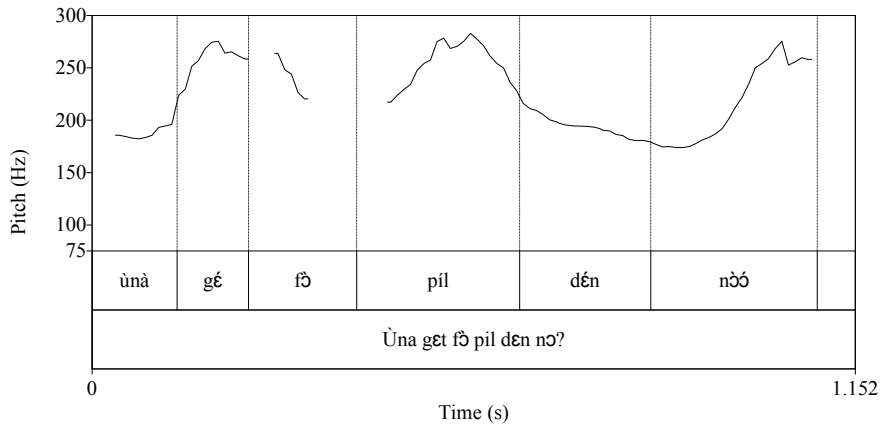
Figure 4.60 Non-emphatic yes-no question



- (236) Yù gò lan mi Pichi?  
 L L H H H.X  
 2SG POT teach 1SG.EMP Pichi  
 ‘Will you teach me Pichi [please]?’ →
- Yù gò lan mi Pichi?  
 L L H H H.LH%

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

Figure 4.61 Emphatic yes-no question



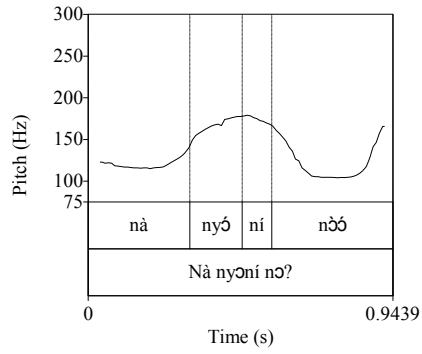
- (237) ùna gɛt fɔ pil dɛn nɔ?  
 L.L H L H L H  
 2PL get ASS peel 3PL.EMP right  
 ‘You [PL] have to peel them, right [you should know that]?’ →
- Ùna gɛt fɔ pil dɛn **nɔ?**  
 L.L H L H L **L+H%**

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

**4.4.6 Tonal words**

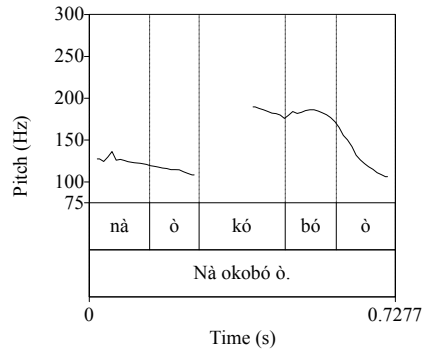
Boundary tones are not normally inserted at the right edge of an utterance if the final word is tonal. Pichi employs particles instead in order to convey the pragmatic and grammatical functions that intonation fulfils with accented words. In the question in Figure 4.62, the tonal word *nyɔni* ‘ant’ is followed by the tag *nɔ* ‘right’, which bears the LH contour of yes-no intonation instead of *nyɔni* itself. In the emphatic declarative sentence in Figure 4.63, the tonal word *okobó* ‘impotent man’ is followed by the sentence-final particle *ò*, which signals clausal focus and expresses emphasis and assertion:

Figure 4.62 Tonal word in question



- (238) Nà nyɔní nɔ?  
 L H.H LH%  
 FOC ant right  
 'That's an ant, isn't it?'

Figure 4.63 Tonal word in emphatic declarative



- (239) Nà okobó ò.  
 L L.H.H L  
 FOC impotent.man SP  
 'He's an impotent man [I tell you].'

## 5 Morphology

Pichi nouns and verbs constitute the two large, major word classes. Adjectives, prepositions and adverbs constitute minor word classes with a few members each. Pichi word formation strategies are predominantly analytic. However, some synthetic features also exist involving formatives specialised to the expression of inflection and derivation. Besides the use of one (adverb-deriving) affix, the use of morphological tone plays an important role in Pichi derivation and inflection as well

### 5.1 Word classes

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

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

#### 5.1.1 Nouns

Nouns appear as one of up to three core participants of a verb, i.e. as subjects or up to two objects. Nouns also occur as objects of prepositions and they may function as adverbials. They may be modified by other elements of the noun phrase (e.g. *dì* 'DEF', *da(n)* 'that', *sòn* 'some, a' or *dèn* 'PL'), including other nouns in associative constructions. The vast majority of nouns bears a single H tone and belongs to one of three major pitch-accent classes (cf. Table 4.2) but many tonal words are also nouns.

Underived nouns typically denote maximally time stable object concepts, rather than less time-stable properties or dynamic situations. Nouns also belong to an open class

which may be extended by compounding, conversion and borrowing from Spanish.

Personal pronouns, pronominals and compound question words represent closed subsets of nouns that exhibit a more restricted distribution. Personal pronouns are found in the same syntactic positions as nouns but do not cooccur with preposed modifiers. The latter usually also holds true for the pronominals *natin* ‘nothing’, *sef* ‘self’ and *yon* ‘own’. The pronominals *kayn* ‘kind’ and *wan* ‘one’ have a wider distribution but are also characterised by specific syntactic preferences. Locative nouns form a further subclass of nouns that is characterised by distributional specificities. Locative nouns are not often preceded by modifiers or determiners and their distribution overlaps with that of prepositions.

### 5.1.2 Verbs and adjectives

Verbs occupy the centre of the predicate. The predicate is best seen to include a number of functional elements that form a tightly-knit unit with the verb in order to constitute clauses: TMA markers, preverbal adverbs, the negator and dependent personal pronouns as well as the clitic 3SG object pronoun. Verbs are usually preceded by a subject noun, pronoun or both. Verbs may be modified by elements of the predicate, i.e. TMA markers, the negator and preverbal adverbs, or may be modified by aspectual and modal auxiliaries and other verbs adjoined in serial verb constructions. Verbs may optionally be followed by objects. They are typically mono- or bisyllabic, are normally accented rather than tonal and usually belong to one of three major pitch-accent classes.

Verbs are characterised by a higher degree of multifunctionality than other word classes and may be subjected to reduplication. There are numerous subclasses of verbs which can be defined along formal and semantic lines: Aspectual and modal verbs, transfer and communication verbs, stative, inchoative-stative and dynamic verbs, labile verbs, and copula verbs. Other than reduplication, Pichi only has marginally productive means of verb derivation through compounding. Yet, there are numerous other strategies for the creation of new ‘verbal’ meanings, i.e. through verb-noun combinations involving a verb with a general meaning like *get* ‘get, have’, *mek* ‘make’ or *gi* ‘give’, as well as systematic borrowing from Spanish.

The overwhelming majority of property items are lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs in Pichi. Accordingly, the following “semantic types” (Dixon 2006: 3) of property items are expressed through inchoative-stative verbs: dimension (e.g. *big* ‘be big’, *sməl* ‘be small and *lən* ‘be long’), age (e.g. *ol* ‘be old and *yun* ‘young’), value (e.g. *bad* ‘be bad’, *fayn* ‘be good’ and *tru* ‘be true’) and colour (e.g. *blak* ‘be black’, *wayt* ‘be white’, *rɛd* ‘be red and *yɛlo* ‘be yellow’). Most physical properties are also expressed as inchoative-stative verbs (e.g. *had* ‘be hard’, *saf* ‘be soft’, *sok* ‘be wet’, *evi* ‘be heavy’, *hət* ‘be hot’, *swit* ‘be tasty’). A small set of property items also alternates between use as inchoative-stative verbs and as an adjective (cf. Table 8.11 below).

Human propensities are divided between inchoative-stative (e.g. *gùdhát* ‘be good-hearted’, *wikɛd* ‘be wicked’, *bàdhát* ‘be mean’, *kleva* ‘be clever’) and dynamic verbs (e.g. *gladin* ‘be glad’, *jɛlɔs* ‘be envious’) according to whether they denote intrinsic or transient properties. Resultatives are exclusively expressed through the stative readings of labile

change of state verbs (e.g. *brok* ‘break, be broken’, *cher* ‘tear, be torn’, *los* ‘loose, be lost’ and *wɛr* ‘be dressed’). Semantic types like position or location are expressed through other means, such as copula clauses featuring the locative-existential copula *de* (cf. e.g. (956)–(957)) in combination with adverbials, or through locative verbs like *le* ‘lie’ and *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ (cf. 10.1.3).

### 5.1.3 Other word classes

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

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

## 5.2 Cliticisation

Pichi has at least two clitics which participate in forming phonological words (cf. 3.6.3) for the phonological characteristics of cliticisation). The proclitic question particle *us=* ‘Q’ attaches to mostly generic nouns in order to form basic question words. The enclitic object pronoun *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ attaches to verbs, prepositions, locative nouns and in double object constructions, to other object pronouns. The cliticisation of *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ also triggers a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy in certain contexts (cf. 3.6.4).

## 5.3 Inflection

Most functions of inflection are realised analytically by independent words. Additionally there is a limited use of clitics, affixation and suppletion. Tonal inflection occurs with personal pronouns. Participant-marking is taken care of by locative nouns and prepositions, in particular the locative preposition *nà* ‘LOC’ and the general associative preposition *fɔ̀* ‘ASS’, pronominal modification including possessive constructions, serial verb constructions, as

well as word order. Number-marking is achieved by post-nominal modification.

The verbal category of number is signalled by personal pronouns and reduplication. Complementisers, preverbal TMA markers, serial verb constructions and adverbs participate in expressing the grammatical categories of tense, modality and aspect. Comparison is expressed by adverbs of degree, ideophones, verbs, phrasal expressions, suprasegmental modification, serial verb constructions and prepositions. Inflectional morphological processes are the subject of sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 below.

### 5.3.1 Affixation

Table 5.1 presents the inflectional affixes of Pichi. Personal pronouns are inflected in order to mark the grammatical relations of subject, object and possessive case. Case relations are marked by the use of suprafixation, the use of tone to signal inflection as well as suppletion (cf. 5.3.2):

Table 5.1 Inflectional Affixation with personal pronouns

| Affix  | Process       | Category expressed        |
|--------|---------------|---------------------------|
| H tone | Suprafixation | Object & emphatic case    |
| L tone | Suprafixation | Subject & possessive case |

The syntactic category of the imperfective marker is the subject of debate in research on Atlantic English-lexicon Creoles. For example, it has been suggested that the cognate form of the Pichi imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV' be analysed as a verbal prefix in Jamaican Creole (cf. Farquharson 2007: 30). In Pichi, *dè* 'IPFV' is an independent particle like other TMA markers. However, *dè* is the preverbal marker which forms the closest unit with the verb. The marker also has the widest and most general range of uses of all TMA markers.

This includes the use of *dè* 'IPFV' as a marker of non-finiteness with dynamic verbs in contexts where it contributes little or no meaning to the construction. Contrary to the TMA markers *dən* 'PFV; done; finished', *kan* 'PFV; come', the imperfective marker has no lexical meaning. Hence we have *è dən dən* '3SG.SBJ PRF done' = 'it's done; finished'; *dèn kan kan* '3PL PFV come' = '(then) they came', but not \**è dè dè* '3SG.OBJ IPFV IPFV'.

Contrary to the TMA markers *gò* 'POT', *bìn* 'PST' and *kìn* 'HAB', which are also not used as lexical verbs, no other core TMA marker may intervene between the imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV' and the verb root. Hence, we find *à gò dən chəp* '1SG.SBJ POT PRF eat' = 'I'll have eaten'; *dèn kìn dè viaja bə̀kú* '3PL HAB IPFV travel much' = 'They usually travel much', but not \**dèn dè kìn viaja bə̀kú*. Nevertheless, preverbal adverbs may appear between the imperfective marker and the verb root. Consider the positioning of the preverbal adverbs so 'like that, (much)' in (240) and *jis* 'just' in (241):



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- (240) Wì no **dè so** yus=àn.  
 1PL NEG IPFV like.that use=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘We don’t use it so much.’ [au07ec 059]
- (241) È **dè jis** go.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV just go  
 ‘He’s just going.’ [dj05ae 051]

More common than the intervention of preverbal adverbs between *dè* ‘IPFV’ and the verb is the use of resumptive imperfective marking with preverbal adverbs as in (242). Resumptive imperfective marking is reflective of the reluctance with which speakers break up the tighter-than-usual syntagmatic relation between the imperfective aspect marker and the verb it modifies:

- (242) Naw dèn **dè jis dè** kan.  
 now 3PL IPFV just IPFV come  
 ‘Now, they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

Another indication that *dè* ‘IPFV’ is an independent particle in Pichi is the fact that it associates phonologically with preceding constituents rather than with the verb it specifies. For example, the imperfective marker may be separated from the following verb by a pause when speakers hesitate. The marker then regroups with elements to its left. Hence *à dè, à dè chap* ‘1SG.SBJ IPFV, 1SG.SBJ IPFV eat’ = ‘I’m, I’m eating’.

### 5.3.2 Suppletion

Suppletion is a further dimension of inflection in Pichi. Some regular semantic relations are expressed by irregular forms that replace each other. Table 5.2 provides an overview of the elements affected by suppletion as well as the grammatical categories they belong to:

Table 5.2 Suppletive forms

| Category | Suppletive element   |               | Suppletive element   |               |
|----------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Gender   | <i>human</i>         | ‘woman’       | <i>man</i>           | ‘man’         |
|          | <i>gal, gel</i>      | ‘girl’        | <i>bəy</i>           | ‘boy’         |
|          | <i>mámá</i>          | ‘mother’      | <i>pápá</i>          | ‘father’      |
|          | <i>grànmá</i>        | ‘grandmother’ | <i>grànpá</i>        | ‘grandfather’ |
|          | <i>sista</i>         | ‘sister’      | <i>brəda</i>         | ‘brother’     |
|          | <i>àntí</i>          | ‘aunt’        | <i>ànkúl</i>         | ‘uncle’       |
| Number   | SG personal pronouns |               | PL personal pronouns |               |
|          | <i>gel</i>           | ‘girl’        | <i>gɛls</i>          | ‘girls’       |
|          | <i>bəy</i>           | ‘boy’         | <i>bəys</i>          | ‘boys’        |

|                |              |           |                  |                    |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|
|                | <i>pəsin</i> | 'person'  | <i>pipul</i>     | 'people'           |
| Case           | <i>è</i>     | '3SG.SBJ' | <i>=àn/in</i>    | '3SG.OBJ/3SG.EMP'  |
|                | <i>à</i>     | '1SG.SBJ' | <i>mì/mi</i>     | '1SG.POSS/1SG.EMP' |
| Negation       | <i>nà</i>    | 'FOC'     | <i>nɔto</i>      | 'NEG.FOC'          |
|                | <i>dɔn</i>   | 'PRF'     | <i>nea; nɔba</i> | 'NEG.PRF'          |
| Tense & aspect | <i>nà</i>    | 'FOC'     | <i>bi</i>        | 'BE'               |
|                | <i>nɔto</i>  | 'NEG.FOC' | <i>no bi</i>     | 'NEG BE'           |

Note that number marking on *gɛl* 'girl' and *bɔy* 'boy' is optional and quite rare. Besides that, it is not suppletive in the true sense, since it appears to involve a marginal plural affix {-s}, apparently limited in productivity to these two nouns.

## 5.4 Derivation

The functions of derivation may be expressed analytically, by word order alone. The expression of derivational relations by means of word order is, however, restricted to specific word classes. Aside from that, Pichi also makes use of two morphological processes for the purpose of derivation. One is a tonal process which derives compounds including reduplications. The other is adverb-deriving suffixation. Compounding and reduplication are two highly productive derivational processes in Pichi.

### 5.4.1 Affixation

Pichi employs three affixational processes whose characteristics are summarised in Table 5.3. One is a tonal process involving the deletion of the lexical high tone over a word and its replacement by a default L tone in order to form compounds. The suffixation of the formative *-wan* 'ADV' is employed to form adverbials:

Table 5.3 Derivational affixation

| Word class                     | Affix             | Process       | Category expressed |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Nouns, verbs, adverbs, phrases | X tone            | Tone deletion | Compound word      |
| Verbs, adjectives              | <i>-wan</i> 'ADV' | Suffixation   | Manner adverb      |

Pichi makes use of a tonal process for the derivation of compounds. In the process, the H tone over the initial component(s) is deleted and replaced by a default L tone (X). At the same time the final component retains its original pitch configuration. The resulting

compound word then features a single H tone like any other pitch-accented Pichi word. Pichi compounds are therefore right-headed – the toneless initial components function as modifiers to the final, accented component (i.e. the head).

Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs participate in compounds and the resulting structures may function as nouns or verbs. The derivation of compound nouns is fairly productive. Compare the compound in (243) featuring the modifier noun *kəntri* ‘country, home town’ and the modified noun *chəp* ‘food’. While *kəntri* loses the H tone over its first syllable, the head noun *chəp* retains its original H tone:

- (243) Nà ìn **kəntri-chəp**.  
 FOC 3SG.POSS country.CPD-food  
 ‘That’s his local food.’ [au07ec 007]

Compounding through tone deletion also characterises the reduplication of dynamic verbs in order to derive verbal number (244). This kind of derivation is fully productive for all dynamic verbs. Equally, it can be observed with a small number of lexicalised reduplications involving other word classes (cf. 5.6.3):

- (244) Kan tot bələ́, bigín dè **hàla-hala** naw, **hàla-hala**.  
 PFV carry belly begin IPFV RED.CPD-shout NOW RED.CPD-shout  
 ‘(Then she’s) bearing a pregnancy, begins to lament and lament.’ [ab03ay 118]

The second derivational process of Pichi serves the formation of adverbs by means of the suffix *-wan* ‘ADV’, etymologically related to the numeral *wan* ‘one’. Amongst its numerous other uses (cf. 6.3.1), the cardinal numeral *wan* ‘one’ serves as a pronominal substitute for nouns in NPs featuring attributively used property items (i.e. *dì blak wan* ‘the black one’; *dì big wan* ‘the big one’). When such NPs appear in the appropriate syntactic position at the end of the clause, the resulting structure functions as a manner adverb.

The derivation of adverbs is a derivational process distinct from compounding and does not involve the tone deletion that accompanies the latter kind of word formation. Therefore, in the following examples the property items *fayn* ‘(be) fine’ (245) and *sməl* ‘(be) small’ (246) retain their lexically assigned H tone. The resulting adverbs are bisyllabic words with an H.X pitch configuration:

- (245) È mek=àn **fayn-wan**.  
 3SG.SBJ make=3SG.OBJ fine-ADV  
 ‘She made it nicely.’ [ra07ve 017]
- (246) È fayn fɔ́ dring **sməl-wan**.  
 3SG.SBJ fine ASS drink small-ADV  
 ‘It’s good to drink moderately.’ [ma03hm 071]

Admittedly, there is only a thin line between *-wan* in its adverb-deriving function and nominal constructions involving the generic noun *stəyl* ‘style’. The latter form may be

employed to the same effect (cf. eg. (1047)) and is not analysed as a suffix. The distinction between the two types of adverbial constructions transpires from the semantic difference between *-wan* ‘one’ and the generic noun *stayl* ‘style’. The function of *stayl* in constructions serving as manner adverbials is transparently related to the meaning of *stayl*. In contrast, the semantic link between the function of *-wan* ‘ADV’ as an adverbialising suffix and the meaning of *wan* in other contexts is more opaque. The affix *-wan* ‘ADV’ has a meaning and function of its own. In prosodic terms, it forms part of a single word together with the stem without the derivational process characteristic of compounding. This warrants the analysis of *-wan* ‘ADV’ as a suffix rather than seeing it as the second component of a compound word.

Notwithstanding these facts, the derivation of manner adverbials through the suffixation of *-wan* is not particularly productive. In the corpus, it is unanimously accepted with a limited number of monosyllabic property items denoting physical properties, such as *sməl* ‘be small’, *kol* ‘be cold’, *hət* ‘be hot’, *fayn* ‘be fine. In contrast, the formation of adverbials with many other property items is rejected, amongst them *dətí* ‘be dirty’, *bad* ‘be bad’, *bəlfúl* ‘be satiated’, *nekəd* ‘be naked’, *taya* ‘be tired’, *let* ‘be late’, *frəs* ‘be fresh’, *rɛp* ‘be ripe’ and *saful* ‘slow, diligent’.

The distributional characteristics of the noun *tɛn* ‘time’ are somewhat similar to those of *-wan*. The generic noun *tɛn* occurs in a small number of more or less lexicalised expressions functioning as sentence and temporal adverbs (247). Like derived manner adverbs featuring the suffix *-wan* ‘ADV’, these bisyllabic expressions are not compounds. Instead, their components bear their original pitch, as evidenced by the collocation *səntɛn* ‘some.time’ = ‘perhaps’. At the same time, the meanings of these expressions are semantically distinct from the meanings of their components in varying degrees. The degree of semantic opaqueness of each collocations is reflected in the orthographic choice of writing them as single or separate words. A good indicator of the degree of semantic unity of the collocations in (247) is their behaviour during repetition for emphasis (cf. (296)ff. further below):

| (247) | Construction    | Components |                           |
|-------|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|
|       | <i>fəs tɛn</i>  | first time | ‘first, formerly’         |
|       | <i>wan tɛn</i>  | one time   | ‘once, at once, suddenly’ |
|       | <i>lɔn tɛn</i>  | long time  | ‘long time ago’           |
|       | <i>bad.tɛn</i>  | bad.time   | ‘unfortunately’           |
|       | <i>sməl.tɛn</i> | small.time | ‘shortly; nearly’         |
|       | <i>sən.tɛn</i>  | some.time  | ‘perhaps’                 |

The ‘derivational’ process involving *tɛn* ‘time’ is even less productive than the one involving *-wan* ‘ADV’ and (247) above provides a complete listing of the forms attested in the corpus. The largely unpredictable meanings of these structures are reason enough to consider them as lexicalised phrasal expressions, rather than analysing *tɛn* as a productive adverbialising suffix.

### 5.4.2 Conversion

Some word classes are characterised by multifunctionality. They may change their class by appearing in a syntactic position reserved for another class. Table 5.4 provides an overview of generally productive conversion by syntactic means, without an overt derivational process. Some processes are unidirectional, others bidirectional. Arrows indicate the direction of conversion:

Table 5.4 Conversion

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

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

In (248) the dynamic verb *hala* ‘shout’ is used as a dynamic noun (or “action nominal”, cf. Comrie & Thompson 1985). In (249) the inchoative-stative verb *gud* ‘be good’ is employed as a stative noun (or “state nominal”, cf. Comrie & Thompson 1985). The use of nominalised verbs as cognate objects is common for emphasis (cf. 11.3.3). Cognate objects behave no differently from other nominalised verbs:

(248) È se fròn **dan** **hala** di pìkín no slip mə.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT from that shout this child NEG sleep again  
 ‘She said from that shout(ing) onwards this child didn’t sleep anymore.’ [ab03ab 075]

(249) Afta insay **dan** **gud** we à trata yu nà de  
 then inside that good SUB 1SG.SBJ treat 2SG.EMP FOC there  
 mì man gò chək se mì rabia dòn finis (...)  
 1SG.POSS man POT think QUOT 1SG.POSS anger PRF finish  
 ‘Then in [through] that goodness that I treated you, that’s where my  
 husband would think that my anger has finished (...)’ [ro05rr 003]

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

- (250) Nà **dì was klos**, nà dì tin mek yù taya.  
 FOC DEF wash clothing FOC DEF thing make 2SG be.tired  
 ‘It’s the washing of clothing, that’s why you’re tired.’ [dj05be 039]

In contrast, only a handful of nouns occur with equal freedom in the syntactic position of verbs. The noun *bèlé* ‘belly’ (251) may be used as a verb with the meaning ‘impregnate’ (252). Other noun-verb pairs in the corpus that may be employed in a similar way are *kàkà* ‘defecate, faeces’, *pìpì* ‘urinate, urine’, *rut* ‘root, uproot’, *làtrín* ‘toilet, go to toilet’:

- (251) Tìdè pikín, yù gò **get bèlé** yù pul=àn  
 today child 2SG POT get belly 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ  
 yù gò day wèt **bèlé**, (...)  
 2SG POT die with belly

‘(As for) children of today, you could get pregnant and remove it and you could die due to pregnancy, (...)’ [ab03ay 105]

- (252) À fia se **dèn gò bèlé** mì pikín fɔ̀ mì.  
 1SG.SBJ fear QUOT 3PL POT impregnate 1SG.POSS child ASS 1SG  
 ‘I feared that they could impregnate me my child.’ [dj05be 055]

Other word classes are also characterised by multifunctionality. Members of the small adjective class of Pichi may be used as inchoative-stative verbs without a change in form (cf. 8.6.5). Property items, whether adjectives or verbs, may be employed as attributive adjectives (i.e. prenominal modifiers, cf. 6.2.1) and nouns may modify other nouns in associative constructions without an overt process of derivation (cf. 5.5.1). Further, labile verbs may be used in their respective lexical aspect classes without any formal change (cf. 11.2.3). Such multifunctionality with respect to lexical aspect class is very productive. It is lexically restricted to the class of labile verbs, which however constitutes a large verb class in Pichi. Aside from that, members of the small class of adverbs are not usually employed as nouns or verbs.

## 5.5 Compounding

Pichi makes good use of compounding in order to derive nouns, verbs and personal pronouns. Compound words are formed by combining two, sometimes more lexical items. Most types of compounding are covered in 5.5. Reduplication, which also involves compounding, is covered separately in section 5.6.1. Aspects of the morphophonology of compounding are also covered in 4.2.4.

### 5.5.1 Compound formation

Compounds functioning as nouns form part of a range of ‘possessive constructions’ which instantiate relations of modification between nominal constituents (cf. also 6.2.3). Contrary to other types of possessive constructions, compound nouns form single phonological words, are often further on the path of lexicalisation and have more idiosyncratic meanings. Compounds relate in interesting ways to associative constructions, i.e. possessive constructions involving two separate words combined by phrasal syntax alone.

In the following, I refer to the individual lexical items occurring in compounds and associative constructions alike as ‘components’. Table 5.5 summarises the differences between these two types of word formation and compares them to a third type of possessive construction, namely the *fə*-prepositional phrase construction:

Table 5.5 Compounds and associative constructions

| Features       | Compounds     | Ass. constructions | <i>Fə</i> -construction |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Productivity   | Fair          | Fair               | High                    |
| Morphosyntax   | Compound word | Syntactic phrase   | Syntactic phrase        |
| Lexicalisation | Highly common | Fairly common      | Rare                    |

Phonological and semantic factors determine the choice between compounding and the use of associative constructions for word formation. Speakers may opt to use a compound when the relevant concepts are commonly associated with each other, and the entire structure is conventionalised or lexicalised:

|       |                     |              |                 |
|-------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (253) | Compound            | Components   |                 |
|       | <i>kə̀ntri-chəp</i> | country-food | ‘local food’    |
|       | <i>kichin-pisis</i> | kitchen-rag  | ‘kitchen rag’   |
|       | <i>wàka-stik</i>    | walk-stick   | ‘walking stick’ |
|       | <i>rèn-sisin</i>    | rain-season  | ‘rainy season’  |
|       | <i>pàn-kek</i>      | pan-cake     | ‘pancake’       |

Some opaque compounds also exist, in which one component has no independent meaning (258)(a) or where one component is obsolete (b). It is noteworthy that the initial components of the first two compounds below exhibit a regular sound-meaning relation with the verbs *spot* ‘be stylish’ and *luk* ‘look’ respectively, although there is no nominalising suffix *\*-in* in Pichi. However, there is one verb-noun pair in the corpus, in which the noun (*berin* ‘burial’) is the action nominal to a verb (*ber* ‘bury’). The compound in (c) is therefore transparent and fully segmentable. Opaque and exocentric compounds are written without a hyphen in this work and their components are separated by a dot where relevant:

| (254) | Compound          | Components           |                 |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| a.    | <i>spotìn.bóy</i> | * <i>spotìn.boy</i>  | 'stylish guy'   |
|       | <i>lukìn.glás</i> | * <i>lukìn.glass</i> | 'mirror'        |
|       | <i>kobò.fít</i>   | * <i>kobò.foot</i>   | 'bowlegs'       |
| b.    | <i>fāya-wud</i>   | fire-?wud            | 'firewood'      |
| c.    | <i>bèrin-grøn</i> | burial-ground        | 'burial ground' |

Other collocations are also partially opaque but they nevertheless exhibit the prosodic characteristics of associative constructions. In the compounds in (255), both components before and after the dot retain their original pitch configurations. In collocations involving the generic noun *de* 'day' as a modified noun, the 'modifier', has no meaning of its own:

| (255) | Compound        | Components         |             |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
|       | <i>hólì.dé</i>  | * <i>hólì.day</i>  | 'holiday'   |
|       | <i>yéstà.dé</i> | * <i>yéstà.day</i> | 'yesterday' |
|       | <i>sátì.dé</i>  | * <i>sátì.day</i>  | 'Saturday'  |

The structure of two sets of kinship terms is also of interest. The root *gran-* 'grand-' is segmentable and has a discernible meaning. However, the root is never found independently of the word it modifies. It usually appears in compounds (256)(a), which can, in turn, be preceded by the prenominal modifier *gret* 'great' (b):

| (256) | Compound               | Components        |                       |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| a.    | <i>gràn.mòda</i>       | grand.mother      | 'grandmother'         |
|       | <i>gràn.ma/màmá</i>    | grand.ma/mother   | 'grandma/grandmother' |
|       | <i>gràn.pá/pàpá</i>    | grand.pa/father   | 'grandpa/grandfather' |
|       | <i>gràn.pikín</i>      | grand.child       | 'grandchild'          |
| b.    | <i>gret gràn.pikín</i> | great grand.child | 'great grandchild'    |

The second set of kinship-denoting compounds contains the segmentable root *lò* 'law' as the final component. However, the composite meanings of these compounds are idiosyncratic. Additionally, some of the structures are fully segmentable, with the first component constituting an independent word (257)(a). Others contain an opaque initial element. Further, we find variants of group (a) compounds with slightly altered initial components (c). With these, the etymology is clear, but the altered initial component never occurs on its own either:

| (257) | Compound        | Components  |                  |
|-------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|
| a.    | <i>mòdà.ló</i>  | mother.law  | 'mother-in-law'  |
|       | <i>fadà.ló</i>  | father.law  | 'father-in-law'  |
|       | <i>bròdà.ló</i> | brother.law | 'brother-in-law' |



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|    |                                   |                         |                                    |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
|    | <i>sistà.ló</i>                   | sister.law              | 'sister-in-law'                    |
| b. | <i>dotà.ló</i><br><i>sonì.ló</i>  | ?dotà.law<br>*sonì.law  | 'daughter-in-law'<br>'son-in-law'  |
| c. | <i>mòdè.ló</i><br><i>sistè.ló</i> | *mòdè.law<br>*sistè.law | 'mother-in-law'<br>'sister-in-law' |

In Spanish compounds and neologisms involving Spanish components (e.g. *busca-blanco* 'sex worker specialised on white expatriates and tourists'), the initial component(s) is/are always low-toned, while the final component bears a phonetic H tone on the penultimate or only syllable (258). This pitch-configuration corresponds to the corresponding Spanish stress-pitch pattern. However, when these Spanish-derived compounds are employed in Pichi clauses, the H tone over the final component may not normally be shifted to other components of the compound for focus or emphasis. This speaks for an analysis of these collocations as Pichi-style compounds:

| (258) | Compound                | Transcription      | Components        | Translation         |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
|       | <i>video-club</i>       | [vidjò klúb]       | video-club        | 'video rental shop' |
|       | <i>busca-blanco</i>     | [bùskà-blánkò]     | search-white.male | 'sex worker'        |
|       | <i>tres mil</i>         | [très míl]         | three thousand    | 'three thousand'    |
|       | <i>cuarenta y siete</i> | [kwàrèntà ì sjètè] | forty and seven   | 'forty seven'       |

Although in many cases, conventionalisation is a good indicator for the use of compounding, phonology may override semantics. Compounds are shunned in favour of associative constructions where the first component belongs to the X.H pitch class featuring a word-final H tone. We have seen that this pitch class remains unaffected by other tonal and intonational processes as well (cf. e.g. 4.4.1). Hence the concepts in (259), although conventionalised, are expressed as associative constructions, syntactic phrases consisting of prosodically independent components:

| (259) | Ass. construction  | Components    |                           |
|-------|--------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
|       | <i>bàngá sup</i>   | palm-nut soup | 'palm-nut soup'           |
|       | <i>dàtí pan</i>    | dirt pan      | 'dustbin'                 |
|       | <i>plàntí fufú</i> | plantain fufu | 'fufu made from plantain' |

The tonal derivation characteristic of compounding also distinguishes lexicalised compound verbs (260)(a) from verb-object phrases (b) (cf. also 5.5.3):

| (260) | Construction      | Components       |                                   |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a.    | <i>è òpin.yáy</i> | 3SG.OBJ open.ey  | 's/he is enlightened, cultivated' |
| b.    | <i>è opin yay</i> | 3SG.SBJ open eye | 's/he opened (her) eye(s)'        |

### 5.5.2 Compound nouns

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

In a large proportion of collocations in the corpus, the modified noun is one of the generic nouns listed in (261), which serve other important functions in the language as well (cf. also Faraclas 1996: 252):

| (261) | Type   | Generic noun |                          |
|-------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|
|       | Human  | <i>man</i>   | 'man, person'            |
|       |        | <i>human</i> | 'woman'                  |
|       |        | <i>boy</i>   | 'boy'                    |
|       |        | <i>gəl</i>   | 'girl'                   |
|       |        | <i>pikín</i> | 'child, member of group' |
|       |        | <i>pəsin</i> | 'person'                 |
|       |        | <i>pipul</i> | 'people'                 |
|       | Place  | <i>say</i>   | 'side, place'            |
|       |        | <i>pat</i>   | 'part, place'            |
|       |        | <i>ples</i>  | 'place'                  |
|       | Manner | <i>stayl</i> | 'style'                  |
|       |        | <i>fasin</i> | 'manner'                 |
|       | Time   | <i>tən</i>   | 'time'                   |
|       |        | <i>awa</i>   | 'hour, time'             |
|       | Entity | <i>tin</i>   | 'thing'                  |
|       |        | <i>wan</i>   | 'one'                    |
|       |        | <i>kayn</i>  | 'kind'                   |

The tendencies of nominal compounding are summarised in the following table. The column 'modifier/modified' in Table 5.6 lists the types of modification relations attested in the data. I have added the third relevant 'possessive construction', the 'fð-construction' for comparison. The columns headed by 'compound', 'Ass(ociative) construction' and 'fð-construction' contain a cross (x) if the structure is employed to express the corresponding relation in the leftmost column. A blank space indicates that the structure is not employed for this purpose.

Table 5.6 Tendencies of nominal compounding

| Modifier/modified  | Compound | Ass. construction | <i>F</i> ̂-construction |
|--------------------|----------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Group/member of    |          | x                 | x                       |
| Gender of/creature |          | x                 |                         |
| Measure/entity     |          | x                 |                         |
| Kind of/entity     | x        | x                 | x                       |
| Activity/agent     | x        |                   |                         |

Compounds, associative constructions and *f*̂-prepositional constructions form part of a continuum of ‘possessive’ constructions. In this continuum, associative constructions may express the widest range of modification relations, including most relations that may also be expressed as compounds and *f*̂-prepositional constructions (cf. also 6.2.3). Table 5.6 shows that compound nouns are only used to express ‘kind of/entity’ relations - the ‘activity/agent’ relation being a subtype of the ‘kind of/entity’ relation in which the first component is a dynamic verb and the second a human-denoting noun.

In turn, associative constructions occur in two different contexts. Firstly, they represent the conventional means of expressing a measurement relation (referred to as ‘measure/entity’ in Table 5.6), a group/member of’ relation featuring the modified noun *pikín* ‘child’, and a ‘gender of/creature’ relation featuring the gender nouns *mámá* and *pàpá*, *man* and *human*, or *boy* and *gal* in the modifier position.

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

In ‘kind of/entity’ compounds, the first component modifies the second as to some quality. These compounds encompass bicomponential food items and dishes (262)(a) and body parts (b), as well as other concepts commonly associated with each other (c). Note that *kàka-ras* ‘arse’ in (b) is a lexicalised compound and an exception to the tendency for collocations featuring an X.H modifier noun to be realised as associative constructions (the other most common exception being *bèlè* ‘belly’ when used in the modifier position of a compound, cf. (268)). Compounds are also employed to form highly conventionalised quantifier compounds which express ordinal numerals (d) as well as dual and *əl* ‘all’ extensions of the pronominal system (e).

In sum, the use of ‘kind of/entity’ compounds therefore reflects the degree of

conventionalisation of the linkage between the participating nouns, and in that a certain degree of inalienability :

| (262) | Compound  | Components   |  |
|-------|---|--|--|
| a.    | <i>pèpè-sup</i><br><i>bwèl-plàntí</i><br><i>bit-fufú</i>                | pepper-soup<br>boil-plantain<br>beat-fufu            | 'pepper soup'<br>'boiled plantain'<br>'pounded fufu' |
| b.    | <i>finga-nel</i><br><i>kàka-ras</i>                                     | finger-nail<br>shit-arse                             | 'finger nail'<br>'arse'                              |
| c.    | <i>hòt-wàtá</i><br><i>kòl-wàtá</i>                                      | hot-water<br>cold-water                              | 'hot water'<br>'cool water'                          |
| d.    | <i>nòmba-tu</i><br><i>nòmba-tri</i><br><i>làs-net</i><br><i>làs-man</i> | number-two<br>number-three<br>last-night<br>last-man | 'second'<br>'third'<br>'last night'<br>'last person' |
| e.    | <i>wì-òl-tu</i><br><i>dèn-òl</i>  | 1PL-all-two<br>3PL-all                               | 'the two of us'<br>'they all'                        |

Some 'kind of/entity' relations follow in (263) that are expressed through associative constructions rather than compounds. Group (a) features collocations, in which the modifier noun belongs to the X.H pitch class. Here we also find some highly conventionalised collocations (b). The words in (263)(c) contain associative constructions that involve trisyllabic modifier nouns from different pitch classes. Other concepts are not sufficiently conventionalised or lexicalised to appear in compounds even if they present no formal obstacles (d). Also note the 'kind of/entity' relations listed in (264):

| (263) | Compound  | Components  |   |
|-------|---|---|---|
| a.    | <i>grànát pàmáyn</i><br><i>Lùbá tòpé</i>  | groundnut oil<br>PLACE palmwine                             | 'groundnut oil'<br>'Palmwine from Luba'   |
| b.    | <i>dàtí pan</i><br><i>plàntí fufú</i>   | dirt pan<br>plantain fufu                                   | 'dustbin'<br>'fufu made from plantain'  |
| c.    | <i>kápinta wok</i><br><i>wahala human</i><br><i>arata hol</i><br><i>domìnó ston</i> | carpenter work<br>trouble woman<br>rat hole<br>domino stone | 'work of a carpenter'<br>'female trouble maker'<br>'rat hole'<br>'domino stone' |
| d.    | <i>Ghana m̀nì</i><br><i>Pichi wəd</i><br><i>skul plaba</i>                          | PLACE money<br>Pichi word<br>school problem                 | 'Ghanaian money'<br>'Pichi word'<br>'problems related to school'                |

Other ‘kind of/entity’ relations are also expressed through associative constructions although they do not present any phonotactic or semantic obstacles either. For example, the generic noun *tɛn* ‘time’ is only recorded as a modified noun in the associative constructions listed in (264), even though these structures are lexicalised and occur very frequently. Note, however, that other, lexicalised collocations involving *tɛn* are not expressed as compounds either (cf. (247) above):

| (264) | Compound          | Components   |               |
|-------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
|       | <i>mɔ̀nɪn tɛn</i> | morning time | morning       |
|       | <i>san tɛn</i>    | sun time     | ‘(after)noon’ |
|       | <i>ivɪn tɛn</i>   | evening time | ‘evening’     |

Compounds involving *say* ‘side, place’ are equally scarce. This noun is only attested as a modified noun in three compounds in the corpus, all of which have partially idiosyncratic meanings (265)(a). Other equally conventionalised collocations involving *say* are expressed through associative constructions (b) or via *fɔ̀*-prepositional constructions (c):

| (265) | Compound             | Components     |                                     |
|-------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| a.    | <i>wòk-say</i>       | work-side      | ‘work-place’                        |
|       | <i>ròn-say</i>       | wrong-side     | ‘inside out; upside-down; reverse’  |
|       | <i>gùd-say</i>       | good-side      | ‘the right way round’               |
| b.    | <i>ɔ̀p say</i>       | up side        | ‘(at the) upper part, up (there)’   |
|       | <i>bihén say</i>     | behind side    | ‘(at the) rear’                     |
|       | <i>dɔ̀n say</i>      | down side      | ‘(at the) lower part, down (there)’ |
| c.    | <i>say fɔ̀ chɔ̀p</i> | place ASS eat  | ‘eating place, restaurant’          |
|       | <i>say fɔ̀ was</i>   | place ASS wash | ‘place for washing, washhouse’      |

‘Group/member of’ structures feature the human-denoting noun *pikín* ‘child’ in the modified position. The conventional way of expressing this relation is through the associative construction. The modified noun *pikín* may acquire quite an idiosyncratic meaning in the collocations listed under (266)(b). In these associative constructions, *pikín* ‘child’ denotes a typical member of the group specified by the modifier noun rather than a kind of child (cf. Heine et al. 1991: 91-97). For example, the construction *Guinea pikín* is best translated as ‘person of Equatoguinean stock; typically Equatoguinean person’:

| (266) | Compound            | Components  |                                   |
|-------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| a.    | <i>tidé pikín</i>   | today child | ‘child(ren) of today’             |
|       | <i>gɔ̀d pikín</i>   | God child   | ‘child of God’                    |
| b.    | <i>Guinea pikín</i> | PLACE child | ‘person of Equatoguinean stock’   |
|       | <i>gal pikín</i>    | girl child  | ‘girl’ (but cf. also (267) below) |

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

| (267) | Compound         | Components  |                              |
|-------|------------------|-------------|------------------------------|
|       | <i>bɔy pikín</i> | boy child   | 'male child, son'            |
|       | <i>gal pikín</i> | girl child  | 'female child; daughter'     |
|       | <i>human fəl</i> | woman fowl  | 'hen'                        |
|       | <i>man dɔg</i>   | man dog     | 'male dog'                   |
|       | <i>mámá Krió</i> | mother Krio | '(elderly) Fernandino woman' |

The human-denoting nouns *man* 'man, person', *human* 'woman', *pipul* 'people' and *pəsin* 'person' usually appear as modified nouns in compounds only (268). The list also contains two compounds featuring *bɛ̀lé* 'belly' as a modifier noun. *Bɛ̀lé* and *káká* 'faeces' are the only attested nouns with an X.H pattern that are subjected to the tonal derivation characteristic of compounding. In the two compounds, the H tone over *bɛ̀lé* has been deleted:

| (268) | Compound            | Components    |  |
|-------|---------------------|---------------|--|
| a.    | <i>kəntri-man</i>   | country-man   | 'person from the same place of origin' |
|       | <i>làyf-man</i>     | life-man      | 'bon vivant'                           |
|       | <i>bɛ̀lé-man</i>    | belly-man     | 'pot-bellied man'                      |
| b.    | <i>bɛ̀lé-human</i>  | belly-woman   | 'pregnant woman'                       |
|       | <i>màkit-human</i>  | market-woman  | 'market-woman'                         |
| c.    | <i>yùn-gel</i>      | young-girl    | '(female) youngster'                   |
|       | <i>yùn-bɔy</i>      | young-boy     | '(male) youngster'                     |
| d.    | <i>jèntri-pipul</i> | riches-people | 'rich people'                          |
|       | <i>yà-pipul</i>     | here-people   | 'people of this place'                 |
|       | <i>Ghàna-pipul</i>  | PLACE-people  | 'Ghanaians'                            |

The noun *man* 'man' is encountered in 'activity/agent' compounds in which the first component is a dynamic verb with *man* instantiating the agent or 'doer'. Such compounds are a subtype of the 'kind of/entity' type of compound and serve to form agentive nouns as in the examples provided in (269):

| (269) | Compound         | Components    |            |
|-------|------------------|---------------|------------|
|       | <i>fisin-man</i> | fish-man      | 'fisher'   |
|       | <i>hànti-man</i> | hunt-man      | 'hunter'   |
|       | <i>tif-man</i>   | steal-man     | 'thief'    |
|       | <i>chàk-man</i>  | get.drunk-man | 'drunkard' |

Some compounds involving *man* ‘man’ are neutral in their gender reference (270)(a) and equivalent to the far less common *pəsin* ‘person’ (b) in ‘activity/agent’ compounds. However, *man* is also employed with the meaning ‘person’ in other contexts (e.g. *nà man* ‘FOC man’ = ‘that’s a human-being’). Hence the gender-neutral use of *man* is not necessarily an indication of the generalisation of its function. In fact, *human* ‘woman’ always occurs as the ‘doer’ when a female reference is desired (c) (cf. also *makit-human* ‘market woman’ in (268) above). The generic noun *man* ‘man’ therefore falls short of functioning as an agentive suffix, in spite of its general, gender-neutral meaning in some contexts:

| (270) | Compound         | Components |                       |
|-------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a.    | <i>dày-man</i>   | die-man    | ‘dead person, corpse’ |
| b.    | <i>dày-pəsin</i> | die-person | ‘dead person, corpse’ |
| c.    | <i>dày-human</i> | die-woman  | ‘dead woman’          |

### 5.5.3 Compound verbs

Three types of compounds may function as verbs in a clause: verb-verb reduplications, adverb-verb degree compounds, and verb-noun property compounds. The latter two are treated in this section; reduplication is extensively covered in section 5.6.1.

A verb may appear as the head of a compound featuring the multifunctional word *ova* ‘over; be excessive, too much’ as the first component. The resulting compound verb expresses an excessive degree of the situation denoted by the verb. It is therefore normally formed with verbs denoting properties such as *dray* ‘be dry; lean’ (271), or verbs whose meaning contains an implicit gradation like *dring* ‘drink (alcohol in large quantities)’ (272).

Such compounding is therefore an integral part of the Pichi system of comparison and emphasis (cf. 7.9.1). Other degree compounds found in the data are *òva-stawt* ‘be too corpulent’, *òva-hət* ‘overheat, be too hot’, *òva-klin* ‘clean excessively, be excessively clean’, and *òva-fayn* ‘be excessively beautiful’:

(271) Di gəl pikín **òva-dray** ò.  
 this girl child over.CPD-be.dry SP  
 ‘This girl is really too lean.’ [dj07ae 207]

(272) À **òva-dring**.  
 1SG.SBJ over.CPD-drink  
 ‘I drank too much.’ [au07ec 051]

Many speakers do not accept degree compounds formed with verbs that are not property items. The alternative to the ungrammatical example (273) is provided in (274):

- (273) \*À dòn **òva-blant** nà Pànyá.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF over.CPD-reside LOC Spain  
 \*I have lived in Spain for too long. [au07ec 052]
- (274) À dòn **tu mōch ste** nà Pànyá.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF too much stay LOC Spain  
 'I have stayed in Spain for too long.' [au07ec 053]

Equally, degree compounding is not accepted with a degree verb like *bòkú* 'be much' (275). Instead, *ova* may be employed as a degree verb on its own (276) (cf. also):

- (275) \*Dì chòp **òva-bòkú**.  
 DEF food over.CPD-much  
 \*The food is too much. [au07ec 041]
- (276) Dì chòp **ova**.  
 DEF food be.over  
 'The food is too much.' [au07ec 042]

Property compounds are lexicalised structures consisting of a property item and noun. Many of these compounds denote human propensities and emotions and involve a body part as the second component. The resulting structures are wholly idiosyncratic and unpredictable in their meanings. Property compounds are therefore exocentric. Consider *bàd.hát* 'bad.heart' = 'be mean' in (277):

- (277) Dèn no lek pòsin, dèn tu **bàd.hát**.  
 3PL NEG like person 3PL too be.mean  
 'They don't like people, they're too mean.' [ma03hm 012]

Other compounds of this type are *tròn.yés* 'strong.ear' = 'be disobedient', *tròn.héd* 'strong.head' = 'be stubborn', *gùd.hát* 'good.heart' = 'be good hearted', *bròk.hát* 'break.heart' = 'be broken-hearted' and *hopin.yáy* 'open.eyé' = 'be enlightened, cultivated' (cf. (260) above).

The data also contains one property compounds involving a dynamic transitive verb that is not a property item. Compare the nominalised compound verb *chòp.mòní* 'eat.money' = 'expensive' in (278):

- (278) Dan say, nà **chòp.mòní**.  
 that side FOC expensive  
 'That place, it's expensive.' [ro07fn 203]



## 5.6 Iteration

Iteration in Pichi involves two distinct processes. Reduplication consists of a morphological operation, namely derivation. Repetition involves syntactic concatenation. Both types normally involve the full iteration of a word (however, cf. (303) ff. for lexicalised partial reduplications). Reduplication is employed with dynamic verbs and expresses various meanings associated with verbal number. Repetition is attested with a wider range of word classes than reduplication and produces distributive, emphatic and intensifying nuances.

A limited number of Pichi words consist of identical components that cannot be separated and used on their own. Such unsegmentable, lexicalised iterations are found in various word classes, including ideophones. In spite of the formal differences between them, reduplication and repetition are characterised by a large degree of semantic similarity. Both types of iteration are associated with quantification, i.e. verbal number, distribution and attenuation, emphasis and intensification. Iteration in Pichi therefore creates ‘typical’ meanings associated with this process (cf. Moravcsik 1978). The following table summarises relevant features of the two types of iteration in Pichi:

Table 5.7 Types of iteration

| Features                | Reduplication                                    | Repetition                             |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Morphosyntactic process | Iteration + derivation                           | Iteration                              |
| Word classes            | Verbs  | Any major word class                   |
| Phonological domain     | Lexical word                                     | Phonological word, phrase              |
| Meanings                | Verbal number: Iterative & distributive readings | Intensity and emphasis; lexicalisation |
| Number of iterations    | Duplication                                      | Duplication, triplication and more     |

### 5.6.1 Reduplication

As a productive derivational process, reduplication is only attested with dynamic verbs. However, the pattern is also found in a few lexicalised iterations involving nouns (cf. 5.6.3). Reduplication involves a complex morphological process consisting of the two distinct and simultaneous processes of tonal derivation and “self-compounding” (Downing 2001: 6). In the process, the verb is reduplicated and the high tone over the first, reduplicated component is deleted and replaced by a default low tone.

Therefore, this kind of reduplication is formally no different from compounding, except that the first component is a copy of the root (cf. 4.2.4 for a detailed treatment of the pitch-related aspects of reduplication). The application of the morphological process of tone deletion to the first component of the reduplicated verb suggests that Pichi reduplication, like compounding, is right-headed (cf. Odden 1996b: 117).

Reduplication modifies the meaning of the verb root. The reduplicated verb may therefore appear in any syntactic position that a non-reduplicated verb may be found in. In (279), a reduplicated *waka* ‘walk’ appears as a V2 in an SVC. Sentence (280) features a reduplicated *rən* ‘run’ as a nominalised verb preceded by the demonstrative *di* ‘this’:

(279) Yéstàdé wì kan go **wàka-waka** mǎ  
 yesterday 1PL PFV go RED.CPD-walk more  
 ‘Yesterday we went walking around again.’ [ye 07fn 044]

(280) Pero di **rən-rən** no dè gi no natin de.  
 but this RED.CPD-run NEG IPFV give NEG nothing there  
 ‘But this running about aimlessly does not lead anywhere there. [dj07re 016]

In the same vein, reduplication may be applied to a verb irrespective of its syntactic function as a less finite verb in an ingressive aspect SVC like the following one:

(281) Kan tot bèle, **bìgín** dè **hàla-hala**, naw **hàla-hala**.  
 PFV carry belly begin IPFV RED.CPD-shout now RED.CPD-shout  
 ‘Then (she) became pregnant, (and) began lamenting along, now (it was) all lamenting.’  
 [ab03ay 118]

Reduplication expresses verbal number. The situation denoted by the reduplicated dynamic verb occurs several times and often involves several nominal participants. As a consequence, reduplication may express iterative aspect by default when it is applied to a finite verb. Hence, although reduplication is derivational, its iterative meaning makes it very similar to inflectional aspect marking in functional terms (cf. 7.3.6 for details on the expression of iterative aspect). Compare the reduplicated verb *rəb* ‘rub’ in (282) which expresses iterative aspect in combination with the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’:

(282) Nà us=kayn tin mek yù **dè rəb-rəb** yù sɛf nia mi  
 FOC Q=kind thing make 2SG IPFV RED.CPD-rub 2SG self near1SG.EMP  
 bifó mì fambul?  
 before 1SG.POSS family  
 ‘Why are you constantly rubbing yourself up to me [getting all cosy with me]  
 in front of my family?’ [ge07fn 129]

In Pichi, verbal reduplication is “event-internal” (Cusic 1981: 238). It denotes the iteration of a single event on a single occasion, consisting of repeated internal phases. The range of meanings associated with verbal reduplication spans the semantically close notions of iterative, distributive, low intensity and casualness, for which I choose the cover term ‘disaggregated action’. Therefore reduplication does not express habitual aspect and is usually only found with dynamic verbs.

Reduplication may co-occur with any tense and modality marker. In the following

example, the reduplicated verb *tayt* ‘be tight, tighten’ appears with the potential mood marker *gò* ‘POT’. At the same time, the data reveals a stronger likelihood for iterative reduplication to cooccur with the imperfective or habitual aspect rather than with other TMA categories:

- (283) À           no want    no natin   we **gò tàyt-tayt**           mì       skin.  
 1SG.SBJ   NEG want    NEG nothing   SUB POT RED.CPD-tighten   1SG.POSS body  
 ‘I don’t want anything [clothes] that would be too tight for me (in various places).’  
 [ra07fn 045]

Further, the interaction of verbal and nominal plurality often characterises the use of the iterative aspect. The presence of plural referents generally induces a sense of iterative-distributive action of the situation denoted by the verb. For example, the light verb construction in (284) features the reduplicated nominalised verb *jwèn* ‘join’. The presence of the plural subject *mi wèt Rubi* ‘me and Rubi’, which is picked up by the resumptive pronoun *wì* ‘1pl’, induces a cumulative meaning of the reduplicated and deverbal noun *jwèn* ‘join’:

- (284) Mi       wèt       Rubi   **wì** mek    **jwèn-jwèn**,   wì bay pia,  
 1SG.EMP   with       NAME   1PL make    RED.CPD-join 1PL buy avocado  
 wì bay sàdín,   wì bay tomatoes,   wì desayuna.  
 1PL buy sardine 1PL buy tomatoes   1PL breakfast  
 ‘Me and Rubi, we joined up, we bought avocados, we bought sardines, we bought tomatoes, we had breakfast.’ [ye03cd 152]

In turn, the presence of the plural object *nɔmba dèn* ‘numbers’ in the following sentence renders an iterative and distributive reading of the reduplicated verb *chench* ‘change’.

- (285) Wetin yù dè **chench-chench** **nɔmba dèn** so?  
 what   2SG IPFV RED.CPD-change   number PL like.that  
 ‘Why do you constantly change (telephone) numbers like that?’ [ye03cd 131]

The iterative-distributive sense of the reduplicated verb is particularly evident in a reciprocal construction like (286). We have seen that a single form, the pronominal *sef* ‘self; EMP’ is employed as both the reflexive and reciprocal anaphor. Hence there is room for ambiguity between the reflexive and reciprocal senses when a clause features a plural subject. One disambiguating feature amongst others is the presence of a reduplicated verb. There is no formal feature contained in (286) that would categorically force a reciprocal interpretation on the clause. But the use of reduplication, the presence of plural referents and the meaning of the verb *chap* and its instrument object *kɔtlas* collude to induce a reciprocal rather than a reflexive meaning of the clause:

- (286) **Dèn** kìn dè **chàp-chap** **dèn sef** kɔtlas ò.  
 3PL HAB IPFV RED.CPD-chop 3PL self cutlass SP

‘(Mind you) they have the habit of chopping each other up with cutlasses  
[referring to political violence in northern Nigeria].’ [ye07fn 239]

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

In (287), the intransitive use of the reduplicated verb *tən-tən* ‘turn’, in concert with the singular subject *è* ‘3sg.sbj’, favours the related readings of low intensity or casualness. Further examples for this nuances are the reduplication of *rəb* ‘rub’ in (282) above, and of *tayt* ‘tighten’ in (289) below. All these examples may also be seen to involve a nuance of lack of control by the subject:

- (287) È        se è        want    kan        **tən-tən**    fɔ̃    Guinea.  
3SG.SBJ    QUOT3SG.SBJ    want    come    RED.CPD-turn    ASS    Equatorial.Guinea  
‘He said he wanted to come move around a little in Equatorial Guinea.’ [ed03sb 190]

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

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

- (288) Dèn dè **lòk-lòk**        əl    say.  
3PL    IPFV    RED.CPD-lock    all    side  
‘They’re constantly closing every place.’

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

- (289) À        bígín    dè **pica-pica**,        wì    fray    patata,    wì    fray    plàntí.  
1SG.SBJ    begin    IPFV    RED.CPD-cut.up    1PL    fry    potato    1PL    fry    plantain  
‘I began to (casually) snip (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’

### 5.6.2 Repetition

Repetition involves syntactic concatenation. Normally, there is no pause or boundary tone between the repeated elements. Hence, the morphological operation characteristic of compounding and reduplication is not employed with this kind of iteration. Repetition is attested with a wider range of word classes than reduplication. My data features repetition of nouns, verbs, pronominal modifiers, adverbs and ideophones. The word in question can be repeated more than once for increased emphasis or dramatic effect.

Repetition produces a range of emphatic, intensifying nuances, whose exact meanings may vary with the word class of the word repeated. However, the expression of plural number does not lie within the functional range of repetition. In the following three examples we witness the use of intensifying repetition for emphasis with the temporal adverb *naw* ‘now’ (290), the locative noun *dən* ‘down’ (291), the common noun *fambul* ‘family’ and the attributively used property item *bəkú* ‘(be) much’ (292):

- (290) À        dè kòmót        nà tən        **naw**        **naw**.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV come.out    LOC town    now        REP  
 ‘I coming from town right now.’ [ro05ee 076]
- (291) Bət in        sɪdón        **dən**        **dən**        **dən**        yàndá.  
 but 3SG.EMP stay    down    REP        REP        REP        yonder  
 ‘But he stays far down over there.’ [ma03ni 026]
- (292) Fð mì        **fambul** **fambul** **fambul** à        no sàbí  
 ASS 1SG.POSS family    REP        REP        1SG.SBJ NEG know  
**bəkú**    **bəkú**    pəsɪn    dèn.  
 much    REP        person    PL  
 ‘Within my immediate family I don’t know really know a lot of people.’ [fr03wt 031]

The repetition of numerals renders a distributive sense. Clauses in which numerals are used with a distributive sense very often also feature plural nominal participants. In this example, the repetition *tu tu* ‘two REP’ functions as a depictive adjunct and is oriented towards the plural object pronoun *dən* ‘3PL.EMP’:

- (293) Yù fit kyɛr        **dən**        **tu tu**.  
 2SG can carry    3PL.EMP two REP  
 ‘You can carry them in pairs.’ [bo07fn 231]

Numerals of Spanish origin may be repeated for distributive meaning in the same way as Pichi numerals. Sentence (294) features the threefold repetition of the Spanish numeral *quinientos* ‘fifteen’. It is worthy of note that repeating the numeral more than twice merely extends the distributive sense to additional participants rather than providing an additional

emphatic nuance as with the repetition of members of other word classes:

- (294) **Quinientos quinientos quinientos.**  
 fifteen REP REP  
 ‘Fifteen each.’ [hi03cb 058]

The preceding examples have shown that a various syntactic categories may be subjected to repetition. Nevertheless, the by far most commonly repeated categories are property items functioning as prenominal attributive modifiers like *bòku* in (292) above, distributive numerals used as depictive modifiers like *tu* ‘two’ in (293) above, (290) and time expressions like *naw* ‘now’ in (290) above. This distribution points towards the fact that repetition is strongly associated with gradable, quantity- and quality-denoting lexical items as well as with distribution.

The quantificational essence of repetition also transpires when it is applied to time expressions. The corpus contains numerous instances of repeated time expressions with an emphatic, quantificational meaning. The repetition of a temporal adverb like *naw* ‘now’ (290) above or a temporal noun like *mənin* ‘morning’ in the following sentence renders an intensive meaning ‘early in the morning, at dawn’:

- (295) Afta à dè mit =àn nia dì klos dèn  
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ nearDEF clothing PL  
 dì **mənin mənin** tən.  
 DEF morning REP time  
 ‘Then I ran into her by the clothes at dawn.’ [ru03wt 037]

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

- (296) È bìn dən pas **lən tən**, nɔto **lən lən tən**.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV PRF pass long time NEG.FOC long REP time  
 ‘It happened long ago, not very long ago.’ [ma03sh 001]

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

- (297) Nà **wan wan** tən dasəl.  
 FOC one REP time only  
 ‘It’s just once in a while.’ [fr03ft 053]

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

- (298) Nà wan man we dè abraza tu human **wantɛn wantɛn** so.  
 FOC one man SUB IPFV embrace two woman at.once REP like.that  
 ‘That’s a man embracing two women exactly at once. [dj07re 038]

Further, the repetition of periods of the day other than *mɔnin* (*tɛn*) ‘morning (time)’ is not encountered in the data. Expressions like *ivɛn tɛn* ‘evening’ or *san tɛn* ‘noon’ do not appear to lend themselves to some concept of quantification or gradation. This is possibly so because the corresponding period is of no cultural relevance, while ‘at dawn’ in (295) above is, since this is when people usually get up. Hence, for example, there is no instance of *?san san tɛn* with the intended reading ‘exactly at noon’ or ‘early at noon’.

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

- (299) À dè si **big big** faya.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire  
 ‘I was seeing a huge fire.’

- (300) È dè sel è dè put **sməl sməl** wan fɔ̃ kɔna (...)  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sell 3SG.SBJ IPFV put small REP one ASS corner  
 ‘She’s selling (and) she’s putting tiny ones [amounts] to the side (...).’ [hi03cb 220]

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

The meanings of repeated verbs are closely tied to their semantic structure. Hence, a verb like *kɔt* ‘cut’ may imply a series of cyclic repetitions, particularly in the context of cooking as in (301). The resulting meaning of the repetition is very close to that of iterative reduplication in an example like (289) above. Note that this verb is repeated together with its clitic object pronoun =*àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

- (301) Dì de yù bwɛl jakato yù **kɔt=àn kɔt=àn**  
 DEF day 2SG boil bitter.tomato 2SG cut=3SG.OBJ REP  
**kɔt=àn** yù bay wan sardina  
 REP 2SG buy one sardine.

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

A similar case can be made for the repetition of the locomotion verb *jump* ‘jump’. This verb also naturally lends itself to a cyclical movement. In (302), reduplication and the simultaneous use of repetition of the reduplicated sequence build up to an emphatic iterative sense with a cyclical meaning:

- (302) Sòntén è bìn dè **jùmp-jump** **jùmp-jump**,  
 perhaps 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV RED.CPD-jump REP  
 pero è stret naw.  
 but 3SG.SBJ be.straight now  
 ‘Let’s assume she was constantly jumping around but she’s upright now.’ [ye07je 111]

Two words in the corpus allow partial iteration. With the two inchoative-stative verbs and property items *wàwó* ‘(be) ugly; messed up’ and *lilí* ‘(be) little, tiny’ one syllable rather than the entire word may be iterated. Both words share the characteristic that they already constitute lexicalised iterations or at least appear so by their segmental structure. Sentence (303) exemplifies the partial iteration of *lilí* ‘(be) little’. A simplex word *\*li* does not exist in Pichi. Since there is no sign of tone deletion over the first component of the iteration, I analyse *lilí-li* as an instance of partial repetition rather than reduplication:

- (303) Pero como dì arena tu **lilí-li**, kòn tu sməl naw,  
 but since DEF sand too little-REP CORN too be.small now  
 à mezcla in əl.  
 1SG.SBJ mix 3SG.EMP all  
 ‘But since the sand [farina] is too little, the corn is too little now, I mixed all of it [in making the porridge].’ [dj03do 044]

Now compare the fully (304) and partially iterated (305) alternatives for *wàwó* ‘be ugly, messed up’ in and. In both examples, the property item *wàwó* is employed as a prenominal modifier. Note that a monosyllabic root *\*wə* does not exist in Pichi:

- (304) Nà Afrika è get **wàwó** **wàwó** tin dèn  
 LOC PLACE 3SG.SBJ get ugly REP thing PL  
 we à no sàbí.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG know  
 ‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening] that I don’t know [how to explain].’ [ed03sb 187]
- (305) Àa, Guineano tu de sòn **?wə-wàwó** stayl.  
 INTJ Guinean too BE.AT some ?RED.CPD-ugly style  
 ‘Guineans behave in a too messed up way.’ [ed03sp 055]

The tonal characteristics of the partial iteration of *wàwó* in (305) above are of interest. In the



example, the original lexical H tone over the over the first syllable of the *wà-wàwá* before the ligature has been replaced by a default L tone. The presence of tone deletion points to the operation of partial reduplication rather than repetition. This contrasts with the iteration of other, attributively used property items in a similar way. In (299) and (300) above *big* and *sməl* undergo repetition not reduplication. Although this example stands alone, it may be indicative of an area of transition between reduplication and repetition not only in meaning but also in form.

Finally, I should like to note that there is often no sharp distinction in meaning between the repetition of single words and the iteration of larger chunks of a sentence. This is particularly so if the repeated elements are not separated from each other by a pause or declarative intonation (hence an utterance-final fall) as in the sentence below. The iteration of the NP *ìn estomago* ‘her stomach’ in (306) conveys a repetitive and emphatic meaning in very much the same way as the verb-object phrase *kət=àn* ‘cut=3SG.OBJ’ in (301):

- (306) Nò, **ìn**        **estómago**    **ìn** **estómago**    **ìn** **estómago**.  
 NEG 3SG.POSS stomach        REP                                REP
- ‘[She would repeatedly say] No, (it’s) her stomach, her stomach, her stomach  
 [rather than a pregnancy].’ [ab03ay 122]

### 5.6.3 Lexicalised iteration

A limited number of Pichi words consist of identical components that cannot be separated and used on their own. Such unsegmentable, lexicalised iterations are found in various word classes. An example follows featuring the ideophonic noun *wuruwuru* ‘disgrace’:

- (307) Dèn dè mek        **wuruwuru**.  
 3PL IPFV make        disgrace  
 ‘They’re having an affair.’ [be07fn 147]

The pitch structure of lexicalised iteration is characterised by diversity. Some words feature a pitch configuration suggestive of reduplication, others feature a configuration that points towards repetition.

The former group comprises cases of lexicalised iterations (308)(a) with no attested simplex form but whose etymology can be established. It also encompasses words with identical components, of which the origin of the simplex form is difficult or impossible to establish – these words are probably reflexes of English or Portuguese lexicalised iterations (b). The group also contains words which have a deducible, but idiosyncratic semantic relation with a simplex form (c). With all these words, we find a phonetic L tone over the first component of the word, while the second component bears an H-tone. Hence this is the pitch configuration that we have already seen with iterative, verbal reduplication in section 5.6.1. The only difference is that (308) also includes nouns. Finally, the words listed involve pitch accent rather than tone, they have an X.H configuration featuring a single H tone:

- (308) a. *byà.byá* 'beard'  
*sàn.sán* 'sand, soil'  
*wàs.wás* 'wasp'  
*wò.wó* 'be ugly, messed up'
- b. *kà.ká* 'defecate, shit'  
*mà.má* 'mother'  
*pì.pí* 'urinate, urine'  
*pà.pá* 'father'
- c. *chùk.chúk* 'thorn' (< *chuk* 'pierce, sting')  
*hàyd.háyd* 'secretely' (< *hayd* 'hide')

A second group of lexicalised iterations is equally reminiscent of reduplication and involves ideophones (cf. also 9.1). I propose that the importance of iteration with ideophones reflects the sound symbolic dimension of this word class. The relation between form and meaning is not entirely arbitrary. Compare the ideophonic verbs (a) and ideophonic nouns (b) in (309):

- (309) a. *kata.katá* 'be (hyper-)active, hectic'  
*menye.menyé* 'nag in a childlike fashion'
- b. *pətə.pətó* 'slimy substance, mud'  
*wuru.wurú* 'disgrace; confusion'

Like other ideophones, the words listed above firstly have a rather unusual segmental structure: they involve bisyllabic simplex forms which feature a single vowel type (e.g. /a/ in *kata-*) and two 'similar' consonants (e.g. /w/ and /r/ in *wuru-*). Other ideophones feature the phonemes /gb/ and /kp/, which are only attested with this word class (i.e. *gbin*, *gbogbògbo* and *kpù*) or otherwise rare clusters like /fw/ in *fwifwifwí* 'sound of the wind blowing'.

Secondly, ideophones are of particular interest because they constitute the only word class of which most members in my corpus involve iteration. The iteration may be morphological in appearance, hence involve reduplication (e.g. *katakátá* 'be hectic') or appear to be syntactic and involve repetition (e.g. *fwifwifwí* 'sound of the wind blowing'). Most ideophones are preferably used as adverbs, and therefore occur in the postverbal, adverbial position in order to modify the verb with respect to manner. A few ideophones preferably function as verbs or nouns, and one is used as an interjection (*kóngkəngkóng* 'seek permission to enter'). All ideophones that involve a form of iteration are listed in (310):

| (310) | Word class attested | Example           | Translation                         |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
|       | Verb                | <i>kakàra</i>     | 'be restless'                       |
|       |                     | <i>katakátá</i>   | 'be active, hectic'                 |
|       |                     | <i>menyemenyé</i> | 'whine, nag in a childlike fashion' |

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|                  |                              |                                |
|------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Verb & adjective | <i>ẁ̀ẁ</i>                 | 'be ugly, in disorder'         |
| Noun             | <i>p̀̀t̀̀p̀̀t̀̀</i>          | 'sticky substance, mud'        |
|                  | <i>wuruwurú</i>              | 'deceit'                       |
| Adverb           | <i>f̀̀ẁ̀f̀̀ẁ̀f̀̀ẁ̀</i>    | 'sound of wind blowing'        |
|                  | <i>gbin</i>                  | 'sound of a hard, sudden blow' |
|                  | <i>gbogbògbo</i>             | 'in haste'                     |
|                  | <i>kamúkàmú</i>              | 'sight of the buttocks moving' |
|                  | <i>kutùku</i>                | 'sound of heart beating'       |
|                  | <i>wewé; wowó</i>            | 'sound of crying and wailing'  |
| Interjection     | <i>k̀̀ng̀̀k̀̀ng̀̀k̀̀ng̀̀</i> | 'seek permission to enter'     |

Ideophones that involve reduplication feature a suprasegmental structure of the type that we find with bisyllabic iterative reduplications like *hàla-hala* 'RED.CPD-shout' = 'repeated shouting' in (211) above: Two phonetic L tones over the first two syllables of the reduplicant are followed by a succession of two phonetic H tones over the base. One such ideophone is the property item *katakata* 'be (hyper-)active, hectic', which appears in the prenominal modifier position in the following sentence:

- (311) Nà wan **katakata** man.  
 FOC one hectic man  
 'He's a hectic man.' [tr07fn 229]

The only difference between the reduplication of verbs and lexical reduplication involving ideophones is that most ideophones seem to belong to the tonal component of the Pichi lexicon, rather than the pitch-accented one. Hence the final syllable of a reduplicated ideophone like *katakata* or *menyemenyé* 'whine, nag in a childlike fashion' bears a lexically specified H tone instead of the lexically specified X (hence a default L tone) borne by the final syllable of a reduplicated verb like *hàla-hala*. This is why iterative reduplications like *hàla-hala* may alternatively feature an utterance-final fall (hence declarative intonation), while ideophones like *katakata* or *menyemenyé* always carry a word-final H tone irrespective of the syntactic environment they may occur in.

Another ideophone belonging to this group is the noun *p̀̀t̀̀p̀̀t̀̀* 'mud'. In the following sentence, it appears in utterance-final position. Yet, there is no utterance-final fall over the final syllable of *p̀̀t̀̀p̀̀t̀̀*, an indication that we are dealing with a tonal word:

- (312) Dan say get b̀̀k̀̀ **p̀̀t̀̀p̀̀t̀̀**.  
 that side get much mud  
 '[Mind you] that place is very muddy.' [ne07fn 230]

The most commonly used ideophonic verb (and a generally quite frequent verb) is *ẁ̀ẁ* 'be ugly, messy, in disorder'. This verb also belongs to the group of ideophones with pitch configuration that suggests the operation of reduplication rather than repetition.

A second group of ideophones involves repetition. Some words of this group may be encountered as simplex forms, (i.e. *kutùku* ‘sound of the heart beating’, *kakàra* ‘be restless’) and may optionally be repeated in order to express meanings associated with repetition like emphasis or duration. Iterations of such ideophones therefore do not involve lexicalisation proper, even if there is a strong tendency for them to be repeated in discourse.

Hence, the ideophonic verb *kakàra* ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (1065), preceded by the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’ and repeated for emphasis. The comma after the first *kakàra* signals the presence of a short pause, which indicates that this ideophone can also stand alone as simplex form:

- (313) In        **dè kakàra, kakàra kakàra.**  
           3SG.EMP IPFV be.restless REP REP  
           ‘He [EMP] was all restless.’ [ab03ab 047]

The ideophone *kutùku* ‘sound of the heart beating’ may also optionally be repeated for emphasis, as in the following sentence:

- (314) Nà so        ìn        hat        **mek kutùku kutùku kutùku.**  
           FOC like.that 3SG.POSS heart make IDEO IDEO IDEO  
           ‘That’s how his heart was going “kutùku kutùku kutùku”.’ [ab03ab 070]

Other ideophones that formally involve repetition are not usually encountered as simplex forms. Therefore the ideophone *gbogbògbo*, which expresses haste or precipitous hurry, has no attested simplex form \**gbò*. The ideophone only occurs as a triplicated iteration, as in this example:

- (315) Tokòbé dòn wèr        klos        **gbogbògbo.**  
           NAME PRF wear clothing IDEO  
           ‘Tokòbé had put on (her) clothes in haste.’ [ab03ab 111]

Likewise, the ideophone *fwifwifwí* ‘sound of the wind blowing’ is only used as a triplicated lexicalised repetition. In the example below, this ideophone modifies the preceding clause headed by the Spanish-derived verb *sopla* ‘(to) fan’:

- (316) Nà so        à        dè wayp=àn,        à        dè sopla        in        **fwifwifwí.**  
           FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ IPFV wipe=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ IPFV blow 3SG.EMP IDEO  
           ‘I was wiping him like that, I was fanning him.’ [ab03ab 068]

Both groups of ideophones, i.e. those involving lexicalised reduplication and those involving repetition that is lexicalised in varying degrees, can be contrasted with ideophones like *gbin* ‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’ in (317). This ideophone is not encountered with any form of iteration in the corpus:

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- (317) È            **gi**    mi            **gbin.**  
                   3SG.SBJ    give 1SG.EMP    IDEO  
                   ‘He hit me hard and suddenly.’ [ne07fn 008]

Some other combinations of verbs and ideophonic manner adverbs that are not encountered with iteration in the data are: *nak kíp* ‘hit=3SG.OBJ IDEO’ = ‘hit and produce a dull thud’, *mek nɔys tik* ‘make noise IDEO’ = ‘make a cracking noise’.

A look back at the examples in this section show that iteration (whether it involves reduplication or repetition) with most ideophones also evokes the same type of ‘disaggregation’ of the relevant situation that we find with iterated non-ideophones. This may explain why ideophones like *gbin*, *kíp* and *tik* are not iterated. These ideophones denote sudden and inherently terminative situations, which are not normally associated with the kind of cyclic, repetitive, ‘disaggregated’ situation depicted by iterated ideophones.

The following sentence is particularly illustrative of the notion of a series of often quick motion events that is attached to iterated ideophones. The ideophone *kamúkàmú* depicts the countermovement of a pair of buttocks as their owner strides along:

- (318) Yù si lèk haw    ìn            bàta    dèn dè sek    **kamúkàmú?**  
                   2SG see like how    3SG.POSS buttocks PL    IPFV shake    IDEO  
                   ‘Do you see her buttocks moving to-and-fro (as she walks along)?’ [ye07fn 231]

## 6 The nominal system

The grammatical categories of nouns are signalled syntactically by means of pre- and postnominal noun phrase modifiers. Common nouns are not inflected for number, case or gender in Pichi. In the personal pronoun paradigm number and case are, however, morphologically marked. Generally, a noun phrase (henceforth NP) headed by a common noun has the following structure:

- (319) (Quantifier) (Determiner) (Ordinal numeral) (Cardinal Numeral) (Modifier) contd. →  
(Noun) (Pluraliser) (Quantifier) (Focus marker) (Topic marker) (PP)/(Relative clause)

The possibilities for modifying nouns with determiners and quantifiers depends on their lexical class. Pichi nouns fall into three lexical classes: count nouns (e.g. *hos* ‘house’) including collective nouns (e.g. *pipul* ‘people’), mass nouns (e.g. *wàtá* ‘water’) and proper nouns (e.g. place names such as *Pànyá* ‘Spain’ as well as personal names like *Tokòbbé*).

### 6.1 Determiners

This section covers the distribution and functions of the definite article, indefinite determiners, demonstratives and number marking. Quantifiers are treated separately in section 6.3.

#### 6.1.1 Definiteness and specificity

Definiteness and specificity of nouns are marked by the definite article *dì* ‘DEF’ and the indefinite determiners *wan* ‘one, a’ and *sòn* ‘some, a’. In addition, bare nouns without a preceding determiner are marked for definiteness and specificity by default. Some relevant characteristics of definiteness marking are presented in Table 6.1. The use of bare nouns is covered in more detail in 6.1.4:

Table 6.1 Characteristics of definiteness marking

|                             | <i>dì</i> 'DEF' | <i>wan</i> 'one, a' | <i>sòn</i> 'some, a' | Bare noun |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Definiteness                | DEF             | INDF                | INDF                 | INDF      |
| Specificity                 | SPEC            | SPEC                | SPEC/NSPC            | NSPC      |
| Number                      | SG/PL           | SG                  | SG/PL                | SG/PL     |
| Pronominal use              | No              | Yes                 | Yes                  | n.a       |
| Used within negative scope? | Yes             | Yes                 | No                   | Yes       |

The definite article *dì* signals definiteness of a noun phrase. It is neutral as to number and can be used with count, mass, and proper nouns alike. *Dì* may precede NPs headed by full nouns (cf. (324) below), the numeral *wan* 'one' in its function as a pronominal (320) or any element functioning as a noun, such as the deverbal noun *du* in (321):

- (320) *Dì* layf fəs tɛn è bìn swit pas **dì wan** tìdé.  
 DEF life first time 3SG.SBJ PST be.sweet pass DEF one today  
 'Life in the past was more enjoyable than that of today.' [ab03ay 104]

- (321) Mek è bit yu, mek è du yu **dì du**  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ beat 2SG.EMP SBJV 3SG.SBJ do 2SG.EMP DEF do  
 è want, mek è hala, (...)  
 3SG.SBJ want SBJV 3SG.SBJ shout  
 'Let him beat you, let him do to you what he wants to, let him shout (...)' [bo03cb 135]

Proper nouns, such as the place name *Camerún* 'Cameroon' including personal names do not usually occur with the article (322), but may appear with it if required (323):

- (322) Porque à bìn pas nà **Camerún** fəs.  
 because 1SG.SBJ PST pass LOC PLACE first  
 'Because I passed through Cameroon first.' [fr03ft 98]

- (323) Nà **dì sen Jorge** we a sàbí nɔ?  
 FOC DEF same NAME SUB 1SG.SBJ know right  
 'It is the same Jorge that I know, right?' [nn07fn 227]

The definite article *dì* is employed in contexts, in which a noun is specific, identifiable and familiar to discourse participants either through its presence in the immediate physical surrounding (e.g. *maíz* 'maize') (324), or through situational inference (e.g. *mònin mònin tɛn* 'early in the morning') (325):

- (324) Yù tek **dì maíz** yù hol=àn.  
 2SG take DEF maize 2SG hold=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You take the maize and hold it.’ [fr03do 003]
- (325) Afta à dè mit=àn nia **dì klos** dèn  
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ near DEF clothing PL  
**dì mōnin mōnin tēn.**  
 DEF morning REP time  
 ‘Then I met her near the clothes early in the morning.’ [ru03wt 037]

The associative use of the article is exemplified in (326). The referent *leche* ‘milk’ has been established earlier on in discourse. The Spanish noun *animal* ‘animal’ is therefore definite by association with the antecedent *leche*:

- (326) Es que, è fayn we yù no sàbí se  
 it.is that 3SG.SBJ be.fine SUB 2SG NEG know QUOT  
**è kòmót fɔ̀ **dì animal.****  
 3SG.SBJ come.out ASS DEF animal  
 ‘That is, it (i.e. the milk) is fine when you don’t know that it  
 has come out of the animal.’ [ed03sp 105]

The anaphoric use of the article can be seen in the following examples. The referent *man* ‘man’ is introduced in (327) (a) by speaker (hi) and taken up as a definite NP by speaker [bo] in (b). Note the presence of the Nigerian Pidgin form *haws* ‘house’ instead of Pichi *hos* in (b):

- (327) a. (...) dèn kin fiε **dèn man** dan kayn stayl (...)  
 3PL HAB fear 3PL man that kind style  
 ‘(...) they usually fear their husbands and the like.’ [hi03cb 131]
- b. Yù dè fiε **dì man** mek è no bit yu ò mek  
 2SG IPFV fear DEF man SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG beat 2SG.EMP or SBJV  
 è no dreb yu fɔ̀ haws ò.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG drive 2SG.EMP ASS house SP  
 ‘You fear the [your] man lest he should beat you or drive you  
 out of the house.’ [hi03cb 132]

Cataphoric use of the article – where the identity of the definite noun is established in following discourse can be seen in the relative construction in (328):

- (328) Yù no fit, porque yù màamá no gò hebul pe **ɔl**  
 2SG NEG can because 2SG mother NEG POT be.capable pay all



**dì wok we** dan man    dòn du fɔ̃ yu  
 DEF work    SUB that man    PRF do    ASS 2SG.EMP

'You can't because your mother wouldn't be able to pay all that work  
 that the man has done for you.' [ab03ay 021]

Singular count nouns are marked for indefiniteness with the cardinal numeral *wan* 'one' (329), or with the quantifier *sòn* 'some, a' (cf. (330) below).

(329) À            gɛt **wan big sista**    we nà mulata.  
 1SG.SBJ    get one big sister    SUB FOC African-European.F  
 'I have a big sister who is African-European.' [fr03ft 022]

When used with count nouns, *wan* usually signals a higher degree of specificity than *sòn*. However, there is no categorical distinction between specific and non-specific deixis in Pichi. This can be seen in the following two sentences. Here the noun *febò* 'favour' appears with *sòn* 'some, a' in (330) and *wan* 'one a' in a specific and emphatic setting in (331):

(330) À            want    mek    yù du mi    **sòn    febò**,  
 1SG.SBJ    want    SBJV    2SG do    1SG.EMP    some    favour  
 mek    yù was    mì    sòn    klos    dèn.  
 SBJV    2SG wash    1SG.EMP    some    clothing PL  
 'I want you to do me a favour (and) wash some clothes for me.' [ru03wt 030]

(331) Nà se,            nà làykse            dì mandè mek    yu    **wan    febò**.  
 FOC QUOT    FOC like QUOT    DEF manIPFV make    2SG.EMP    one    favour  
 'It is that, it is as if the man is doing you a favour.' [hi03cb 180]

Given that Pichi does not mark number on nouns morphologically, *wan*, rather than *sòn*, is used to express that singular number is a significant feature of the referent as in *wan mòtó* 'one car' (332). Here an interpretation of *wan* as a numeral would appear awkward since the speaker does not have more than one car in mind:

(332) Yù sàbí    se            **wan    mòtó**    fɔ̃ wan mun    nà cincuenta    dólar,  
 2SG know    QUOT    one    car    ASS one month    FOC fifty    dollar  
 èf yù hol    wan    mòtó    fɔ̃ wan mun.  
 if 2SG hold    one    car    ASS one month  
 'You know that a car for one month is fifty dollars, if you keep a car for only one month.'  
 [ed03sp 076]

*Wan* rather than *sòn* is also common in emphatic contexts. The data does not contain a single sentence in which a noun is preceded by *sòn* in an equative clause of the type in (333), in which the identified entity is highly specific. In the same vein, the numeral *wan* may signal additional emphasis when it precedes a noun under cleft focus in a presentative

construction as in (334) (cf. also 8.4.4):

- (333) **Nà wan ònkúl directo,** fɔ̀ mì mà́má ìn pà́pá  
 FOC one uncle direct ASS 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father  
 ìn fambul pat.  
 3SG.POSS family part  
 ‘(He) is a direct uncle on my mother’s father’s family’s side.’ [fr03ft 051]

- (334) È de complicado, **nà wan tin dat.**  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT complicated FOC one thing that  
 ‘It’s complicated, its one (kind of a) thing.’ [ye07de 017]

Contrary to what one would expect of a cardinal numeral that signals singular number, *wan* can also modify a noun containing a numeral above one (335). Such usage of *wan* is often found in conjunction with Spanish numerals and head nouns and is likely to be a case of structural borrowing from Spanish. In Spanish, the plural indefinite article (*unos/unas*) fulfills an identical function (cf. also 14.3.1):

- (335) Afta wì kan mit làyk **wan seis años** después.  
 then 1PL real meet like one six years afterwards  
 ‘Then we met again some six years later.’ [fr03ft 191]

With plural count nouns, indefiniteness is signalled through the presence of *sòn* alone (336) or the absence of a definiteness expression altogether (cf. 6.1.4). Mass nouns may only be modified by *sòn* for indefiniteness, or they occur devoid of any determiner (337):

- (336) Wi ɣet **sòn fambul** de, nà dan yù, nà yù prima.  
 1PL get some family there FOC that 2SG FOC 2SG cousin.F  
 ‘We have a family member there, it’s that your, it’s your female cousin.’ [ge07ga 048]

- (337) **Blɔ̀d** dè kòmót nà ìn nos, è dè kòmót  
 blood IPFV come.out LOC 3SG.POSS nose 3SG.SBJ IPFV come.out  
 nà ìn mɔ̀t.  
 LOC 3SG.POSS mouth  
 ‘Blood was coming out of her nose, it was coming out of her mouth.’ [ab03ay 125]

Furthermore, *wan*, but not *sòn*, may occur with NPs that are within the scope of negation, even if only with an emphatic meaning (338). In the absence of emphasis, NPs do not usually appear with a marker of indefiniteness in negative clauses (339) (cf. 8.2.2 for details):

- (338) Soté à **no tək no wan wɔ̀d.**  
 until 1SG.SBJ NEG talk NEG one word  
 ‘Until I didn’t say a single word (anymore).’ [ab03ay 088]

- (339) Yù sàbí se yù **no** gèt **pikín**?  
 2SG know QUOT 2SG NEG get child  
 ‘Do you (really) know that you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 181]

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

In both (340) and (341) *wan* and *sòn* refer to a preceding NP *televisión* ‘TV-set’. When referring to a plural noun, *sòn* may optionally be followed by the pluraliser *dèn* ‘PL’(342):

- (340) Yes, à gèt **wan**.  
 yes 1SG.SBJ get one  
 ‘Yes, I have one [a TV set].’ [dj05ae 078]
- (341) Nà so mì yon sef, à jəs bay **sòn**, (...)  
 FOC like.that 1SG.POSS own EMP 1SG.SBJ just buy some  
 ‘That’s how it is with me as well, I just bought one [a TV set] (...)’ [ma0305hm 072]
- (342) À gèt **sòn dèn**.  
 1SG.SBJ get some PL  
 ‘I have some (PL).’ [ro05fe 002]

*Sòn* and *wan* may also be used with a partitive reading when followed by a definite possessed noun. Once more the nominal referent preceded by *sòn* tends to receive a less specific reading than the one featuring *wan*. The same meaning may alternatively be expressed if *sòn* or *wan* are followed by a definite *fə*-prepositional phrase (cf. e.g. (402)):

- (343) **Sòn** ìn sista (...)  
 some 3SG.POSS sister  
 ‘A sister of hers (...)’ [ab03ay 058]
- (344) À se, **wan** mì kəmpin nə, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT one 1SG.POSS friend NEG  
 ‘I say one of my friends, right, (...)’ [ye07ga 001]

Finally, only the quantifier and indefinite, non-specific determiner *sòn* appears in NPs which function as nominal and adverbial indefinite pronouns and involve generic nouns like *tin* ‘thing’, *pəsin* ‘person’, *tən* ‘time’, *səy* ‘side’, *ples* ‘place’, *awa* ‘hour, time’ and *stayl* ‘style’. Compare the following two examples (cf. 6.4.3 for a complete listing):

- (345) **Sòn awa** à no kìn hebul mə, mì  
 some hour 1SG.SBJ NEG HAB be.capable more 1SG.POSS

sista dèn kìn sɛn mi m̀nɪ.  
 sister PL HAB send 1SG.EMP money  
 ‘Sometimes I wouldn’t cope any more, (so) my sisters would send me money.’ [ed03sp 087]

- (346) (...) wan de **s̀n** **pɔsin** bin kan se, è dè  
 one day some person PST come QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 tɔk se ỳ dɔn gi wan golpe **s̀n** **say**.  
 talk QUOT 2SG PRF give one blow some side.  
 ‘(...) one day somebody came that, he was saying that you had given a blow  
 somewhere [you had fathered a child somewhere].’ [fr03wt 185]

### 6.1.2 Demonstratives

Pichi has a two-term demonstrative system that serves to express the notions of proximity and distance with the speaker as the deictic centre. The demonstratives *di/dis* ‘this’ and *da/dan/dat* ‘that’ and sometimes *dèn* ‘those’ express the spatial, temporal and discourse functions of proximal and distal reference respectively. Table 6.2 gives an overview of the forms and functions of Pichi demonstratives:

Table 6.2 Demonstratives

| Deixis type | Attributive                 | Pronominal                  | Presentative    | Deictic adverbial         |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Proximal    | <i>di/dis</i>               | <i>di/dis wan; dis</i>      | <i>dis</i>      | <i>ya</i>                 |
| Distal      | <i>da/dan</i><br><i>dèn</i> | <i>da/dan wan; dat</i><br>— | <i>dat</i><br>— | <i>de</i><br>not attested |

Demonstratives may be used attributively as pronominal modifiers. The forms *di* and *dis* are equivalent in function, although *di* is more common as a proximal demonstrative (347):

- (347) Djunais tɔk se, nɔ Rubi **di** gɛl lek yu.  
 NAME talk QUOT NEG NAME this girl like 2SG.EMP  
 ‘Djunais said, really Rubi, this girl likes you.’ [ru03wt 021]

The two forms *da* and *dan* serve as distal attributive demonstratives (348). The form *dan* is used in the majority of cases, irrespective of the word-initial onset of the following noun. NPs featuring an attributively used demonstrative are pluralised in the usual way by means of the postposed pluraliser *dèn* (348):

- (348) ɔl **dan** pikín **dèn** nà dan man ìn yon.  
 all that child PL FOC that man 3SG.POSS own  
 ‘All those children are that man’s.’ [hi03cb 190]

*Di* and *dis* (349), as well as *da* and *dan* (cf. e.g. (357)) may combine with the numeral and pronominal *wan* ‘one’, in order to form singular (349) and plural (350) demonstrative pronominals:

(349) À tink se **di wan** nà wanproblema fɔ Afrika, èn.  
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT this one FOC one problem ASS PLACE SP  
 ‘I think that this is a problem in Africa.’ [fr03ft 105]

(350) Nà de **dis wan** **dèn** màamá dèn dè mek ɛni tin.  
 FOC there this one 3PL mother 3PL IPFV make every thing  
 ‘It is then that these ones’ mothers do every thing.’ [ab03ay 047]

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

(351) **Dis** noto Manolete.  
 this NEG.FOC NAME  
 ‘This is not Manolete (oil).’ [ab03ab 029]

(352) **Dat** no gò du ò!  
 that NEG POT do SP  
 ‘That really won’t do.’ [nn07fn 216]

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

*Dis* and *dat*, but never *di* and *da/dan*, also occur in sentence-final position in a presentative construction of the type presented in (353) and (354), where the demonstratives are anaphoric to an antecedent focused NP (cf. 8.4.4):

(353) Se **nà** in **dis, nà** yù human **dis**, yù want  
 QUOTFOC 3SG.EMP this FOC 2SG woman this 2SG want  
 ò yù no want, **nà** in **dis**.  
 or 2SG NEG want FOC 3SG.POSS this  
 ‘(She said) that this is her, this is your wife, you like it or not,  
 this is her.’ [ed03sp 009]

(354) **Nà** ìn vida **dat**.  
 FOC 3SG.POSS life that  
 ‘That’s his (kind of) life.’ [he07fn 228]

Demonstrative adjectives do not co-occur with the definite article. They may, however, precede proper nouns (355) and possessive pronouns (356):

- (355) Luk=àn, dì de we **dis Paquita** ìn pàpá  
 look=3SG.OBJ DEF day SUB this NAME 3SG.POSS father  
 bìn kan tek=àn, è pe avioneta.  
 PST come take=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ pay small aircraft  
 ‘Look at this, the day that Paquita’s father came to take her,  
 he hired a small aircraft.’ [ab03ay 140]

- (356) Cuñado, mi get fɔ fɛn **dan mì**  
 brother-in-law 1SG.EMP get ASS look.for that 1SG.POSS  
**prima** ò, Cristina.  
 cousin.F SP NAME  
 ‘Brother(-in-law), I [EMP] really have to go look for that my  
 (female) cousin, Cristina.’ [ge07ga 046]

Demonstratives are often reinforced through the deictic locative adverbs *ya* ‘here’, *de* ‘there’ and sometimes *yàndá* ‘yonder, over there’ (357):

- (357) Èhé, wan glas wàtá aparte, yù put=àn insay, **dan wan**  
 INTJ one glas water separate 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside that one  
**de**, yù fit tek medio fɔ dan sen glas (...)  
 there 2SG can take half ASS that same glas  
 ‘Exactly, one glas of water separately, you put it inside, as for that one, you can  
 take half in that very glas (...).’ [dj03do 054]

The idiom *dis-tin* ‘this-thing’ may substitute for any common noun. Example (358) shows that this expression has been lexicalised to an extent, which allows the occurrence of the second demonstrative with its full referential meaning:

- (358) À tek tu peso à bay dan **dis-tin** (...)  
 1SG.SBJ take two peso 1SG.SBJ buy that this-thing  
 ‘I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit (...).’ [ed03sp 083]

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

- (359) Wèt ɔl **dèn** **fronteras** **dèn** we dèn dè chech.  
 with all those borders PL SUB 3PL IPFV change  
 ‘With all those borders that are changing.’ [fr03ft 102]

In their function as markers of spatial deixis, the proximal and distal demonstratives serve to locate referents in physical space with the speaker as the deictic centre (360):

- (360) Wì dè go dòn, wì dè go lɛf=àn **dì say**  
 1PL IPFV go down 1PL IPFV go leave=3SG.OBJ DEF side  
**dan mòtó de.**  
 that car BE.AT  
 ‘We’re going down, we are going to leave it where that car is.’ [ma03ni 043]

The demonstrative pronouns also serve to express discourse-pragmatic deixis. I reiterate example (357) above in (361) below in context. In the excerpt, speaker (dj) explains how to cook corn porridge. The interjection *èhé* ‘exactly’ confirms the interruptive question posed in (361)(a). The topical *dan wan de* in (b) is therefore anaphoric to the process explained just beforehand in the same sentence.

The anaphoric function of the distal demonstrative pronoun is frequently made use of in order to refer to preceding NPs, phrases and entire sentences. *Dan sen glas* ‘that very glas’ represents (357) an additional means of referent tracking via the use of the focus and emphasis marker *sen* ‘same, very’:

- (361) a. Wan glas wàtá?  
 one glas water  
 ‘One glas of water?’ [fr03do 053]
- b. Èhé, wan glas wàtá aparte, yù put=àn insay, **dan wan**  
 exactly one glas water separate 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside that one  
**de** yù fit tek medio fɔ dan sen glas (...)  
 there 2SG can take half ASS that same glas  
 ‘Exactly, one glas of water separately, you put it inside, that one [that method],  
 you can take half in that very glas (...).’ [dj03do 054]

### 6.1.3 Number

Pichi distinguishes singular and plural number through the postposed pluraliser *dèn* which is identical to the 3PL dependent pronoun. The pluraliser is clitic-like in one respect: It may not be separated from the noun it refers to by any constituent. However, it is not written with a ligature because the overlap between plural reference in NPs and the predicate may make the distinction between 3PL and PL impossible to make. Typically, the pluraliser occurs with count nouns (362) but it may also follow collective nouns like *pipul* ‘people’ (363):

- (362) Yù no fit jòs tròwé **dì tin dèn** nà strit so.  
 2SG NEG can just throw.away DEF thing PL LOC street like.that  
 ‘You can’t just throw the things into the street like that.’ [hi03cb 031]
- (363) Fò **pipul dèn**, pipul dèn kin de nà rod, plènte.  
 ASS people PL people PL HAB BE.AT LOC road plenty  
 ‘Because of people, people are usually on the road, a lot.’ [ma03ni 011]

The pluraliser is also encountered with mass nouns denoting liquids such as *wàtá* ‘water’ (364) or *leche* ‘milk’ in (365):

- (364) Fit sifita in soté tu tèn mek mek  
 can sieve 3SG.EMP until two time make SBJV  
 dan smòl smòl **wàtá dèn** no lef.  
 that small REP water PL NEG leave  
 ‘(You) can sieve it up to two times in order not to make that  
 little bit of water remain.’ [dj03do 008]
- (365) À bìn dè vomit dan **leche dèn** fòs fòs tèn dèn.  
 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV vomit that milk PL first first time PL  
 ‘I was throwing up that milk during the first few times.’ [ed03sp 104]

NPs featuring a cardinal numeral can also optionally be marked for plural number (366), although in the majority of instances, speakers prefer not to use the pluraliser together with a numeral (367):

- (366) (...) è get **tu pikín dèn** nà Pànyá sef.  
 3SG.SBJ get two child PL LOC Spain EMP  
 ‘She even has two children in Spain.’ [fr03ft 140]
- (367) È bring **tri kasara**, è le dèn pàntáp dì tebul.  
 3SG.SBJ bring three cassava 3SG.SBJ lie 3PL.EMP ON DEF table  
 ‘He brought three cassavas and put them on the table.’ [li07pe 067]

Furthermore, the pluraliser may co-occur with quantifiers that indicate plurality of the referent such as *əl* ‘all’ (368), and *bòkú* ‘many, much’ (369), although the absence of plural marking is equally common (370):

- (368) (...) yù want bay cuaderno, bolí **əl dan tin dèn**  
 2SG want buy exercise.book pen all that thing PL  
 nà wèt dólar.  
 FOC with dollar  
 ‘You want to buy an exercise book, pen and all those things, it’s with dollars.’ [ed03sp 096]



(369) **Bòkú môtô dèn** de ya so, (...)  
 much car PL BE.AT here like.that  
 '(Since) there were many cars around, (...)' [ye03cd 178]

(370) Mi, lèk haw yù dè si mi, à dòn  
 1SG.EMP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ PRF  
 si **plente tin.**  
 see plenty thing  
 'As for me, as you see me (now), I've seen many things (in life)'. [ab03ab 023]

The pluraliser is also consistently made use of with inserted Spanish nouns marked with the Spanish plural morpheme {-s} (371). The same is true of the few instances in the corpus, in which the nouns *bɔy* 'boy' and *gal* 'girl' are marked for plural with the marginal Pichi plural morpheme {-s} as in (372):

(371) Afta dèn nà mì **sobrinos dèn.**  
 then 3PL.EMP FOC 1SG.POSS nephews PL  
 'So, they are my nephews.' [fr03ft 060]

(372) ɔl Ghana **bɔy-s dèn,** we dèn de (...)  
 all Ghana boy-PL PL SUB 3PL BE.AT  
 'All the Ghanaian guys that were around (...)' [ed03sp 076]

On the whole, plural marking in Pichi is normally encountered when the NP is definite through the presence of the definite determiner, demonstratives, or possessive pronouns. However, plural-marking may also be omitted with definite nouns if other constituents with plural reference are present.

In (373), for example, plural number is not marked on the definite head noun of the relative clause. Instead, plurality is only expressed via the coreferential subject pronoun in the relative clause:

(373) **Dì human** we **dèn** fayn mɔ nà Amérika Latina  
 DEF woman SUB 3PL fine more LOC PLACE  
 human dèn.  
 woman PL  
 'The women who are the most beautiful are Latin American women.' [ed03sp 025]

Personal names may be pluralised in order to form an associative plural (374). The resulting meaning is 'X and those associated with her/him habitually or at the time of reference':

- (374) À dɔn explica Bòyé dèn, se nà so  
 1SG.SBJ PRF explain NAME PL QUOT FOC like.that  
 mi dè mɛmba, ɔl tin.  
 1SG.EMP IPFV remember all thing  
 ‘I have explained to Bòyé and the others that this is how  
 I remember everything.’ [ru03wt 045]

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

I repeat sentence (350) in (375) below. As is generally the case in dislocated possessive constructions, a personal pronoun coreferential with the possessor (*dèn* ‘3PL’) links the plural possessor (*dis wan dèn* ‘these ones’) and the possessed noun (*mà má* ‘mother’). I interpret the linker *dèn* in these cases as the 3PL pronoun rather than the pluraliser, since singular possessors require the use of the corresponding singular possessive pronoun *in* ‘3SG.POSS’ in the same position. Hence the pluraliser remains unexpressed in the construction in order to avoid doubling of the two homophonous forms:

- (375) Nà de dis wan dèn mà má dèn dè mek ɛni tin.  
 FOC there this one 3PL mother 3PL IPFV make every thing  
 ‘It is then that these ones’ mothers do every thing.’ [ab03ay 047]

In (376), we encounter a similar overlap of PL and 3PL. Here, *dèn* may be interpreted as the pluraliser postposed to the NP or instead, as a resumptive pronoun and the subject of the following verb. In contexts such as these where a predicate immediately follows a plural-referring NP, the distinction between the pluraliser and a 3PL resumptive pronoun is not possible since doubling of the form is normally avoided. The distributional characteristics of *dèn* in these contexts indicate the significant functional overlap of NP and verbal number marking in Pichi:

- (376) Estudiante fɔ Guinea dèn dè sofa plente.  
 student ASS PLACE 3PL/PL IPFV suffer plenty  
 ‘Guinean students were suffering a lot.’ [ed03sp 086]

Finally, I point out that Pichi has at least two nouns with suppletive plural forms which are occasionally employed instead of the regular plural involving *dèn* ‘PL’. The relevant singular-plural pairs are *gal-gals* ‘girl-girls’ and *bɔy-bɔys* ‘boy-boys’. However, these forms are not suppletive in the true sense since they feature the segmentable but only marginally productive plural morpheme {-s}, which is only attested with these two nouns. As example (372) above, shows these forms may also be followed by the pluraliser *dèn*.

### 6.1.4 Genericity

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

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

(377) Nà **man** ìn suerte.  
 FOC man 3SG.POSS luck  
 'That's the fortune of men.' [fr03ft 194]

(378) **Dog** kìn bet.  
 dog HAB bite  
 'Dogs bite.' [dj07ae 371]

In contrast, the use of the bare form is the normal way of referring to indefinite and non-specific mass nouns like *chəp* 'food' and *pàmáyn* 'oil', while definite (and specific by default) mass nouns are preceded by the definite article *dì* 'DEF' like count nouns:

(379) **Chəp** de nà hos, **pàmáyn** de (...)  
 food BE.AT LOC house oil BE.AT  
 'There's food in the house, there's oil (...).' [ro05rt 050]

(380) Yù fɔ tròwé **dì wàtá** ya so, (...)  
 2SG ASS pour DEF water here like.that  
 'You have to pour (out) the water here (...).' [dj03do 039]

In Pichi, weather mass nouns like *bris* 'wind', *tinada* 'thunderstorm' and *ren* 'rain' also have non-specific NP marking and reference when they occur in weather condition clauses like the following one:

(381) **Bris** dè blo.  
 air IPFV blow  
 'The wind is blowing.' [dj07ae 242]

However, with count nouns, generic reference can also be established by employing a plural noun without a determiner (382):

(382) **Man** **dèn** no dè bisin fɔ mek fam mɔ (...)  
 man PL NEG IPFV be.busy ASS make farm more  
 'People are no more into farming (...)' [ed03sp 053]

Further, the reference of the definite article *dì* ‘DEF’ may also be construed as generic if it cooccurs with generic TMA marking. In this example, imperfective marking expresses a habitual, generic sense and the nouns *Gabonés* and *Guineano* designate the whole class of referents rather than specific ones:

- (383) Pero     **dì Gabonés**     we dè tək Bàta     wèt     **dì Guineano**  
 but     DEF Gabonese     SUB IPFV talk Fang     with     DEF Guinean
- we dè tək Bàta,     **dì sonido**     no de     **dì sen.**  
 SUB IPFV talk Fang     DEF sound     NEG BE.AT     DEF same
- ‘But the Gabonese who talks Fang and the Guinean who talks Fang,  
 the sound is not the same.’ [ma03hm 048]

Example (384) illustrates how generic meaning arises through the interplay of NP marking (the bare NP *tidé pikín* ‘children of today’), impersonal use of 2SG, and the habitual reading of the potential modality marker *gò*:

- (384) **Tidé pikín yù gò** get bèle,     **yù** pul=àn  
 today child 2SG POT get belly 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ
- yù gò** day wèt     bèle     (...)  
 2SG POT die with belly
- ‘As for children of today, they get pregnant, they abort it and die  
 because of the pregnancy.’ [ab03ay 105]

Bare nouns are also encountered in many idiomatic verb-object collocations involving count nouns such as *mek fam* ‘to farm’, *get bèle* ‘to be pregnant’ or *fala human* ‘to womanise’. Such noun phrases are also characterised by genericity by virtue of their non-specific reference. They equally reflect a general tendency to omit indefiniteness and number marking with non-specific objects (385):

- (385) À     raya     in     **wèt**     **rayador.**  
 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.EMP with grater  
 ‘I grated it with a grater.’ [dj03do 004]

## 6.2 Noun phrase modification

Pichi modifies nouns by way of pre- and post-nominal modifiers and possessive constructions. Postnominal modification via focus and topic markers is treated separately in sections 8.4.2 and 8.5 respectively. Nouns may also be modified through relative clauses (cf. 12.7) and noun complement clauses (cf. 12.6.8).

### 6.2.1 Prenominal modification

Head nouns of noun phrases may be modified prenominally by other nouns and by verbs in compounds, by nouns in associative constructions as well as by quantifiers and property items that have been converted to attributive adjectives. In (386), the nouns *man* ‘man’ and *human* ‘woman’ are modified by the preposed property item *big* ‘(be) big’.

- (386) Bòt we dì mannà **big man**, dì human sef nà **big human**,  
 but SUB DEF manFOC big man DEF woman EMP FOC big woman  
 porque əl tən nà human de bòtón man.  
 because all timeFOC woman BE.AT under man  
 ‘But when the man is a big man, the woman, too is a big woman, because  
 it is always the woman who is below the man. [hi03cb 152]

An ordinal numeral or similar quantifier such as *əda* ‘other’ immediately follows the article and precedes other modifiers (387):

- (387) Yù put **əda nyu** wan insay, dan wan se  
 2SG put other new one inside that one QUOT  
 mek è no smel.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG smell  
 ‘(Then) you put another one inside, that in order for it  
 not to smell.’ [dj03do 048]

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

Secondly, the following more ‘basic’ semantic types of property items have the strongest likelihood of occurring as prenominal modifiers to head nouns: dimension (e.g. *big* ‘(be) big’ in (386) and *sməl* ‘(be) small), age (e.g. *ol* ‘(be) old’, cf. (387)), value (e.g. *bad* ‘(be) bad’, *beta* ‘(be) very good’, *fayn* ‘(be) fine, beautiful’, *tru* ‘(be) true’ and (s)*trən* ‘be strong, profound (cf. (388)), colour (e.g. *blak* ‘(be) black’, *wayt* ‘(be) white’ and *rəd* ‘(be) red’):

- (388) È get wan **trən stayl** fò tək=àn.  
 3SG.SBJ get one strong style ASS talk=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘There’s a profound way of saying it.’ [ye07je 020]
- (389) Dan **wayt tin** we è de nà ìn yay.  
 that white thing SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC 3SG.POSS eye  
 ‘That white thing that’s in his eye.’ [dj03cd.103]

Physical properties (e.g. *swit* ‘be tasty’, *evi* ‘be heavy’, *had* ‘be hard’, *saf* ‘be soft’) are far less likely to appear in prenominal position. So are human propensities, be they lexicalised as

dynamic (e.g. *kres* ‘be crazy’, *jelàs* ‘be envious’) or inchoative-stative verbs (e.g. *wikɛd* ‘be wicked’). Further, the corpus contains no instance of a prenominal, modifying use of labile change of state verbs like *brók* ‘be broken, break,’ *lòs* ‘be lost, lose,’ *lòk* ‘close, be closed’ and locative verbs like *sìdòn* ‘sit, seat’.

Instead, members of the semantic classes listed above preferably occur in other kinds of modifying structures, such as relative constructions (390) and compounds (391):

(390) Nà wan **man** we è **lòs**.  
 FOC one man SUB 3SG.SBJ lose.  
 ‘He’s a lost man [a hopeless case].’ [be07fn 217]

(391) Wan de wan de dis human gò tòn **krès-human**.  
 one day REP this woman POT turn crazy.CPD-woman  
 ‘Someday this woman will turn into a crazy woman.’ [ro05ee 039]

The few members of the Pichi adjective class (e.g. *fayn* ‘be fine’) may appear in the prenominal modifier position like other property items. However, only adjectives may function as complements to the locative-existential copula *de* in predicate adjective constructions (cf. 8.6.5).

### 6.2.2 Postnominal modification

Nouns may be modified by postposed elements of two types: focus particles (cf. 8.4.2), the topic marker *naw* ‘now’ and optionally, by quantifiers like *wan* ‘alone’ (cf. (412)-(413), *ɔl* ‘all’ (cf. (415)) and *dasɔl* ‘only’ (cf. (425)).

### 6.2.3 Possessive constructions

Pichi employs four types of ‘possessive’ constructions through which possessive relations and relations of modification are established between nouns: compounding, the associative construction, the “dislocated possessive construction” (Kouwenberg 1994: 160) and a prepositional phrase construction involving the associative preposition *fɔ̃*. Compounding shares much of its functional space with the associative construction and both constructions are covered extensively in section 5.5.

Table 6.3 shows that the order of the participating NPs and forms of linkage are relevant for the way in which possessive relations and relations of modification are established. For ease of exposition, these relations are summarily referred to as ‘possessive’ constructions and the participating NPs as ‘possessor’ and ‘possessed’ respectively:

Table 6.3 Possessive constructions

| Construction              | NP 1      | Type of linkage                        | NP 2      |
|---------------------------|-----------|--|-----------|
| Compound                  | Possessor | Tonal derivation                       | Possessed |
| Associative               | Possessor | Juxtaposition                          | Possessed |
| Dislocated possessive     | Possessor | <i>in</i> '3SG.POSS', <i>dèn</i> '3PL' | Possessed |
| <i>fɔ̃</i> -prepositional | Possessed | <i>fɔ̃</i> 'ASS'                       | Possessor |

In the associative construction, two nouns are juxtaposed, whereby the 'possessor' (the modifier noun) modifies the 'possessed' noun (the modified noun). Firstly, this construction is always employed when the possessor is instantiated in a possessive pronoun. Secondly, associative constructions express various relations of modification, either exclusively or in complementarity with compounds (cf. 5.5). One relation of modification that is always expressed as an associative construction if the possessor is not a multi-constituent NP is a 'measure/entity' relation (392). In such constructions, the modifier noun is the measure (*glas* 'glas') and the modified noun the entity measured (*wàtá* 'water'):

- (392) Wan    **glas**    **wàtá**.  
 one    glas    water  
 'One glas of water' [dj03do 053]

Unlike the associative construction, which typically instantiates a relation of modification between two noun phrases, the dislocated possessive construction typically serves to express a possessive relation. The possessor is therefore usually animate and human – the data contains no instance of a dislocated possessive construction involving an inanimate possessor.

In the dislocated possessive construction, a resumptive pronoun intervenes as the linker between the possessor and the possessed nouns. With a singular possessor, the 3SG possessive pronoun *in* is chosen and a plural possessor the 3PL possessive pronoun *dèn*:

- (393) Pero    chico    nà    yù    pikín    **in**    layf.  
 but    boy    FOC 2SG child    3SG.POSS life  
 'But boy, it is your child's life.' [hi03cb 133]

- (394) (...) wayt    pipul    **dèn** wayf.  
 white    people    PL    wife  
 '(...) white people's wives.' [ed03sp 042]

The dislocated possessive construction requires coreferentiality of the possessive pronoun and the possessor. Hence (395), which involves a 2SG person possessor is ungrammatical:

- (395) \*Nà **yu**      **in**      hos.  
           FOC 2SG.EMP 3SG.POSS house  
           \*It's your house. [ne07fn 231]

The dislocated possessive construction permits the expression of recursive possessive relations. Several interlocked possessive relations can be expressed as in (396):

- (396) Nà de      à      kan sàbí      mì      mà má      **in**      pà pá  
           FOC there 1SG.SBJ PFV know 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father  
           **in**      fambul.  
           3SG.POSS family  
           'It is there that I got to know my mother's father's family.' [fr03ft 044]

In the *fɔ̃*-prepositional construction, the possessed noun is followed by a prepositional phrase that contains a full noun functioning as a possessor (397) or modifier (398):

- (397) Afta Miguel Angel we nà dì las pikín **fɔ̃** mì àntí.  
           then NAME NAME SUB FOC DEF last child ASS 1SG.POSS aunt  
           'Then (there is) Miguel Angel who is the last child of my aunt.' [fr03ft 143]
- (398) Afta dèn dè get fisionomía **fɔ̃** Afrika dèn.  
           then 3PL IPFV get physiognomy ASS PLACE PL  
           'Then, they have African physiognomies.' [ed03sp 031]

Unlike the dislocated possessive construction, the 'possessor' in the *fɔ̃*-construction may be inanimate. This construction therefore typically expresses a relation of modification between a modified ('possessed') and a modifier ('possessor') entity. The construction may express various semantic roles including source (399) and material (400) (cf. 11.1.3 for a complete description of the semantic roles covered by *fɔ̃* 'Ass'):

- (399) (...) yù no gò get hàmbóg **fɔ̃** pipul dèn.  
           2SG NEG POT get irritation ASS people PL  
           '(...) you won't get any irritation from people.' [ma03ni 009]
- (400) (...) dan casa verde, dan casa **fɔ̃** madeira (...)  
           that house green that house ASS wood  
           '(...) that green house, that wooden house (...)' [hi03cb 037]

The *fɔ̃*-construction is also used to express part-whole relations in the idiomatic expression *pat fɔ̃* 'part of' (401) or a partitive construction involving the determiner *sàn* 'some' (402):

- (401) (...) gɔvna dè gi yù **pat fɔ̃** dī mɔní.  
           government IPFV give 2SG part ASS DEF money  
           '(...) government gives you part of the money.' [hi03cb 064]



- (402) **Sòn fɔ̃ dɪ wàtá** de yet.  
 some ASS DEF water BE.AT yet  
 ‘Some of the water still remains.’ [ab07fn 224]

The *fɔ̃*-construction is also employed to express a possessive relation in the same way as the dislocated possessive construction. There appears to be a stronger likelihood for the use of *fɔ̃*-prepositional constructions instead of dislocated possessive constructions when the possessed NP is complex and features more than one constituent. This is the case in the following example, in which the possessed noun *pikín* ‘child’ is additionally modified by the quantifier *las* ‘last’:

- (403) Afta Miguel Angel we nà **dɪ las pikín fɔ̃ mɪ àntí**.  
 then NAME NAME SUB FOC DEF last child ASS 1SG.POSS aunt  
 ‘Then, there is Miguel Angel who is the last child of my aunt.’ [fr03ft 143]

A second factor that contributes to the use of the *fɔ̃*-construction is animacy. The resumptive pronoun in the disjunctive possessive construction is typically coreferential with an animate, usually human possessor. Therefore, an inanimate ‘possessor’ is best expressed through the *fɔ̃*-construction:

- (404) Nà wan prensa internacional **wan ministro fɔ̃ Gabón**  
 LOC one press international one minister ASS PLACE  
 kan tək se dan isla nà Gabón.  
 PFV talk QUORthat island FOC PLACE  
 ‘In an international press [newspaper] a secretary of state of Gabon  
 said that that island is [belongs to] Gabon.’ [fr03ft 111]

## 6.3 Quantification

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

### 6.3.1 Numerals

Pichi has a decimal numeral system. The basic numerals up to ten are *wan* ‘one’, *tu* ‘two’, *tri* ‘three’, *fo* ‘four’, *fayf* ‘five’, *siks* ‘six’, *seven* ‘seven’, *et* ‘eight’, *nayn* ‘nine’ and *ten* ‘ten’. In the corpus, no numeral higher than seven was used in natural speech and no speaker except one could list numerals higher than ‘ten’ without fault. Instead, the Spanish numeral system is employed by all speakers and has largely replaced Pichi cardinal numerals above seven (cf. 14.3.1 for additional details).

Cardinal numerals occur in the prenominal modifier position (405) and may be used independently as pronominals (406). The repetition of cardinal numerals renders a distributive sense (407):

- (405) So à dɔn get **tri** **nacionalidad** nà dis wɔl.  
 so 1SG.SBJ PRF get three nationality LOC this world  
 ‘So I have three nationalities in this world.’ [fr03ft 102]
- (406) Èf yù dè tek **tri**, trenta mil.  
 if 2SG IPFV take three thirty thousand  
 ‘If you take three, (it is) thirty thousand.’ [f103fp 016]
- (407) Yù fit ker dɛn **tu tu**.  
 2SG can carry 3PL.EMP two REP  
 ‘You can carry them two by two.’ [bo07fn 231]

Pichi has the three lexical ordinal numerals *fɔs* ‘first’ (408), *sɛkɔn/sɛkɔn* ‘second’ (409) and *las* ‘last’ (410). The first two occur as attributive prenominal modifiers like other property items while *las* ‘last’ preferably occurs in quantifier compounds :

- (408) (...) nà dì **fɔs** tin (...)  
 foc DEF first thing  
 ‘(...) it is the first thing (...)’ [ab0310ay 010]
- (409) È go blant wèt dì **sɛkɔn** pàpá.  
 3SG.SBJ go reside with DEF second father  
 ‘She went to stay with the second father [stepfather].’ [hi07fn 225]
- (410) Mì nà dì **làs-man..**  
 1SG.EMP foc DEF last.CPD-man  
 ‘I’m the last person (here).’ [nn07fn 234]

Ordinal numerals except ‘first’ may also be formed productively through the use of quantifier compounds involving the modifier noun *nɔmba* ‘number’ and a cardinal numeral as the head. Most people also use this construction to express ‘second’ (411):

- (411) Dì **nɔmba-tu** **pikín**, è kan tɛl mi dì sen tin.  
 DEF number.CPD-two child 3SG.SBJ PFV tell 1SG.EMP DEF same thing  
 ‘(As for) the second child, she told me the same thing.’ [ed03sb 027]

The numeral *wan* has a number of functions that are derived from its cardinality sense. We have seen that it functions as an indefinite determiner and a pronominal or nominal substitute (cf. (349)-(350)). The adverbialising suffix *-wan* ‘ADV’ is also etymologically related to the cardinal numeral *wan* (cf. 5.4.1).

The numeral *wan* also expresses adverbial meanings such as ‘alone, single-handedly’ with an emphatic nuance, as in (412). When used in this way, *wan* may modify a head noun postnominally like a postnominal modifier such as the focus particle *sef* ‘self; EMP’ (cf. 6.2.2). However, *wan* does not modify full nouns by itself. It therefore appears after an independent (emphatic) personal pronoun that is coreferential with the full noun in question (413) (cf. also (444)-(445)):

- (412) Dèn    tel=àn    se    nòto    **in**    **wan**.  
 3PL    tell=3SG.OBJ    QUOT    NEG.FOC    3SG.EMP    one  
 ‘They told her “it’s not only her”.’ [ed03sb 067]
- (413) Mì    bròda    **in**    **wan**    mèn    dì    pìkín.  
 1SG.POSS    brother    3SG.EMP    one    raise    DEF    child  
 ‘My brother raised the [his] child single-handedly.’ [he07fn 444]

### 6.3.2 Other quantifying expressions

Non-numeral words express relational, absolute and negative quantification (cf. Table 6.4). Some of these words modify nouns in a way similar to determiners. One of them is the indefinite determiner *sòn* ‘some, a’. Some are only employed attributively with nouns (e.g. *hol* ‘whole’). Yet others are only used as pronominals (e.g. *natin* ‘nothing’).

Table 6.4 Non-numeral quantifiers

| Type       | Quantifier    |                      | Pronominal use |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Relational | <i>əl</i>     | ‘all’                | Yes            |
|            | <i>eni</i>    | ‘every’              | No             |
|            | <i>ada</i>    | ‘other, next’        | No             |
|            | <i>nɛks</i>   | ‘next’               | No             |
|            | <i>hol</i>    | ‘whole’              | No             |
|            | <i>haf</i>    | ‘half’               | Yes            |
|            | <i>onli</i>   | ‘only’               | No             |
|            | <i>dasəl</i>  | ‘only’               | No             |
|            | <i>sosó</i>   | ‘only, abundant(ly)’ | No             |
|            | <i>gren</i>   | ‘only, exactly’      | No             |
| Absolute   | <i>sòn</i>    | ‘some; a’            | Yes            |
|            | <i>bòkú</i>   | ‘much, many’         | Yes            |
|            | <i>plente</i> | ‘plenty’             | Yes            |
|            | <i>sməl</i>   | ‘a bit, few’         | Yes            |
|            | <i>məch</i>   | ‘much’               | No             |
| Negative   | <i>no</i>     | ‘no’                 | No             |
|            | <i>natin</i>  | ‘nothing’            | Yes            |

The quantifier *ɔl* ‘all’ occurs with count and mass nouns alike (414). *ɔl* may be ‘floated’ and is occasionally encountered in a post-nominal position (415), however without any effect on its quantificational properties:

- (414) (...) yù dè bak            **ɔl di m̀̀nɪ** (...)  
           2SG IPFV give.back    all DEF money  
 ‘(...) you return all the money (...)’ [hi03cb 184]
- (415) (...) **di p̀̀kɪn** **ɔl** se        nà mì        yon bikəs  
           DEF child    all QUOT    FOC 1SG.POSS own because  
 à            d̀̀n pe m̀̀nɪ.  
 1SG.SBJ    PFV pay money  
 ‘(...) all the children are mine, because I have paid money [the dowry].’ [hi03cb 196]

When *ɔl* appears immediately before the noun it is most often found to modify generic nouns like *tin* ‘thing’, *tɛn* ‘time’, *p̀̀sɪn* ‘person’, *man* ‘human being’, *ples* ‘place’, *say* ‘side, place’ and *stayl* ‘manner’ as in the two following sentences (cf. 6.4.3. for a complete listing):

- (416) **ɔl man**    k̀̀n luk=àn,        yù g̀̀ò si ẁ̀i no g̀̀ò  
           all man    HAB look=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT see 1PL NEG POT  
 mit        no b̀̀dɪ        nà hos.  
 meet    NEG body    LOC house  
 ‘Everybody watches it, you’ll see, we won’t run into anybody  
 in the house.’ [ma03ni 038]
- (417) Porque nà mi        mi        d̀̀e prepara **ɔl tin**.  
           because FOC 1SG.EMP 1SG.EMP IPFV cook    all thing  
 ‘Because it was me, I was cooking everything.’ [dj03do 025]

Rather than seeing syntagmas like *ɔl man* and *ɔl tin* above as belonging to a word class termed ‘indefinite pronouns’, they are best seen as ordinary NPs involving a quantifier and a generic noun, which may function as equivalents of nominal and adverbial indefinite pronouns in other languages. This analysis is supported by the fact that the generic nouns involved retain their full distributional potential as ordinary nouns; there are no signs of specialisation or grammaticalisation (cf. Haspelmath 1994: 182-83).

The occurrence of plural marking in the quantifier phrase in (418) also illustrates that a distinction between the meanings of ‘everybody’ and ‘all persons/people’ is irrelevant in Pichi since genericity can be expressed through bare ‘singular’ nouns and plural-marked nouns alike (cf. 6.1.4):

- (418) Mi        sɛf, **ɔl p̀̀sɪn** **d̀̀n** kin aks mi        se        yù d̀̀n b̀̀n?  
           1SG.EMP EMP all person PL HAB ask 1SG.EMP QUOT 2SG PFV give.birth  
 As for me, all people ask me, ‘do you have a child?’ [fr03ft 152]

*ɔl* ‘all’ may quantify over temporal (419) and locative (420) expressions. This function may also be fulfilled by the attributive quantifier *hol* ‘whole’ (421). In general, the use of *hol* is, however, rare:

- (419) **ɔl tɪdɛ** è bìn dè kəl mi’, è kəl mi  
 all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 1SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ call 1SG.EMP  
 wan tɛn dasəl.  
 one time only  
 ‘‘All of today he was calling me [so he says],’’he [actually] called me only once.’ [fr03cd 022]

- (420) **ɔl hia** pak polvo.  
 all here pack dust  
 ‘All this place is full of dust.’ [ge07fn 127]

- (421) (...) ad̀nké è no si yu wan **hol de**, (...)  
 even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.EMP one whole day  
 ‘(...) even if she didn’t see you for a whole day, (...)’

The quantifiers *onli* ‘only’ and *sosó* ‘only, abundant’ have a distribution similar to *hol* above and may appear as prenominal, attributive modifiers to the noun. However, contrary to *hol*, both *onli* and *sosó* may additionally function as quantifying adverbs.

Compare the attributive (a) and adverbial (b) uses of *onli* (422) and *sosó* (423) in the following two sentence pairs:

- (422) a. Dì **onli langwech** we d̀n dè tək fayn fayn, (...).  
 DEF only language SUB 3PL IPFV talk fine REP  
 ‘The only language that they speak really well (...).’ [au07se 265]  
 b. **Onli** d̀n want hia Pànyá.  
 only 3PL want hear Spanish  
 ‘They only want to hear Spanish.’ [au07se 211]
- (423) a. À bìn bring wan blay so, **sosó jakátó**  
 1SG.SBJ PST bring one bag like.this only bitter.tomato  
 ‘I brought a bag like this, full of bitter tomatoes’. [ro05rt 068]  
 b. Àa **sosó** yàndá.  
 INTJ only yonder  
 ‘Ah, all the way over there.’ [ge07ga 050]

In contrast, the relational quantifier *dasəl* ‘only’ behaves like the universal relational quantifier *ɔl* ‘all’. Hence, *dasəl* may appear to the very left of the reference noun (424), or be ‘floated’ and occur after the reference noun (425). Aside from that, *dasəl* is used as a sentence adverb and clause linker (cf. 12.8.9):

- (424) **Dasəl wan sməl,** wan glas, yù fuləp=àn.  
 only one small one glas 2SG fill=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Only one small, one glass, you fill it up.’ [dj03do 052]
- (425) (...) pero dì fiba bin kər **wan de dasəl.**  
 but DEF fever PST carry one day only  
 ‘(...) but the fever lasted only one day.’ [ru03wt 062]

The quantifier *eni* ‘every’ quantifies over sets. It therefore has a distributive meaning and can only occur with singular count nouns (426):

- (426) **Eni de** dèn dè chəp rəs, **eni de.**  
 every day 3PL IPFV eat rice every day  
 ‘Every day they eat rice, every day.’ [ed03sp 117]

The quantifier *gren* ‘only, exactly’ (< *gren* ‘grain’) only occurs in fixed collocations as a measure word with a preceding cardinal numeral, and followed by a count noun. Like *eni* ‘every’, *gren* therefore quantifies over sets. Constructions involving *gren* may involve higher numerals as well (e.g. *tri gren pikín*). However, in the NP *wàn-gren pikín*, the collocation *wàn-gren* is lexicalised. The resulting quantifier compound functions as an attributive quantifier to the following noun *pikín* as in this example:

- (427) Nà yù **wàn-gren** pikín.  
 FOC 2SG one.CPD-grain child  
 ‘That’s your one and only [single] child.’ [ge07fn 015]

The relative or partitive quantifiers *sən* ‘some’, *bə̀kú* ‘much’, *plente* ‘plenty’ and *sməl* ‘few, a bit’ may quantify over count and mass nouns alike. NPs featuring one of these forms may be compared to an implicit standard of comparison as are *sməl* ‘a bit, few’ in (428) and *sən* ‘some’ in (429):

- (428) À kìn want kəf dèn dè trowe **sməl melk,**  
 1SG.SBJ HAB want cough 3PL IPFV pour small milk  
 leche tibia nà mì trot.  
 milk lukewarm LOC 1SG.POSS throat  
 ‘I would have to cough (and) they would throw away a little bit of milk,  
 a lukewarm milk inside my throat. [ab03ay 087]
- (429) **Sən fes** dèn de we à sàbí nɔ.  
 some face PL BE.AT SUB 1SG.SBJ know INTJ  
 ‘There are some faces that I know, right.’ [fr03ft 033]

When the standard of comparison is explicit, the quantifier participates in a partitive

construction. Compare *b̀̀kú* ‘much, many’ in (430) which precedes the standard *mì k̀̀ntri-man d̀̀n* ‘my countrymen’:

- (430) *Bik̀̀s à get b̀̀kú mì k̀̀ntri-man d̀̀n*  
 because 1SG.SBJ get much 1SG.POSS country.CPD-man PL  
*we d̀̀n human k̀̀n de f̀̀ Annobón.*  
 SUB 3PL woman HAB BE.AT ASS PLACE  
 ‘Because I have many of my countrymen whose wives are usually  
 in Annobón.’ [ed03sb 157]

The negative quantifier *no* ‘NEG, no’ is preposed to its referent. This includes the inherently negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’. Additionally, negative quantifier phrases generally appear with support from verb negation. The resulting clause always yields a single negation reading (cf (8.2.3) for more details). Compare the following sentence:

- (431) *No natin no de p̀̀ntáp=àn.*  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.AT ON=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Nothing is on it [the table].’ [li07pe 011]

Some of the quantifiers covered can function as pronominals, as exemplified with *əl* in (432) (cf. Table 6.4 for a complete overview). However, a quantifier phrase featuring a generic noun (i.e. *əl tin* ‘all thing’ = ‘everything’) is usually preferred:

- (432) *əl d̀̀ tin we yu àn dan man b̀̀n get,*  
 all DEF thing SUB 2SG.EMP and that man PST get  
*əl d̀̀ lef f̀̀ dan man.*  
 all IPFV remain ASS that man  
 ‘All the things that you and that man had, all remains for  
 that man.’ [hi03cb 191]

## 6.4 Pronouns

Pronouns may occur in the syntactic positions of common nouns. At the same time, they fulfil specific grammatical functions and are characterised by distributional preferences and restrictions.

### 6.4.1 Personal pronouns

Four features are distinguished in the use of personal pronouns: person, number, syntactic (in)dependence and case (cf. Table 6.5 below). The majority of ‘dependent pronouns’ (with the exception of *mì* ‘1SG.POSS’ and *ìn* ‘3SG.POSS’) employed for subject case are also used for the expression of possessive case. Where the ‘possessive’ column has no entry, the corresponding ‘subject’ form is used. At the same time, the ‘object’ column is separated from the other dependent pronouns by a line because none of the forms in the ‘subject’ and ‘possessive’ columns are simultaneously employed as object pronouns.

At the same time, there is an overlap in forms for the expression of object case. The ‘object’ and ‘object & emphatic’ columns are not separated by a line because all forms in the latter column are employed as object pronouns and emphatic pronouns at the same time. However, the 3SG pronouns *=àn* and *ìn* are suppletive allomorphs. The choice of either of the two forms is phonologically conditioned (cf. 3.6.4). One of these forms, the clitic *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’, is the only dependent object pronoun of Pichi.

The 2PL pronoun *ùna/ùnu* is normally invariable throughout the entire paradigm. Both forms are employed with any difference in meaning but *ùna* is used in the vast majority of cases. Independent personal pronouns may undergo tonal derivation in order to participate in compound pronouns which express universal and dual number (cf. Table 6.6).

Table 6.5 Personal pronouns

| Person & Number | Dependent pronouns |            |            | Independent pronouns |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------|------------|----------------------|
|                 | Subject            | Possessive | Object     | Object & emphatic    |
| 1SG             | <i>à</i>           | <i>mì</i>  |            | <i>mi</i>            |
| 2SG             | <i>yù</i>          |            |            | <i>yu</i>            |
| 3SG             | <i>è</i>           | <i>ìn</i>  | <i>=àn</i> | <i>in</i>            |
| 1PL             | <i>wì</i>          |            |            | <i>wi</i>            |
| 2PL             | <i>ùna, ùnu</i>    |            |            | <i>ùna, ùnu</i>      |
| 3PL             | <i>dèn</i>         |            |            | <i>dèn</i>           |



Dependent subject pronouns always occur in finite clauses together with verbs. They may only be separated from the verb by TMA markers, the negator and preverbal adverbs, and they never receive stress. Only independent personal pronouns may be stressed, focused (433), topicalised, modified by postposed elements and conjoined by the coordinators *àn* ‘and’ or *ò* ‘or’ (434):

(433) **Mi**     gɛt tu brɔda.  
1SG.EMP get two brother  
‘I [EMP] have two brothers.’

(434) Bɔ̀t di gɛl no kan gri     mek     è     gi ìn     bɔ̀yfrɛn  
but DEF girl NEG PFV agree SBJV 3SG.SBJ give 3SG.POSS boyfriend  
  
ò di pìkín     ò **in**     senwe, è     kan rɔ̀n.  
or DEF child or 3SG.EMP self 3SG.SBJ PFV run  
  
‘But the girl didn’t agree to surrender her boyfriend or the child  
or her self (and) she ran (away). [ed03sb 032]

A focused or topicalised independent pronoun may be followed by a resumptive dependent pronoun (435) but independent pronouns may also occur alone when focused in this way (cf. (433) above):

(435) (...) **mi**     à     no gɛt.  
1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ NEG get  
‘(...) as for me, I don’t have (one).’ [ma03ni 041]

Likewise, only independent personal pronouns occur under focus in cleft constructions involving the focus markers *nà* ‘FOC’ (436), and *nɔ̀to* ‘NEG.FOC’. The example also shows the use of independent pronouns (i.e. *dɛn* ‘3pl.emp’) as regular object pronouns (save the clitic =*àn* for 3SG.OBJ):

(436) È     was     di klos     dɛ̀n,     è     dray     **dɛ̀n**,  
3SG.SBJ wash this clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.EMP  
  
no **nà mi**     dray     **dɛ̀n**.  
INTJ FOC 1SG.EMP dry 3PL.EMP  
  
‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, it is me (who) dried them.’  
[ru03wt 034]

The independent form is also selected when a personal pronoun heads a relative clause (437) or is employed as a vocative (438):

(437) Lèk naw     so,     **mi**     **we** à     no mared,  
like now     like.that 1SG.EMP SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG marry

èf à bɔn pikín?  
 if 1SG.SBJ give.birth child  
 ‘Like right now, me who is not married, if I had a child?’ [ab03ab 193]

- (438) **Yu,** kan ya!  
 2SG.EMP come here  
 ‘(Hey) you, come here!’ [ch07fn 232]

Table 6.5 above also shows that the pronominal system is partially inflectional. Suppletion and grammatical tone are employed for case and number marking. The following two sentences exemplify the use of tone for pronominal inflection. Sentence (439) is a double object construction. The object and emphatic pronoun *mi* is high-toned. Hence *mi* must be interpreted as the maleficiary object of the verb *tif* ‘steal’ while *ordenador* ‘computer’ functions as the patient object:

- (439) Dèn tif **mi** ordenador.  
 3PL steal 1SG.EMP computer  
 ‘They stole a computer from me.’ [ge07fn 169]

Conversely, (440) is a single object construction. The low-toned pronoun *mì* is a possessive pronoun to the noun *ordenador* ‘computer’ which functions as a patient NP to the verb *tif* ‘steal’:

- (440) Dèn tif **mì** ordenador.  
 3PL steal 1SG.POSS computer  
 ‘They stole my computer.’ [ge07fn 170]

The form =à̀n ‘3SG.OBJ’ is exclusively employed to express object case. It functions as a pronominal object to verbs, prepositions and locative nouns. It is a clitic that forms a single phonological word with the immediately preceding verb, preposition or locative noun. The pronoun =à̀n is sometimes employed indiscriminately for singular or plural reference. In such cases, it may be considered to function as a kind of transitivity or verbal agreement marker. In (441), =à̀n is coreferential with the plural-referring pronominal *ɔ̀l*:

- (441) Mi senwe à mɛn=**à̀n** ɔ̀l.  
 1SG.EMP EMP 1SG.SBJ care.for=3SG.OBJ all  
 ‘I [EMP] myself brought them [the children] all up.’ [ma03ni 030]

Dependent possessive pronouns appear before the noun and may in turn be preceded by a demonstrative (442):

- (442) Pero **dis ùna** bàf-rum.  
 but this 2PL bath.CPD-room  
 ‘But this your [PL] bathroom [look how dirty it is].’ [ge07fn 184]

Independent possessive pronouns are formed by placing a possessive pronoun to the left of the pronominal *yon* ‘own’ (443):

- (443) È se à go mɛn pìkín dasəl èf à  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ go care.for child only if 1SG.SBJ  
 dɔn si **yù yon.**  
 PRF see 2SG own  
 ‘She said I will only care for a child when I have seen yours.’ [fr03ft 159]

#### 6.4.2 Modification of personal pronouns

Subject and object pronouns can be modified by postposed quantifiers including numerals, focus markers and the topic marker as well as nouns. Aside from that, the pronominal system may be extended through the formation of compound pronouns.

In (444), the pronoun *yu* ‘2SG.EMP’ is modified by *wan* ‘one, alone’. *Wan* is semantically compatible with plural referents (445). In (446), the pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ is modified by *dasəl* ‘only’. Note the obligatory use of independent (emphatic) pronouns with these quantifiers:

- (444) Èf yù bin de **yu wan** yù no bin fɔ̀ tək so.  
 if 2SG PST BE.AT 2SG.EMP one 2SG NEG PST ASS talk like.that  
 ‘If you had been alone, you wouldn’t have talked like that.’ [nn07fn 390]
- (445) Nà **dɛn wan** dè disfruta ò.  
 FOC 3PL one IPFV enjoy SP  
 ‘It is them alone who are enjoying (it).’ [ed07fn 280]
- (446) Nà **in dasəl** dan human dɔn dè wok fɔ̀.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP only that woman PRF IPFV work ASS  
 ‘It is only that that that woman is working for.’ [hi03cb 219]

Sentence (447) provides an example of modification by a noun. The country name *Camerún* ‘Cameroon’ modifies the personal pronoun *ùna* by apposition. The modifier noun does not take the pluraliser *dɛn* ‘PL’:

- (447) À se bikɔs **ùna Camerún** ùna get (...)  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT because 2PL PLACE 2PL get  
 ‘I said because you Cameroonians, you have (...).’ [ab03ay 151]

Compound pronouns feature a personal pronoun and the quantifiers *tu* ‘two’ and/or *əl* ‘all’. They are formed by the same means as other compounds: The lexical H tone of the initial component(s) is/are erased and replaced by a default L tone while the final component retains its lexically assigned H tone. Evidence that compounding is indeed at work in the

formation of compound pronouns comes from (444)-(446) above. The presence of the postposed quantifiers *wan* ‘alone’ and *dasəl* ‘only’ in these examples requires the use of H-toned emphatic personal pronouns. In contrast, the 3PL form of the personal pronoun in (448) below is L-toned, although the quantifier *əl* ‘all’ is in the same syntactic position as *wan* and *dasəl* in (444)-(446) above.

The collocation *dèn-əl* may be employed in order to signal inclusivity of all referents. The use of a resumptive simplex dependent pronoun as in (448) is optional:

- (448) **Dèn-əl**                    **dèn** dè sàlút      dèn sɛf.  
 3PL.EMP.CPD-all      3PL IPFV greet      3PL self  
 ‘They are all greeting each other.’ [dj07re 009]

A compound pronoun may also feature the numeral *tu* ‘two’ as the second component and thereby express dual number (449). Such dual compound pronouns are most frequently formed by additionally incorporating the quantifier *əl* ‘all’ into the compound (450). Note that the data contains no trial compound pronouns formed with the numeral *tri* ‘three’:

- (449) (...) dèn gò reune, **dèn-tu**                    **dèn** gò kəl dì bəy (...)  
 3PL POT meet      3PL.EMP.CPD-two      3PL POT call DEF boy  
 ‘(...) they would meet, the two of them would call the boy (...)’ [ab03ay 042]

- (450) Yù si, **dèn-əl-tu**                    jump fɔ̀ bət      dì bəl.  
 2SG see 3PL.EMP-all.CPD-two      jump ASS head DEF ball  
 ‘You see, they both jumped to head the ball.’ [au07se 058]

Compound personal pronouns are employed in a regular and conventionalised way in order to express dual number with any of the three plural personal pronouns. Note the deletion of lexical tones over all components of the dual object *wì-əl-tú* ‘the two of us’ save the last one (i.e. *tu* ‘two’, which bears its original lexical H tone) in (451):

- (451) Lèk se            dèn dè hia            **wì-əl-tu**                    **wì** dè tək yet.  
 like QUOT      3PL IPFV hear      1PL.EMP.CPD-all.CPD-two 1PL IPFV talk yet  
 ‘Like if they heard both of us still talking.’ [au07se 217]

Examples (449) and (451) also show that dual pronouns are anaphorically referred to (i.e. through the resumptive pronouns *dèn* ‘3PL’ and *wì* ‘1PL’ respectively) by making use of the corresponding plural pronoun.

The extension of the Pichi pronominal system by compounding is summarised in Table 6.6. Compound object, subject and emphatic pronouns are identical. For possessive and resumptive pronouns, the regular plural pronouns are employed. Optional elements are in parentheses:

Table 6.6 Compound personal pronouns

| Person & number | Subject/object/emphatic | Possessive/resumptive |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 dual          | wì-(ǎl)-tu              | wì                    |
| 2 dual          | ùna-(ǎl)-tu             | ùna                   |
| 3 dual          | dèn-(ǎl)-tu             | dèn                   |
| 1 universal     | wì-ǎl                   | wì                    |
| 2 universal     | ùna-ǎl                  | ùna                   |
| 3 universal     | dèn-ǎl                  | dèn                   |

### 6.4.3 Indefinite pronouns

In Pichi, the functional equivalents of indefinite pronouns are common NPs involving generic nouns preceded by the quantifier and indefinite determiner *sàn* ‘some, a’ as well as the quantifiers *ǎl* ‘all’, *eni* ‘every’ and *no* ‘NEG’. The following table provides an overview of ‘some’ and ‘every’ indefinites involving the generic nouns *pəsin* ‘person’, *man* ‘man, person’, *tin* ‘thing’, *say* ‘side, place’, (*kayn*) *stayl* ‘(kind of) style’, *tɛn* ‘time’ and *awa* ‘hour, time’. Some examples for their use are provided in (345)-(346) above as well as (416)-(418) above.

An extensive treatment of ‘no’ and ‘any’ forms, hence negative phrases with the functions of negative indefinites is provided in 8.2.3:

Table 6.7 Indefinite pronouns

|          | ‘Some’                                     |                | ‘Every’   |                                 |
|----------|--|----------------|---|---------------------------------|
| ‘person’ | <i>sàn pəsin</i> ,<br><i>sàn man</i>       | ‘somebody’     | <i>ǎl pəsin</i> ,<br><i>ǎl man</i>                  | ‘everybody’                     |
| ‘thing’  | <i>sàn tin</i>                             | ‘something’    | <i>ǎl tin</i> ,<br><i>eni tin</i>                   | ‘everything’                    |
| ‘place’  | <i>sàn say</i>                             | ‘somewhere’    | <i>ǎl say</i> ,<br><i>eni say</i>                   | ‘everywhere’                    |
| ‘manner’ | <i>sàn (kayn) stayl</i>                    | ‘somehow’      | <i>ǎl (kayn) stayl</i> ,<br><i>eni (kayn) stayl</i> | ‘(in) every way’                |
| ‘time’   | <i>sàn tɛn dèn</i><br><i>sàn awa (dèn)</i> | ‘sometimes’    | <i>ǎl tɛn</i> ,<br><i>ǎl awa</i><br><i>eni tɛn</i>  | ‘always’                        |
| ‘kind’   | <i>sàn kayn</i>                            | ‘some kind of’ | <i>ǎl kayn</i> ,<br><i>eni kayn</i>                 | ‘every time’<br>‘every kind of’ |

A few characteristics of the NPs in Table 6.7 are worthy of note. Firstly, Pichi makes no difference between ‘some’ indefinites used in affirmative and realis modality declarative sentences and “free-choice” indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 48-52) of the ‘any’ type.

Secondly there are a few idiosyncracies in the formation of indefinites: while *sən pəsin* ‘somebody’ is more common than *sən man*, *əl man* ‘everybody’ is favoured over *əl pəsin*; ‘manner’ is equally often expressed as *sən stayl* as it is involving the modifier substitute *kayn* ‘kind’. Finally, note that ‘sometimes’ is expressed as *sən tən dən*, hence a plural NP while *səntén* is a lexicalised collocation functioning as an adverb with the meaning ‘perhaps’. Also note that *tən* ‘time’ is a count noun, hence quantification with *eni* ‘every’ renders the distributive meaning ‘every time’.

#### 6.4.4 Pronominals

The pronominals *sef* ‘self’, *yon* ‘own’ and *natin* ‘nothing’ occur in the syntactic positions of nouns. At the same time they are characterised by a preference for specific environments or show distributional restrictions. The anaphoric pronominals *sef* ‘self’ and *yon* ‘own’ are employed to form independent reflexive and possessive pronouns and do not cooccur with determiners either. Instead, they are usually preceded by possessive pronouns. The negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’ only occurs in negative clauses.

There is a transition from these more specialised pronominals characterised by restrictions to pronominals like *kayn* ‘kind’ and *wan* ‘one’ which favour specific environments, to generic nouns like *man* ‘man, person’, *say* ‘place’, *stayl* ‘manner’ and *tən* ‘time’, which behave like other common nouns but fulfil important functions in the grammatical system of Pichi. For example, *kayn* ‘kind’ and *wan* ‘one’ may cooccur with a determiner or a pronominal modifier. *Kayn* appears as a head noun in question words and as a generic noun in the modifier or modified position of certain, conventionalised collocations (e.g. *nà wan kayn tin* ‘FOC one kind thing’ = ‘that’s really something’).

*Wan* also functions as a generic substitute for any other common noun, and in this function, may be preceded by pronominal modifiers or determiners (e.g. *dì əda wan* ‘DEF other one’ = ‘the other one’).

## 6.5 Coordination

The most commonly employed form for signalling coordination between two noun phrases is the comitative preposition *wèt* ‘with’ (452). The form *ən* ‘and’ is also used to coordinate noun phrases (453) next to being employed as a sentential coordinator (cf. 12.4). However, most speakers have a clear preference for *wèt* rather than *ən*:

- (452) Lydia **wèt** Junior, *nà dən à sàbí.*  
 NAME with NAME FOC 3PL.EMP 1SG.SBJ know  
 ‘Lydia and Junior, it’s them I know.’ [fr03ft 134]

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- (453) ɔl di tin we yu àn dan man bìn get (...)  
all DEF thing SUB 2SG.EMP and that man PST get  
'All the things that you and that man had (...)' [hi03cb 191]

The disjunctive coordinator is ə 'or', which alternates in pronunciation between [ə̌] and [ə̍]. This variation in form is likely to be reinforced by the existence of the equivalent Spanish coordinator o 'or':

- (454) (...) we à tink se nà judías blancas ə rɛs.  
SUB 1SG.SBJ think QUOT FOC beans white or rice.  
'(...) of which I think that it is white beans or rice.' [ed03sp 122]

## 7 The verbal system

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes. The verbal system of Pichi is characterised by the use of preverbal particles, which modify the verb for tense, aspect and modality. These three grammatical categories are interlocked in various ways, which transpire best when larger stretches of discourse are analysed. The system also includes numerous aspectual and modal auxiliary constructions. Verbs, and those denoting properties in particular, may be modified for degree in comparative constructions.

### 7.1 Lexical aspect

Pichi verbs fall into three lexical aspect classes: stative, inchoative-stative and dynamic. Most subclasses of inchoative-stative verbs may receive a stative or a dynamic interpretation in the right context but the reverse is not the case, hence my use of the term ‘lexical’ aspect. In this chapter and others, I employ ‘situation’ as a cover term for events denoted by dynamic verbs as well as states denoted by (inchoative-)stative verbs and predicate adjectives. When a situation is construed as stative, it has no inherent boundaries, e.g. *è de* ‘3SG.SBJ BE.AT’ = ‘s/he/it exists’.

When a situation is construed as inchoative-stative, it encompasses the entry-into-state (inchoative) as well as the ensuing state (stative), e.g. *è chak* ‘3SG.SBJ get.drunk’ = ‘he got drunk’. Since inchoative-stative verbs may also be read with a stative meaning, the preceding clause may also be translated as ‘he is drunk’. Situations denoted by dynamic verbs are conceived of as being bounded; they have an inherent beginning and end (*wì chəp* ‘1PL eat’ = ‘we ate’) (cf. Sasse 1991).

The inherent temporal structure of Pichi verbs co-determines the meanings that arise when aspect markers cooccur with a verb (cf. 11.2.3 for further, valency-related effects of lexical aspect). Therefore, I apply two distributional criteria for delineating the three lexical aspect classes: firstly, cooccurrence with the imperfective marker *dè* IPFV’ and secondly cooccurrence with the aspectual/phasal verb *bigín* ‘begin’ in an ingressive aspect auxiliary construction (cf. Sasse 1991: 8). The latter criterion is particularly useful because the imperfective marker *dè* IPFV’ optionally intervenes between *bigín* and the following verb.

The corpus contains only a handful of verbs that can be classified as stative with sufficient certainty. These are listed in Table 7.1 together with the semantic classes they belong to:



Table 7.1 Stative verbs

| Semantic class | Verbs        |                  |
|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| Modal          | <i>fit</i>   | 'can'            |
|                | <i>hebul</i> | 'be capable'     |
|                | <i>lek</i>   | 'like'           |
|                | <i>min</i>   | 'mean (to)'      |
|                | <i>nid</i>   | 'need'           |
|                | <i>want</i>  | 'want'           |
| Existence      | <i>bi</i>    | 'BE'             |
|                | <i>de</i>    | 'BE.AT'          |
|                | <i>blant</i> | 'reside'         |
|                | <i>fiba</i>  | 'resemble, seem' |
| Cognition      | <i>tink</i>  | 'think'          |

Stative verbs do not cooccur with the imperfective marker *dè* IPFV'. Secondly, they do not normally appear with the aspectual/phasal verb *bigín* 'begin (to)'. For most speakers, a clause like the following one is therefore ungrammatical:

- (455) \* $\bar{A}$  **bigín** (dè) **hebul** du= $\bar{a}$ n.  
 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV be.capable do=3SG.OBJ  
 \*I began to be capable of doing it. [to07fn 226]

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

- (456) Nà in à **bigín** **dè lek**= $\bar{a}$ n.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV like=3SG.OBJ  
 'That's when I began liking her.' [he07fn 228]

The class of inchoative-stative verbs includes three semantic classes that belong to the large group of labile verbs (cf. 11.2.3 for details): change of state verbs, locative verbs and property items. It also includes two verbs of possession, two verbs of cognition, a verb of perception and a verb denoting existence in time and space. The class of inchoative-stative verbs is therefore much larger than that of stative verbs, which only has a few members.

In this, I concur with analyses that posit a similar distribution of lexical aspect classes in other Atlantic English-lexicon Creoles (cf. e.g. Alleyne 1980; Migge 2000; Winford 1993). The Table 7.2 below lists the relevant (groups of) verbs:

Table 7.2 Inchoative-stative verbs

| Semantic class  | Verbs        |                        |
|---|--------------|------------------------|
| Change of state;<br>Property items;<br>Locative verbs | Labile verbs |                        |
| Possession  | <i>geɛ</i>   | ‘get, have’            |
|   | <i>hol</i>   | ‘seize, keep’          |
| Cognition   | <i>sàbí</i>  | ‘(get to) know’        |
|   | <i>no</i>    | ‘(get to) know’        |
| Perception  | <i>si</i>    | ‘see, catch sight of’  |
| Existence   | <i>kàmót</i> | ‘come from; hail from’ |

All inchoative-stative verbs may potentially be interpreted as stative or inchoative in the absence of disambiguating information. This is for example the case when these verbs remain unmarked in basic intransitive clauses (cf. 7.3.1). However such ambivalence between an ongoing state (stative) and an entry-into-state (inchoative) reading occurs with differing likelihood with the relevant semantic classes.

Within the group of labile verbs, property items are far more likely to be interpreted as stative than inchoative when left unmarked in an intransitive clause. In contrast, most change of state verbs and locative verbs may receive a stative and an inchoative interpretation with equal likelihood (cf. 11.2.3). This also holds for inchoative-stative cognition, possession and perception verbs.

Inchoative-stative verbs are compatible with the imperfective marker *dè* IPFV’ (457). The use of *dè* IPFV’ with these verbs renders an inchoative meaning, which is in the present tense in relation to event time (cf. 7.3.4 for details). Likewise, inchoative-stative verbs may combine with the verb *bigín* ‘begin’. The resulting ingressive aspect construction highlights the inchoative, entry-into-state meaning component of the verb (458):

- (457) Dis bɔy,    ɛni    de è    **dè fayn**    mɔ-èn-mɔ.  
 this boy    every    day 3SG.SBJ    IPFV be.fine    more-and-more  
 ‘This boy is getting more handsome every day.’ [ro05ee 046]

- (458) Wì **bigín**    **dè no**    wì sɛf.  
 1PL begin    IPFV know    1PL self  
 ‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

The inchoative-stative posture verbs *sídón* ‘sit (down)’, *slip* ‘lie down, sleep’ and *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ may cooccur with the imperfective marker without necessarily acquiring the usual inchoative sense. These verbs appear to vacillate in their lexical aspect between an inchoative-stative and a dynamic sense. Consider the use of *slip* ‘lie sleep’ as an inchoative-stative verb in (459) and as a dynamic verb in (460):

- (459) Yù dè respira, yù sɛns dè lɔs, è de  
 2SG IPFV breathe 2SG mind IPFV lose 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 lèk se yù **slip**.  
 like QUOT 2SG sleep  
 ‘You’re breathing, your mind is slipping away, it is as if you’re sleeping.’ [ed03sb 120]

- (460) Dì dɔg dè **slip** bətɔn dì tebul.  
 DEF dog IPFV slip under DEF table  
 ‘The dog is sleeping/lying under the table.’ [ro05ee 072]

The verb *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ may also be used as dynamic verb. However, it is then also usually employed with the different meaning of ‘begin to stand (of a toddler)’. Compare the following two uses of this posture verb:

- (461) È **tinap** bìhén dì hos.  
 3SG.SBJ stand.up behind DEF house  
 ‘He’s standing behind the house.’ [ye0502e2 181]
- (462) È **dè tinap**, smɔl pìkín we è dè tray  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand.up small child SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV try  
 fɔ tinap yet.  
 ASS stand.up yet  
 ‘It’s beginning to stand, a small child that’s still trying to stand.’ [dj0502e2 219]

A semantic specialisation of the inchoative versus the dynamic meanings of the verb is also present with the verb *kòmót*. When unmarked, it is left to context to disambiguate the meanings ‘come from’ (dynamic) and ‘hail from’ (inchoative-stative) from each other. This is illustrated in (463) and (464) respectively:

- (463) Wì **kòmót** de, wì kan go fɔ, fɔ Akebeville.  
 1PL go.out there 1PL PFV go ASS ASS PLACE  
 ‘(When) we left there, we went to, to Akebeville.’ [ma03hm 039]
- (464) Us=say yù **kòmót**?  
 Q=side 2SG come.from  
 ‘Where do you come from?’ [dj050e3 167]

A comparison of (464) and (465) shows that ambiguity does not arise once *kòmót* is marked for imperfective aspect:

- (465) Yù **dè kòmót** us=say?  
 2SG IPFV come.out Q=side  
 ‘Where are you coming from?’ [dj05ce 170]

- (466) Mi get dan problema wèt boy dèn we dèn **kòmót**  
 1SG.EMP get that problem with boy PL SUB 3PL come.out  
 Bàta nò, se ‘no Pichi es un dialecto.’  
 Bata INTJ QUOT no Pichi it.is a dialect  
 ‘I have that problem with guys who are from Bata, right, [they] say  
 “no, Pichi is a dialect [not a language].”’ [au07se 219]

The data contains a large number of dynamic verbs from a wide range of semantic classes. Dynamic verbs may appear freely with the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’ (467) and in ingressive auxiliary constructions featuring the aspectual/phasal verb *bìgín* ‘begin’ (468). The use of the imperfective marker renders a progressive or habitual aspect reading with dynamic verbs. Note that labile inchoative-stative verbs may also be used as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses (cf. 11.2.3 for further details):

- (467) Dèn **dè** slap dèn sef.  
 3PL IPFV slap 3PL self  
 ‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]
- (468) À **bìgín** go skol.  
 1SG.SBJ begin go school  
 ‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

## 7.2 The TMA system

Pichi has a core and a non-core system of tense-mood-aspect (TMA) marking. The core system is constituted by TMA particles which express central TMA notions. These particles (henceforth TMA markers) may be combined with each other, share phonological characteristics such as monosyllabicity and form a unit with the verb between which only a small group of preverbal adverbs may intervene. In the non-core system, auxiliary verbs express aspectual and modal notions as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. Besides TMA markers and auxiliary verbs, Pichi also makes use of complementisers in order to express modality.

The elements of the core TMA system and their position relative to the verb root are provided in the following figure. The figure shows that all TMA markers are found to the left of the root. Equally, the modal complementiser *mek* ‘sBJV’, is the only TMA marker found to the left of the dependent subject pronoun in a position occupied by clause linkers. It should also be borne in mind that factative TMA is achieved via the bare, unmarked verb, hence involves no overt marker:

Figure 7.1 Position of TMA markers

| Mood       | PRO       | NEG       | Tense      | Mood       | Aspect     | Stem       | Root |      |
|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------|------|
| <i>mek</i> | <i>yù</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>bìn</i> | <i>gò</i>  | <i>dòn</i> | <i>dè</i>  | RED- | verb |
| SBJV       | 2SG       | NEG       | PST        | POT        | PRF        | IPFV       |      |      |
|            |           |           |            | <i>fò</i>  | <i>nɛa</i> | <i>kan</i> |      |      |
|            |           |           |            | ASS        | NEG,PRF    | PFV        |      |      |
|            |           |           |            | <i>màs</i> | <i>kìn</i> |            |      |      |
|            |           |           |            | OBL        | HAB (ABL)  |            |      |      |

Note however, that there are co-occurrence restrictions of the markers in Figure 7.1. The markers *bìn* ‘PST’ and *gò* ‘POT’ are in complementary distribution. Equally, each of the two markers only cooccurs with *dòn* ‘PRF’, *dè* ‘IPFV’ and RED, the reduplicant. The marker *kìn* ‘HAB’ only cooccurs with *dè* ‘IPFV’ and the marker *kan* ‘PFV’ only (rarely) with RED. Also note that *kìn* is marginally used as a dynamic modality marker of ability with the same distribution as with its habitual function. When it occurs with the abilitive function it is glossed as ‘ABL’.

The marker *nɛa* ‘NEG.PRF’ is not attested with any other marker. Also unattested is the cooccurrence of the associative preposition *fò* ‘ASS’ in its function as a conditional marker with the potential marker *gò* ‘POT’. Finally, the obligative marker *màs* ‘OBL’ is unattested with any other TMA marker. The markers that express the two basic aspect categories of imperfective (i.e. *dè* ‘IPFV’) and narrative perfective (i.e. *kan* ‘PFV’) are closest to the verb root.. In the corpus, the maximal number of TMA markers encountered in one clause is three as in (469):

- (469) We è            **bìn dòn dè** go (...)  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST PRF IPFV go  
 ‘When he was about to go (...)’ [ed03sb 193]

The following table summarises the focal functions of Pichi TMA markers together with their other or default senses. Details are provided in the corresponding sections:

Table 7.3 Functions of TMA markers

| Category | Marker            | Focal meaning                              | Default meaning(s)         |
|----------|-------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Tense    | <i>bìn</i> ‘PST’  | Past tense                                 | Imperfective aspect        |
| Mood     | <i>gò</i> ‘POT’   | Potential mood                             | Future tense               |
|          | <i>mek</i> ‘SBJV’ | Subjunctive mood                           | —                          |
|          | <i>fò</i> ‘ASS’   | Associative preposition,<br>complementiser | Obligation,<br>conditional |
|          | <i>màs</i> ‘OBL’  | Obligative mood                            | —                          |
| Aspect   | <i>dè</i> ‘IPFV’  | Imperfective aspect                        | Present tense              |

|                                |                             |                  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>kan</i> 'PFV'               | Narrative perfective aspect | Past tense       |
| <i>dən, nəa</i> 'PRF, NEG.PRF' | Perfect tense-aspect        | Past tense       |
| <i>kin</i> 'HAB'               | Habitual aspect             | Present tense    |
| RED                            | Verbal plurality            | Iterative aspect |

### 7.3 Aspect

Sections 7.3.1 to 7.4.4 cover aspect marking by means of TMA markers and auxiliary verbs.

#### 7.3.1 The unmarked verb

Pichi employs factative TMA marking, a phenomenon well known from other languages in the region (Welmers 1973: 348). When the unmarked verb occurs in an intransitive main clause and the clause contains no additional information that may have an effect on the interpretation of TMA, it acquires default interpretations of tense, aspect and modality in accordance with its lexical aspect. The effect of factative TMA marking (or absence of marking) is summarised in Table 7.4. Bearing in mind that tense is relational, a factative marked (inchoative-)stative verb is interpreted as 'present tense' with respect to event time not speech time (cf. 7.5.1).

As Table 7.4 shows, inchoative-stative verbs may receive an imperfective interpretation if focus is on the end-state, i.e. the stative meaning component of the verb. Alternatively these verbs may receive a perfective interpretation, if focus is on the entry-into-state, i.e. the inchoative meaning component of the verb. The modality reading 'realis' indicates that factative TMA in an intransitive clause does not normally render meanings associated with the irrealis domain, i.e. future tense or subjunctive and potential mood.

Table 7.4 Default readings of factative TMA according to lexical aspect class

| Lexical aspect     | Tense         | Aspect                   | Modality | Example                                 |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------|---|
| Stative            | Present       | Imperfective             | Realis   | À <i>hebul</i> 'I am capable'           |
| Inchoative-stative | Present, past | Imperfective, perfective | Realis   | À <i>chak</i> 'I am drunk, I got drunk' |
| Dynamic            | Past          | Perfective               | Realis   | À <i>go</i> 'I went'                    |

The unmarked verb also occurs in contexts that are removed from the immediate function of signalling aspect relations. Hence, the unmarked verb occurs in contexts of reduced finiteness (cf. 12.6.3). It occurs in the IF-clauses of conditionals (cf. 12.8.11) and with non-initial verbs in clause chaining (cf. 13.4). Equally, verbs in subjunctive clauses usually appear devoid of TMA marking (cf. e.g. 12.6.5). The unmarked verb also occurs in singular

imperatives (cf. 7.7.3.3).

Perfective aspect via factative TMA marking with dynamic verbs yields an interpretation of the situation as bounded and terminated, hence past by default. Compare *pas* ‘pass’ and *go* ‘go’ in (470):

- (470) À        **pas**        òì òmót    bìhén    say à        **go**    fèn        sìgá.  
 1SG.SBJ    pass        DEF door    behind side 1SG.SBJ    go    look.for cigarette  
 ‘I passed through the entrance at the back, I went to look for a cigarette.’ [ro05rt 016]

Since stative verbs have no inherent boundaries, the unmarked stative verb receives an imperfective reading, namely habitual (471). Factative marked stative verbs have a default present tense reading. Tense is relational in Pichi, so a stative verb like *want* ‘want’ is in the present tense in relation to “event time” (Chung 1985), which is past tense in this example:

- (471) Èni        say we pòsin    **want**    sìdón,    dèn dè    sìdón.  
 every    side SUB person    want    stay        3PL IPFV stay  
 ‘Anywhere that a person wanted to stay, they stayed.’ [ma03hm 042]

Given the right context, all factative-marked inchoative-stative verbs may be interpreted as stative or inchoative (hence denoting entry-into-state). While *sàbí* ‘(get to) know’ in (472) may be interpreted as either stative or inchoative in the absence of disambiguating cues, an inchoative reading is forced upon the factative marked verb *evi* ‘be heavy’ in (473). This is due to the presence of a relational element, namely the temporal clause linker *bifó* ‘before’, which induces an implicit comparison with the prior empty state of the bag:

- (472) À        **sàbí**        sòn        kapinta    dèn.  
 1SG.SBJ    know    some    carpenter    PL  
 ‘I know some carpenters.’ OR ‘I got to know some carpenters.’ [ro05fe 001]
- (473) **Bifó**        wì rich        fò    carretera    òì    bolsa    **evi**.  
 before    1PL arrive    ASS road        DEF bag        be.heavy  
 ‘Before we reached the road the bag had become heavy.’ [ed03sb 198]

However, when labile inchoative-stative verbs occur in transitive clauses they automatically acquire a dynamic reading, in which case they receive a perfective, bounded and past tense interpretation like any other dynamic verb. Compare the meaning of the labile change of state verb *brok* ‘break, be broken’ in this example:

- (474) Dan human    è        **brok**    òì    **plet**  
 that woman 3SG.SBJ    break    DEF plate  
 ‘That woman (she) broke the plate.’ [au07se 006]

In addition, even in intransitive clauses, adverbials and preceding tense-aspect marking in

the same sentence, paragraph or text will usually disambiguate an inchoative from a stative interpretation. In (475), for example, factative marking with the dynamic verb *tek* ‘take’ leads to an entry-into-state interpretation of the following factative marked inchoative-stative verb *sìdón* ‘sit (down)’:

- (475) À        **tek**      dì tri      chia      dèn,      dan      butaca      əp say,  
 1SG.SBJ take    DEF three chair    PL      that      elbow.chair up side  
 mi        **sìdón**    de,        è        **sìdón**    dis pat.  
 1SG.EMP sit.down there    3SG.SBJ sit.down this part  
 ‘I took the three chairs, that elbow chair up there, I [EMP] sat down there, he sat down on this side.’ [ro05rt 006]

Beyond the expression of aspect taxis, the factative perfective aspect expresses conditional modality in the IF-clause of conditionals with dynamic (476) and stative verbs alike (477):

- (476) È        gò **de**      fayn      èf è      **kan**.  
 3SG.SBJ POT BE.AT fine    if 3SG.SBJ come  
 ‘It will be nice, if he comes.’ [dj05ae 205]
- (477) If yù **want**, à        **fit** sel yù mì      hos.  
 if 2SG want 1SG.SBJ can sell 2SG 1SG.POSS house  
 ‘If you want, I can sell you my house.’ [dj07ae 342]

Beyond that, factative marking is encountered in procedural texts in contexts that suggest a habitual reading. In the following excerpt, speaker (dj) is asked by (ge) to explain how *ogi* ‘corn porridge’ is prepared. The dynamic verb *put* ‘put’ in (b) has a habitual sense but remains bare. Note that imperative clauses are not formed with 2SG personal pronouns:

- (478) a. Afta    haw    fɔ̃ mek    dì ogi?  
 then    how    ASS make    DEF corn.porridge  
 ‘Then how do you make the corn porridge?’ [ge03do 050]
- b. Yù fit tek      naw,      wan,      wan sməl      kəp nə, **yù put=àn**  
 2SG can take    now      one      one small      cup INTJ 2SG put=3SG.OBJ  
 nà faya,      insay    dì pət.  
 LOC fire      inside    DEF pot  
 ‘Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside the pot.’ [dj03do 051]



### 7.3.2 Perfective and imperfective aspect

The Pichi system of aspect marking represents a typologically widespread type in which the expression of perfective and imperfective aspect is not fully symmetrical (cf. Dahl 1985: 69–102). The system features a general imperfective aspect marker *dè*. Its function is to suppress the inherent boundaries of a situation (cf. Sasse 1991, 1991a; Breu 1985). Although Pichi has other markers that encode imperfective notions (e.g. *kin* ‘HAB’), the marker *dè* ‘IPFV’ alone may cover their functions, as well as others generally associated with the imperfective domain (e.g. future tense).

At the same time, the expression of perfective aspect is less uniform. On the one hand, perfective aspect is covered by factative TMA for dynamic verbs. Factative marking activates the inherent boundaries of dynamic verbs and thereby expresses perfective aspect by default. However, factative marked (inchoative-)stative verbs do not receive the corresponding perfective reading of entry-into-state by default. Instead, factative marking with stative verbs yields an imperfective reading, namely ongoing state, while inchoative-stative verbs are not automatically interpreted with an entry-into-state meaning either.

The narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’, rather than factative TMA, appears to be a better candidate for the expression of perfective meanings. As shown in section 7.3.3, The use of *kan* ‘PFV’ yields typically perfective aspect meanings in a more predictable way. Equally, elements like the perfect marker *dən* and its negative counterpart *nea*, as well as ingressive, egressive and completive aspect auxiliaries also express various perfective readings. The following table provides an overview of the formal means of core perfective and imperfective marking and their readings in the three lexical aspect classes. The default tense interpretation of each aspect reading is provided in parentheses (PRS = present tense, PST = past tense):

Table 7.5 Perfective and imperfective readings according to lexical aspect class

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

### 7.3.3 Narrative perfective

The marker *kan* ‘PFV’ expresses “narrative perfective aspect” (cf. Jaggar 2006 for use of the same label for a functionally similar morpheme in Hausa). It encodes perfective aspect and

consequently, past tense by default. Although *kan* 'PFV' is homophonous with its lexical source verb *kan* 'come' there is no restriction on its cooccurrence with directional verbs, such as *go* 'go' (479) or *kan* 'come' (480):

(479) Dan man è bìn **kan go** nà jel lòn ten.  
 that man 3SG.SBJ PST PFV go LOC jail long time  
 'That man went to jail a long time ago.' [ma03sh 015]

(480) È gi dì pàpá dì pìkín, kòmót, è **kan**  
 3SG.SBJ give DEF father DEF child go.out 3SG.SBJ PFV  
**kan** nà Malabo.  
 come LOC PLACE

'She gave her child to the father, left, (and then) she came to Malabo.' [ed03sb 036]

The marker *kan* 'PFV' is largely specialised to use in the foregrounded main line of narrative discourse. Here, it usually marks consecutive and bounded events denoted by dynamic verbs. In this function, the narrative perfective overlaps with perfective marking via factative TMA. But contrary to the latter, narrative perfective marking is employed in foregrounded sequences containing particularly salient, important information. *Kan* is preferred to factative perfective marking when new events unfold. In that, *kan* serves to highlight and focus the event denoted by the verb it refers to.

The three sentences below are an excerpt from a personal narrative. The speaker relates how she went to stay with her paternal uncle during a critical illness. This new information is provided in clauses (481)(a) and (b) and the relevant verbs (*go* 'go' and *de* 'BE.AT') are marked by narrative perfective. In (c), the speaker reverts to factative TMA because the sentence now contains given information. Note that the same stative verb *de* 'BE.AT' which occurs with narrative perfective marking in the foregrounded sentence (b), appears with factative TMA in the backgrounded sentence in (c):

- (481) a. À **kan go** nà mì ònkúl ìn pàpá ìn let bròda.  
 1SG.SBJ PFV POT LOC 1SG.POSS uncle 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS late brother  
 'I went to my uncle's father's late brother.' [ab03ay 098]
- b. Mì let pàpá ìn bròda, à **kan de** nà ìn hos.  
 1SG.POSS late father 3SG.POSS brother 1SG.SBJ PFV BE.AT LOC 3SG.POSS house  
 'My late father's brother, I came to be in his house.' [ab03ay 099]
- c. Nà de à **de** wan hia à no **fit** du no natin.  
 FOC there 1SG.SBJ BE.AT one year 1SG.SBJ NEG can do NEG nothing  
 'It's there that I was (for) one year, I couldn't do anything at all.' [ab03ay 100]

The narrative perfective marker *kan*, even though specialised to narrative discourse, is much more of a prototypical perfective marker than other Pichi marking devices with

perfective readings (cf. Table 7.5). Irrespective of the lexical class of the verb, *kan* always activates the potential boundaries of a situation. With dynamic verbs, the situation is bounded and seen as a whole, hence past tense by default (cf. (481) above).

The use of *kan* with stative (cf. *de* 'BE.AT' in (481)(b) above) and inchoative-stative verbs (cf. (482) and (483) below) focuses on the initial boundary of the situation as well as the ensuing state. Hence, it yields an inchoative (entry-into-state) meaning with a past tense interpretation in relation to event time. The consistent meaning associated with the narrative perfective marker *kan* 'PFV' stands in contrast to the diametrically opposed meanings that arise through factative TMA marking with stative and dynamic verbs:

- (482) Pero    ðf    dì    tin    **kan bðkú**    mɔ    pas    dì    wàtá,  
 but    if    DEF    thing    PFV    much    more    passDEF    water  
 è        gò    lef        wan    pasta, (...)  
 3SG.SBJ    POT    leave    one    paste  
 'But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste will remain (...)' [dj03do 059]

- (483) È        **kan lek**    ɔda    human.  
 3SG.SBJ    PFV    like    other    woman  
 '(Then) he fell in love with another woman.' [ma03ni 022]

Like factative TMA, the narrative perfective is sometimes employed, albeit rarely, in contexts other than aspect taxis. In (484), *kan* appears in the IF-clause of a past conditional (cf. also (476)). Maybe this usage reflects a tendency for *kan* to extend its function even further to that of a generalised perfective marker:

- (484) ðf    yù    **bìn kan**    bígín    las    semana,    yù    bìn    fð    don    finis    tidé.  
 if    2SG    PST    PFV    begin    last    week    2SG    PST    ASS    PRF    finish    today  
 'if you had begun last week, you would have finished by today.' [dj05ae 057]

### 7.3.4 Imperfective

The general imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV' encodes various aspectual readings associated with the imperfective domain (cf. Table 7.5). Imperfective marking may express progressive aspect with dynamic verbs and present tense by default. Compare *smel* 'smell' and *kuk* 'cook' in (485):

- (485) À        **dè smel**    dì    sent    fð    lèk    haw    è        **dè kuk**    plàntí.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV    smell    DEF    scent    ASS    like    how    3SG.SBJ    IPFV    cook    plantain  
 'I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.' [dj05ae 025]

Pragmatic context may force a habitual interpretation on imperfective marked dynamic verbs. In (486), the habitual reading of *chop* 'eat' is signalled through the presence of the

time adverbial *eni de* ‘every day’:

- (486) **Eni de** dèn **dè** chòp rəs, eni de.  
 every day 3PL IPFV eat rice every day  
 ‘Every day they eat rice, every day.’ [ed03sp 117]

Many situations which may potentially be conceived as stative are expressed as dynamic verbs in Pichi. These include property items such *kres* ‘be crazy’ and *sik* ‘be sick’ (cf. 6.2.1 and 8.6.5 for more details). These verbs also take imperfective marking when progressive, continuous or habitual aspect is to be expressed:

- (487) Yù **dè kres**.  
 2SG IPFV be.crazy  
 ‘You are crazy.’ [ro05ee 038]
- (488) (...) è **dè sik** malerya.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sick malaria  
 ‘(...) he is sick with malaria.’ [dj05be 091]

The imperfective marker does not normally cooccur with stative verbs. Yet *dè* ‘IPFV’ is sometimes found with inchoative-stative verbs which are used like dynamic verbs. In (489) and (490) the inchoative-stative verb *get* ‘get, have’ and the stative verb *lek* ‘like’ take the imperfective marker without acquiring an inchoative sense. However this usage appears limited to inchoative-stative modal verbs and verbs of possession like the following two:

- (489) Afta dèn **dè get** fisíonómía fò, fò Afrika dèn.  
 then 3PL IPFV get physiognomy ASS ASS Africa PL  
 ‘Then they have the physiognomy of, of Africans.’ [ed03sp 031]
- (490) À no, à no **dè lek=àn** mɔ, no.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV like=3SG.OBJ more NEG  
 ‘I don’t, I don’t love him any longer, no.’ [ma03ni 037]

Nevertheless, the conventional way of expressing imperfective aspect with (inchoative-) stative verbs is by way of factative TMA. In (491) the verb *lek* ‘like’ remains unmarked, hence is imperfective by default:

- (491) Dèn no **lek** pòsin, dèn tu bàdhát.  
 3PL NEG like person 3PL too be.mean  
 ‘They don’t like people, they’re too mean.’ [ma03hm 012]

In contrast, *dè* ‘IPFV’ is regularly made use of with most inchoative-stative verbs in order to express an inchoative reading with a present tense interpretation in relation to event time. Compare the following two examples, as well as (527) below:

(492) Ìn m̀nń́ d̀è b̀kú.  
 3SG.POSS money IPFV be.much  
 ‘Her money is getting more.’ [ro05ee 047]

(493) Ìn m̀nń́ d̀è sm̀l.  
 3SG.POSS money IPFV be.small  
 ‘His money is getting less.’ [ro05ee 048]

Besides its use for expressing aspectual relations, the functions of *d̀è* reach into the domain of modality and overlap with those of the potential marker *g̀ò* ‘POT’. The imperfective marker may express future tense in combination with an appropriate time adverbial (494). It can also express conditional modality in THEN-clauses and hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions (495):

(494) À d̀è l̀f nà Luba s̀t́ d̀ì ǹks wík.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC PLACE until DEF next week  
 ‘I’m staying in Luba until next week.’ [dj05ce 014]

(495) À d̀è t̀k m̀ p̀kín go nà hospital claro.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV take 1SG.POSS child go LOC hospital clear  
 ‘I would take my child to hospital, of course.’ [hi03cb 140]

We also encounter the imperfective marker in environments characterised by reduced finiteness. Thus, *d̀è* optionally intervenes between certain aspectual auxiliaries (cf. 7.4.1) and modal verbs, and the verbs that follow them (cf. 12.6.3 for more details). Compare the following modal verbs *g̀et f̀* ‘have to’ (496) and *want* ‘want’ (497):

(496) Ỳ g̀et f̀ d̀è t̀n=àn.  
 2SG get ASS IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You need to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

(497) Ỳ want d̀è go?  
 2SG want IPFV go  
 ‘Do you want to go?’ [nn07fn 227]

### 7.3.5 Habitual

The central function of the marker *k̀in* ‘HAB’ is to express the imperfective reading of habitual aspect. Next to that, *k̀in* is also employed to express iterative aspect (cf. 7.3.6) and marginally functions as a modal verb of ability (cf. (566)). The marker either appears alone in preverbal position (498) or is optionally followed by the imperfective marker *d̀è* if the reference verb is dynamic (499):

- (498) È tɛl mi se 'wì **kìn mitɔp** insay wan mòtó'.  
 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.EMP QUOT 1PL HAB meet inside one car  
 'He told me (that) "we would meet inside a car."' [ro05rt 019]
- (499) Nít nà ìn eks dèn we è **kìn dè put**.  
 nít FOC 3SG.POSS egg PL SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB IPFV put  
 'The nits are the eggs that it lays.' [ye05ce 293]

Since stative verbs are not usually marked for habitual aspect by means of *dè* 'IPFV', an important function of *kìn* 'HAB' is therefore to mark stative verbs for habitual aspect. The habitual marker is therefore compatible with all lexical aspect classes. When used with (inchoative-)stative verbs *kìn* may additionally emphasise the habitual nature of the situation. Examples follow with the stative copula *de* 'BE.AT' (500) and the inchoative-stative verb *no* '(get to) know' (501):

- (500) Se us=tin **kìn de** insay de?  
 QUOT Q=thing HAB BE.AT inside there  
 '(She) said "what is usually in there?"' [ed03sb 052]
- (501) Dèn no **kìn no** sɛf.  
 3PL NEG HAB know EMP  
 'They didn't even use to know.' [bo03cb 118]

The habitual marker is also employed in generic statements such as the following one:

- (502) Dɔg **kìn bet**.  
 dog HAB bite  
 'Dogs bite.' [dj07ae 371]

The habitual marker does not cooccur with the tense marker *bìn* 'PST' or the potential mood and future tense marker *gò* 'POT'. Like the imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV', *kìn* 'HAB' is itself unspecified for tense. Accordingly, sentence (501) above is translated as past habitual because the time frame of the corresponding discourse context suggests so.

### 7.3.6 Iterative

The reduplication of dynamic verbs yields the imperfective reading of iterative aspect when the reduplicated verb serves as the predicate of a clause. I refer the reader to section 5.6.1 for an extensive treatment of the phonology, morphosyntax and semantics of reduplication.

Sentence (503) shows a typical context, in which an iterative reading of reduplication arises. The reduplicated verb is accompanied by imperfective marking and cooccurs with the plural count noun object *nɔmba dèn* 'numbers':

- (503) Wetin yù **dè chènch-chench** namba dèn so?  
 what 2SG IPFV RED.CPD-change number PL like.that  
 ‘Why do you constantly change (telephone) numbers like that?’ [ye03cd 131]

In a small number of cases in the corpus, the habitual marker *kìn* also expresses iterative aspect by itself without additional reduplication. The speaker in the two consecutive sentences in (504) narrates how she repeatedly felt the temperature of her sick grandchild:

- (504) a. We à **kìn mek** so, à no dè fil hət.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB make like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV feel heat  
 ‘Anytime I would do like this, I wouldn’t feel heat.’ [ab03ab 065]
- b. Pero we à **kìn tɔch** ìn fut, ìn han de,  
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch 3SG.POSS foot 3SG.POSS hand there  
 nà so dèn [ko::l].  
 FOC like.that 3PL be.cold.EMP  
 ‘When I would touch his leg, his hand there, that’s how terribly cold they were.’  
 [ab03ab 066]

#### 7.4 Aspectual auxiliaries

A specific set of verbs and adverbs function as auxiliaries in constructions that express aspectual notions. These constructions involve the verbs *bigín* ‘begin’ (ingressive), *kəmót* ‘go out’ (egressive), *finis* ‘finish’ (completive), *want* ‘want’ (prospective), and the Spanish-origin verb *sigue* ‘continue’ (continuative). The expression of egressive and continuative aspect often also involves the use of the preverbal adverbs *jəs/jis* ‘just’ and *stil* ‘still’, either in conjunction with the corresponding auxiliary verbs or alone.

These auxiliary verbs enter as V1 into serial verb constructions with the verbs they specify. I analyse the structures involving aspectual (and modal, cf. 7.7.1) auxiliaries as SVCs rather than complement constructions, although some of them may well be seen as borderline cases between both types of clause linkage. Firstly, these structures share formal characteristics with other SVCs. For example, the associative preposition and complementiser *fə* ‘ASS’ may not intervene between the auxiliary verb (the V1) and the following lexical verb (the V2). Hence, combinations like the following ones are ungrammatical: \**bigín fə chəp* ‘begin to eat’, \**finis fə was* ‘finish washing’, \**kəmót fə ple* ‘just have played’.

At the same time, the imperfective marker *dè* may intervene between the V1 and V2 of structures involving *bigín* and *want* and function very much like a non-finite complementiser (cf. also 12.6.1). The following table provides an overview of the functions of aspectual auxiliaries. Optional elements are in parentheses:

Table 7.6 Functions of aspectual auxiliaries

| Aspect reading | Auxiliary                                | Translation           |
|----------------|--|-----------------------|
| Ingressive     | <i>bigín (dè)</i>                        | 'begin'               |
| Egressive      | <i>(jis/jəs) kəmót</i><br><i>jis/jəs</i> | 'just have'<br>'just' |
| Completive     | <i>fɪnis</i>                             | 'finish'              |
| Continuative   | <i>(stil) sigue</i><br><i>stil</i>       | 'continue'<br>'still' |
| Prospective    | <i>want (dè)</i>                         | 'be about to'         |

Not included in the table are constructions involving the verbs *ste* 'stay' and *las* 'end up'. These verbs participate as V1 in adverbial SVCs that also exhibit a certain degree of aspectual meaning (cf. 13.2.5). However, these constructions are more specialised in their meaning and not as grammaticalised to warrant being seen as aspectual auxiliaries in the same way as the ones covered in this section.

#### 7.4.1 Ingressive

An SVC featuring the verb *bigín* 'begin' as V1 serves the expression of ingressive aspect. The function of *bigín* as a transitive dynamic verb is exemplified in (505), where it is followed by the object NP *dì wok* 'DEF work' = 'the work':

- (505) À        **bigín**    **dì wok**    we yù dən go.  
 1SG.SBJ   begin    DEF work    SUB 2SG PRF go  
 'I began the work when you had gone.' [ro05de 024]

Ingressive aspect highlights the crossing of the initial boundary - the beginning - of a situation (506). When employed as an aspectual auxiliary, *bigín* may be immediately followed by a lexical verb (506) or optionally be followed by the imperfective marker *dè* (507):

- (506) À        **bigín**    **go**    skol.  
 1SG.SBJ   begin    go    school  
 'I began going to school.' [fr03ft 018]
- (507) À        **bigín**    **dè las**,    à        dè kəstən.  
 1SG.SBJ   begin    IPFV endure    1SG.SBJ    IPFV get.used  
 'I began enduring (it), I was getting used (to it).' [ed03sp 110]

The auxiliary *bigín* can additionally be marked by other tense-aspect markers like any other



dynamic verb. In (508) *bigín* cooccurs with the narrative perfective aspect marker *kan* ‘PFV’. The auxiliary *bigín* is not attested with stative verbs. But it may also combine with inchoative-stative verbs in order to highlight the inchoative (entry-into-state) meaning of verbs from this lexical aspect class (509):

(508) Dèn **kan bigín** **kòl** mi Francisca.  
 3PL PFV begin call 1SG.EMP NAME  
 ‘They began to call me Francisca.’ [fr03ft 095]

(509) Wì **bigín** **dè no** wì sɛf.  
 1PL begin IPFV know 1PL self  
 ‘We began to get to know each other.’ [ye07fn 019]

#### 7.4.2 Egressive

The perfective reading of egressive aspect is expressed by way of an SVC involving *kòmót* as V1. The egressive aspect is not attested with stative verbs. Just like the completive and the perfect aspects, the egressive signals the crossing of the terminal boundary of the situation described by the verb.

However, the egressive aspect neither carries a connotation of completion like the completive, nor does it establish a relation to reference time like the perfect. The auxiliary *kòmót* may optionally be preceded by the preverbal adverb *jis/jàs* ‘just’ and is immediately followed by the V2.

(510) È tɛl mi se dan pàpá we è **jàs kòmót**  
 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.EMP QUOT that father SUB 3SG.SBJ just come.out  
**cobra** ìn m̀nì f̀ cacao, s̀lút=àn!  
 receive 3SG.POSS money ASS cocoa greet=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘He said to me “that elderly man that just received the money for his cocoa, greet him!”.’ [ed03sb 196]

The verb *kòmót* has various meanings ranging from more lexical to more grammatical (cf. e.g. uses as a copula verb in 8.6.2 and as a directional verb in motion-direction SVCs in 13.2.1). In the following sentence, *kòmót* is used with its presumably focal spatial meaning of ‘go/come out’:

(511) Dì gɛl kan **kòmót** de.  
 DEF girl PFV go.out there  
 ‘The girl left there [that place].’ [ed03sb 030]

In other instances, the meaning of *kòmót* is intermediary between a spatial and a more grammatical sense. In (512), it is the presence of the locative question word *us=say* ‘where’ that creates ambiguity between the literal and the egressive senses of *kòmót*:

- (512) Us=say yù **kòmót** **chak** so?  
 Q=side 2SG come.out get.drunk like.that  
 ‘Where do come from drunk like this?’ [ye07fn 126]

In sentence (513), semantic ambiguity is produced by the presence of *wok* which may mean ‘work’ (the noun) or ‘to work’ (the verb). If the former translation is preferred, *wok* is analysed as the object of *kòmót*. With the latter translation *wok* is the V2 of an egressive SVC.

The verb *kòmót* may cooccur with any TMA marker that is compatible with its status as a dynamic verb. Compare its appearance with the habitual marker *kìn* ‘HAB’ in (513):

- (513) We è **kìn kòmót** wok, à kìn  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB come.out work 1SG.SBJ HAB  
 mek=àn so, lèk haw mun finis.  
 make=3SG.OBJ like.that like how month finish  
 ‘When he comes from work/ when he has barely finished working, I do like  
 this to him [stretches out hand], as soon as the month is over.’ [ro05rt 042]

The synonymous and equally common adverbials *jis* and *jəs* can express an egressive notion by themselves when they appear in the preverbal adverb position (514), and thereby be functionally equivalent to egressive *kòmót*.

The adverb *jis/jəs* may be preceded by a TMA marker and be followed by the V2 that it modifies. Note the occurrence of resumptive imperfective marking in (515) (cf. also (242) for a comment):

- (514) (...) à **jəs bay** sòn (...)  
 1SG.SBJ just buy some  
 ‘(...) I just bought some.’ [ma03hm 072]
- (515) Naw dèn **dè jis dè** kan.  
 now 3PL IPFV just IPFV come  
 ‘Now they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

I analyse *jis/jəs* as an adverb rather than a preverbal TMA marker or a verb since it occasionally also occurs in the sentence-initial adverbial position with no difference in meaning (516). The adverb *jis/jəs* is also used with no temporal meaning at all (517):

- (516) **Jəs** è kòmót nà Baney (...)  
 just 3SG.SBJ come.out LOC PLACE  
 ‘She had just left Baney (...)’ [ab03ay 079]
- (517) (...) yù no get fō put=àn fō plastik yù **jəs** go  
 2SG NEG get ASS put=3SG.OBJ ASS plastic 2SG just go

nà bus yù trowe=àn.  
 LOC forest 2SG throw=3SG.OBJ

‘(...) you don’t have to put it into a plastic (bag), you just go to the forest and throw it away.’ [hi03cb 034]

### 7.4.3 Completive

The verb *finis* ‘finish’ occurs as V1 in an SVC that expresses the perfective reading of completive aspect. The use of *finis* as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘finish’ is exemplified in (518):

- (518) Bòt da m̀nì dè **finis** kwik.  
 but that money IPFV finish quickly  
 ‘But that money used to finish quickly.’ [ed03sp 088]

The completive indicates the crossing of the terminal boundary of a situation and adds the nuance of completion. Compare the completive SVC in (519):

- (519) È **finis** **ben** dì pìsì fayn.  
 3SG.SBJ finish bend DEF piece.of.cloth fine  
 ‘She has finished folding the piece of cloth real nice.’ [li07pe 043]

The completive may signal a thorough consumption of the subject by the situation (520). This is particularly so when *finis* cooccurs with the perfect marker *dən* or with the emphatic imperfective *dən dè* ‘PFV IPFV’:

- (520) Nawà **dən** **dè finis** **sem** f̄ w̄r dan sus,  
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed ASS wear that shoe  
 èf à bìn no à f̄ k̄r ɔda sus.  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST know 1SG.SBJ ASS carry other shoes  
 ‘Now I am really ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known I would have brought other shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

The completive auxiliary *finis* ‘finish’ also cooccurs with narrative perfective marker *kan*:

- (521) (..) dì pròblem dèn dən tu m̄ch, **kan finis** t̄l=àn se ‘l̄f (...)  
 DEF problem PL PRF too much PFV finish tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT leave  
 ‘(...) the problems had become too much, (I) then finally told him “leave” (...)’  
 [ma0313ni 035]

#### 7.4.4 Continuative

The Spanish-origin dynamic verb *sigue* ‘continue’ combines with other verbs in order to form an SVC with the imperfective reading of continuative aspect. The continuative construction is usually encountered with dynamic verbs and inchoative-stative verbs with inherently more dynamic meanings (i.e. with change of state verbs but not with property items):

- (522) À           **sigue**           **ple**        bəl sote     ivin     tən.  
 1SG.SBJ   continue   play   ball until   evening time  
 ‘I continued playing ball until the evening.’ [be07fn 189]

Alternatively, the preverbal temporal adverb *stil* ‘still’ may function as an auxiliary in its own right to express continuative aspect. Contrary to *sigue*, the adverb *stil* is also found to modify stative verbs like the copula *de* in (523):

- (523) (...) mì        grànmá            wèt        mì        grànpá        we  
 1SG.POSS grandmother with     1SG.POSS grandfather SUB  
 dèn **stil de**        layf,        dèn-əl        dèn de        nà Pànyá.  
 3PL still BE.AT     life        3PL.CPD-all     3PL BE.AT     FOC Spain  
 ‘(...) my grandmother and my grandfather, when they were still alive,  
 they were all in Spain.’ [fr03ft 038]

When *stil* cooccurs with a dynamic verb, the verb is normally marked for imperfective aspect if it is anchored in the present tense (524):

- (524) Èf yù **stil dè** smok,    yù gò sik.  
 if 2SG still IPFV smoke 2SG POT sick  
 ‘if you continue smoking, you’ll be sick.’ [ro05ee 041]

A negative continuative meaning is generally expressed by means of discontinuous negation involving the degree and temporal adverb *mə* ‘again, more’ as in (525):

- (525) È            **no** de            **mə**.  
 3SG.SBJ   NEG BE.AT     more  
 ‘He’s no longer (here/there).’ [ye03cd 155]

Like the preverbal adverb *jis* ‘just’ (cf. 7.4.2), *stil* may also be preceded by TMA markers. Also like the former adverb, the latter appears with resumptive imperfective marking (526):

- (526) È            **dè stil dè** waka.  
 3SG.SBJ   IPFV still IPFV walk  
 ‘He’s still walking.’ [dj05ae 050]

A gradual and inherently comparative nuance of the continuative aspect can be expressed by employing the quantifying adverb *mə-èn-mə* ‘more and more’ (527):

- (527) Dis bəy, ɛni de è dè fayn mə-èn-mə.  
 this boy every day 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.fine more-and-more  
 ‘This boy, everyday he is getting more handsome.’ [ro05ee 046]

#### 7.4.5 Prospective

The lexical verb *want* ‘want’ expresses the reading of prospective aspect (Comrie 1976: 64-65; also referred to as “proximative” by Heine 1994: 36). The prospective SVC denotes imminence of a situation:

- (528) Làyk haw dèn want kər yù nà hospital  
 like how 3PL want carry 2SG LOC hospital  
 yù dən day.  
 2SG PRF die  
 ‘As they’re about to carry you to hospital, you’re already dead.’ [ed03sb 100]

The modal readings of desire and intention (cf. 7.7.2.2) and the aspectual reading of prospective are related in their meanings. Hence the difference between modal and prospective *want* is not always clear-cut.

For example, (529) is uttered when the speaker looks at a photograph of a father and his daughter, who is very tall for her young age. A desire reading of *want* as ‘want to’ is conceivable if *lən* ‘be long; tall’ is seen as a property that can be controlled by the speaker (even if humorously). However, a prospective reading denoting imminence appears more reasonable. Note that the prospective aspect reading of *want* triggers an imminent entry-into-state interpretation of the inchoative-stative verb *lən* ‘be long; tall’:

- (529) È want lən lèkə ìn pàpá.  
 3SG.SBJ want be.long like 3SG.POSS father  
 ‘She’s about to become as tall as her father.’ [ma03fn 003]

### 7.5 Tense

The tense system of Pichi is relational, and in principle, bipartite. There is only one form – the past marker *bìn* ‘PST’ – which has the focal function of a tense marker. Past tense can be expressed by means of *bìn* ‘PST’ with any verb irrespective of its lexical aspect. Next to the past marker, the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’, factative marking and other perfective aspectual readings (i.e. perfect, egressive and completive) express past tense by default.

In contrast, there is no single form to mark non-past tense. Non-past marking is taken care of by a variety of means, none of which exclusively serve the expression of tense. Hence, the potential mood marker *gò* and the imperfective marker *dè* express future tense next to their respective modal and aspectual functions. Present tense arises by default through imperfective marking, either via factative TMA with (inchoative-)stative verbs, or through overt marking by markers that express imperfective readings (i.e. *dè* 'IPFV' and *kin* 'HAB').

Table 7.7 summarises the overt and default basic tense readings that arise through the use of core TMA marking with the three lexical aspect classes. Non-basic, mixed tense-aspect readings (i.e. past/future perfect, past/future progressive) are taken up in the relevant sections (cf. also Table 7.5):

Table 7.7 Overt and default tense marking

| Class                  | Past-before-past | Past   | Present  | Future                            |
|------------------------|------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Stative                | <i>bìn</i> 'PST' | <i>bìn</i> 'PST', <i>kan</i> 'PFV',<br><i>dən</i> 'PRF'            | <i>kin</i> 'HAB', factative                      | <i>gò</i> 'POT'                   |
| Inchoative<br>-stative | <i>bìn</i> 'PST' | <i>bìn</i> 'PST', <i>kan</i> 'PFV',<br><i>dən</i> 'PRF', factative | <i>kin</i> 'HAB', <i>dè</i> 'IPFV',<br>factative | <i>gò</i> 'POT', <i>dè</i> 'IPFV' |
| Dynamic                | <i>bìn</i> 'PST' | <i>bìn</i> 'PST', <i>kan</i> 'PFV',<br><i>dən</i> 'PRF', factative | <i>dè</i> 'IPFV', <i>kin</i> 'HAB'               | <i>gò</i> 'POT', <i>dè</i> 'IPFV' |

The following sections provide an overview of the general characteristics of tense marking in Pichi (7.5.1) as well as the expression of past (7.5.2), present (7.5.3) and future tense (7.5.4). The potential mood and future tense marker *gò*, is covered in 7.7.4.1 in the section on modality. In order to do justice to the workings of relative tense in Pichi (cf. 7.5.1), I use the labels 'anterior', 'simultaneous' and 'posterior' interchangeably with 'past', 'present' and 'future' respectively where necessary.

### 7.5.1 Relational tense

Tense is relational (or 'relative') in Pichi. Overt or default tense is assigned in relation to "event time" (Chung & Timberlake 1985) rather than speech time. Relational tense manifests itself in two ways. Firstly, in complex sentences, a subordinate clause is assigned tense in relation to the tense value of the main clause and there is no need for corresponding overt tense or mood marking in the subordinate clause. Hence there is no 'consecutio temporum' in Pichi.

In (530), the main clause is marked for past tense by *bìn*. The subordinate clause (which begins with *we* 'SUB'), although simultaneous with the main clause, is not also marked for past. Instead, the factative marked stative verb *de* 'BE.AT' is assigned present tense by default, hence is interpreted as simultaneous to the main clause verb *si* 'see':

- (530) À no **bìn si** mì grànmá we è **de** layf.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG PST see 1SG.POSS grandmother SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT life  
 'I didn't see my grandmother while she was alive.' [ro05ee 147]

In (531), the main clause is also marked for past tense. This time, the subordinate clause (which begins with *se* 'QUOT') is posterior to the main clause. Posteriority is expressed via the use of the potential marker *gò*. Yet there is no additional past tense marking in the subordinate clause, and indeed, it would be ungrammatical. This in spite of the fact that both the main clause and the subordinate clause are set in the past from the vantage point of the speaker. Hence, the event in the main clause, not speech time, is the reference point for the tense assignment of the subordinate clause:

- (531) À **bìn chɛk** se ren **gò** fɔl.  
 1SG.SBJ PST check QUOT rain POT rain  
 'I thought it might rain.' [ma03hm 022]

A second manifestation of relational tense in Pichi is the absence of explicit tense marking whenever context offers enough information on tense anchoring. Contextual information may be provided by time adverbials as in (532). Here, *yéstàdé nayt* 'yesterday night' anchors time reference in the past. Consequently, the imperfective marked verb *kəl* 'call' receives a present tense/simultaneous interpretation in relation to past tense anchoring. Further marking by *bìn* is unnecessary, although possible (cf. 7.5.2):

- (532) **Yéstàdé nayt** we à **dè kəl** yu, yéstàdé nayt,  
 yesterday night SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV call 2SG.EMP yesterday night  
 nɔ dis mɔnin naw.  
 NEG this morning now  
 'Yesterday night, when I was calling you, yesterday night,  
 no this morning.' [hi03cb 083]

In (533), past tense reference is established through the adverbial *wan ivin tɛn* 'one evening' and the factative marked, perfective, hence past tense dynamic verbs *kəmót* 'go out' and *go* 'go'. The imperfective marked verb *rich* 'arrive' in the subsequent clause remains unspecified for tense and receives a simultaneous reading, once more in relation to the past tense anchoring provided by the preceding adverbial and factative-marked dynamic verbs:

- (533) Wan **ivin tɛn** à **kəmót** mɔ, à **go** waka,  
 one evening time 1SG.SBJ go.out more 1SG.SBJ go walk  
 we à **dè rich** nà hos, hia Djunais (...)  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV reach LOC house hear NAME  
 'One evening, I went out again, I went for a stroll, when I was arriving  
 at the house, hear Djunais [say that...].' [ro05rt 001]

### 7.5.2 Past

Two types of past tense expression exist in Pichi. The principal means of expressing past tense by default are factative marking (cf. e.g. (470)) and the use of the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ (cf. (479)-(480)). With (inchoative-)stative verbs, factative TMA gives rise to present tense reference by default. This is illustrated in (534) with the stative verb *fiba* ‘resemble’ and the inchoative-stative verbs *lek* ‘like’ and *sàbí* ‘(get to) know’ in (534).

- (534) Mi no **sàbí**, è **fiba** se è no **lek**  
 1SG.EMP NEG know 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG like  
 tin dèn fò sup (...)  
 thing PL ASS soup  
 ‘I [EMP] don’t know, it seems that she doesn’t like soupy things.’ [ma03hm 059]

If, on the contrary, pragmatic context suggests an inchoative reading of inchoative-stative verbs, a past tense interpretation is also possible. The change of state verb *brok* ‘break, be broken’ has factative TMA in the following example. Without contextual information the clause *è brok* could mean either ‘it broke’ or ‘it is broken’. However, in this example, factative past tense marking on the preceding dynamic verbs *tek* ‘take’ and *nak* ‘hit’ only allows the first translation of *è brok*:

- (535) (...) è **tek** dì hama, è **nak** òntóp dì tebul,  
 3SG.SBJ take DEF hammer 3SG.SBJ hit on DEF table  
 dì plet **brok**.  
 DEF plate break  
 ‘(...) she took the hammer, she hit [it] on the table, (and) the plate broke.’ [ra07se 023]

Factative-marked stative verbs have a default present tense reference in relation to event time. Hence past tense reference can only be established for stative verbs by means of explicit past tense marking (i.e. via *bin* ‘PST’) or by means of contextual cues in the clause.

In (536), the time adverbial *dan ten* ‘that time’ anchors time reference in the past, so the stative copula *de* is interpreted as simultaneous to this tense anchor:

- (536) **Dan ten** à **de** fayn.  
 that time 1SG.SBJ BE.AT fine  
 ‘That time, I was fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

Secondly, past tense may be explicitly marked by means of the past marker *bin* ‘PST’, which encodes relational past tense. *Bin* is not obligatory in clauses with past reference. Instead, its use depends on discourse-pragmatic factors. The past marker is generally employed in temporally remote, backgrounded, orienting and supportive sections of narratives.

In this function, *bin* is diametrically opposed to the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’. It should therefore come as no surprise that *bin* has a default imperfective reading next to its function as a past tense marker. Consider sentence (537):



- (537) Mi      **bìn de**      de,      à      **bìn 'mek**      dasəl,      dis,  
 1SG.EMP   PST   BE.AT   there   1SG.SBJ   PST   make   only   this  
 à      **dè 'mek**      finga      dɛn,      manicura.  
 1SG.SBJ   IPFV   make   finger   PL   manicure  
 '(As for) me, (when) I was there, I only made, this,  
 I used to make fingers, manicure.' [ma03hm 055]

Sentence (537) above is part of an orienting section of a narrative and provides background information to a story. The stative copula *de* and the dynamic verb *'mek* 'make' are overtly marked for past tense with *bìn*. Once the use of *bìn* with these two verbs has anchored the sentence (and in fact, the entire following narrative) in the past, overt past tense marking is unnecessary with subsequent verbs as is the case with *'mek* in (537). The fact that *bìn* also incorporates imperfective aspect transpires in the TMA marking choices of the sentence. All three verbs denote situations simultaneous to each other, an aspect relation that usually requires imperfective marking with dynamic verbs. However, *'mek* is only marked for past tense with *bìn*, whereas *'mek*, which is devoid of past tense marking, must be marked for imperfective aspect via *dè* in order to express simultaneity of the situation.

While past reference may be established by factative TMA alone with dynamic verbs, overt past tense marking is often encountered with stative verbs where the occurrence of the unmarked form would give rise to ambiguity. In (538), *want* 'want' is explicitly marked for past tense by *bìn* because the unmarked form would favour a present tense, simultaneous reading. The same holds for the copula verb *de* in (539):

- (538) Mi      du=àn      foseko      se      à      **bìn want**      help=àn.  
 1SG.EMP   do=3SG.OBJ   due.to   QUOT   1SG.SBJ   PST   want   help=3SG.OBJ  
 'I [EMP] did it because I wanted to help him.' [ro05ee 069]
- (539) À      kan kòmót      nà      dan      hos      we      à      **bìn de.**  
 1SG.SBJ   PFV   go.out   LOC   that   house   SUB   1SG.SBJ   PST   BE.AT  
 'I left that house where I had been.' [ab03ay 097]

*Bìn* can also express past-before-past tense when specifying a situation that is set in the past. In (540)(a), perfect marking with the dynamic verb *day* 'die' anchors time reference in the past. The subsequent clause (b) featuring the stative copula verb *de* is marked for *bìn*. Hence, the situation referred to by *de* 'BE.AT' is anterior to *day* 'die' in the preceding clause.

- (540) a. Naw      è      **dɔn day**      sɛf.  
 now      3SG.SBJ   PRF   die   EMP  
 'Now he's even dead.' [ma03sh 016]
- b. È      **bìn de**      nà      jel.  
 3SG.SBJ   PST   BE.AT   LOC   jail  
 He had been to prison.' [ma03sh 017]

*Bìn* marks past-before-past in the same way in (541). Here *pas* ‘pass’ in (b) is anterior to the past tense point of reference provided by *sik* ‘be sick’ in (a). In this example, we once more witness relational tense at work:

- (541) a. Wan de wan pikín **bìn dè sik**.  
 one day one child PST IPFV sick  
 ‘One day a child was sick.’ [fr03cd 071]
- b. À no sàbí us=kayn tin **bìn pas**.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=kind thing PST pass  
 ‘I don’t know what had happened.’ [fr03cd 072]

The past marker also plays an important role as a modal element. *Bìn* is used as a conditional modality marker in the IF- and THEN-clauses of past (counterfactual) conditionals (cf. 12.8.11).

### 7.5.3 Present

Present tense is not expressed by means of elements specialised to this function. Instead, present tense reference is established by default through a variety of means. Bare stative verbs (cf. (471)) and in the appropriate context inchoative-stative verbs (472), are assigned present tense by default when marked for factative TMA. Present tense reference is also established with inchoative-stative verbs via the use of the imperfective aspect marker *dè* (cf. (492)) and with both lexical aspect classes by the use of the habitual marker *kìn* (cf. (500)-(501)). Dynamic verbs are assigned present tense by default when they appear with the imperfective marker *dè* (cf. (485)) and the habitual aspect marker *kìn* (cf. (498)).

### 7.5.4 Future

Future tense may be expressed explicitly by means of the potential mood marker *gò* ‘POT’. The marker can be used indiscriminately with stative (542), inchoative-stative (cf. *mared* ‘marry, be married’ in (546) below) and dynamic verbs (543):

- (542) Mi **gò bi** dökta.  
 1SG.EMP POT BE doctor  
 ‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]
- (543) In **gò chòp=àn**, è no get no problema.  
 3SG.EMP POT eat=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG get NEG problem  
 ‘He [EMP] will/would eat it, he has no problem whatsoever  
 [with this kind of food].’ [ro05rt 066]

The expression of future tense is part of a field of interrelated mood and tense-marking

functions (cf. 7.7.4.1). I assume that the expression of epistemic possibility is a central function of *gò*, which is reflected in the gloss ‘POT’. Nevertheless, the function of *gò* also leans strongly towards that of a future tense marker in certain contexts. Possibly, the marker has undergone a diachronic development from exclusively modal to both modal and tense-oriented as it is today.

When a situation is set in a hypothetical frame, hence based on an inferred or explicit condition, the meaning of *gò* is modal. When context provides no such frame, the meaning of *gò* tilts towards a tense reading. This is particularly the case in the presence of time adverbials (e.g. *tumoro* ‘tomorrow’ in (544)) or where an intention of the speaker may be deduced from context (545):

- (544) È            **gò pul** yu=àn            **tumoro.**  
 1SG.SBJ    POT   pull 2SG.EMP=3SG.OBJ    tomorrow  
 ‘He’ll tell it [the story] to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]

- (545) Lɛf=àn,        à            **gò chɔp**,    afta        à            **gò dring.**  
 leave=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ    POT eat        then        1SG.SBJ    POT drink  
 ‘Leave it, I will eat, then I will drink.’ [ye03cd 080]

Relational tense marking in Pichi allows a future projection from a speaker’s vantage point in the past without the tense or mood change characteristic of ‘consecutio temporum’ in languages with absolute tense systems.

In (546), the verb in the main clause is marked for past tense. The verb in the subordinate clause introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’, is marked for future, not future-in-the-past:

- (546) À            **bìn dè**        **chɛk**    se        à            **gò mared.**  
 1SG.SBJ    PST   IPFV    check    QUOT    1SG.SBJ    POT marry  
 ‘I was thinking that I would marry/get married.’ [fr03ft 165]

Other elements that express future tense notions are the imperfective marker *dè* (cf. e.g. (494)) and the prospective auxiliary *want* (cf. e.g. (529)). The marker *gò* may also combine with *dè* ‘IPFV’ to form a future-imperfective, and with *dɔn* ‘PRF’ to form a future-perfect (cf. e.g. (555)). *Gò* may also precede any of the aspectual auxiliaries covered in section 7.4.

## 7.6 Perfect

The marker *dɔn* expresses the affirmative perfect while the synonyms *nɛa* and *nɔba* express negative perfect. The Pichi perfect is a hybrid category that expresses aspectual and temporal notions simultaneously. The perfect expresses the perfective reading of completive aspect in combination with the temporal notion of relevance to event time.

The perfect is encountered with dynamic verbs, where it highlights the current relevance of the completed situation (547):

- (547) Dì arata **dən kəmót** insay dī hol.  
 DEF rat PRF come.out inside DEF hole  
 ‘The rat has come out of the hole [it is outside now].’ [ro05ee 085]

The combination of perfect marking with an inchoative-stative verb usually yields a resultant state interpretation (548).

- (548) ε, dan bəy **dən kət** ò (...)  
 INTJ that boy PRF cut SP  
 ‘Hey, that guy is badly cut (...)’ [dj05ce 226]

In combination with stative verbs, perfect marking may convey a sense of total affectation of the referent by the state. In (549), this sense is reinforced through the presence of the degree adverb *bad* ‘extremely’:

- (549) Dan gal, è **dən lək=àn bad.**  
 That girl 3SG.SBJ PRF like=3SG.OBJ extremely  
 ‘That girl, he really loves her.’ [bo07fn 232]

Perfect marking is asymmetrical in Pichi. The marker *dən* ‘PRF’ may not appear next to the negator *no* ‘NEG’. The negative affirmative marker is therefore in complementary distribution with the forms *nea* and *nəba*, which both function as negative perfect markers. Negative perfect marking often yields the meaning ‘not yet’:

- (550) È dè fəgét se Rubi **nəba chəp.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat  
 ‘He forgets that Rubi has not yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]

The negative restriction on *dən* ‘PFV’ is suspended when it cooccurs with a tense or mood marker. In that case, the ordering rules applying to TMA markers forestall adjacency of the negator and the perfect marker. Examples follow with *bìn* ‘PST’ (551) and *gò* ‘POT’ (552):

- (551) èf è bìn kan listin wi, è **no bìn**  
 if 3SG.SBJ PST PFV listen 1PL.EMP 3SG.SBJ NEG PST  
**fə dən** day naw so.  
 ASS PRF die now like.that  
 ‘If he had listened to us, he would not be dead now.’ [dj05ae 058]

- (552) Mek yù no kan a las cinco, dan tən à no  
 SBJV 2SG NEG come at the.PL five that time 1SG.SBJ NEG  
**gò dən** finis.  
 POT PRF finish  
 ‘Don’t come at five o’clock, (at) that time I won’t have finished yet.’ [he07fn 276]

The clause-final adverbial *yet* ‘yet’ may reinforce the negative perfect without contributing additional meaning (553). A negated factative marked verb in conjunction with *yet* (553) can by itself be functionally very similar to the negative perfect expressed by *nea/nəba*:

(553) Yù sista è **nea mared yet?**  
 2SG sister 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF marry yet  
 ‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 066]

(554) (...) è **no mared yet?**  
 3SG.SBJ NEG marry yet  
 ‘(...) she isn’t married yet?’ [dj05ce 064]

The perfect marker *dən* may be combined with other TMA markers. Compare the future perfect in (555) and the past perfect in (556):

(555) Las cuatro wì **gò dən de** de, mi sef à want,  
 the.PL four 1PL POT PRF BE.AT there 1SG.EMP EMP 1SG.SBJ want  
 à get fò go nà hos.  
 1SG.SBJ get ASS POT LOC house  
 ‘At four o’clock we will already be there, I myself want, I have to go home.’ [ma 03ni 005]

(556) Dì tin we à **bìn dən fəs** si we à bìn  
 DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ PST PRF first see SUB 1SG.SBJ PST  
 dən tray=àn (...)  
 PRF try=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘The thing that I had first seen when I had tried it (...)’ [ed03sb 188]

With dynamic verbs, the combination of *dən* ‘PRF’ with the imperfective aspect marker *dè* renders a perfect progressive meaning. The combination of the notion of current relevance and progressivity in the marker sequence *dən dè* ‘PRF IPFV’ renders an emphatic imperfective with dynamic verbs. It signals that the situation designated by the verb is (already) in full course (557) or on the brink of unfolding (558):

(557) We è bìn **dən dè go**, è tel mi se dì tin we  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST PRF IPFV go 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.EMP QUOTDEF thing SUB  
 è fit gi mi, è want lef mi sòn ring.  
 3SG.SBJ can give 1SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ want leave 1SG.EMP some ring  
 ‘When he was leaving, he told me that the thing he could give me,  
 he wanted to leave me a ring.’ [ed03sb 193]

- (558) Dì bəy de de è **dən dè day**.  
 DEF boy BE.AT there 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV die  
 ‘The boy is just there in his death throes.’ [ye03cd 075]

This perfect progressive sense is sometimes additionally reinforced by placing the marker sequence *dən dè* before the completive auxiliary verb *finis* ‘finish’:

- (559) Naw à **dən dè finis** sem fɔ wɛr dan sus,  
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed ASS wear that shoe  
 ɛf à bìn no à fɔ kɛr ɔda sus.  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST know 1SG.SBJ ASS carry other shoe  
 ‘Now I am completely ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known  
 I would have brought another (pair of) shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

Perfect marking plays an important role in narrative discourse. The marker *dən* appears in backgrounded, scene-setting and out-of-sequence discourse sections. Sentence (560) begins with an adverbial time clause. It provides background information to the subsequent main clause that is part of the foregrounded main line of the story:

- (560) **We** à **dən joch** dɛn, à se tumɔro senwe  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF judge 3PL.EMP 1SG.SBJ QUOT tomorrow EMP  
 à dè go mit ìn man.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV go meet 3SG.POSS man  
 ‘When I had judged [scolded] them, I said tomorrow [EMP]  
 I’m going to meet her husband. [ro05rt 023]

## 7.7 Modality

The modal system of Pichi employs functional elements to express mood, and lexical words to express various types of modality. In my classification of modality into the dynamic, deontic and epistemic categories, I rely on Palmer (2001).

Pichi has two overtly marked major mood distinctions. The subjunctive mood is employed in the realm of deontic modality. The potential mood serves to express interrelated meanings in the domains of epistemic modality and tense. Two minor moods are the abilitive and obligative moods which are encoded in the preverbal elements *kìn* ‘HAB’ as well as *màs* ‘OBL’ and *fɔ* ‘ASS’. Aside from that, modal verbs and adverbials encode various types of modality. In the Pichi modal system, a number of TMA markers, rather than a single one, therefore share the semantic space of irrealis modality. Subjunctive-indicative and potential-factual are the most general and most systematically applied mood distinctions. Besides that, the imperfective aspect marker *dè*, factative TMA and the past marker *bìn* fulfil distinct functions in the modal system of Pichi.

### 7.7.1 Modal elements

In Pichi, modality is instantiated in adverbs and particles, clause linkers, TMA markers and modal auxiliary verbs. An overview of the inventory of modal elements according to the modal categories they express is provided in Table 7.8. Elements appearing in the same line may cooccur. Elements that express equivalent modal categories are either beneath each other with the ‘modal category’ column left empty or they appear in the same column.

Conditional modality has been included in the table for the sake of completeness and is covered separately in sections 12.8.11 and 12.8.12 on adverbial clauses and relations. The functions of the subjunctive mood are summarised in 7.7.3.1. Details on the uses of subjunctive marking are provided in sections 7.7.3.3, 12.6.5 and 12.8.6.

Table 7.8 Modal categories and elements

| Modal category   | Verbs  | TMA markers                                    | Clause linkers    | Sentential                                      |
|------------------|--|--|-------------------|---|
| <b>Dynamic</b>   |  |  |                   |   |
| Physical ability | <i>fit</i> ‘can’<br><i>hebul</i> ‘be capable’<br><i>maneč</i> ‘manage’ | <i>kin</i> ‘ABL’                               |                   |   |
| Root possibility | <i>fit</i> ‘can’   |  |                   |   |
| Mental ability   | <i>sàbí</i> ‘know’   |  |                   |   |
| desire           | <i>want</i> ‘want’   |  |                   |   |
| intention        | <i>want</i> ‘want’<br><i>min</i> ‘mean to’                             |  |                   |   |
| <b>Deontic</b>   |  |  |                   |   |
| Obligation       | <i>get fɔ̃</i> ‘have to’   | <i>fɔ̃</i> ‘ASS’                               |                   |   |
| Strong obligat.  |  | <i>màs</i> ‘OBL’                               |                   |   |
| Necessity        | <i>get fɔ̃</i> ‘have to’<br><i>nid</i> ‘need to’                       | <i>fɔ̃</i> ‘ASS’                               |                   |   |
| Permission       | <i>fit</i> ‘can’<br><i>gri</i> ‘agree, allow’<br><i>lef</i> ‘allow’    |  |                   |   |
| Directives       |  |  | <i>mek</i> ‘SBJV’ |   |
| <b>Epistemic</b> |  |  |                   |   |
| Possibility      | <i>fit (bi)</i> ‘can (be)’<br><i>fiba</i> ‘seem’                       | <i>gò</i> ‘POT’                                |                   | <i>sòntén</i> ‘perhaps’,<br><i>mebi</i> ‘maybe’ |
| Certainty        | <i>(get) fɔ̃</i> ‘have to’   | <i>gò(dən)</i> ‘POT (PRF)’<br><i>dən</i> ‘PRF’ |                   |   |

Assertion

ò 'SP'; sef 'EMP'  
tru 'really'**Conditional**

Real

èf 'if', lèk (se) 'if'  
adònké 'even if'

Potential

gò 'POT', dè 'IPFV'

èf 'if'

Counterfactual

bìn 'PST', fò 'ASS'

èf 'if'

**7.7.2 Dynamic modality**

Dynamic modality is concerned with the existence of factors internal to the subject with respect to the completion of the situation denoted by the reference verb (cf Palmer 2001: 76ff). In the following, the dynamic modality categories of ability, desire and intention are covered. These categories are primarily expressed through modal auxiliary verbs.

**7.7.2.1. Ability**

Pichi has a three-way distinction of ability. The modal verb *fit* 'can' expresses ability in a general sense but it does not normally cover mental ability (561):

- (561) À        no bìn **fit tək**,        bikəs    à        no **fit tək**,  
1SG.SBJ    NEG PST can talk        because 1SG.SBJ    NEG can talk
- à        kan        à        dè luk        yu.  
1SG.SBJ    come    1SG.SBJ    IPFV look    2SG.EMP

'I couldn't talk, because I couldn't talk, I came (and) was just looking at you.' [ed03sb 165]

The verbs *hebul* 'be capable' (562) and *manech* 'be capable, manage' (563) are usually employed to express capacity rather than ability:

- (562) (...) yù mà má no gò **hebul**        pe ɔl dan wok  
2SG mother NEG POT be.capable    pay all that work
- we dì man dòn du fò yu.  
SUB DEF man PRF do ASS 2SG.EMP

'(...) your mother won't be able to pay all that work that the man has done for you.' [ab03ay 021]

- (563) À        no **manech mit=àn**        tì dé.  
1SG.SBJ    NEG manage meet=3SG.OBJ today
- 'I didn't manage to meet her today.' [lo07fn 190]

The modal verb *fit* 'can' may also express root possibility. It predicates the existence of general (usually social) circumstances that affect the ability of the person involved to



perform the situation denoted by the reference verb. The subject of the following sentence has been put to shame by being caught committing a moral offence:

- (564) È           no **fit** **du**=àn           mɔ.  
 3SG.SBJ   NEG can do=3SG.OBJ   more  
 ‘He can’t do it again [He wouldn’t dare do it again].’ [ro05rt 041]

The verb *sàbí* ‘know how to’ is used to express mental or learned ability (565). Compare the uses of the modal auxiliaries *fit* and *sàbí* with the reference verb *tək* ‘talk’ in (561) above and (565):

- (565) Dì man   è           no **sàbí**   **tək** Pànyá.  
 DEF man   3SG.SBJ   NEG know   talk Spanish  
 ‘The man doesn’t know how to speak Spanish.’ [ye03cd 063]

The corpus features a single instance in which the habitual marker *kìn* ‘HAB’ is unequivocally used to express physical ability (566). The function of *kìn* as a TMA marker of abilitive mood is a marginal and probably obsolescent function:

- (566) Bífó   à           **kìn** **grap**,   à           dè si big big faya.  
 before 1SG.SBJ   ABL get.up 1SG.SBJ   IPFV see big REP fire  
 ‘Before I could get up, I was seeing a huge fire.’ [ab03ay 067]

#### 7.7.2.2. Desire and intention

The modal verb *want* ‘want’ expresses the often indistinguishable notions of desire and intention (567). The verb *min* ‘mean’ may also express intention (568).

Note the exceptional modal use of the imperfective aspect in (568), in a complement clause introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ where one would usually find a subjunctive clause introduced by *mek* ‘SBJV’:

- (567) À           **want**   **tək** dan sməl   tək de.  
 1SG.SBJ   want   talk that small   talk there  
 ‘I want to say that particular small word.’ [dj05ae 037]
- (568) Dèn get fɔ̃ **min**   se           è           **dè** hàmbóg wi.  
 3PL get ASS mean   QUOT   3SG.SBJ   IPFV bother 1PL.EMP  
 ‘They must mean for it [the dog] to bother us.’ [ma03hm 002]

### 7.7.3 Deontic Modality

Deontic modality is concerned with the existence of factors external to the subject which condition the completion of the situation denoted by the reference verb. The deontic category of obligation is expressed by means of the TMA marker *màs* ‘OBL’, obligation and necessity by the lexicalised collocation *get fɔ̃* ‘have to’ or the modal element *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ alone. Permission is expressed through the verb *fit* ‘can’. Aside from that, the expression of deontic modality is characterised by the use of the subjunctive mood. Directives as well as the entire range of manipulative-directive meanings covered by the complement-taking verbs listed in section 12.6.2 induce the use of subjunctive clauses introduced by the modal complementiser *mek* ‘SBJV’.

#### 7.7.3.1. Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive mood is instantiated in the modal complementiser *mek* ‘SBJV’ and the specific TMA marking properties of the subjunctive clause. Subjunctive mood appears in directive main clauses (cf. 7.7.3.3). It is also present in the subordinate clauses of deontic modality inducing main verbs (cf. 12.6), i.e. verbs whose meaning contains an element of causation, manipulation, proposal, desire and other affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. Thirdly, subjunctive mood occurs in purpose and consecutive clauses (cf. 12.8.6).

#### 7.7.3.2. Obligation, necessity and permission

Obligation denotes the existence of compelling factors in the social world. Both strong and weak obligation are most commonly expressed through the lexicalised collocation *get fɔ̃* ‘have ASS’ = ‘have to’ (569). Negative obligation yields a prohibitive meaning (570):

(569) *ɛf yù get fɔ̃ baja diez veces yù get fɔ̃*  
 if 2SG get ASS go.down ten times 2SG get ASS

**calcula** dan mɔ̀ní.  
 calculate that money

‘If you have to go down ten times, you have to calculate that  
 (amount of) money.’ [f103fp 006]

(570) (...) è **no get fɔ̃ luk** yu nà fes.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG get ASS look 2SG.EMP LOC face  
 ‘(...) he [the boy] shouldn’t look you in the face [while responding].’ [au07se 140]

Alternatively, Pichi employs the two obligative mood markers *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ (571) and *màs* ‘OBL’ (cf. (576) below) in order to express obligation. The marker *fɔ̃* may express both weak and strong obligation. The function of *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ extends further to uses as a de facto TMA marker to indicate counterfactual mood in the THEN-clause of conditionals, cf. the second occurrence of *fɔ̃* in (571):

- (571) (...) èf dan pìkín bìn tók tru, dèn fɔ̃ pul dan pìkín,  
 if that child PST talk true 3PL ASS remove that child  
 dan pìkín è no bìn fɔ̃ day.  
 that child 3SG.SBJ NEG PST ASS die  
 ‘If that child [girl] had told the truth, the child [foetus] would have been removed,  
 (and) that child [girl] wouldn’t have died.’ [ab03ay 121]

Impersonalised purposive constructions like (572) are likely to be one point of departure for the occurrence of *fɔ̃* as a mood marker in finite clauses like (573). The various uses of *fɔ̃* as a form part of a web of interrelated functions of this element (cf. 12.3 for an overview). In view of the exceptional polyfunctionality of *fɔ̃*, I have opted for retaining the unitary gloss ‘Ass’ in all contexts:

- (572) Nà fɔ̃ go las seis y media.  
 FOC ASS go the.PL six and half  
 ‘One has to go at six thirty.’ [ye07fn 191]
- (573) Afta yù fɔ̃ pe dɛn.  
 then 2SG ASS pay 3PL.EMP  
 ‘Then one has to pay them.’ [ye03cd 113]

The element *fɔ̃* ‘Ass’ also appears with a directive tint in non-assertive contexts like direct (574) and indirect questions (575) featuring the question word *haw* ‘how’:

- (574) Haw à fɔ̃ du, haw à fɔ̃ du wèt=àn?  
 How 1SG.SBJ ASS do how 1SG.SBJ ASS do with=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘How should I do (it), how should I do [proceed] with him?’ [ab03ay 136]
- (575) Yù fit help mi, à no sàbí haw fɔ̃ du=àn.  
 2SG can help 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ NEG know how ASS do=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Can you help me, I don’t know how I should do it/how to do it.’ [ro05de 020]

Certain characteristics speak for an analysis of *fɔ̃* as a TMA marker when it appears in the preverbal position in finite clauses. Like other TMA markers of Pichi, *fɔ̃* is monosyllabic and low-toned. Equally, it is subject to restrictions. Although *fɔ̃* ‘Ass’ is attested together with *bìn* ‘PST’ in order to express counterfactual conditional modality (cf. (571) above), it is not encountered with any other TMA marker – unlike modal verbs. Hence we have *è gò get fɔ̃ pe* ‘3SG.SBJ POT have ASS pay’ = ‘she’ll have to pay’ but not \**è gò fɔ̃ pe* ‘3SG.SBJ POT ASS pay’.

The same characteristics hold for the element *màs* ‘OBL’, which also expresses obligative mood. However, the use of *màs* usually renders a strong obligation sense often coupled with a sense of internal compulsion (576). Generally, speakers do not accept the use of *màs* ‘OBL’ in syntactic positions which would suggest a verbal status of this element either. For instance, like *fɔ̃* above, *màs* is not attested in conjunction with other TMA markers (577):

- (576) À        **màs**    **go** Alemania    wan    de.  
 1SG.SBJ OBL    go PLACE        one    day  
 ‘I absolutely have to go to Germany one day.’ [to07fn 197]
- (577) \*À        bìn **màs**    go de.  
 1SG.SBJ PST OBL    go there  
 \*‘I had to go there.’ [ne 07fn 196]

Prohibitive clauses featuring *màs* ‘OBL’ are formed like regular negative imperatives without a 2SG personal pronoun (578):

- (578) **No mäs**    **go** dan    say!  
 NEG OBL    go that    side  
 ‘(You) must not go to that place! [ne 07fn 194]

Necessity may be differentiated from obligation by making use of the modal verb *nid* ‘need (to)’ in affirmative (579) and negative (580) clauses. This modal auxiliary can be employed with same and different subject complement clauses in accordance with the pattern outlined in examples (1642)-(1644):

- (579) À        **nid**    **ɕ** mek    yù go de.  
 1SG.SBJ need    ASS SBJV    2SG go there  
 ‘I need you to go there.’ [to07fn 200]
- (580) Fò tək Pichi    yù **no nid**    **ɕ** go skul.  
 ASS talk Pichi    2SG NEG need    ASS go school  
 ‘In order to talk Pichi you don’t need to go to school.’ [au07se 267]

Permission is expressed by way of *fit* ‘can’, a causative/permissive construction involving *lef* ‘leave, allow’ (cf. (1580)ff. for details) or the main verb *gri* ‘agree, allow’ and a complement clause (582)(cf. also (1639)). Note the presence of the imperfective marker *dè* in the subjunctive clause in the second example:

- (581) (...) à        beg,    yù gò èskyús mi    pero    yù no **fit**  
 1SG.SBJ beg    2SG POT excuse 1SG.EMP but    2SG NEG can  
**tek=àn**    soté    è    gət quinze años.  
 take=3SG.OBJ until    3SG.SBJ get fifteen years  
 ‘(...) sorry, you’ll excuse me but you can’t take her along until she is fifteen years old.’ [ab03ay 150]

- (582) So nà dan tin mek, è dè gri se mek  
 so FOC that thing make 3SG.SBJ IPFV agree QUOT SBJV  
 à dè gi=àn sməl tin ɔl tən.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give=3SG.OBJ small thing all time  
 ‘So that’s why she allows me to give her a small amount all the time.’  
 [ma03hm 061]

### 7.7.3.3. Directives

Directives impose conditions of obligation on the addressee. The central form for expressing this modal category is the modal complementiser and subjunctive marker *mek*. The subjunctive marker may be employed to express directives throughout the entire person-number paradigm, which renders the modal categories traditionally referred to as imperative (2<sup>nd</sup> person directives) (583) and jussive (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person directives) (584)-(585). The addition of the sentence final particle *ò* gives directives an admonitive tinct (583):

- (583) **Mek** yù mən=àn ò!  
 SBJV 2SG care.for=3SG.OBJ SP  
 ‘Make sure to take care of her!’ [ab03ay 082]
- (584) **Mek** à gi yu dì cheque, (...)  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.EMP DEF cheque  
 ‘Let me give you the cheque (...)’ [ye03cd 119]

The subjunctive marker also introduces cohortatives (first person plural invitations) (593) and optatives (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person wishes):

- (585) Tin fə fəs tən mek è de, bɪkəs pipul  
 thing ASS first time make 3SG.SBJ BE.AT because people  
 dè kan fə kan si=àn.  
 IPFV come ASS come see=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘(The) thing of the past, let it be, because people come to see it.’ [hi03cb 068]

Subjunctive clauses must be employed for all directives except 2SG and 2PL imperatives. With imperatives, subjunctive clauses are optional. There appears to be no difference in meaning between bare and subjunctive marked imperatives. However, singular imperatives must be expressed by the bare verb, without a personal pronoun, if subjunctive marking is absent (586). Conversely, 2PL imperatives take the corresponding personal pronoun (587):

- (586) Udat tif? **Tel** mi dì nem!  
 Who steal tell 1SG.EMP DEF NAME  
 ‘Who stole (something)? Tell me the name!’ [fr03cd 049]

- (587) **Ûna mek** chench!  
 2PL make change  
 ‘Swap [plural]!’ [ro05rt 025]

Negative imperatives (prohibitives) are formed by placing the negator *no* before the verb (588) or by employing a negative subjunctive clause (589):

- (588) **No** laf!  
 NEG laugh  
 ‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]

- (589) **Mek yù no** put dì wàtá mek è fòdón  
 SBJV 2SG NEG put DEF water sbjv 3SG.SBJ fall  
 fuera fò dì glas.  
 outside ASS DEF glas  
 ‘Don’t put the water (in such a way) that it falls drops outside  
 of the glass.’ [dj05be 167]

All other (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person) directives may only be negated by means of a negative subjunctive clause (590):

- (590) **Mek è fòdón insay dì glas, mek è**  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ fall inside DEF glas SBJV 3SG.SBJ  
**no** fòdón nà gròn!  
 NEG fall LOC ground  
 ‘Let it flow into the glas, don’t let it flow onto the floor!’ [dj05be 170]

Sequences of imperatives are frequent in discourse. Here, the final verb must be marked for subjunctive mood, while preceding verbs may optionally remain bare. In these circumstances, the subjunctive additionally functions as a marker of consecutive modality:

- (591) **Tòn=àn tòn=àn mek yù no** para!  
 turn=3SG.OBJ turn=3SG.OBJ SBJV 2SG NEG stop  
 ‘Stir, stir it and don’t stop!’ [dj03do 058]

The verb *kan* ‘come’ (592) may be employed in a way that parallels the use of the subjunctive marker in syntactic position and function (593). However, this usage is restricted to cohortatives:

- (592) Èhé, **kan** wì sigue!  
 INTJ come 1PL continue  
 ‘Let’s continue!’ [ye05ce 101]

- (593) **Mek** wì si!  
 SBJV 1PL see  
 ‘Let’s see!’ [ma03ni 002]

The force of imperatives can be attenuated. An example follows in (594) of a weakened imperative involving the idiom *à beg* ‘please’ and the adverbial *sməl* ‘a bit’:

- (594) **À beg**, kan ya **sməl**!  
 1SG.SBJ beg come here a.bit  
 ‘Please come here a bit [would you please come here?].’ [ch07fn 233]

Alternatively, a directive may involve one of the politeness markers *duya* ‘please’ or *plis* ‘please’ (cf. (1095), it may be couched in a question featuring the modal verb *fit* ‘can’ (595), or be formed through circumlocution featuring the verb *tray* ‘try’ (596):

- (595) Yù **fit** pas ya?  
 2SG can pass here  
 ‘Can you pass here?’ [ma03ni 001]
- (596) (...) **tray** reduce in!  
 tray reduce 3SG.EMP  
 ‘(...) try to reduce it [please reduce it]!’ [ru03wt 043]

#### 7.7.4 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality serves the expression of a speaker’s commitment to asserting a given situation. The epistemic notions of possibility, certainty and assertion are covered in the following four sections. Part of the expression of epistemic possibility accrues to the potential mood marker *gò*, which is also employed to express future tense.

##### 7.7.4.1. Potential mood

A central function of the TMA marker *gò* ‘POT’ is the expression of potential mood, hence the epistemic notion of possibility. With this view, I follow Essegbey (2008), who analyses the functionally similar *{a}*-morpheme of Ewe as an instantiation of the potential mood. From this point of departure, the marker *gò* ‘POT’ expresses additional related modal and temporal notions like future tense, conditional, hypothetical and habitual.

The following sentence illustrates the modal use of *gò* ‘POT’. In the example, speaker (ge) explains what prompted her to leave her teenage daughter in Madrid instead of bringing her along with her to Malabo on vacation. Obviously, speaker (ge) is not making a prediction; this is corroborated by the presence of the experiential verb *fia* ‘fear’. Rather, the verb *bèlé* ‘impregnate’ is marked by *gò* ‘POT’ in order to express an epistemic possibility:

- (597) À        fia se        dèn **gò bèle**        mì        pikín    fɔ̃ mi.  
 1SG.SBJ fear QUOT 3PL POT impregnate 1SG.POSS child ASS 1SG.EMP  
 'I feared that my child might be impregnated (on me).' [ge05be 055]

In this example, the potential mood expresses an epistemic possibility, rather than a prediction, in a similar way:

- (598) (...) mek        yù tən=àn,        porque bôtón **gò ros**.  
           SBJV        2SG turn=3SG.OBJ because bottom POT burn  
 '(...) turn it, because the bottom might burn.' [dj03do 055]

The marker *gò* frequently occurs with the epistemic adverbs *səntén* 'perhaps' and *mebi* 'maybe' in order to indicate a future (599) or a present possibility (600):

- (599) Pero        bàmbáy        bàmbáy **səntén** yù **gò** si    dì wan  
 but        gradually        REP        perhaps 2SG POT see DEF one  
 we **gò** mared yu.  
 SUB POT marry 2SG.EMP  
 'But very gradually perhaps you will find the one who will marry you.' [ab03ab 204]
- (600) Porque **mebi** à        **gò** want    fɛn    dì nem.  
 because maybe 1SG.SBJ POT want    look.for DEF name  
 'Maybe I might want to find the name [for this word, you never know].' [au07se 007]

Since *gò* alone can express potential mood and future tense, the TMA marker sequence *gò dən* 'POT PRF', can indicate a future perfect (cf. (555)) or a potential perfect. The latter use of potential mood produces a reading of inferred certainty (cf. also 7.7.4.3)

- (601) È        gò **dən drəngo**,        è        gò **dən slip**.  
 3SG.SBJ POT PRF be.dead.drunk 3SG.SBJ POT PRF sleep  
 'He should be dead drunk, he should already be sleeping.' [ge07fn 088]

Besides use as a potential mood marker and future tense marker in predictions (cf. 7.5.3), hypothetical statements are one of the most common contexts in which *gò* 'POT' occurs. A common form of expressive communication in Pichi involves the use of emphatic speech and figurative language and is set within a potential (or hypothetical) modal frame.

The following discourse excerpt involves two speakers who hypothesise about the potential advantage of having a pair of sunglasses that would allow them to see people naked. The use of the linker *if* 'if' signals entry into the realm of potential modality (602)(a), which is repeatedly marked by *gò* in (a), (c) and (e).



Note the presence of other modal elements such as *fit* ‘be able, possible’ in (a), the imperfective marker *dè* instead of *gò* in (d) and the use of the factative marked stative verb *want* ‘want’ with a potential meaning once this modal frame has been established (f):

- (602) a. À fit se if yù consigue gafa we/  
 1SG.SBJ can QUOT if 2SG obtain glasses SUB  
 yù **gò wək** nà rod.  
 2SG POT walk LOC road  
 ‘I can tell you if you obtained glasses which/ you would walk on the road.’ [ne07ga 007]
- b. Eyé.  
 INTJ  
 ‘Good gracious.’ [ye07ga 008]
- c. Dan gafa, yù **gò slip** wèt=àn.  
 that glasses 2SG POT sleep with=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Those glasses, you would sleep with them.’ [ne07ga 009]
- d. À **dè slip** wèt=àn cuñado.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV sleep with=3SG.OBJ brother-in-law  
 ‘I would sleep with them brother.’ [ye07ga 010]
- e. À **gò pul=àn** nà mì yay se wetin?  
 1SG.SBJ POT remove=3SG.OBJ LOC 1SG.POSS eye QUOT what  
 ‘I would remove them [the sunglasses] from my eyes for what?’ [ye07ga 011]
- f. À **want** de flipado ol awa, ol awa.  
 1SG.SBJ want BE.AT turned.on all hour all hour  
 ‘I would want to be turned on all the time, all the time.’ [ye07ga 012]

Potential mood is also systematically exploited to render a habitual reading in narrative discourse anchored in the past (603) and in procedural discourse. Note the presence of the generic phrase *dì de wen* ‘(on) the day that’ in (603), which tallies with the non-specific meaning of the habitual sense of *gò* in this example:

- (603) **Dì de wen** mì mà má **gò** gèt sòn fayà-wud we  
 DEF day SUB 1SG.POSS mother POT get some fire.CPD-wood SUB  
 dèn brok=àn nà fam, è **gò** tel dèn, dèn **gò** go  
 3PL break=3SG.OBJ LOC farm 3SG.SBJ POT tell 3PL.EMP 3PL POT go  
 tot=àn fɔr=àn.  
 carry=3SG.OBJ ASS=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘On those days that my mother would get some fire wood that had been broken up at the farm, she would tell them (and) they would go and carry it for her.’ [ab03ay 023]

## 7.7.4.2. Possibility

The epistemic notion of possibility may be expressed through the use of the potential mood and the epistemic adverbs *sòntén* ‘perhaps’ (cf. (599) above) and *mebi* ‘maybe’ (cf. (600) above). Besides that, possibility can be signalled through the verb *fit* ‘be able, be possible’ as a V1 in a modal SVC (604) or with an expletive subject and a complement clause (605):

(604) È        **fit kan**        tumara.  
3SG.SBJ   can come   tomorrow  
‘He might come tomorrow.’ [dj03do 032]

(605) È        **fit bi**    se        nà    paludismo.  
3SG.SBJ   can BE   QUOT   FOC   malaria  
‘It might be malaria.’ [ru03wt 058]

Possibility can also be expressed through a construction involving an expletive *fi* ‘seem’ (606) or the adverb *sòntén* ‘perhaps’ with or without potential mood marking (607):

(606) È        **fi**        **se**        Bòyé    get   m̀nì.  
3SG.SBJ   seem   QUOT   NAME   get   money  
‘It seems that Bòyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]

(607) (...) **sòntén**    dì    b̀y    no    get   pawa,    **sòntén**    dì    gal  
                  perhaps DEF boy NEG get power    perhaps DEF girl  
  
get   s̀n        defecto.  
get   some    defect.  
  
‘(...) the boy might have no power [be impotent], (or) the girl  
might have a defect.’ [ab03ay 044]

## 7.7.4.3. Certainty

Inferred certainty, the firmest degrees of assertion, can be expressed by way of inferral from obligation with *get f̀* ‘have to’ as in (608). The potential mood marker *g̀* is also employed in this function, in particular in combination with *d̀n* ‘PRF’ (cf. (601) above):

(608) D̀n        b̀n    **get f̀**    **sàbí**    se        è        g̀    kan.  
3PL        PST   get   ASS   know   QUOT   3SG.SBJ   POT   come  
‘They must have known that she would come.’ [ab03ay 128]

(609) Iris        **get f̀**    **get**, à        tink    se        diez años.  
NAME    get   ASS   get   1SG.SBJ   think   QUOT   ten years  
‘Iris should be, I think ten years old.’ [fr03ft 121]

#### 7.7.4.4. Assertion

The emphatic and focus particle *sef* ‘EMP’ (cf. 8.4.2) and the sentence particle *ò* (cf. 9.3) function as general markers of assertion when they signal clausal focus. Other than that, the verb *tru* ‘be true’ may be employed as an adverbial, oftentimes repeated for additional force, in order to signal assertion:

- (610) Dèn bòn      nà Corisco **tru tru**.  
 3PL be.born LOC PLACE true REP  
 ‘They were really born on [the island of] Corisco.’ [to07fn 201]

Beyond that constructions involving cognition verbs (e.g. *sàbí* ‘know’, *no* ‘know’, *chek* ‘think, check (out)’, *tink* ‘think’, *mɛmba* ‘think; remember’) and perception verbs (e.g. *si* ‘see’, *hia* ‘hear’) by themselves also signal different degrees of certainty.

## 7.8 Tense, modality and aspect in discourse

In preceding sections, I have provided some examples on the functions of TMA markers in discourse. In the following, I explore these functions further by looking at extracts of narrative discourse. The two relevant, intimately connected discourse-pragmatic notions are sequencing – the ordering of events along the time axis (cf. e.g. Hopper 1982) and grounding – the distinction between the narrative main line or foreground from the less salient, narratively subordinate background (cf. e.g. Fleischmann 1985, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Longacre 1996, Youssef & Winford 1999).

The picture that emerges from the analysis of the functions of Pichi TMA markers in narrative discourse with respect to grounding and sequencing is presented in Figure 7.2. The distribution of TMA markers in Pichi narrative discourse suggests the existence of a grounding continuum. Figure 7.2 takes this into account by differentiating between a more [+high] and a less salient [-high] foreground, marked by the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ and the factative marked (hence perfective) dynamic verb respectively. The feature [+/-sequence] denotes the property of TMA markers to signal successive and discrete events along the narrative time line. Temporal and aspectual characteristics are therefore collapsed in this feature. So [+sequence] typifies consecutive, bounded, and dynamic situations, which may not be reordered without changing the iconic temporal order of the narrative at the same time.

The feature [+/-deixis] allows differentiation between aspect markers without an explicit temporal reference and markers that encode time-deictic reference to a point outside of the predicate. These reference points are event time for *bìn* ‘PST’ and *dòn* ‘PFV’, and a hypothetical contingency for *gò* ‘POT’ in habitual discourse.

Figure 7.2 Functions of TMA markers in narrative discourse

|           |                  |   |   |
|-----------|------------------|---|---|
|           | [+foreground]    |   | [-foreground]   |
|           | [+high]          | [-high]   |   |
| [+deixis] | <i>kan</i> 'PFV' | Factative TMA with dynamic and inchoative-stative verbs | <i>gò</i> 'POT' (=habitual)<br><i>dən</i> 'PRF'<br><i>bìn</i> 'PST'                   |
| [-deixis] |                  |   | <i>dè</i> 'IPFV'<br>Factative TMA with (inchoative)-stative verbs<br><i>kìn</i> 'HAB' |
|           | [+sequence]      |   | [-sequence]   |

### 7.8.1 Sequencing and grounding

The beginning of narratives anchored in the past very often features the past marker *bìn* 'PST' in the "orientation" section (Labov 1972: 358) characterised by aspect marking of the imperfective domain (hence imperfective and/or habitual aspect). In this, the past marker is true to its role as a device for backgrounding situations and contributing a sense of temporal remoteness (for similar observations on cognate forms of *bìn*, cf. Winford (2000: 398ff) for Sranan and Pollard (1989: 63) for Jamaican Creole). The marker *bìn* 'PST' fulfills this dual function in the orientation section (611)(b)-(e) of the excerpt of a personal narrative below. The backgrounding function of *bìn* 'PST' correlates with its default aspectual interpretation.

Sentences (611)(a)-(d) demonstrate that there is a strong tendency to conceive of situations marked by *bìn* as unbounded, hence imperfective by default. The free variation between *bìn*, the imperfective marker *dè*, and the marker sequence *bìn dè* in (b)-(e) with dynamic verbs for the expression of backgrounded, unbounded and overlapping situations demonstrates the functional similarity of the three marking options:

- (611) a. De,    eni    kayn   tin    nà m̀nì,   yù fit  
           there every kind thing FOC money 2SG can  
           mek   eni    kayn   tin,   yù gò si m̀nì.  
           make every kind thing 2SG POT see money

‘There, everything is money, you can do anything, you will earn money.’ [ma03hm 054]

- b. Mi      **bìn de**      de      à      **bìn mek**      dasol,  
 1SG.EMP PST BE.AT      there      1SG.SBJ PST make      only  
 dis, à      **dè mek**      finga      dèn,      manicura.  
 this 1SG.SBJ IPFV make      finger      PL      manicure

‘(When) I was there, I only used to do, I used to do fingers, manicure.’ [ma03hm 055]

- c. À      **dè mek**      tapete      dèn fò chia,  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV make      table.cloth      PL ASS chair  
 à      **bìn get**      mì      mòní.  
 1SG.SBJ PST get 1SG.POSS money

‘I used to make table cloths [covers] for chairs, I used to get my money.’ [ma03hm 056]

- d. Afta      mō      à      **bìn wok**      dis sen  
 then      more      1SG.SBJ PST work      this same  
 wok      we à      dè du, à      **dè du=àn**  
 work      SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV do      1SG.SBJ IPFV do=3SG.ob  
 de      sef.  
 there      EMP

‘Apart from that, I used to work in this very job that I do (now), I did it there, too.’ [ma03hm 057]

- e. So à      **bìn dè**      get mì      mòní      de  
 so 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV get 1SG.POSS money there  
 pero      ya      al      contrario      nada.  
 but      here      at.the      contrary      nothing  
 ‘So I used to get my money there but here, on the contrary, nothing.’ [ma03hm 058]

In its functions, *bìn* ‘PST’ is therefore antipodal to the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ (cf. (614)-(616) below). Like the former, the latter also simultaneously encodes a tense (past tense) and an aspectual value (perfective), and thereby plays an important role in the organisation of narrative discourse. However, the marker *kan* ‘PFV’ occurs in the most salient, foregrounded sections of the narrative, while *bìn* ‘PST’ appears in backgrounded, supportive and orienting sections.

Temporal sequence can also be iconically encoded through the linear ordering of bare dynamic verbs as in the “complicating action” (Labov 1972) of the narrative in (612) below. The temporal interpretation of factative marked inchoative-stative verbs hinges on grounding. The inchoative-stative bare verb *slip* ‘lie down’ (612)(c) receives an inchoative, dynamic reading as it is foregrounded and forced into sequence in the narrative main line:

- (612) a. È go, è was di klos dèn.  
 3SG.SBJ go 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL  
 ‘She went off, she washed the clothes.’ [ru03wt 033]
- b. È was di klos dèn, è dray dèn,  
 3SG.SBJ wash this clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.EMP  
 no nà mi dray dèn.  
 NEG FOC 1SG.EMP dry 3PL.EMP  
 ‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no I dried them.’ [ru03wt 034]
- c. Pero di klos dèn slip nà dòn ò.  
 but DEF clothing PL lie.down LOC down SP  
 ‘But the clothes came to lie on the ground.’ [ru03wt 035]
- d. Mōnin tən we à kan luk, à dè si sòn  
 morning time SUB 1SG.SBJ come look 1SG.SBJ IPFV see some  
 klos dèn, à no dè si mì yon dèn.  
 clothing PL 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see 1PL own PL  
 ‘(In the) morning, when I looked, I saw some clothes, (but) I didn’t  
 see mine.’ [ru03wt 036]

In contrast, backgrounded and out-of-sequence stative and inchoative-stative verbs, whether bare or marked with *bìn* ‘PST’, receive a stative reading. Sentence (613) below is an orientation section. The stative copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ has a stative reading in the sentence. The same holds true for the inchoative-stative verb *sidón* ‘sit (down)’. It cooccurs with the past marker *bìn*, which once more not only signals the presence of backgrounded information. The imperfective, unbounded reading of *bìn* also resolves the potential ambiguity between an inchoative and a stative interpretation of *sidón* in favour of the latter:

- (613) Mì **bìn de** nà bich we à **bìn sidón** wèt  
 1SG.EMP PST BE.AT LOC beach SUB 1SG.SBJ PST sit.down with  
 mì pàpá, mì **bìn de** nà bich mōnin tən  
 1SG.POSS father 1SG.EMP PST BE.AT LOC beach morning time  
 à go latrin à go kàkà (...)  
 1SG.SBJ go latrine 1SG.SBJ go shit  
 ‘I [EMP] was at the beach while I was sitting with my father, I [EMP] was  
 at the beach in the morning, I went to the latrine, I went to shit (...)’ [ed03sb 171]

Both (inchoative-)stative and dynamic verbs can also be explicitly marked for [+sequence] by the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’. The boundary-activating function of *kan* propels verbs marked by *kan* into the temporally sequenced narrative main line irrespective of their lexical aspect. With (inchoative-)stative verbs, this invariably induces an inchoative reading. With dynamic verbs, both boundaries of the situation are activated. These two aspect readings – bounded for dynamic verbs and inchoative for stative verbs – make *kan*

'PFV' a typical perfective marker (cf. Sasse 1991: 11-14), even if its use is specialised to narrative discourse in Pichi.

The orientation section in (614)(a)-(b) is followed by a complicating action section in (c), which contains the first foregrounded situation, the inchoative-stative verb *sàbí* '(get to) know'. The verb is marked by *kan* 'PFV' and receives an inchoative reading:

- (614) a. Bueno, mì mà má, mì grànmá wèt  
 good 1SG.POSS mother 1SG.POSS grandmother with  
 mì mà má, nɔ, dèn kòmót nà wan pueblo  
 1SG.POSS mother INTJ 3PL hail.from LOC one village  
 we ìn nem nà Basakato de la Sagrada Familia  
 SUB 3SG.POSS NAME FOC PLACE  
 'Well, my mother, my grandmother and my mother, right, they  
 hail from a village whose name is Basakato de la Sagrada Familia.' [fr03ft 042]
- b. Sòn ten dèn wì kìn dè go de sef fò go,  
 some time PL 1PL HAB IPFV go there EMP ASS go  
 bueno, fò go visít nɔ, fò pas vacaciones dèn.  
 good ASS go visit INTJ ASS pass holidays PL  
 'Sometimes we even used to go there in order to, well, in order  
 to go visit, in order to spend our holidays.' [fr03ft 043]
- c. Nà de à **kan sàbí** mì mà má  
 FOC there 1SG.SBJ PFV know 1SG.POSS mother  
 ìn pàpá ìn fambul.  
 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS family  
 'That's where I got to know my mother's father's family.' [fr03ft 044]

The following extract illustrates the importance that *kan* 'PFV' has for organising the events of a paragraph with respect to narrative saliency. The verbs in (615)(a)-(d) are marked for perfective aspect due to the novel information they contain. Meanwhile (615)(e) reiterates information already contained in (615)(c) and (d), therefore dispenses with perfective marking and is characterised by the presence of stative, narratively downshifted verbs:

- (615) a. À **kan recupera** sməl.  
 1SG.SBJ PFV recover small  
 '(Then) I recovered a bit.' [ab03ay 096]
- b. À **kan kòmót** nà dan hos we à bìn de.  
 1SG.SBJ PFV go.out LOC that house SUB 1SG.SBJ PST BE.AT  
 'Then I left that house where I was.' [ab03ay 097]
- c. À **kan go** nà mì ònkúl ìn pàpá  
 1SG.SBJ PFV go LOC 1SG.POSS uncle 3SG.POSS father

- ìn let brOda.  
 3SG.POSS late brother  
 'Then I went to my uncle's father's late brother.' [ab03ay 098]
- d. Mì let pàpá ìn bròda, à **kan de**  
 1SG.POSS late father 3SG.POSS brother 1SG.SBJ PFV BE.AT  
 nà ìn hos.  
 LOC 3SG.POSS house  
 'My late father's brother, I came to stay at his house.' [ab03ay 099]
- e. Nà de à **de** wan hia à no **fit**  
 FOC there 1SG.SBJ BE.AT one year 1SG.SBJ NEG can  
 du no natin.  
 do NEG nothing  
 'It is there that I was for one year, I couldn't do anything.' [ab03ay 100]

The use of *kan* 'PFV' in (616)(b) points to the role of the perfective marker in additionally highlighting narratively salient, [+high] foreground information. At the same time, less salient [-high] foreground occurs in the unmarked form of the verb (i.e. the two occurrences of *sen* 'send' in (616)(b)), which incidentally coincides with a backgrounding passive construction, another downshifting device (i.e. *dèn sen mi (...)* 'I was sent (...)'). The introduction of information considered more relevant, and with it the resumption of the main line, then once more features the perfective marker *kan* 'PFV' with the verb *los* 'lose':

- (616) a. È **kan go** nà hos è **kan lef** mi  
 3SG.SBJ PFV go LOC house 3SG.SBJ PFV leave 1SG.EMP  
 sòn dirección fɔ Chicago, à **kan rayt.**  
 some address ASS PLACE 1SG.SBJ PFV write  
 'He went home (and) he left me an address in Chicago (and)  
 I wrote to him.' [ed03sb 206]
- b. È dè ansa mi, à **sen** m̀nì,  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV answer 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ send money  
 d̀n **sen** mi sòn portamonedas b̀t è **kan los.**  
 3PL send 1SG.EMP some wallet but 3SG.SBJ PFV lose  
 'He used to reply to me, I sent money (and) I was sent a wallet  
 but it got lost.' [ed03sb 207]

Like the imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV', the habitual marker *kin* 'HAB' marks [-sequence] situations that furnish the background frame for the narrative main line. One may find entire paragraphs marked for habitual aspect in order to provide orientation. Next to the habitual marker *kin*, the potential marker *gò* also fulfils an important role in expressing habituality with respect to routine procedures. This is shown in the following extract that relates the effect zombification has on its victims. Consider the prolific use of *gò* 'POT' to



signal (potential) habituality set in a hypothetical frame:

- (617) a. Porque if yù mek, yù si dan polvo è dè  
 because if 2SG make 2SG see that powder 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 put=àn insay, yù kan yù dring, dèn gò go  
 put=3SG.OBJ inside 2SG come 2SG drink 3PL POT go  
 nà hos.  
 LOC house  
 ‘Because if you make, you see that powder (as) he’s putting it inside, (after)  
 you’ve come and drunk (it) they go back home.’ [ed03sb 099]
- b. Lèk haw dèn want ker yu nà hospital yù dòn day.  
 like how 3PL want carry 2SG.EMP LOC hospital 2SG PRF die  
 ‘Just when they want to bring you to hospital, you’re already dead.’  
 [ed03sb 100]
- c. Lèk haw dèn gò put yu nà tebul yù dòn dè rōtin,  
 like how 3PL POT put 2SG.EMP LOC table 2SG PRF IPFV rot  
 fō mek dèn go ber yu kwik.  
 ASS SBJV 3PL go bury 2SG.EMP quickly  
 ‘As soon as they put you on the table, you’re already decomposing  
 in order for them to bury you quickly.’ [ed03sb 101]
- d. Èf dèn gò go ber yu, dèn senwe gò go  
 if 3PL POT go bury 2SG.EMP 3PL.EMP EMP POT go  
 nà dan berin.  
 LOC that burial  
 ‘If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.’ [ed03sb 102]
- e. Nà net a las doce dèn gò kan dèn pul yu  
 LOC night at the.PL twelve 3PL POT come 3PL remove 2SG.EMP  
 yù nōba day.  
 2SG NEG.PRF die  
 ‘In the night, at twelve o’clock they’ll come and remove you (and)  
 you haven’t died.’ [ed03sb 103]
- f. Dèn gò rēdí yu dèn gò mek lèk haw dèn dè  
 3PL POT prepare 2SG.EMP 3PL POT make like how 3PL IPFV  
 mek fō wich, dèn tek yu dèn put yu  
 make ASS sorcery 3PL take 2SG.EMP 3PL put 2SG.EMP  
 nà avión dèn sen yu fō òda kōntri  
 LOC plane 3PL send 2SG.EMP ASS other country

yù go wok m̀nì.  
2SG go work money

‘They’ll prepare you the way it’s done with sorcery, they’ll take you, put you into a plane and send you to another country (and) you’ll go earn money (for them).’ [ed03sb 104]

After a brief interruption by a listener comes a transition to habitual marking via *kin* ‘HAB’ in (618) below. Extracts (617)-(618) lay bare the difference between habitual discourse centred on *gò* ‘POT’ and *kin* ‘HAB’ respectively. The expression of habituality with *gò* rests on the prior establishment of a hypothetical contingency. Hence, paragraph (617) is interlaced with elements characteristic of irrealis modality. The extract begins in (617)(a) with a conditional clause serving as the referential frame for the *gò*-marked discourse up to (f); another conditional clause follows in (d), and the habitual, generic use of *gò* coincides with the impersonalised, non-referential use of the 2SG personal pronoun *yù*.

In contrast herewith, habitual discourse centred on *kin* in (618) is introduced by the phrase *è kan bi se* ‘3SG.SBJ PFV BE QUOT’ = ‘it came to pass that’, a conventionalised opening formula employed in personal accounts and other types of factual narrative. The subjectively high truth value of (617) is underlined by the closure in (g) *à dən si, yes* ‘1SG.SBJ PRF see yes’ = ‘I have seen (this before), yes’.

- (618) a. D̀n **gò pul** dan man, à se  
3PL go remove that man 1SG.SBJ QUOT  
  
è kan bi se d̀n/ pipul d̀n  
3SG.SBJ PFV BE QUOT 3PL people PL  
  
ker=àn, d̀n lɛf d̀ cadáver d̀n rən.  
carry=3SG.OBJ 3PL leave DEF corpse 3PL run  
  
‘They’ll remove that man, I say, it came to pass that they/  
people carried him, they left the corpse and run away.’  
[ed03sb 107]
- b. À tink s̀n fambul d̀n we d̀n **kin si** se  
1SG.SBJ think some family PL SUB 3PL HAB see QUOT  
  
di mì fambul de l̀k haw è day  
this 1SG.POSS family there like how 3SG.SBJ die  
  
è no k̀rét.  
3SG.SBJ NEG be.correct  
  
‘I think some families, when they see that this my family member  
there, how he died that’s not correct.’ [ed03sb 108]
- c. D̀n **kin go** nà berìn-grən wèt gən.  
3PL HAB go LOC burial.CPD-ground with gun  
‘They go to the cemetery with a gun.’ [ed03sb 109]

- d. À hia se Bàta dèn kìn sut yu.  
1SG.SBJ hear QUOT PLACE PL HAB shoot 2SG.EMP  
'I heard that the mainlanders (even) shoot you.' [kw03sb 110]
- e. Dèn kìn sut.  
3PL HAB shoot  
'They shoot (you).'
- f. We dèn sut dì pòsin, dì pòsin kìn sek.  
SUB 3PL shoot DEF person DEF person HAB shake  
'When they've shot the person, the person shakes.'
- g. À dòn si, yes.  
1SG.SBJ PRF see yes  
'I have seen (this before), yes.'

The perfect tense-aspect marker *dòn* 'PFV' is employed with [-sequence] situations that digress from the linear narrative main line. The use of this marker prepares terrain for foregrounded and bounded action, a role reserved for functionally equivalent forms in many languages (cf. e.g. Anderson 1982; Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982; Slobin 1994).

The perfect marker may therefore play an important role in signalling the anteriority and causality of a situation immediately relevant to the situations of the narrative main line. Consider (619), which is an excerpt of a narrative about a woman who wants to divorce from her husband and is obliged by tradition to pay back the dowry. In this excerpt, the perfect aspect lends itself to use in an "embedded abstract" (Labov 1972), which often occurs in a well-formed Pichi narrative. Through this technique, a speaker steps out of the story line, condenses and adds on to previous foreground material in a series of perfect marked verbs as in (a-c).

Note that the speaker employs some features characteristic of Nigerian (Pidgin) English, since she lived in Nigeria for some time (i.e. *(de) yòng* 'be young', *de fresh* 'be fresh', *seventin* 'seventeen', *etin* 'eighteen', *twenti* 'twenty' and *yies* 'years'):

- (619) a. Yù yòng, yù jòs/ sòntén yù get seventin, etin yies  
2SG be.young 2SG just perhaps 2SG get seventeen eighteen years  
ò twenti, yù de yòng yù de fresh, yù dòn kòmót,  
or twenty 2SG BE.AT young 2SG BE.AT fresh 2SG PRF go.out  
yù dòn bòn fo pìkín, yù dòn bòn fayf,  
2SG PRF give.birth four child 2SG PRF give.birth five  
yù dòn bòn tèn.  
2SG PRF give.birth ten

'You're young, you just/ perhaps you're seventeen, eighteen years old or twenty, you're young, you're fresh, you've left [the parental home], you've given birth to four children, you've given birth to five, you've given birth to ten.'

- b. Naw we yù **dən dè go** yù **dən/**  
 now SUB 2SG PRF IPFV go 2SG PRF  
 ‘Now that you’re about to leave [the man], you’ve/ [hi03cb 188]
- c. Dèn tɛl yu se mekyù bak dan m̀nì we  
 3PL tell 2SG.EMP QUOT SBJV 2SG return that money SUB  
 yù **dən/** dan man **dən pe** f̃ yù hed.  
 2SG PRF that man PRF pay ASS 2SG head  
 ‘They tell you to return that money that you have, that man  
 has paid for you.’ [hi03cb 189]

The completive aspect involving the auxiliary *finis* ‘finish’ may fulfil a discourse function similar to that of the perfect. The use of the completive aspect in signalling precedence of a situation in relation to reference time in ground-preparing, digressive sequences is illustrated in (620), where it appears together with *dən* ‘PRF’:

- (620) Kip, dèn **dən finis** remata in de, Bòyé dən kan  
 IDEO 3PL PRF finish finish.off 3SG.EMP there NAME PRF come  
 è pul wi t̀rì t̀rì.  
 3SG.SBJ remove 1PL.EMP story REP  
 ‘(When) they had finished him off there [by hitting him with blunt objects]  
 (and) Bòyé had come, he told us the story.’ [dj05ce 101]

## 7.9 Comparison

Pichi employs particles and verbs for expressing comparative, superlative and equative degree. Sentence (621), exemplifies one of the most common ways of expressing comparative degree. It features the comparee *dì tin* ‘the thing’, the parameter verb *b̀kú* ‘be much’, the comparative particle *mə*, the standard marker *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ and the standard *dì wàtá* ‘the water. As can be seen, the expression of comparison involves a participant-introducing comparative SVC, in which the V2 *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ functions as the standard marker:

- (621) Pero èf dì tin kan **b̀kú mə pas** dì wàtá,  
 but if DEF thing PFV be.much more pass DEF water  
 è gò lɛf wan pasta, (...)  
 3SG.SBJ POT remain one paste  
 ‘But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste  
 will remain (...)’ [dj03do 059]

Pichi exhibits a rich variety of constructions for comparison. They include the cross-linguistic types of “Exceed-1” and “Exceed-2” comparatives (Stassen 1985). The “Exceed-1” comparative involves a comparative SVC featuring the V2 *pas* ‘(sur)pass’. We also find a mixture of a Particle and Exceed comparatives (cf. 7.9.1). Equatives, which express equality of degree between a comparee and a standard, may appear in a construction involving a particle, or alternatively, one involving the verb *rich* ‘arrive; equal’.

Table 7.9 provides an overview of Pichi constructions employed for comparison as well as ‘similatives’ (cf 7.9.3). For illustration, it contains elicited variations of the same sentence. The more common constructions are found under the heading ‘primary’, while the column ‘secondary’ features less common ones. Glosses for the Pichi words in the table are: *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’, *fɔ* ‘ASS’, *kin* ‘HAB’, *lɛk* ‘like’, *lɔn* ‘be long, tall’, *man* ‘man, person’, *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’, *mɔ* ‘more’, *ɔl* ‘all’, *pas* ‘(sur)pass’, *rich* ‘arrive, equal’, *sɛns* ‘intelligence’ and *waka* ‘walk’:

Table 7.9 Comparison

| Primary     |                         |   | Secondary |                             |
|-------------|-------------------------|---|-----------|-----------------------------|
| Type        | Subtype                 | Example   | Subtype   | Example                     |
| Comparative | (1) Particle + Exceed-1 | <i>è mɔ lɔn pas mi;</i><br><i>è lɔn mɔ pas mi</i> | Exceed-2  | <i>è pas mi fɔ sɛns</i>     |
|             | (2) Exceed-1 SVC        | <i>è lɔn pas mi</i>                               |           |                             |
| Superlative | (1) Particle + Exceed-1 | <i>è mɔ lɔn pas ɔl man</i>                        | Exceed-2  | <i>è pas ɔl man fɔ sɛns</i> |
|             | (2) Exceed-1 SVC        | <i>è lɔn pas ɔl man</i>                           |           |                             |
| Equative    | Particle                | <i>è lɔn lɛk mi</i>                               | Equal     | <i>è rich mi fɔ sɛns</i>    |
| Similative  | Particle                | <i>è kin waka lɛk mi</i>                          | —         |                             |

In general, relative comparison featuring an explicit standard is less common than absolute comparatives and superlatives, in which the standard must be recovered from discourse context. Speakers often employ the rich inventory of inherently graded verbs, adverbs, particles, phrasal expressions and suprasegmentals for the expression of gradation.

### 7.9.1 Comparatives

A participant-introducing SVC featuring the verb *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ is employed to express comparative degree in an “Exceed-1” comparative (Stassen 1985). The following example features the property item *big* ‘be big’ as the parameter verb:

- (622) Dan    gɛl, à        tɛl yu    se        è        chapea  
           that    girl 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP QUOT 3SG.SBJ weed

lèk wan say we è **big pas** di wan.  
 like one side SUB 3SG.SBJ be.big pass this one  
 ‘That girl, I tell you that she weeded like a place that was bigger  
 than this.’ [ed03sb 060]

In contexts other than comparison, the verb *pas* ‘occurs as a lexical verb with the meanings ‘(sur)pass, pass by, move along’ as in the following three examples:

- (623) Porque à bìn **pas** nà Camerún fos.  
 because 1SG.SBJ PST pass LOC PLACE first  
 ‘Because I passed through Cameroon first.’ [fr03ft 098]
- (624) Tu de we è **pas** bihén, à si mì mà má.  
 two day SUB 3SG.SBJ pass behind 1SG.SBJ see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Two days ago, I saw my mother.’ [ye05ce 044]
- (625) Yù si dì stik è dè **pas** òntóp wà tá?  
 2SG see DEF tree 3SG.SBJ IPFV pass on water  
 ‘Do you see the stick passing by on the water?’ [ro05de 002]

An SVC can express comparison (622) on its own. However, the adverb of degree *mə* ‘more’ is equally often employed in addition to *pas* to form a “mixed comparative” (Stassen 1985). The adverb *mə* functions as an intensifier, albeit highly conventionalised in its use, rather than being an indispensable element of the comparative construction. It exhibits word order flexibility and may occur after (626) or before (627) the parameter verb:

- (626) (...) dan wan we è **lɔn mə**, nà in  
 that one SUB 3SG.SBJ be.long more FOC 3SG.EMP  
 dè sàlút dan ɔda tu human dèn.  
 IPFV greet that other two woman PL  
 ‘(...) the one who is taller, it’s her that’s greeting the other two  
 women.’ [dj07re 039]
- (627) Naw naw mi dè chɛk se Libreville wèt ya,  
 now REP 1SG.EMP IPFV check QUOT PLACE with here  
 ya **mə dia** pas de.  
 here more be.expensive pass there  
 ‘Right now, I [EMP] think that Libreville and here, here is more expensive  
 than there.’ [ma03hm 052]

I assume that preverbal *mə* is being reinforced by the Spanish comparative construction featuring the adverb *más* ‘more’. The comparative constructions of both languages exhibit

an identical linear structure. Compare (628) in colloquial Spanish with (627) above:

- (628) Aquí está **más caro** que allá.  
 here is more expensive than there  
 'Here is more expensive than there.'

In the absolute comparative in (629) below, *mə* occurs as a prenominal modifier to the Spanish noun *énfasis* 'emphasis'. The categorial flexibility of *mə* is exploited by insertion in a Spanish adjective position in a code-mixed collocation. This Pichi-Spanish verb-noun combination is creatively used to render the meaning 'be emphatic':

- (629) Mek è **get mə énfasis**.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ get more emphasis  
 'Let it be more emphatic [than usual].' [dj05ce 126]

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

- (630) È pul **mə** plente **mə**.  
 3SG.SBJ remove more be.plenty more  
 'He removed much more.' [au07fn 109]

However, unmixed Exceed comparatives are particularly common when the parameter is dynamic, not a property item and hence semantically neutral as to gradation. The use of *mə* with such verbs automatically results in a quantity gradation and *mə* can only occur after the parameter in order to modify the predicate in its entirety (631):

- (631) Porque òda say fit de we, à gò wok so,  
 because other side can BE.AT SUB 1SG.SBJ POT work like.that  
 à gò **win mə pas** de, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ POT earn more pass there  
 'Because there could be another place where, (if) I would work like this  
 I might earn more than there.' [dj07ae 495]

When a verb is to be graded as to some defined quantity or some kind of quality, *mə* is usually omitted. Instead, a degree modifier or an object that specifies the quality or quantity may intervene between the parameter and *pas*. Compare the adverbial modifier *fayn* 'fine' in (632) and the object *Bùbɛ* 'Bubi' in (633):

- (632) Di wan dən dè tək, di wan dè **tək fayn**  
 this one PRF IPFV talk this one IPFV talk fine  
**pas** ìn sista  
 pass 3SG.POSS sister

'This one talks, this one talks [the Bubi language]  
better than her sister.' [ab03ab 010]

- (633) Lage dè **tək Bùbe** pas mi.  
NAME IPFV talk Bubi pass 1SG.EMP  
'Lage talks Bubi (better) than me.' [fr03ab 012]

When the parameter is a motion verb, the Exceed comparative may acquire quite a literal meaning as in (634). The example below also shows that the standard can be modified further by way of a relative clause. Such a relative clause with a locative head noun may be employed in contexts where the parameter is non-gradable and the standard is an entire clause (635):

- (634) À dè go fawe **pas dī say we** Paquita sīdón.  
1SG.SBJ IPFV go far pass DEF side SUB Paquita stay  
'I'm going farther than the place where Paquita lives.' [ro05ee 082]

- (635) À bay **pas dī say we** dī m̀nì rich.  
1SG.SBJ buy pass DEF side SUB DEF money arrive  
'I bought more than the money was sufficient for.' [rofn05 001]

The collocation *lèk haw* 'the way (that), as soon as' may also introduce the standard of complex comparatives like (636), in which the standard is an entire adverbial clause. Note the presence of the standard marker *pas* '(sur)pass:

- (636) Nà lèk se yù want təl wan pəsin se yù du sòn  
FOC like QUOT2SG want tell one person QUOT2SG do some  
tin **pas lèk haw** yù bìn get f̀ du=àn.  
thing pass like how 2SG PST get ASS do=3SG.OBJ  
'It's as if you want to tell a person that you've done something more  
than you should have done it.' [au07ec 049]

The standard clause in (637) is also introduced by *lèk haw*. The sentence features the locative noun *pàntáp* 'on, in addition to' as a standard marker instead of *pas*. The use of *pàntáp* in this way is only attested in such complex comparatives:

- (637) B̀t yù no fit tək se à ch̀p tri spun  
but 2SG NEG can talk QUOT 1SG.SBJ eat three spoon  
**pàntáp lèk haw** à kìn ch̀p.  
on like how 1SG.SBJ HAB eat  
'But you can't say that you have eaten three spoons more than you  
usually eat. [au07ec 045]



A second way of forming comparatives is rare. In “Exceed-2” comparatives (Stassen 1985), the parameter is expressed as a PP, hence a nominal. The marker of comparison, the verb *pas*, is the only verb of the clause and is employed as an inchoative-stative verb.

For these reasons, the construction is more likely to appear with quality-denoting nouns like *sens* ‘intelligence’ in (638) than with property-denoting verbs. Compare (639), where the property *get sens* ‘have brain’ = ‘be intelligent’ is graded in an Exceed-1 comparative:

(638) Dì pìkín **pas** yu fɛ **sens**.  
 DEF child pass 2SG.EMP ASS brain  
 ‘The child is more intelligent than you.’ [ro05de 038]

(639) È **get sens** **pas** yu.  
 3SG.SBJ get brain pass 2SG.EMP  
 ‘He is more intelligent than you.’ [eb07fn 234]

In a second, equally rare variant of the Exceed-2 comparative, the property is expressed as a possessed noun of the comparee (640):

(640) Ìn **sens** **pas** yù yon.  
 3SG.POSS brain pass 2SG own  
 ‘His intelligence surpasses yours.’ [ro05de 040]

Relative comparatives are rivalled in their frequency by absolute comparatives in which the standard of comparison is absent and logically implied. In absolute comparatives, the use of *mə* as a degree adverbial (641) is the most common option.

(641) Dì wan nà dì hos we **fayn mə**.  
 DEF one FOC DEF house SUB fine more  
 ‘This is the house that’s more beautiful.’ [nn05fn 011]

In contrast, An SVC with a sentence-final, ‘stranded’ *pas* as in (642), is not accepted by the majority of speakers who were tested:

(642) ?Dì wan nà dì bɔy we **fayn pas**.  
 DEF one FOC DEF boy SUB fine pas  
 ?This is the boy who is more handsome. [to07fn 235]

A sentence-final *pas* is all the same common where it occurs in a clause as the only verb (rather than the V2 of an SVC) with the meaning ‘surpass an acceptable limit’ (643):

(643) È dɔn dè **pas**.  
 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV pass  
 ‘It’s too much now.’ [ro05rr 011]

I should point out that in spite of its apparent categorial flexibility, *mə* may not be used as a lexical verb ‘surpass’ like *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ in Pichi (unlike the verb *moro* ‘surpass’ in Sranan Tongo, cf. Blanker & Dubbeldam 2005: 139)

### 7.9.2 Superlatives

Superlatives are formed by the same formal means as comparatives. The reference of the standard NP is extended to englobe the entire set of possible referents by means of a standard NP featuring *əl* ‘all’ or *eni* ‘every’ and the relevant group of referents. The standard NP often consists of the generic nouns *pəsin* ‘person’, *man* ‘man; person’, *human* ‘woman’ and *pipul* ‘people’ if the comparee is human:

- (644) Bòyé    **stawt**        **pas əl man**    nà dì hos.  
 NAME    be.corpulent    pass all    man        LOC DEF house  
 ‘Bòyé is more corpulent than every person in the house.’ [ro05de 060]

However, the most common way of rendering a superlative relation is by means of an absolute superlative without explicit mention of a standard NP. Such constructions are no different from absolute comparatives and the difference in meaning between the two constructions is inferred from context.

In the following absolute superlative, the Spanish adjective *difficil* ‘difficult’ is followed by *mə* with a superlative meaning. This sentence was uttered after the speaker had taken us on a tour through a new house and explained the hassles involved in building it:

- (645) Dì tin        we bìn de        **difficil mə**        nà di hos,    fɔ put nivél.  
 DEF thing    SUB PST BE.AT    difficult more    LOC this house    ASS put level  
 ‘The thing that was most difficult [of all the construction work] in this house, (was) to level (the ground).’ [ye07fn 065]

Aside from constructions like (645), which involve an implicit standard, the data abounds with absolute superlatives where the standard is even more vague. Such ‘superlatives’ form part of the inventory of intensifying and emphatic devices of the language. They involve lexicalised phrases like *pas mak* ‘pass (the) limit’ or *no sməl* ‘NEG small’ = ‘not in the least’:

- (646) Dì sməl    wan dən dè tək **pas mak**.  
 DEF small    one PRF IPFV talk pass mark  
 ‘The small one already talks unbelievably well.’ [lo07fn185]
- (647) È        no ful        **no sməl**.  
 3SG.SBJ    NEG be.foolish    NEG be.small  
 ‘She’s not in the least foolish.’ [ro05ee 135]

Superlative degree may also be signalled by the multifunctional word *ova* ‘over, excessively’ when used as a verb (648) and an adverbial (649).

- (648) Dì chəp **ova**.  
 DEF food be.excessive  
 ‘The food is too much.’ [au07ec 042]

- (649) Wɛn dɛn dɔn dring **ova**, nɔ?  
 SUB 3PL PRF drink over INTJ  
 ‘When they’ve drunk excessively, right?’ [ma03hm 069]

*Ova* may also appear as the first component of a compound verb which expresses an excessive degree of the situation denoted by the verb (cf. 5.5.3 for more details):

- (650) Dì hos **ovà-dɔ́tí**.  
 DEF house over.CPD-be.dirty  
 ‘The house is excessively dirty.’ [au07ec 027]

Emphatic absolute superlatives may also involve the use of degree adverbs like *bad* ‘extremely’ (651), *tu (mɔch)* ‘too much’ (652) or *soté* ‘until; extremely’:

- (651) Dan human **lon bad**.  
 that woman be.long bad  
 ‘This woman is excessively long.’ [li07pe 064]

- (652) Dì chəp è **tu bɔ́kú**.  
 DEF food 3SG.SBJ too be.much  
 ‘The food is (just) too much.’ [dj05ae 125]

Beyond that, Pichi features a number of inherently comparative and superlative words. Like the degree expressions *mɔ* ‘more’ and *ova* ‘over’ covered above, these words are multifunctional and may be employed as adverbs or verbs alike.

The words *beta* ‘be very good’, *wos* ‘be very bad’, *tu mɔch* ‘be very/too much’ as well as *bɔ́kú* ‘be (very) much’ alone may signal an exceptionally high degree of a quality or quantity:

- (653) È **wos**.  
 3SG.SBJ be.very.bad  
 ‘It’s very bad.’ OR ‘It’s worse.’ [ra07fn 036]

- (654) (...) dɪ prɔblɛm dɛn **dɔn tu mɔch**, (...)  
 DEF problem 3PL PRF too be.much  
 ‘The problems became too much.’ [ma03ni 029]

- (655) Dì chəp **bə́kú**, dì chəp è **tu bə́kú**.  
 DEF food be.much DEF food 3SG.SBJ too be.much  
 ‘The food is very (or too) much, the food is too much.’

These inherently superlative words may combine with *mə* for additional intensity and emphasis as in the following examples. Note the characteristic syntactic flexibility of *mə* in these sentences:

- (656) È **mə wos**.  
 3SG.SBJ more be.very.bad  
 ‘It’s much worse.’ [ra07fn 035]
- (657) Pànyá, nà in **wos mə**.  
 Spain FOC 3SG.EMP be.very.bad more  
 ‘As for Spain, that’s really bad [as a place to live in].’ [ra07fn 040]
- (658) È **beta mə**.  
 3SG.SBJ be.very good more  
 ‘It’s much better.’ [ge07fn 038]
- (659) È **mə beta**.  
 3SG.SBJ more be.very.good  
 ‘It’s much better.’ [ge07fn 039]

Nuances of superlative degree may also be signalled through the use of emphatic suprasegmental features such as extra-high pitch, pitch range expansion or vowel lengthening as well as through other emphatic devices, like ideophones and reduplication.

### 7.9.3 Equatives

Equative constructions are formed in two ways. The most frequent one involves the preposition *lè(ke)* ‘like’ as the standard marker. The preposition is inserted between the parameter and the standard. This construction assigns the same degree of a property to both the comparee and standard:

- (660) No chəp no de we è **swit lək kòkó**.  
 NEG food NEG BE.AT SUB 3SG.SBJ be.tasty like cocoa.yam  
 ‘There’s no food that’s as tasty as cocoa yam.’ [ro05ee 141]
- (661) È no **fayn lək** mi.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG fine like 1SG.EMP  
 ‘He isn’t as handsome as me.’ [ye07fn 135]

Take note of the lexicalised equative construction *bə́kú lək nyóní* ‘be many like ants’ in (662):

- (662) Yù fit tək se 'mì brɔda dɛn bə̀kú lək nyóní.  
 2SG can talk QUOT 1SG.POSS brother 3PL be.much like ant  
 'You can say "my siblings are many just like ants".' [ro05ee 034]

In constructions featuring an entire equative clause as the standard, the collocation *lək haw* 'like how' = 'the way that' is used instead of *lək* (663)-(664). The second example below features a code-mixed equative construction featuring the Spanish element *tan* 'as'. In unmixed sentences, Pichi does not employ an additional parameter marker like *tan* before the parameter verb:

- (663) (...) mek yù no para soté mek è tik lək haw  
 SBJV 2SG NEG stop until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick like how  
 è bìn de so.  
 3SG.SBJ PST BE.AT like.that  
 '(...) don't stop until it's (as) thick as it was.' [dj03do 058]
- (664) Mi nɔto tan debul lək haw yù dè chək mi.  
 1SG.EMP NEG.FOC as devil like how 2SG IPFV think 1SG.EMP  
 'I'm not as much of a devil as you think I am.' [ye07fn 002]

When the standard in equatives is not gradable, *lək* introduces a prepositional phrase that indicates sameness of manner rather than degree. Two examples of such "similatives" (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998) follow:

- (665) Mi no lek yu bət wì fit de lək kəmpin.  
 1SG.EMP NEG like 2SG.EMP but 1PL can BE.AT like friend  
 'I don't love you but we can be (like) friends.' [ru03wt 029]
- (666) Pero mì mà má kan accepta dì pìkín lək  
 but 1SG.POSS mother PFV accept DEF child like  
 mì brɔda ìn pìkín.  
 1SG.POSS brother 3SG.POSS child  
 'But my mother accepted the child as my brother's child.' [fr03ft 128]

In the similative collocation *wok lək*, the preposition *lək* precedes a temporary state concurrent with the situation denoted by the verb. The collocation therefore functions as a nominal depictive (667) (cf. 13.3 for an extensive discussion of verbal depictives). A similative *lək* in (668) translates as 'around':

- (667) Dì cubana human dè wok lək dəkta nà Malabo.  
 DEF Cuban woman IPFV work like doctor LOC PLACE  
 'The Cuban woman works as a doctor in Malabo.' [ro05ee 071]

- (668) Yù fit gi mi **lèk dos mil** so?  
 2SG can give 1SG.EMP like two thousand like.that  
 ‘Can you give me around two thousand?’ [be07fn 311]

The ‘standard’ in similitives may also be a clause. Such clauses are introduced by *lèk se* ‘like QUOT’ = ‘as if’ instead of *lèk haw* ‘like how’ = ‘as; the way that’:

- (669) È dè **du lèk se** è dè fɛn sɔn tin.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV do like QUOT3SG.SBJ IPFV look.for some thing  
 ‘He’s pretending to look for something.’ [dj07ae 517]

Pichi speakers employ a second, albeit marginal equative construction, in which the verb *rich* ‘arrive’ is the only verb. At the same time, the parameter appears as a nominal constituent in a *fɔ̃*-prepositional phrase. Like the verb *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ in (638) above, the verb *rich* is employed as an inchoative-stative verb in these instances:

- (670) È no **rich** mi **fɔ̃ fayn**.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG arrive 1SG.EMP ASS fine  
 ‘He doesn’t equal me in beauty.’ [ye07fn 134]

Other than that, verb *rich* is employed as an allative motion verb ‘reach, arrive (at)’. In addition to its literal sense, *rich* also occurs with the meaning ‘equal, be sufficient’ (671). *Rich* may also be found as a minor verb in the V2 position of a motion-direction SVC (672):

- (671) È dɔn **rich**.  
 3SG.SBJ PRF arrive  
 ‘It’s enough.’ OR ‘S/he has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]
- (672) À want **flay rich** nà tɔn naw naw.  
 1SG.SBJ want fly arrive LOC town NOWREP  
 ‘I want to hurry to town right now.’ [dj07ae 362]

## 8 The clause

There are four types of basic, non-complex clause structures in Pichi. Pragmatically marked structures that cut across these four types include negative constructions, questions as well as focus and topic constructions. The expression of BEING and HAVING involves a network of functionally overlapping copula and existential verbs, and verbs of possession. Pichi adverbs modify verbs and clauses. The majority of adverbs occupy a clause-initial or a clause-final position but a small set of time and degree adverbs are also found in preverbal position in the company of TMA markers.

### 8.1 Clause structure

Four types of clauses can be distinguished by their basic order, as well as the presence and type of the core constituents verb, subject and object: verbal clauses, serial verb clauses, copula clauses and directive clauses.

#### 8.1.1 Verbal clauses

The order of constituents in a basic verbal clause corresponds to the pattern presented in (673). Note that the presence of the focus particles *nà/noto* in the focus (FOC) position precludes use of a resumptive subject pronoun (PRON) in the predicate (cf. 8.4.3). Also note that the adverbial (ADV) position between the two (OBJ NP) positions is rarely filled and appears to be focus-induced (cf. 8.7):

(673) (INT) (ADV) (FOC) (SBJ NP) ((PRON) PRED) (PL) (OBJ NP) (ADV) (OBJ NP) (ADV) (INT)

Pichi has a subject-verb word order in intransitive clauses (cf. (676) below), and a subject-verb-object order in transitive clauses (674):

(674) È            sɛn        dì bɔl.  
         3SG.SBJ    send        DEF ball  
         'She threw the ball.' [ra07se 203]

Objects follow the verb. In most double-object constructions, the primary object with the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary is found immediately to the right of the verb. The secondary object encodes the theme or patient and follows the primary object:

- (675) À se no gi=**àn** leche, gi=**àn** wòtá.  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT NEG give=3SG.OBJ milk give=3SG.OBJ water  
 ‘I said “don’t give him milk, give him water.”’ [ab03ab 099]

Full nouns occur on their own as subjects as in (674) above. But frequently a coreferential dependent pronoun additionally occurs in the clause which picks up the definite subject. Example (676) features both alternatives:

- (676) Dì chia blak, dì **chia** è blak.  
 DEF chair be.black DEF chair 3SG.SBJ be.black  
 ‘The chair is black, the chair (it) is black.’ [dj05ae 121]

Pronoun resumption is also found with objects. The following two examples illustrate the use of pronominal copying with fronted and topical object NPs. In (677), the full NP *dan man* ‘that man’ and in (678) the emphatic 3PL pronoun *dɛn* are set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break and resumed by object pronouns:

- (677) **Dan** man, à dɔn si=**àn** sef.  
 that man 1SG.SBJ PRF see=3SG.OBJ EMP  
 ‘That man, I have even seen him.’ [ch07fn 236]

- (678) **Dɛn**, à no dè put **dɛn** insay.  
 3PL.EMP 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV put 3PL.EMP inside  
 ‘As for them, I don’t put them inside.’ [dj03do 006]

An indication that subject pronoun copying may also involve a topic–comment structure comes from examples such as (679). This sentence features the independent, emphatic personal pronoun *dɛn* at the beginning of the clause, followed by a coreferential dependent pronoun:

- (679) **Dɛn**, **dɛn** bìn dè, **dɛn** bìn dɔn sàbí (...)  
 3PL.EMP 3PL PST IPFV 3PL PST PRF know  
 ‘As for them, they were, they already knew (...)’ [ma03hm 037]

Constructions like (679), in which a personal pronoun is fronted for focus or emphasis and immediately followed by a resumptive dependent personal pronoun are, however, rare. Instead, emphatic personal pronouns appear more often on their own. This pattern suggests that subject pronoun copying is pragmatically less marked than object pronoun copying as encountered in (677) and (678).

This observation fits in with the high frequency of resumptive pronoun usage in the relativised position of subject relative clauses as compared to that in object relative clauses (cf. 12.7.2):



- (680) **Mi** dən sɔfa.  
 1SG.EMP PRF suffer  
 ‘I [EMP] have suffered.’ [ab03ab 037]

Quotative clauses introduced by the quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ can be found in the syntactic position of the subject or object. A clause introduced by *se* may also occupy the clause-initial or clause-final adverbial position. Consider the two alternative translations of the following sentence. The first translation renders the function of a quotative complement clause, the second that of an adverbial cause clause:

- (681) À dən dè gladin **se** à dən go.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV be.glad QUOT 1SG.SBJ PRF go  
 ‘I was already glad that I was gone.’ OR  
 ‘I was already glad because I was gone.’ [ab03ay 091]

In the predicate the negator *no*, TMA markers, and preverbal adverbs occur before the verb, in this order. The clitic 3SG.OBJ pronoun *-ən* immediately follows the verb. Apart from the negator *no* ‘NEG’ and TMA markers the adverbs of degree *tu* ‘too (much)’, *tu* (*məch*) ‘too (much), so ‘so (much)’, as well as the temporal adverbs *jis/jəs* ‘just’ and *stil* ‘still’ are the only elements that may appear between a personal pronoun and the verb.

In (682), *tu* ‘too (much)’ occurs before the stative verb *evi* ‘be heavy’. In (683), *tu* appears before the locative-existential copula *de*:

- (682) Dì bəks è **tu evi**.  
 DEF box 3SG.SBJ too be.heavy  
 ‘The box (it) is too heavy.’ [dj05ae 143]
- (683) (...) dī strit **tu de** wəwó, (...)  
 DEF street too BE.AT ugly  
 ‘(...) the street is too messed up (...)’ [dj05ae 135]

Other adverbs and adverbials are usually found at the clause margins. Compare the clause-final degree adverb *sməl* ‘a bit’ in (684):

- (684) Djunais dən drink **sməl**.  
 NAME PRF drink small  
 ‘Djunais has drunk a bit [of alcohol].’ [fr03wt 182]

### 8.1.2 Serial verb clauses

The word order rules described so far also apply to serial verb constructions (SVCs) but for the fact that SVCs may share arguments. In (685), we find a motion-direction SVC involving *ker* ‘carry; take’ and *go* ‘go’. This verb string has a “pivotal argument” (Bisang 1992) or a

“switch-function argument” (Aikhenvald 2006: 14ff). Hence the 3SG.OBJ of *ker* is =*àn* ‘3sg.obj’, which is also the notional subject of the subsequent verb *go* ‘go’. In the participant-introducing SVC in (686), the serial verbs *tek* ‘take’ and *put* ‘put’ share the 1SG.SBJ pronoun *à*:

(685) *À*      *gò ròn à*      ***ker=àn***      *go* *à*      *go* *hospital*.  
 1SG.SBJ    POT    run    1SG.SBJ    carry=3SG.OBJ    go    1SG.SBJ    go    hospital  
 ‘I would run and take her along (and go) to hospital.’ [hi03cb 139]

(686) *À*      ***tek=àn***      ***put=àn***      *pàntáp* *mì*      *bèlé*.  
 1SG.SBJ    take=3SG.OBJ    put=3SG.OBJ    on      1SG.POSS    belly  
 ‘I took him (and) put him on my stomach.’ [ab03ab 067]

### 8.1.3 Copula clauses

Two types of copula clauses should be distinguished. Equative clauses feature the copulas and focus markers *nà* ‘FOC’ and *nɔto* ‘NEG.FOC’ in a copula function. I analyse *nà*-copula clauses as grammaticalised topic-comment structures, in which the notional subject is topicalised, and the nominal functioning as the copula complement is under focus. These clauses differ from verbal clauses and predicate adjective clauses involving the copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ in two ways: Pronominal subjects are always from the emphatic series (687), and more often than not, the 3SG and 3PL pronouns remain unexpressed (688) because *nà* and *nɔto* incorporate 3SG reference by default:

(687) *Mi*      ***nà*** *dì* *chif*      *nə*.  
 1SG.EMP    FOC    DEF    chief      INTJ  
 ‘I’m the boss, right.’ [dj05ce 176]

(688) ***Nɔto***      *mecanico*.  
 NEG.FOC    mechanic  
 ‘(He’s) not a mechanic.’ [dj0502e1 214]

Predicate adjective clauses constitute the second type of copula clause. A small set of property-denoting verbs may also function as predicate adjectives and appear as complements to the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ (689). Unlike other property items, these adjectives may therefore appear in the same syntactic position as adverbials in this type of copula clause (690):

(689) *Tidé*      *dì* *human* ***de***      ***fayn***.  
 today      DEF    woman    BE.AT      fine  
 ‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]

(690) *È*      ***de***      ***nà*** *grɔn*.  
 3SG.SBJ    BE.AT      LOC    ground  
 ‘He is [lying] on the ground.’ [ab03ab 063]

### 8.1.4 Directive clauses

The syntax of 2SG directive (imperative) clauses is distinct from other clause types and other directive clauses in that the 2SG subject remains unexpressed (691). However, a 2PL subject must be overtly expressed (692):

(691) No **laf!**  
 NEG laugh  
 ‘Don’t laugh!’ [ru03wt 022]

(692) **Ūna pul** di tòrí!  
 2PL pull DEF story  
 ‘Tell [PL] the story!’ [fr03wt 018]

Moreover, directives are the only type of pragmatically independent main clause that may feature a complementiser, namely the subjunctive marker *mek* ‘*SBJV*’, at the beginning of the clause (693):

(693) **Mek** à pul wan sməl tòrí?  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ pull one small story  
 ‘Should I tell a little story?’ [au07se 059]

At the same time, directive subjunctive clauses are structurally no different from other clauses that feature a clause linker at their very left. Compare (693) with the sequential clause introduced by *we* ‘*SUB*’ in (694):

(694) **We** è bìn day so.  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST die like.that  
 ‘And he died just like that.’ [ed03sb 126]

## 8.2 Negation

Pichi negation revolves around the general negator *no* ‘*NEG*’, which functions as a negative particle in verb negation and as a negative quantifier in NP negation. Besides *no*, Pichi features the negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’, which is specialised for use in negative clauses. Other than that, Pichi makes use of negative phrases consisting of *no* and a generic noun that function as negative indefinites and adverbials. Furthermore, clause negation is characterised by negative concord; when the verb is negated, non-specific NPs may also be preceded by *no* ‘*NEG*’.

Finally, negation of the perfect aspect as well as equative clauses and focus constructions is not achieved by the addition of the negator *no*. Instead, negation in these environments is suppletive or “asymmetrical” (cf. Miestamo 2005: 72ff.). It relies on the use of morphologically distinct elements that incorporate negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category.

### 8.2.1 Verb negation

Verb negation is characterised by the use of the general negator *no* ‘NEG’. The negator occurs in combination with the time adverbs *yet* ‘yet’ and *mə* ‘more, again’ as well as with clausal focus by means of *sɛf* ‘EMP’. These combinations render negative adverbial notions. The functionally identical negative perfect markers *nɛa* and *nɔba* are suppletive forms that substitute for the affirmative perfect marker *dən* ‘PRF’. The negation of equative clauses featuring *nà* ‘FOC’ is also achieved by means of a suppletive form, namely *nɔto* ‘NEG.FOC’. Note that *nɔto* is also employed for constituent negation (cf. 8.2.4):

Table 8.1 Verb negation

| Type                     | Negator         | Gloss    | Translation          |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------------|
| Verb negation            | <i>no</i>       | NEG      | general negator      |
|                          | <i>nɛa/nɔba</i> | NEG.PRF  | negative perfect     |
| Verb negation + adverb   | <i>no — yet</i> | NEG yet  | ‘not yet’            |
|                          | <i>no — mə</i>  | NEG more | ‘no more; not again’ |
|                          | <i>no — sɛf</i> | NEG EMP  | ‘not even’           |
| Negative identity copula | <i>nɔto</i>     | NEG.FOC  | ‘(s/he, it) is not’  |

Declarative clauses acquire negative polarity when the general negator *no* is placed immediately after the dependent personal pronoun. This position of the negator is canonical. The negator is inherently stressed (cf. 4.3.3). The imperfective-marked verb *gi* ‘give’ in (695) is negated in (696). A negative existential clause is presented in (697). Note the appearance of negative concord in the latter example:

(695) Dèn dè **gi** dɛn skul fɔ training centre.  
 3PL IPFV give 3PLEMP school ASS training centre  
 ‘They give them classes at a training centre.’ [to03gm 010]

(696) Dèn **no** dè **gi** **no** natin.  
 3PL NEG IPFV give NEG nothing  
 ‘They don’t give anything.’ [ed03sp 075]

(697) Layf **no de** naw, wɔl **no de**.  
 life NEG BE.AT now world NEG BE.AT  
 ‘[Nowadays] there is no life, there is no (proper) world.’ [ab03ay 130]

Sentence (698) contains both an affirmative and a negative clause in the potential mood. The two subsequent examples present an affirmative clause marked for past tense and its negative counterpart (700):

THE CLAUSE

(698) Ho, dan man **gò** du vomit tìdé, è **no** **gò** slip.  
 INTJ that man POT do vomit today 3SG.SBJ NEG POT sleep  
 ‘That man is going to vomit today, he won’t sleep.’ [ye03cd 143]

(699) È **bìn** de nà jel.  
 3SG.SBJ PST BE.AT LOC jail  
 ‘He was in jail.’ [ma03sh 017]

(700) À **no** **bìn** fit tek mòtó.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG PST can take car  
 ‘I wasn’t able to take a car.’ [ed03sp 077]

Directives in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (imperatives) are negative when *no* is present before the verb (701)–(702). Directive clauses in the other persons of the paradigm must be negated by means of negative subjunctive clauses (703):

(701) **Pas** nà makit mǎ!  
 pass LOC market again  
 ‘Pass by the market again!’ [dj05ce 071]

(702) No, wì dè conversa, **no** **vɛks** Djunais!  
 NEG 1PL IPFV converse NEG be.angry NAME  
 ‘No, we’re (just) conversing, don’t be angry Djunais!’ [ye03cd 094]

(703) **Mek** à **no** exagera pero dèn bìn dè tɛl mi  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ NEG exaggerate but 3PL PST IPFV tell 1SG.EMP  
 bǎkú de dèn.  
 much day PL  
 ‘Let me not exaggerate but they told me (that it was) many days.’ [hi03cb 090]

The perfect is the only TMA category characterised by asymmetrical negation. While the affirmative features the marker *dən* ‘PRF’ (704), the negative perfect is formed with a suppletive allomorph, i.e. either of the free variants *nɛa* and *nɔba* ‘NEG.PRF’ (705):

(704) Yù **dən** bɔn fo pìkín, (...)  
 2SG PRF give.birth four child  
 ‘You have given birth to four children, (...)’ [hi03cb 187]

(705) È **nɛa** bɔn pìkín.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF give.birth child  
 ‘She hasn’t given birth to a child yet.’ [fr03ft 139]

The adverbial *yet* ‘still; yet’ may appear with the negative perfect without providing an

additional meaning besides stressing the nuance of current relevance inherent to the perfect (706). However, the combination *no* – *yet* ‘not yet’ can also express this nuance of the perfect by itself and thereby function as a de facto negative perfect marker (707).

(706) Yù sista è **noba** mared **yet?**  
 2SG sister 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF marry yet  
 ‘Your sister isn’t married yet?’

(707) È **no** mared **yet?**  
 3SG.SBJ NEG marry yet  
 ‘She isn’t married yet?’

The two other combinations of verb negation and a clause-final adverbial are *no* – *mə* ‘no more; not again’ and *no* – *sef* ‘not even’. Compare the affirmative use of *mə* ‘more’ in (701) with (708) below.

(708) Dèn **no** gò flay nà Bata **mə**.  
 3PL NEG POT fly LOC PLACE more  
 ‘They’re not going to fly to Bata anymore/again.’ [eb07fn 237]

Examples (709) and (710) present the use of *sef* ‘self, EMP’ in an affirmative and a negative clause respectively. The negated clause acquires an emphatic negative meaning:

(709) Naw è dòn day **sef**.  
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMP  
 ‘Now he’s even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

(710) Èn, dèn **no** no **sef**.  
 INTJ 3PL NEG know EMP  
 ‘Yes, they don’t even know (at all).’ [hi03cb 119]

### 8.2.2 Negative concord

The negation of verbs overlaps considerably with constituent negation of noun phrases. Verb negation usually entails the use of the negator *no* ‘NEG’ as a negative quantifier over NPs in the same clause.

Subject NPs need not be preceded by *no* ‘NEG’ in negative clauses. This applies to both specific and non-specific NPs. In (711), the bare subject NP *fiba* ‘fever’ is construed as specific and not preceded by *no*:

(711) Fiba **no** sube in.  
 fever NEG go.up 3SG.EMP  
 ‘(The) fever hasn’t risen on him.’ [eb07fn 171]

In (712), the non-specific plural subject *man dèn* ‘people’ and the non-specific singular subject *chəp* ‘food’ are both not preceded by *no* ‘NEG’. The noun *chəp* is the subject of a negative existential clause. Such clauses usually only feature negative concord when extra emphasis is desired (714):

- (712) Man dèn **no** dè bisin fɔ̃ mek fam mə,  
 man PL NEG IPFV be.busy ASS make farm more  
 yù go fɔ̃ makit, chəp **no** de.  
 2SG go ASS market food NEG BE.AT  
 ‘People don’t care about farming anymore, (if) you go to the market there’s no food.’ [ed03sp 053]

Subject NPs may nevertheless be preceded by *no*. Such negative clauses featuring negative concord have a single negation reading. Negative concord provides a means of adding an emphatic sense to the negative clause. Compare *də̀kta* ‘doctor’ in (713) and *mòtó* ‘car’ in (714)

- (713) È se bueno as **no** də̀kta **no** dè kan si (...)  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT good as NEG doctor NEG IPFV come see  
 ‘She said, ok, since no doctor is at all coming to see (...)’ [hi03cb 091]
- (714) **No** mòtó **no** de we è smat lèk mì yon.  
 NEG car NEG BE.AT SUB 3SG.SBJ be.fast like 1SG.POSS own  
 ‘There is not a single car that is as fast as mine.’ [ro05ee 140]

Whenever object NPs feature negative concord, this is usually also so because they occur in an emphatic environment. Compare the non-emphatic negative clause in (715) with (716), which features verb negation and negative concord. Also note the presence of the independent emphatic pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’:

- (715) (...) à **no** gɛt pàmáyn (...)  
 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil  
 ‘(...) I don’t have (any) oil (...)’ [ab03ay 015]
- (716) **In** gò chəp=àn, è **no** gɛt **no** problema.  
 3SG.EMP POT eat=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG get NEG problem  
 ‘He [EMP] will eat it, he has no problem whatsoever [with this kind of food].’ [ro05rt 066]

Often, emphasis comes in combination with other emphatic features, i.e. suprasegmental cues such as increased volume, higher pitch or reduced speed in the pronunciation of the negator and the negated NP or the use of emphatic elements.

Negative concord is also present in (717) with the object *wəd* ‘word’. The presence of the cardinal numeral and indefinite determiner *wan* ‘one, a’ adds additional emphasis:

- (717) Soté à no tək **no wan** wəd.  
 until 1SG.SBJ NEG talk NEG one word  
 ‘Until I didn’t say a single word (anymore).’ [ab03ay 088]

Negative concord is also found in coordinate NPs featuring the negative coordinator pair *ni* – *ni*, which is borrowed from Spanish (718). Spanish employs no negative concord in this particular construction (719):

- (718) **Ni** in **ni** ìn brəda dèn **no** lan.  
 NEG 3SG.EMP NEG 3SG.POSS brother 3PL NEG learn  
 ‘Neither he nor his brother (has) studied.’ [ro05ee 145]

- (719) **Ni** él **ni** su hermano han estudiado.  
 NEG he NEG his brother have studied  
 ‘Neither he nor his brother has studied.’

### 8.2.3 Negative phrases

Pichi has one polarity sensitive, monomorphemic negative indefinite pronoun, namely *natin* ‘nothing’. All other negative expressions are syntactic phrases featuring *no* ‘NEG’ employed as a negative quantifier over a generic noun, e.g. *no say* ‘NEG place’ = ‘nowhere’. The phrase *no bədi* ‘NEG body’ = ‘nobody’ is half-way between the monomorphemic *natin* ‘nothing’ and composite phrasal expressions like *no say* ‘nowhere’. Although *no bədi* is segmentable, the noun *bədi* is not normally used as a generic noun with the meaning ‘person’. In fact *bədi* is not often used with the meaning ‘body’ either, the far more common term being *skin* ‘body’. The following table summarises Pichi negative phrases:

Table 8.2 Negative phrases and negative indefinites

| Type       | Neg. phrase            | Gloss           | Translation |
|------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| ‘Person’   | <i>no man</i>          | NEG man         | ‘nobody’    |
|            | <i>no bədi</i>         | NEG body        |             |
|            | <i>no pəsin</i>        | NEG person      |             |
| ‘Thing’    | <i>natin</i>           | NEG nothing     | ‘nothing’   |
| ‘Place’    | <i>no say</i>          | NEG side        | ‘no where’  |
|            | <i>no ples</i>         | NEG place       |             |
|            | <i>no pat</i>          | NEG part        |             |
| ‘Manner’   | <i>no (kayn) stayl</i> | NEG kind manner | ‘no way’    |
|            | <i>no we</i>           | NEG way         |             |
| ‘Time’     | <i>no wan de</i>       | NEG one day     | ‘never’     |
| ‘Kind’     | <i>no kayn</i>         | NEG kind        | ‘no kind’   |
| Pronominal | <i>no wan</i>          | NEG one (man)   | ‘none, any’ |



The overwhelming majority of speakers does not employ negative phrases without support from verb negation (720):

- (720) \***No** **man** Ø **blant** **ya**.  
 NEG man NEG reside here  
 \*Nobody lives here.

Conversely, the negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’ does not appear without the (constituent) negator *no* ‘neg’ to its left when the verb is negated (721):

- (721) \*Ø **Natin** **no** **de** **de**.  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.AT there  
 \*Nothing is there.

The use of negative phrases in any syntactic position therefore invariably involves the use of negative concord. Even the inherently negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’ is usually preceded by the negator *no* when the verb is negated. Compare the indefinite NP *sən tin* ‘something’ (722) with the negative indefinite pronoun *natin* ‘nothing’ in (723).

- (722) **Mi** **want** **aks** **yu** **sən** **tin**.  
 1SG.EMP want ask 2SG.EMP some thing  
 ‘I want to ask you something.’ [fr03ab 191]
- (723) **Mi** **no** **gò** **tɛl=àn** **no** **natin**.  
 1SG.EMP NEG POT tell=3SG.OBJ NEG nothing  
 ‘I [EMP] wouldn’t tell him anything.’ [bo03cb 138]

The only monomorphemic negative expression is *natin* ‘nothing’. Other negative expressions are formed by using the negator *no* together with a corresponding generic noun. Consider the two following sentences featuring the indefinite NPs *pəsin* ‘(some) person’ and *əl man* ‘all man’ = ‘everybody’, which both function as indefinite pronouns:

- (724) **Pəsin** **gò** **entiende** **bət** **è** **no** **de** **bien**.  
 person POT understand but 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.AT good  
 ‘One would understand, but it doesn’t sound good.’ [dj05be 043]
- (725) **əl** **man** **kìn** **luk=àn**, **yù** **gò** **si** **wì** **no** **gò**  
 all man HAB look=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT see 1PL NEG POT  
**mit** **no** **bədi** **nà** **hos**.  
 meet NEG body LOC house  
 ‘Everybody watches it [the series], you’ll see we won’t meet anybody at home.’ [ma03ni 038]

The negative equivalents of the two preceding sentences involve the phrasal expressions *no man* ‘NEG man’ = ‘nobody’ or *no bədi* ‘nobody’. Both options are equally common (726)-(727). The third logically possible alternative, *no pəsin* ‘NEG person’ = ‘nobody’, is only marginally attested in the data:

- (726) **No man** **no** blant ya mə səf.  
 NEG man NEG reside here more EMP  
 ‘Nobody even lives here anymore.’ [ra07fn 064]

- (727) Dis sənde **no bədi** **no** de nə strit.  
 this Sunday NEG body NEG BE.AT LOC street  
 ‘This Sunday, nobody is in the streets.’ [ro05ee 136]

Negative indefinite adverbials are also formed by means of phrasal syntax. The phrase *no say* ‘NEG place’ = ‘nowhere’ is the most commonly employed expression to negate existence in a place. Compare the affirmative and negative sentences involving *say* ‘side; place’:

- (728) **Eni** **say** we pəsin want sɪdɔn, dən də sɪdɔn.  
 every side SUB person want stay 3PL IPFV stay  
 ‘Everywhere/anywhere people want to stay, they stay.’ [ma03hm 042]

- (729) À **no** də go **no** say.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV go NEG side  
 ‘I’m not going anywhere.’ [pa0502e1 209]

The generic noun *say* can also be used in a more literal sense to denote ‘space, place’. In that case, it is not usually additionally preceded by *no* in negative clauses unless extra emphasis is intended. Compare the following two examples:

- (730) **Say** **no** de.  
 side NEG BE.AT  
 ‘There is no space [to sit].’ [ra07fn 029]

- (731) **Say** **no** de fɔ was han?  
 side NEG BE.AT ASS wash hand  
 ‘Is there no place to wash (one’s) hands?’ [ra07fn 138]

The adverbial concept ‘never’ is expressed via the phrase *no wan de* ‘NEG one day’ (733). Example (732) features the equivalent affirmative phrase *əl tən* ‘all time’ = ‘always’:

- (732) Dì human **əl tən** è de fayn.  
 DEF woman all time3SG.SBJ BE.AT fine  
 ‘The woman is always looking fine.’ [dj05ae 155]

- (733) È se **no wande** è **no** gò du=àn mɔ.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG one day 3SG.SBJ NEG POT do=3SG.OBJ more  
 ‘He said he would never do it again.’ [ro05ee 134]

The negative pronominal meaning of ‘none, any’ may be expressed through verb negation and use of the quantifier and indefinite determiner *sòn* ‘some, a’, which may refer to count and mass nouns alike. The affirmative clause in (734) features *sòn* used as pronominal (cf. also (341)-(342)). The negative counterpart of (734) may simply be a negative clause (735):

- (734) Dan banana, à gi=àn **sòn**.  
 that banana 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ some  
 ‘That banana, I gave him one.’ [ab03ab 096]

- (735) À **no** get **sòn**.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG get some  
 ‘I don’t have some/any.’ [eb07fn 303]

Alternatively, the phrase *no wan*, which features the noun substitute *wan* ‘one’ may be employed. The use of *no wan* is often tinged with the emphatic connotation produced by the semantic contrast between the negative quantifier *no* ‘NEG’ and the numeral and determiner *wan* ‘one’ (736). Contrary to *sòn*, *no wan* may also be used as a pronominal (737):

- (736) **No wan** **no** lɛf wèt mi.  
 NEG one NEG remain with 1SG.EMP  
 ‘None (at all) remains with me.’ [ye07fn 018]

- (737) À gò tel=àn se à **no** dè sɛl  
 1SG.SBJ POT tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV sell  
**no** teléfono, **no wan**.  
 NEG telephone NEG one  
 ‘I’ll tell her that I’m not going to sell any telephone, none (at all).’ [lo07he 049]

Accordingly, the cardinal numeral *wan* also appears between the negator *no* and a noun in emphatic negative phrases (738). This usage also corresponds to the use of *wan* as an emphatic indefinite determiner in other contexts (e.g. with nouns under cleft focus in presentatives (cf. (334)):

- (738) **No** tɔk **no wan** wɔd!  
 NEG talk NEG one word  
 ‘Don’t say a single word!’ [ro05ee 142]

The fixed expression *no wan de* ‘never’ in (733) above is also such an emphatic negative phrase, even if lexicalised.

### 8.2.4 Constituent negation

The two preceding sections have shown that one means of negating nominal constituents is by placing the negator *no* ‘NEG’ before them. However, this kind of constituent negation by default does not appear independently of verb negation. A second means available for negating a larger range of constituents is the negative cleft focus construction. An overview of constituent negation is given in this table:

Table 8.3 Constituent negation

| Type                 | Negator     | Gloss   | Translation |
|----------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| Negative concord     | <i>no</i>   | NEG     | ‘no’        |
| Constituent negation | <i>nɔto</i> | NEG.FOC | ‘it’s not’  |

Cleft focus provides a means of negating single constituents and is possible with any constituent that may be focused (cf. 8.4.3.2). In cleft focus constructions, the focused element is fronted to the sentence-initial position and preceded by the negative focus marker *nɔto* ‘NEG.FOC’. Compare (739), where the subject NP *ɔl human* ‘all women’ is singled out for constituent negation:

- (739) **Nɔto** ɔl human fit mared.  
 NEG.FOC all woman can marry  
 ‘Not all women can get married.’ [ab03ab 196]

Adverbials are negated in the same way as core NPs. Example (740) features the negated time adverbial *tidé* ‘today’, (741) the reason adverbial *fɔ dan tin*:

- (740) Èn, **nà tidé** mi hiɛ.  
 INTJ FOC today 1SG.EMP hear  
 ‘Yes, it’s today that I [EMP] heard (it).’ [bo03cb 084]

- (741) **Nɔto** fɔ dan tin yù dè kray?  
 FOC ASS that thing 2SG IPFV cry  
 ‘Is it not because of that that you are crying?’ [ne05fn 004]

In (742), speaker (hi) complains about the discrimination of women in wedlock, a condition she likens to slavery. In the example, speaker (hi) first negates the direct quote *è fiba* ‘it resembles’, the second *nɔto* negates the verbal constituent as such:

- (742) Èhé, **nɔto** ‘è fiba,’ nà esclavitud, **nɔto** ‘fiba’.  
 INTJ NEG.FOC 3SG.SBJ resemble FOC slavery NEG.FOC seem  
 ‘Yes, not “it resembles (slavery)”, it’s slavery, not “resemble”.’ [hi03cb 227]

Sentences (743) and (744) illustrate how yet larger sentence constituents can be singled out for negation. Both examples are negative factive clauses, in which the existence of the situation of the reference clause is negated:

- (743) *ɛf nɔto yù bay, dan human gò bit yu*  
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy that woman POT beat 2SG.EMP  
*soté yù gò go lɛf=àn.*  
 until 2SG POT go leave=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘If it wasn’t the case that you had bought (it), that woman would beat you until you’d go and leave it there.’ [ab03ab 033]

- (744) *Nɔto se nà hɔs dɛn fɔ fɔs tɛn we dɛn strɔn,*  
 NEG.FOC QUOT FOC house PL ASS first time SUB 3PL be.strong  
*è fɔ dɔn fɔdɔn.*  
 3SG.SBJ ASS PRF fall  
 ‘(If) it wasn’t the case that they were houses of the past that are strong, it would have already collapsed.’ [hi03cb 045]

### 8.3 Questions

This section covers yes-no questions, alternative questions and content questions as well as answers to questions. It is useful to refer to 4.4.5 for details on the intonational characteristics of questions.

#### 8.3.1 Yes-no and alternative questions

Yes-no questions are characterised by the syntax of declarative clauses and do not involve obligatory question particles. Yes-no questions are therefore distinguished from declarative clauses by intonation (cf. 4.4.5):

- (745) *Yù want dè go?*  
 2SG want IPFV go  
 ‘Do you want to go?’ [eb07fn 202]

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

- (746) *Yù no=àn ɛn?*  
 2SG know=3SG.OBJ INTJ  
 ‘You know her, right?’ [li07pe 032]

In alternative questions, the first alternative bears question intonation, while the second alternative carries the intonation of a declarative clause:

- (747) Yù sista stil **mared** ò è no mared **mə**?  
 2SG sister still marry or 3SG.SBJ NEG marry more  
 ‘Is your sister still married or is she no more married?’ [ro05ee 050]

### 8.3.2 Content questions

Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system summarised in Table 8.4. Note that I classify the question element *wetin* ‘what’ as monomorphemic although it could alternatively be analysed as bimorphemic (i.e. *we.tin* = \**we.thing*). However, \**we=* does not function as a question particle with any other generic noun and an etymological relation with *we* ‘SUB’ remains to be proven.

Table 8.4 Question element system

| Concept         | Monomorphemic             | Bimorphemic             | Question phrase  |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| WHO             | <i>udat</i>               | <i>us=pəsin; us=man</i> |  |
| WHAT            | <i>wetin</i>              | <i>us=tin</i>           | <i>us=kayn tin</i>   |
| WHICH X         | <i>us=x; wich x</i>       |                         | <i>us=kayn x</i>   |
| WHICH ONE       |                           | <i>us=wan</i>           |  |
| WHEN            |                           | <i>us=tɛn</i>           | <i>fɔ̃ us=tɛn</i>  |
| WHERE           |                           | <i>us=say; us=pat</i>   | <i>fɔ̃ us=say</i>  |
| WHY             | <i>fəseka; haw; wetin</i> | <i>us=tin</i>           | <i>fɔ̃ wetin; fɔ̃ us=tin</i><br><i>fəseka wetin; fəseka us=tin</i><br><i>wetin mek; us=tin mek;</i><br><i>wɛt us=tin</i> |
| HOW             | <i>haw</i>                | <i>us=stayl</i>         | <i>us=kayn stayl</i>   |
| HOW MUCH/MANY   |                           | <i>haw məch</i>         |  |
| HOW MUCH/MANY X |                           |                         | <i>haw məch x</i>  |

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

Question phrases (c) may consist of a prepositional phrase introduced by *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’, *fəseka* ‘due to’ and *wɛt* ‘with; due to’ and containing a mono- or bimorphemic question word (e.g. *fɔ̃ wetin* ‘ASS what’ = ‘WHY’). Alternatively, question phrases may consist of find idiomatic

clauses featuring the verbs *mek* ‘make’ or *du* ‘do’ and *wetin* or *us=tin* ‘WHAT’ in subject position. A second type of question phrase involves associative constructions featuring the bimorphemic question word *us=kayn* and a generic or other noun (e.g. *us=kayn pəsin* ‘Q=kind person’ = ‘WHO’; *us=kayn mətó* ‘Q=kind car’ = ‘WHICH car’).

In Table 8.4, *x* stands for any noun. WHICH *x* and HOW MUCH *x* therefore question noun modifiers and quantifiers respectively. The table contains all unequivocally accepted question elements and excludes other logically possible but unattested options (e.g. *?us=ples* ‘Q=place’ = ‘WHERE’; *?us=kayn man* ‘Q=kind man’ = ‘WHO’):

### 8.3.2.1. Structural issues

In content questions, any constituent other than the definite article *dì*, focus and topic particles or TMA markers can be questioned through replacement by a question element. Question words show some distributional restrictions when compared to regular nouns.

For instance, question elements are not usually modified by demonstratives and deictic adverbials, or modifier nouns and adjectives. Similarly, only *udat* and *us=pəsin* ‘WHO’ may optionally take the pluraliser *dèn* (i.e. *\*us=tin dèn* ‘\*what PL’):

(748) Yù si **udat** **dèn?**  
 2SG see who PL  
 ‘Who [plural] did you see?’ [sa07fn 267]

(749) Yù si **us=pəsin** **dèn?**  
 2SG see Q=person PL  
 ‘Who [plural] did you see?’ [nn07fn 277]

The pluralisation of ‘WHO’ is likely to be a structural borrowing from Spanish, or is at least reinforced by the equivalent Spanish structure. Compare the equivalent Spanish question:

(750) Quien-**es** son?  
 WHO-PL are  
 ‘Who are they?’

Question elements also have other distributional characteristics of regular NPs. For example, in the following sentence, *udat* ‘WHO’ is found in the possessor position of a dislocated possessive construction, which in turn participates in a presentative clause:

(751) Nà **udat** **in** **buk** dis?  
 FOC who 3SG.POSS book this  
 ‘Whose book (is) this?’ [ro05de 055]

Multiple core (752) and adverbial (753) NPs forming part of coordinate structures may also be questioned. These two examples also show that in principle, a sentence may contain several question elements, even if this is rare in natural speech:

(752) **Udat wèt wetin** dè hàmbóg yu?  
 who with what IPFV bother 2SG.EMP  
 ‘Who and what is bothering you?’ [ge07fn 299]

(753) **Us=say wèt haw** yù dè was?  
 Q=side with how 2SG IPFV wash  
 ‘Where and how are you washing?’ [dj05ce 182]

Question elements may occur in situ in the original position of the questioned element or they may be fronted. Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the clause as shown in (752). They may also optionally be focused in cleft constructions (754):

(754) **Nà udat** hàmbóg dèn?  
 FOC who bother 3PL.EMP  
 ‘Who bothered them?’ [ro05de 041]

Objects can be questioned in situ (e.g. *udat dèn* and *us=pəsin dèn* in (748) and (749) above) or be fronted (755). Fronted objects may also optionally be cleft-focused (756):

(755) **Us=tin** yù **tək** mə səf?  
 Q= thing 2SG talk again EMP  
 ‘What did you say again?’ [dj07ae 344]

(756) **Nà us=kayn tin** dèn **tek** mek dis, digamos di bətul?  
 FOC Q=kind thing 3PL take make this let’s.say this bottle  
 ‘What’s, let’s say this bottle, made of?’ [ye05ce 113]

The objects of prepositions may also be questioned in situ or be fronted. When fronted, either the entire prepositional phrase appears at the beginning of the clause, or the preposition is stranded. However, stranding in questions is only attested with *fə* ‘Ass’ (757), *wèt* ‘with’ (758) and *pən* ‘on’ (759):

(757) **Wetin** yù want sàbí **fə**?  
 what 2SG want know ASS  
 ‘What do you want to know for?’ [ro05de 045]

(758) **Us=man** yù bìn dè tək **wèt** yéstàdé?  
 Q=man 2SG PST IPFV talk with yesterday  
 ‘Who were you talking with yesterday?’ [ro07fn 215]

(759) **Us=bed** yù kìn slip **pən**?  
 Q=bed 2SG HAB sleep on  
 ‘Which bed do you usually sleep on?’ [ur07fn 238]



All constituents that may be questioned in main clauses can also be replaced by question elements in subordinate clauses. Non-subject constituents of subordinate clauses can be questioned in situ (760) or be fronted (761):

(760) Yù tək se Pancho dè yus **udat** ìn **mòtó?**  
 2SG talk QUOT NAME IPFV use who 3SG.POSS car  
 ‘You said that Pancho uses whose car?’ [dj05ce 146]

(761) **Us=tin** yù tək se yù want **sàbí?**  
 Q=thing 2SG talk QUOT 2SG want know  
 ‘What did you say you wanted to know?’ [dj05ce 132]

Complement or adverbial clauses introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ are questioned like nominal constituents. The question word is, however, always found in situ as in the rhetorical question in (762). Here a cause clause is questioned by means of the phrase *se wetin* ‘QUOT what’ = ‘because of what’:

(762) À gò pul=àn nà mì yay **se wetin?**  
 1SG.SBJ POT remove=3SG.OBJ LOC 1SG.POSS eye QUOT what  
 ‘I would remove it [the pair of sunglasses] from my eyes for what?’ [ye07ga 011]

### 8.3.2.2. Questioning subjects and objects

Questioned subjects naturally occur at the beginning of the question clause as in (754) above. Questioned objects appear at the beginning of the sentence (763), or in their original position (764). These two examples feature the question word *wetin* ‘WHAT’, which is used for questioning inanimate entities:

(763) **Wetin** yù want **no?**  
 what 2SG want know  
 ‘What do you want to know?’ [dj05ce 086]

(764) Yù want **no wetin?**  
 2SG want know what  
 ‘You want to know what?’ [dj05ce 087]

Example (765) illustrates the questioning of a complex object NP. The dislocated possessive construction *udat ìn mòtó* ‘whose car’ is the object of *yus* ‘use’ and under focus with the focus particle *nà*. The questioning of a possessor NP is also achieved by circumlocution with the verb *get* ‘get, have’ (766).

Both examples involve the question word *udat* ‘WHO’, which is used for questioning human referents. In a minority of cases, the concept ‘WHO’ is also expressed by the bimorphemic question words *us=pəsin* ‘Q=person’ (cf. (749) above) and *us=man* ‘Q=man’ (cf. (758) above) in all relevant syntactic positions:

(765) **Nà udat ìn mòtó** Pancho dè yus?  
 FOC who 3SG.POSS car NAME IPFV use  
 ‘It’s whose car Pancho is using?’ [dj05ce 118]

(766) **Nà udat get** dis buk?  
 FOC who get this book  
 ‘Who possesses this book?’ [ro05de 054]

The clitic question element *us=Q* may combine with the pronominal and noun substitute *wan* ‘one’ in order to render the concept WHICH ONE. The collocation may be used to selectively question any noun (767). *Us=wán* is also employed in an idiomatic question clause in order to ask for a person’s name (768). The latter usage is thoroughly conventionalised and very likely to be a calque from the equivalent Spanish phrase *cual es tu nombre?* ‘which (one) is your name’ = ‘what’s your name?’:

(767) Èhé, dan wan min se **us=wán** nà dì escala?  
 exactly that one mean QUOT Q=ONE LOC DEF scale  
 ‘Exactly, that means which one [of the two] is the scale?’ [fr03cd.092]

(768) **Us=wán** nà ìn nem?  
 Q=one FOC 3SG.POSS NAME  
 ‘What’s his name?’ [ko03sp 061]

A similar syntactic flexibility is characteristic of the objects of V2 minor (i.e. closed class) verbs in SVCs. The questioned object of *pas* ‘surpass’ in the comparative SVC in (769), and the object of *kér* ‘carry, take’ in the motion-direction SVC in (770) may be found in the original syntactic position:

(769) È big **pas udat?**  
 3SG.SBJ big pass who  
 ‘He is bigger than who?’ [ye05ce 119]

(770) Dèn *kér* dì mòtó **go us=say?**  
 3PL carry DEF car go where  
 ‘Where did they take the car to?’ [au07fn 239]

Alternatively, the objects of V2 minor verbs may occur in the sentence-initial, fronted position with or without additional cleft focus marking, with the same liberty as other objects. These constructions leave the V2 of the SVC ‘stranded’ in the sentence-final position. Compare the following two sentences with the two preceding ones above:

(771) **Nà udat** di bøy big **pas?**  
 FOC who DEF boy big pass  
 ‘Who is this boy bigger than?’ [lo07he 016]

- (772) **Us=say** yù dè kɛr      dì mòtó      go?  
 Q= side 2SG IPFV carry      DEF car      go  
 ‘Where are you taking the car to?’ [lo07he 018]

At the same time, the questioning of the instrument or material objects of *tek* ‘take’ in participant-introducing SVCs is characterised by some idiosyncracies. Firstly, speakers seem to prefer to front the questioned object rather than leave it in the original syntactic position between *tek* ‘take’ and the following major verb (i.e. *bil* ‘build’ in the following example). Compare (773):

- (773) **Us=kayn plenk** dèn **tek**      **bil**      dì hos?  
 Q=kind board 3PL take      build      DEF house  
 ‘What (kind of) board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]

Secondly, we find double marking of the instrument objects of *tek* ‘take’ as a rather regular way of questioning these objects. In (774), the object of *tek* (i.e. *us=tin* ‘what’) is fronted and focused. The question word and object *us=tin* is additionally preceded by the instrumental/comitative preposition *wèt* ‘with’ as if the corresponding declarative clause had been something ungrammatical like *\*dèn tek wèt plenk bil dì hos* ‘3PL take with board build DEF house’ = ‘they took with board to build the house’ (cf. also (1819)-(1820)):

- (774) Nà **wèt**      **us=tin**      dèn tek bil      dì hos?  
 FOC with      Q=thing 3PL takebuild      DEF house  
 ‘With what did they build the house?’ [dj07ae 479]

However, fronting of the patient object of the major (open class) verb in *tek* SVCs is not accepted (775). Patients are usually questioned in situ, in their original syntactic position following the major verb (776):

- (775) **\*Us=kayn**      **hos**      dèn **tek** plenk      **bil**?  
 Q=kind      house 3PL takeboard      build  
 \*Which (kind of) house did they take board to build? [dj07ae 482]

- (776) Dèn **tek** ston      **bil**      **us=kayn** hos?  
 3PL take stone      build      Q=kind house  
 ‘Which house did they build of stone?’

### 8.3.2.3. Questioning modifiers

Modifiers and demonstratives in NPs are questioned via three question elements: the clitic *us=* ‘Q, WHICH’; the (marginally employed) phonologically independent question word *wich* ‘WHICH’ and the bimorphemic question word *us=kayn* ‘Q=kind’. Quantifiers are questioned by means of *haw məch* ‘how much’ (cf. (799)-(801) below).

The element *us=* straddles the boundary of a more functional and a more lexical meaning. Consider the translations of the following two examples, which contrast the rarely used and more lexical *wich* ‘which’ with the high-frequency question particle *us=* ‘Q’:

(777) **Wich man** dèn bìn kil nà kwata?  
 which man 3PL PST kill LOC quarter  
 ‘Which man was killed in (our) quarter?’ [ro05de 047]

(778) **Us=man** dèn kil nà kwata?  
 Q=man 3PL kill LOC quarter  
 ‘Which man/who was killed in our quarter?’ [ro05de 048]

One indication of the more functional status of *us=* is its cliticisation in the first place (cf. 5.2). Secondly, in the majority of instances in the corpus, *us=* combines with a limited number of generic nouns (e.g. *pəsin* ‘person’; *man* ‘man, person’; *tin* ‘thing’; *say* ‘side, place’; *tən* ‘time’) in order to form general, basic question words with meanings like WHO, WHAT, WHERE and WHEN. Yet, *us=* is nevertheless used with the meaning WHICH in order to form specific question words questioning modifiers as in the following two examples:

(779) **Us=nomba** yù get fɔ̃ dan móvil?  
 which=number 2SG get ASS that mobile  
 ‘Which number do you have in that (your) mobile?’ [ye03cd.129]

(780) **Us=nesən?**  
 which=nation  
 ‘Which people [does he belong to]?’ [eb07fn 090]

However, questions like (779) and (780) are equally often formed by employing the question word *us=kayn* ‘Q=kind’ instead of *us=* alone. The meaning of *us=kayn* therefore also vacillates between a more literal sense, in which the pronominal and generic noun *kayn* ‘kind’ retains its lexical meaning of ‘kind’, and a more functional one, in which the entire question word *us=kayn* is equivalent to *us=*, ‘Q, WHICH’. This ambiguity in the meaning of *kayn* ‘kind’ is reflected in the translations of the following two examples:

(781) a. È kìn kuk sup.  
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup  
 ‘He usually cooks soup.’ [dj03cd 086]  
 b. **Us=kayn** sup?  
 Q=kind soup  
 ‘Which (kind of) soup?’ [fr03cd 087]

(782) Se pàpá Gɔd **us=kayn** trɔbul dis?  
 QUOT father God Q=kind trouble this  
 ‘(I said) God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

The more functional use of *us=kayn* is more obvious when it precedes a generic noun as in the following two examples. Here the phrase *us=kayn tin* ‘Q=kind thing’ has the same meanings as *wetin* or *us=tin* ‘WHAT’. Note that (783) is a free relative clause, and sentence (784) an indirect question. The long forms featuring *kayn* ‘kind’ are equally common in this position as are the shorter forms *wetin* and *us=tin*:

(783) Afta à no sàbí **us=kayn tin** kan pas.  
 then 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=kind thing PFV pass  
 ‘Then, I don’t know what happened.’ [fr03ft 110]

(784) Yù no wèt **us=kayn tin** dèn mek dis tin?  
 2SG know with Q=kind thing 3PL make this thing  
 ‘Do you know with what this is made?’ [ye05ce 142]

The same, more functional use can be observed when *us=kayn* precedes the generic noun *stayl* ‘style, manner’ in order to question an adverbial of manner (cf. (792)-(793) below). However, *us=kayn* is not found in conjunction with human-denoting generic nouns like *man* ‘man’ or *pəsin* ‘person’ with the meaning of ‘WHO’.

#### 8.3.2.4. Questioning adverbials

Adverbials are questioned through mono- and bimorphemic question words as well as question phrases. Adverbials of time may be questioned with the question word *us=tən* ‘Q=time’. This question word is general in its meaning and may question any time unit::

(785) **Us=tən** yù rich?  
 Q=time 2SG arrive  
 ‘When [which time/day/month/ year] did you arrive? [dj05ce 154]

Nevertheless, speakers prefer to question time units specifically by using the logically most likely option as in the following questions involving the time units *de* ‘day’, *mun* ‘month’ and *hia* ‘year’ respectively:

(786) **Us=de** yù kan ya?  
 Q=day 2SG come here  
 ‘When [on which day] did you come here?’ [ro05ee 009]

(787) **Us=mun** yù dè go?  
 Q=month 2SG IPFV go  
 ‘When [in which month] are you going?’ [ro05ee 010]

(788) **Us=hia** yù bən?  
 Q=year 2SG be.born  
 ‘When [in which year] were you born?’ [ro05ee 011]

In the same vein, time units of the day are often questioned by the more specific bimorphemic question word *us=awa* ‘Q=hour’ (789), which may refer to units of the clock as well as periods of the day (e.g. *mānin tēn* ‘morning’, *san tēn* ‘noon’, *net* ‘night’):

- (789) **Us=awa** yù rich?  
 Q=hour 2SG reach  
 ‘When [at what period of the day; at what time] did you arrive?’ [dj05ce 153]

The generic nouns *say* ‘side, place’ (pervasive) and *pat* (marginal) combine with *us=* ‘Q’ in order to render ‘WHERE’ and question locative adverbials. The question word *us=say* tends to have a more general meaning than *us=pat* ‘Q=part, place’. The logical option *us=ples* ‘Q=place’ is accepted in elicitation but not attested in natural speech. Compare (790) and (791):

- (790) **Us=say** yù kòmót?  
 Q=side 2SG come.out  
 ‘Where do you come from?’ [dj05ce 167]
- (791) **Us=pat** yù kòmót?  
 Q=part 2SG come.out  
 ‘Where do you come from?’ OR  
 ‘Which place do you come from?’ [ro05ee 086]

The bimorphemic question word *us=kayn* ‘WHICH’ is also employed as a modifier of the generic noun *stayl* ‘style’ in order to question manner adverbials (792)-(793). Note the subtle difference in meaning between *us=kayn stayl* ‘by which means’ in the following examples and *haw* ‘how’ further below:

- (792) Nà **us=kayn stayl** yù tek kan nà ya?  
 FOC Q=kind style 2SG take come LOC here  
 ‘By which means did you come here?’ [ro05ee 005]
- (793) **Us=kayn stayl** yù rich ya?  
 Q=kind style 2SG reach here  
 ‘By which means did you get here?’ [dj05ce 151]

A second and equally common means of questioning manner adverbials is provided by the monomorphemic question word *haw* ‘how’. Sentence (794) involves a main clause, example (795) a main and subordinate clause:

- (794) **Haw** è bìn so, **haw** è bìgín,  
 how 3SG.SBJ PST show how 3SG.SBJ begin  
**haw** è sàlút yu?  
 how 3SG.SBJ greet 2SG.EMP

‘How did he show [respect], how did he begin, how did he greet you?’ [au07se 134]

- (795) **Haw** yù sàbí se nà rubio?  
 how 2SG know QUOT FOC light  
 ‘How do you know it’s light?’ [ab03ab 182]

In addition, *haw* may precede the quantifier *məch* ‘much’ and form an independent question word in order to question a quantity (796) as well as the degree to which the property of a property item applies (797)–(798):

- (796) **Haw məch** dis sət kəs?  
 how much this shirt cost  
 ‘How much did this shirt cost?’ [ro05de 061]

- (797) **Haw məch lən?**  
 how much be.long  
 ‘How long?’ [ye 07fn 066]

- (798) **Haw məch** di tin evi?  
 how much this thing be.heavy  
 ‘How heavy is this thing?’ [lo07he 047]

The collocation *haw məch* is also used to question quantifiers of count and mass nouns alike. Compare (799) in which a time quantity (hence duration) is questioned, (800) in which a mass nouns is questioned, and (801) in which the count noun *pikín* ‘child’ is questioned:

- (799) Yù bìn ste **haw məch de?**  
 2SG PST stay how much day  
 ‘How many days did you stay?’ [kw03sp 066]

- (800) **Haw məch wətá** yù want?  
 how much water 2SG want  
 ‘How much water do you want?’ [lo07he 046]

- (801) **Haw məch pikín** dè go nà dan skul?  
 how much child IPFV go LOC that school  
 ‘How many children go to that school.’ [ro05de 062]

Adverbials of cause can be questioned in a number of ways. Firstly *wetin* and less frequently *us=tin* ‘WHAT’ regularly occur with the meaning of ‘WHY’ (802). The use of these two question words often colours the question with reproach if the subject of the clause is human:

- (802) **Wetin** yù no dè wok tìdé?  
 what 2SG NEG IPFV work today  
 ‘Why [how come] come you’re not working today?’ [ye05ce 171]

The question word *haw* ‘how’ is used in a similar way in rhetorical questions that altogether call the legitimacy of an addressee’s statement, potential answer or behaviour into question. This type of question clause therefore involves the use of the potential mood:

- (803) **Haw** mosquito no gò bɛt=àn?  
 how mosquito NEG POT bite=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Why wouldn’t mosquitos bite him [since you have removed the mosquito net]?’ [ab03ab 141]
- (804) **Haw** yù gò de yù no gɛt pìkín?  
 how 2SG POT there 2SG NEG get child  
 ‘Why would you live without having children [what a ridiculous thing to demand].’ [kw03sb 203]

Secondly, *wetin* and *us=tin* occur in pragmatically more neutral question phrases as the objects of prepositions that may mark NPs for a cause semantic role (cf. 11.1.3 for details). In (805), *wetin* is the object of *fɔ̀* ‘ASS’ (805), in (806), *wèt* ‘with’ is followed by *us=tin*, and in (807), the preposition *fɔ̀seka* ‘due to’ takes *us=tin* as its object. The resulting phrases all serve to question adverbials of cause. Note that these phrases can optionally appear under cleft-focus like any other question element:

- (805) **Fɔ̀ wetin** yù no dè wok tìdé?  
 ASS what 2SG NEG IPFV work today  
 ‘Why aren’t you working today?’ [dj05ce 172]
- (806) Nà **wèt us=tin** ìn pìkín day, us=sik?  
 FOC with Q=thing 3SG.POSS child die Q=sickness  
 ‘Due to what did his child die, which sickness?’ [lo07he 055]
- (807) Nà **fɔ̀seka us=tin** ìn pìkín day?  
 FOC due.to Q=thing 3SG.POSS child die  
 ‘Why did his child die?’ [lo07he 053]

The preposition *fɔ̀seka* ‘due to’ may also be employed on its own as a question word in a truncated question phrase of the type presented in (808):

- (808) **Fɔ̀seka** ìn pìkín day?  
 due.to 3SG.POSS child die  
 ‘Due to (what) did his child die?’ [lo07he 056]



The third way of questioning adverbials of cause is via the idiomatic clauses *wetin mek* ‘WHAT make’ = ‘why, how come’ and *us=tin mek* ‘WHAT make’ = ‘why, how come’ (809). *Mek* also occurs with the meaning ‘(to) cause’ as a full verb in questions such as (810):

(809) **Wetin mek** yù no dè wok tìdé?  
 what make 2SG NEG IPFV work today  
 ‘How come you aren’t you working today?’ [ro05ee 016]

(810) **Wetin mek** da wan èn?  
 what make that one INTJ  
 ‘What causes that?’ [ma03hm 080]

There is some variation in the degree of idiomaticity of *wetin/us=tin mek*, which is reflected in the degree of ‘verbiness’ of *mek* ‘make’. Example (809) above presents the most common way of employing *wetin mek*. The element *mek* is neither modified for a TMA category nor is it accompanied by other characteristics that would point to its status as a verb.

In contrast, the question in (811) is indicative of a more ‘verby’ status of *mek* than in (809). Here, the questioned situation denoted by *wok* ‘work’ is the predicate of a quotative clause to the main verb *mek*. The quotative marker and complementiser *se* ‘QUOT’ links the main and subordinate clauses:

(811) **Wetin mek se** yù no wok tìdé?  
 what make QUOT 2SG NEG work today  
 ‘How come you didn’t you work today?’ [dj05ce 174]

Sentence (812) below contains the most verb-like instance of *mek*. Here *mek* not only functions as a main verb to the complement verb *wok* ‘work’. It also induces a subjunctive mood over the complement clause because it is employed with its lexical meaning as a deontic causative verb (cf. 11.4.4). Equally, the main verb *mek* is fully finite as can be seen by the presence of the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’:

(812) **Us=tin dè mek se mek** yù no wok tìdé?  
 Q=thing IPFV make QUOT SBJV 2SG NEG work today  
 ‘What is causing you not to work today?’ [ye05ce 173]

### 8.3.3 Answers

In Pichi, *ye(s)* ‘yes’ is the central agreement interjection. Both *ye* and *yes* are employed in formal and informal registers alike. Compare the answer in (813)(b):

(813) a. Naw yù fit dring=àn nɔ?  
 now 2SG can drink=3SG.OBJ INTJ  
 ‘Now, you’re able to drink it, right?’ [kw03sp 115]

- b. Naw so, **yes** à fit dring=àn fayn.  
 now like.that yes 1SG.SBJ can drink=3SG.OBJ fine  
 'Now, I'm able to drink it [milk] well.' [ed03sp 116]

Stronger degrees of agreement can be signalled by other elements. The interjection *èhé* signals emphatic 'yes'. The focus constructions *nà so* 'FOC so' = 'that's how it is', *nà in* 'FOC 3SG.EMP' = 'that's it' and *nà dī tin* 'FOC DEF thing' = 'that's it' also signal strong agreement.

The elements *no* and *nə* are used as free variants in order to signal disagreement. The former element is identical in form to the general negator *no*. Many Pichi speakers agree or disagree with the polarity of the question. Hence agreement with the negative polarity of the question in (814) evokes the use of the agreement marker *yes*:

- (814) a. So yù **no** gò chəp?  
 so 2SG NEG POT eat  
 'So you won't eat?' [chfn05 001]
- b. **Yes**, à no gò chəp.  
 yes 1SG.SBJ PRF POT eat  
 'No, I won't eat.' [lifn05 002]

In the same way, disagreement with the positive polarity of the question requires the use of the disagreement marker:

- (815) a. Yù gò chəp?  
 2SG POT eat  
 'Will you eat?'
- b. **No**, à **no** gò chəp.  
 NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG POT eat  
 'No, I won't eat.'

However, other speakers also employ *yes* and *no* to agree or disagree with the proposition, possibly through Spanish influence:

- (816) a. So yù **no** gò kan?  
 so 2SG NEG POT eat  
 'So you won't come?'
- b. **No**, à **no** gò kan.  
 no 1SG.SBJ NEG POT eat  
 'No, I won't come.' [lifn05 002]

In sentence-final position, *nə* functions as a question-tag, i.e. a conative interjection. In this function, *nə* is used in rhetorical questions as well as in biased questions, in which the speaker expresses the expectation that the answer will correspond to the polarity of the question (817):

- (817) Yù dè fil hət nə?  
 2SG IPFV feel hot INTJ  
 ‘You’re feeling hot, aren’t you?’ [ma03hm 007]

Aside from that, *nə* also serves as a phatic interjection in order to solicit attention (cf. 9.2.3). For example, the clause in (818) underlines the speaker’s commitment to the truth of a story that he has just narrated:

- (818) **Nə**, no tək èn!  
 INTJ NEG talk INTJ  
 ‘No, don’t talk [and call into question the truth of my story].’ [ed03sb 177]

Strong disagreement can be expressed by the focus construction *noto so* ‘NEG.FOC so’ = ‘that’s not how it is’. The following two sentences succeed each other in a narrative. The disagreement expressed in (819)(a) is underlined by sentence (b):

- (819) a. Dèn tɛl=àn se ‘**noto so**.’  
 3PL tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT NEG.FOC like.that  
 ‘They said to her “that’s not how it was”.’ [ed03sb 045]
- b. Tɛl wi tru!  
 tell 1PL.EMP true  
 ‘Tell us (the) truth!’ [ed03sb 046]

Even stronger disagreement is expressed through the negative phrases *no wan de* ‘never’ (820)(b) and *no we* ‘no way’ (821)(b). The following two sentence pairs illustrate their use in signalling disagreement in response to a question:

- (820) a. Nà yu chəp di tin?  
 FOC 2SG.EMP eat this thing  
 ‘Did you eat this (thing)?’ [ur07he 061]
- b. **No wande**, noto mi.  
 NEG one day NEG.FOC 1SG.EMP  
 ‘Never, it’s not me.’ [lo07he 062]
- (821) a. Yù gò kan wèt mi?  
 2SG POT come with 1SG.EMP  
 ‘Will you come with me?’ [ur07he 063]
- b. **No we**, à no gò kan.  
 NEG way 1SG.SBJ NEG POT come  
 ‘No way, I won’t come.’ [lo07he 064]

Given the right pragmatic context, the question word *us=say* ‘WHERE’ may signal strong disagreement as well (822)(b). The imperative clause *kəmót de* ‘get lost’ can be employed to

express strong, and abusive disagreement (823)(b):

- (822) a. Dèn dòn gi yù dì mòní?  
 3PL PRF give 2SG DEF money  
 ‘Have they given you the money?’
- b. **Us=say?**  
 Q=side  
 ‘Where? [not at all]’
- (823) a. Yù no gò du=àn fò mi?  
 2SG NEG POT do=3SG.OBJ ASS 1SG.EMP  
 ‘Won’t you do it for me?’
- b. **Kòmót de!**  
 go.out there ‘get lost!’

The answer to a content questions may be given in full or truncated sentences consisting of the questioned constituent(s) as in (824)(b):

- (824) a. Us=wan nà ìn nem?  
 Q=one FOC 3SG.POSS NAME  
 ‘What’s his name?’ [ko03sp 061]
- b. Nguema Mba.  
 NAME NAME  
 ‘Nguema Mba’ [ed03sp 062]

## 8.4 Focus

The extensive use of focus structures in sentence formation is a distinctive mark of Pichi. Focus constructions have two principal pragmatic functions in the language. Firstly, they serve to present new information. For this function, I employ the term “presentational focus” (Drubig 2003). Secondly, focus constructions serve to assert previously introduced information that runs counter to the presupposition of an addressee. This function is here referred to as “contrastive focus” (Chafe 1976: 35ff.). Focus is realised through three distinct strategies: suprasegmental focus, particle focus and cleft focus. Cleft focus may also be applied to verbs in so-called predicate cleft constructions (cf. 8.4.5). The language employs various other means for emphasis, including presentatives.

### 8.4.1 Suprasegmental focus

The use of focus constructions is intimately tied to suprasegmental phonology. Firstly, focus at the sentence or clause level may be signalled by emphatic intonation (cf. 4.4.2) and

emphatic stress (cf. 4.3.2). Secondly emphatic stress may also be employed to focus individual constituents or groups of constituents. These forms of suprasegmental focus may be freely combined with the different types of focus constructions presented in the following.

#### 8.4.2 Particle focus

Particle focus involves the elements *sef* ‘self, EMP’, *senwe* ‘EMP’ and the sentence particles/interjections *èn* ‘INTJ’ and *ò* ‘SP’ (cf. 9.3 for a detailed treatment of these elements). These elements may signal focus of constituents of varying complexity including entire clauses and sentences. The following table provides an overview:

Table 8.5 Focus particles

| Form         | Translations                         | Focus type                  | Scope                 | Other uses                         |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>sef</i>   | ‘-self, too, even, actually, really’ | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Reflexive anaphor                  |
| <i>senwe</i> | ‘-self, too’                         | Presentational; contrastive | constituent           | —                                  |
| <i>ò</i>     | ‘really, actually, even, at all’     | Presentational; contrastive | Sentence; constituent | Vocative; assertion; encouragement |
| <i>èn</i>    | ‘really’                             | Presentational              | Sentence; constituent | Channel check                      |

##### 8.4.2.1. Forms and functions

The reflexive anaphor and emphatic particle *sef* ‘self, EMP’ is the most frequently used form in particle focus. The following sentence presents the use of *sef* as a reflexive anaphor (cf. 11.3.5 for a detailed treatment):

- (825) Dan gal è kìn fiks **ìn** **sef**,  
 that girl 3SG.SBJ HAB fix 3SG.POSS self  
 pent **ìn** **sef**.  
 paint 3SG.POSS self

That girl, she usually does herself up, paints herself [puts on make-up].’ [dj07ae 114]

The two successively uttered sentences (826)(a) and (b) exemplify the use of *sef* in signalling presentational focus. In (826)(a), the speaker provides information on the topic *dan man* ‘that man’. In (b), the same speaker fills in the information gap in combination with presentational focus of the entire sentence:

- (826) a. Dan man è bin kan go nà jel lòn ten.  
 that man 3SG.SBJ PST PFV go LOC jail longtime  
 ‘That man, he went to jail long ago.’ [ma03sh 015]
- b. Naw è dòn day **sef**.  
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMP  
 ‘Now he is even dead.’ [ma03sh 016]

The corpus contains a single occurrence of *sef* preceded by a 3SG.POSS pronoun which is coreferential with the head noun of the focused NP (827). This structure is a dislocated possessive construction in which *sef* functions as a nominal in the possessed noun position. In the construction, the low-toned 3SG possessive pronoun and *sef* together signal emphasis or focus of the preceding noun *dì bɔy* ‘the boy’:

- (827) We **dì bɔy ìn sef**, we è si mi  
 SUB DEF boy 3SG.POSS self SUB 3SG.SBJ see 1SG.EMP  
 è stat contente.  
 3SG.SBJ start content  
 ‘And the boy himself, when he saw me, he began to be content.’ [ab03ay 046]

The construction in (827) is, however, marginal. Note the difference between (827) and the following (828). In the latter example, *sef* is used as a regular focus particle, postposed to the high-toned 3SG emphatic personal pronoun:

- (828) **Ìn sef** go nà bafrum è was.  
 3SG.EMP self go LOC bathroom 3SG.SBJ wash  
 ‘He (by) himself went to the bathroom (and) washed.’ [ab03ab 148]

Contrastive use of *sef* is illustrated in (829). In its function as a focus marker, *sef* often assumes a reading of inclusive or exhaustive listing – hence the translation of *sef* as ‘too, also, even’ and ‘alone, without help’. In fact, a postposed *sef* most appropriately renders the notion ‘too, also’ in a sentence like (830).

The following two examples also show that *sef* has the most flexible scope of all particles. It may signal focus of sentences (829) as well as smaller constituents, such as a personal pronoun (830):

- (829) **Yù no sef**, yù jɔs kan, yù no gò sàbí,(...)  
 2SG know EMP 2SG just come 2SG NEG POT know  
 ‘Even (if) you know, if you’ve just come, you won’t know, (...)’ [ma03hm 044]
- (830) **Mi sef** dòn rich Cotonou.  
 1SG.EMP EMP PRF arrive PLACE  
 ‘I too have been to Cotonou.’ [nn05fn 005]

The particle *senwe* ‘EMP’ is presumably a lexicalised collocation (i.e. *sen.we* ‘same.way’). It is employed in the same way as *sef* in order to signal presentational and contrastive focus (831). The use of *senwe* as a clausal focus particle is not attested. In general, *senwe* occurs less frequently than *sef* and is found more often to focus personal pronouns than full nouns. Consider the following example, in which *senwe* signals presentational focus of the personal pronoun *yu* ‘2SG.EMP’:

- (831) Di wan, **yu** **senwe** yù dè go.  
 this one 2SG.EMP EMP 2SG IPFV go  
 ‘This time, you are going [to die].’ [ed03sb 040]

The element ò ‘INTJ’ may signal presentational or contrastive focus of entire clauses as in (833) below. The particle is a sentence-final element which has scope over all preceding material, which may be a predicate-less sentence (832) or a clause (833). However, modification by means of ò also colours the sentence with meanings like warning, assertion, empathy or emphasis (cf. 9.3 for more details):

- (832) Bàta tɔng ò.  
 PLACE tongue SP  
 ‘That’s the Fang language for you [See how peculiar it is].’ [to03gm 014]

- (833) À bìn dɔn, à bin dɔn blant fɔ Gabón ò.  
 1SG.SBJ PST PRF 1SG.SBJ PST PRF reside ASS Gabon SP  
 ‘I’ve already, I’ve already lived in Gabon [contrary to what you think].’  
 [ma03hm 035]

The interjection *èn* ‘INTJ’ is principally employed in sentence-final position as a channel-checking device in order to solicit the attention of an addressee (cf. also 9.2.2). Channel-checking automatically lends prominence to a preceding utterance, hence *èn* may function very much like other sentential focus particles (834).

- (834) Djunais, yù bàdhát **èn**.  
 NAME 2SG be.mean INTJ  
 ‘Djunais you ‘re really mean.’ [fr03wt 032]

Beyond that, *èn* may also occur in mid-sentence, followed by a pause, in order to focus a single constituent. In (835), the Spanish depictive adjective *fresco* ‘fresh’ is fronted and singled out for focus by *èn*:

- (835) **Fresco** **èn**, dèn dè gi wi.  
 fresh INTJ 3PL IPFV give 1PL.EMP  
 ‘Fresh, (that’s how) they would give (it) to us.’ [ed03sp 103]

### 8.4.2.2. Eligible constituents

Any sentence constituent may be subjected to particle focus save dependent personal pronouns, determiners, and TMA particles. Equally, the individual elements of multi-constituent NPs cannot be focused, since an NP must be focused in its entirety. Other than that, constituents of varying degrees of complexity may be focused. Sentence (836) features a prepositional phrase with a single noun under focus, and (837) the complex prepositional phrase and reflexive construction *nà yù skin* ‘on you(r body)’:

(836) **Nà Trinidad sef** nɔ?

LOC PLACE EMP INTJ

‘Even in Trinidad, right?’ [au07se 226]

(837) Èf è dè go yù se supone que è dè fayn  
if 3SG.SBJ IPFV go 2SG refl assume that 3SG.SBJ IPFV fine

**nà yù skin sef.**

LOC 2SG body EMP

‘If it goes well with you, it’s assumed that it looks nice on you(r body).’ [dj07ae 175]

In dialogue, verbless, prosodically independent sentences can be found which consist of a focused constituent alone. By singling out particular elements in such a way, a speaker may convey strong emphatic force. Compare the discourse excerpt in the two following examples. In (838)(a) speaker (hi) emphasises the lack of responsibility of certain mothers by utilising focus with *sef*. Her statement is confirmed by speaker (bo) in (b):

(838) a. Bòt **dan kayn màamá dèn sef.**  
but that kind mother PL EMP  
‘But these kind of mothers, really.’ [hi03cb 113]

b. De verdad.  
of truth  
‘Really.’ [bo03cb 114]

The corpus contains many examples of focused adverbial phrases, in particular time adverbials such as *tumoro* ‘tomorrow’ in (839):

(839) We à dən joch dən, à se **tumoro senwe**  
SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF judge 3PL.EMP 1SG.SBJ QUOT tomorrow EMP

à dè go mit ìn man.  
1SG.SBJ IPFV go meet 3SG.POSS man

‘When I had talked them down, I said tomorrow, I’m going to meet her husband.’ [ro05rt 023]

Subordinate clauses may be focused by the same means as other, smaller sentence



constituents. The relative clause in (840) is under the scope of the particle *sef*. In (841), the clause introduced by *se* 'QUOT' is under focus by means of the sentence-final particle *ò*:

- (840) (...) è luk dì análisis, tiene paludismo de una cruz  
 3SG.SBJ look DEF analysis he.has malaria of one cross  
**we kìn kil pìkín sef.**  
 SUB HAB kill child EMP

'She [the doctor] looked at the analysis "he has malaria of one cross which even kills children".' [ab03ab 120]

- (841) Bikòs dèn tək se nà paludismo ò (...)  
 because 3PL talk QUOTFOC malaria SP  
 'Because they said that it's malaria (...)' [hi03cb 124]

Elements which are part of a coordinate structure can be focused separately (842), and there is no restriction save intelligibility on the number of elements that can be focused in one sentence. Compare (842) which features constituent focus by means of the particle *sef* and clausal focus by means of a sentence-final *ò*:

- (842) Tu pipul sef wèt wan pìkín dən kan ò.  
 two people EMP withone child PRF come SP  
 'Even two people and one child have come.'

Example (843) presents clausal focus (or alternatively focus of the object NP *dan* 'convence' *de*) through *sef*, as well as focus of the ensuing adverbial phrase *nà Pichi* by means of *senwe*:

- (843) À bìn want tək dan 'convence' de sef  
 1SG.SBJ PST want talk that convince there EMP  
**nà Pichi senwe,** à no dè memba.  
 LOC Pichi EMP 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV remember

'I had actually wanted to say that "convence" there in Pichi itself(but) I don't remember [how to say it].' [dj05ae 040]

Constituent and verb negation are compatible with particle focus. When used in combination with negation, particle focus produces emphatic negative readings like 'not at all, not even':

- (844) No man no blant ya mō sef.  
 NEG man NEG reside here more EMP  
 'Nobody even lives here anymore.' [ra07fn 064]

Personal pronouns can be focused through the use of the corresponding emphatic, independent form alone instead of resorting to *sef* or *senwe* (cf. (830)-(831) above). Compare

subject focus in the rhetorical question in (845):

- (845) **Mi** want dan man?  
 1SG.EMP want that man  
 ‘Do I [EMP] want that man?’ [ro05rt 026]

Clausal focus by means of *sef* is also regularly made use of in combination with the conditional clause linker *èf/if* in order to render concessive meaning (cf. 12.8.12).

#### 8.4.2.3. Word order and scope

Focused constituents may appear in situ, i.e. in the same syntactic position assigned to them in focus-neutral clauses. When this is the case, focus is signalled by the presence of a particle. In (846), the subject NP *in pàpá* ‘her father’ is highlighted via presentational focus only by means of the post-posed emphatic particle *sef*:

- (846) Afta **in** **pàpá** **sef** kan tek=àn.  
 then 3SG.POSS father EMP come take=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Then her father came to take her.’ [ab03ab 021]

Focused non-subject NPs may also be found in situ together with a focus particle. Compare the focused PP *fɔ̀ dì pikín* in (847):

- (847) Afta è nɔ̀to, è no fayn **fɔ̀ dì pikín sef**.  
 then 3SG.SBJ NEG.FOC 3SG.SBJ NEG fine ASS DEF child EMP  
 ‘Then it’s not, it’s not good for the child itself.’ [fr03ft 199]

When an object NP retains its usual syntactic position after the verb and is followed by a focus particle, discourse context and the presence of suprasegmental focus will usually disambiguate the resulting structure as involving clausal or phrasal focus.

In (848) the particle *sef* may be interpreted as having narrow scope over the object NP *dan tòrí* ‘that story’, or alternatively broad scope over the entire sentence:

- (848) Mi no sàbí us man dèn kil, à nɔ̀ba  
 1SG.EMP NEG know which man 3PL kill 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF  
 hia dan tòrí **sef**.  
 hear that story EMP  
 ‘I don’t know who was killed, I haven’t even heard that story yet.’  
 OR ‘I don’t know who was killed, I haven’t heard that particular  
 story yet.’ [ro05de 049]

Adverbials may be focused by exploiting their syntactic flexibility and placing them at the head of the sentence in combination with a focus particle (849). The corpus contains no instance of an object that has been fronted for focus. We only find focused, sentence-initial

non-subjects occurring in cleft constructions (cf. e.g. (865)):

- (849) **Lagos** **sef**, è get dì say we nà dì human dèn  
 PLACE EMP 3SG.SBJ get DEF side SUB FOC DEF woman PL  
 dè mared dì man.  
 IPFV marry DEF man  
 ‘Even in Lagos, there is a place where it’s the women (who)  
 marry the men.’ [hi03cb 177]

In contrast, examples abound, in which we find dislocated, focused core participants other than subjects simultaneously functioning as clausal topics (cf. 8.5 for more details). The overlaying of focus and topic structures in a single sentence, and the identity of topical and focused constituents in Pichi is only natural, since ‘given’, topical elements often also constitute the most important information in a sentence.

For example, sentence (850) features the dislocated and topical object NP *dì rop* ‘the rope’, followed by the focus particle *sef*. In contrast to fronting (i.e. in question formation) the use of dislocation comes along with the use of a resumptive pronoun (here the 3SG.OBJ pronoun =*àn*) in the original object position of the left-dislocated constituent:

- (850) Afta **dì rop** **sef**, wì no si no man we è hib=**àn**.  
 then DEF rope EMP 1PL NEG see NEG man SUB 3SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘And the rope, we didn’t see anybody who threw it.’ [li07pe 005]

Sentence (851) contains a left-dislocated object NP, the emphatic pronoun *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’, which is reiterated by the coreferential object pronoun *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’. In this example, too, focus of the dislocated topic is overtly signalled by means of the particle *sef*:

- (851) **Mi** **sef**, ol pòsin dèn kìn aks **mi** se  
 1SG.EMP EMP all person 3PL HAB ask 1SG.EMP QUOT  
 yù dòn bòn?  
 2SG PRF give.birth  
 ‘Even me everybody asks me “have you given birth  
 [do you have a child]?”’ [fr03ft 152]

Constructions involving personal pronouns are also the only ones in which ‘afterthought’ apposition is frequently employed in order to signal focus of personal pronouns. Example (852) contains an appositive *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ within the scope of the focus particle *senwe* and coreferential with the preceding dependent personal pronoun *à* ‘1SG.SBJ’:

- (852) À gò was=*àn* wèt mì han **mi** **senwe**.  
 1SG.SBJ POT wash=3SG.OBJ with1SG.POSS hand 1SG.EMP EMP  
 ‘I myself would wash it with my hand.’ [dj07re 049]

### 8.4.3 Cleft focus

The two elements *nà* (affirmative) and *nɔto* (negative) are employed in cleft constructions to signal focus of constituents of all degrees of complexity. The focus phrase *es que* ‘it is that’ is of Spanish origin and forms an integral part of the Pichi focus system. It is employed to cleft focus entire clauses. Some relevant characteristics of these three elements are given in the following table:

Table 8.6 Cleft focus particles

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

#### 8.4.3.1. Forms and functions

The form *nà* ‘FOC’ signals presentational and contrastive focus, *nɔto* ‘NEG.FOC’ contrastive focus. It is noteworthy that in the vast majority of instances in the corpus, cleft constructions do not exhibit any overt sign of relativisation. Hence in the following sentence, the subordinator *we* ‘SUB’ is not present in its potential position (indicated by  $\emptyset$ ):

- (853) Afta    **nà dan**    **tɛn**     $\emptyset$  à    kan go    **nà**    Alemania.  
 then    FOC that    time    SUB 1SG.SBJ    PFV go    LOC PLACE  
 ‘So it’s THAT TIME that I went to Germany.’ [fr03ft 030]

The negative focus marker *nɔto* is employed instead of *nà* to signal negative, contrastive focus. In example (854) *nɔto* signals contrastive focus of the object pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’. Note the use of the emphatic form of the personal pronoun as well as the occurrence of a resumptive *=àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ at the end of the clause:

- (854) Se    pero    manmì    brɔda    dat,    us=tin    è    dè    du    **nà**    ya,  
 QUOT    but    man1SG.POSS    brother that    Q=thing 3SG.SBJ    IPFV do    LOC here  
**nɔto**    **in**    wì    ber=**àn**    (...)?  
 NEG.FOC    3SG.EMP    1PL    bury=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘But man, that’s my brother, what’s he doing here, isn’t it him that we  
 buried (...)?’ [ed03sb 139]

The Spanish-origin focusing device *es que* ‘it is that’ is regularly employed to signal

presentational focus with clauses and sentences (855):

- (855) **Es que** è fayn we yù no sàbí se è kòmót  
 it.is that 3SG.SBJ fine SUB 2SG NEG know QUOT 3SG.SBJ come.out  
 f̃ ò ò animal.  
 ASS DEF animal  
 ‘It’s that it [the milk] is fine when you don’t know that it has just come out of the animal.’ [ed03sp 105]

Cleft constructions may be employed for signalling presentational and contrastive focus alike. In the following three sentences, speaker (ma) talks about a dog that has been tied to a tree by the neighbours downstairs. After providing circumstantial information in (856)(a)-(b), new information is introduced by presentational focus in (c):

- (856) a. Dèn tay=àn.  
 3PL tie=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They’ve tied it [that’s why it’s barking].’ [ma03hm 001]
- b. Dèn gət f̃ min se è dè hànbóg wi.  
 3PL get ASS mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV irritate 1PL.EMP  
 ‘They must mean to make it irritate us.’ [ma03hm 002]
- c. **Nà f̃ mek no go nà òn.**  
 FOC ASS make NEG go LOC down  
 ‘That’s in order for (us) not to go down.’ [ma03hm 003]

The use of contrastive focus is exemplified in the discourse excerpt below. In (857)(a), speaker (dj) jokingly denies any involvement in the spell that has been cast on speaker (dj). Speaker (ru) retorts by contrastively focusing the 2SG pronoun used in addressing his interlocutor in (b):

- (857) a. No mete mi insay di tók à beg!  
 NEG put 1SG.EMP inside this talk 1SG.SBJ ask.for  
 ‘Don’t involve me in this matter, please!’ [dj03wt 012]
- b. **Nà yu mek=àn.**  
 FOC 2SG.EMP make=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘It’s you who made it.’ [ru03wt 013]

Both *nà* ‘FOC’ and *nəto* ‘NEG.FOC’ also function as copula-like elements in clauses like (858)(b), in which a concrete entity is identified in discourse (cf. 8.6.1 for an extensive treatment of the copula functions of *nà/nəto*). Likewise, *nà/nəto* occur as identity copulas in equative constructions like (859), where we find nominal constituents on both sides of the copula:

- (858) a. Udat dè hàla-hala so?

who IPFV RED.CPD-shout like.that  
 ‘Who is shouting around like that?’

- b. **Nà** chàk-man.  
 FOC drunk.CPD-man  
 ‘It’s a drunkard.’

- (859) Dì human **nà** stròn human.  
 DEF woman FOC strong woman  
 ‘The woman is a strong woman.’ [dj05ae 200]

Presumably, the “identificational” function (cf. Higgins 1979: chapter 5) of *nà/ното* in pragmatic contexts like (858)(b) is the point of departure for the focus-marking and identity (i.e. equative) functions of *nà/ното* (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 96).

The difference between copula clauses and cleft focus has a structural correlate. In focus constructions, the out-of-focus part of the sentence is not normally expressed as a relative clause. Compare the pragmatically neutral clause in (860)(a) and the corresponding focus construction (b). The underscore in (860)(b) indicates where the subordinator and relativiser *we* ‘SUB’ should be found if the sentence involved a relative construction:

- (860) a. Dèn sən dī bəl.  
 3PL send DEF ball  
 ‘The ball was thrown.’ [au07se 169]
- b. **Nà** pəsin \_ sən dī bəl.  
 FOC person send DEF ball  
 ‘It’s a person/somebody who threw the ball.’ [au07se 169]

In copula clauses, however, the use of an overt relative clause introduced by *we* ‘SUB’ is obligatory if the identified entity is to be modified by a clause. In (861)(a), new information is introduced. This given information is implicitly referred to by sentence (b), which is therefore best seen to constitute an equative clause rather than a focus construction:

- (861) a. Haw yù kìn kəl=àn we pəsin dè siente verguenza?  
 how 2SG HAB call=3SG.OBJ SUB person IPFV feel shame  
 ‘How do you call it, when a person feels ashamed?’ [ko0505e3]
- b. **Nà** pəsin **we** dè fil sem.  
 FOC person SUB IPFV feel shame  
 ‘That’s a person who feels ashamed.’ [ro05fe 028]

The difference between copula predication and a focus structure can also be seen in the use of personal pronouns. In a copula construction, a 3SG independent pronoun with anaphoric reference may be inserted before *nà/ното*:

- (862) (In) *nà wan man* we dè ple wèt dì bəl.  
 3SG.EMP FOC one man SUB IPFV playwith DEF ball  
 ‘(He/that’s) a man who is playing with the ball.’ [ra07se 038]

By comparison, the insertion of a 3SG peronal pronoun is ungrammatical in the focus construction in (863) since *nà/nəto* is non-referential in these constructions. Likewise, a cleft focus construction cannot be rephrased as a presentative clause (cf. 8.4.4):

- (863) (\*In) *nà wan Annobón gel* wich yu?  
 3SG.EMP FOC one PLACE girl bewitch 2SG.EMP  
 ‘(\*She) an Annobonese girl bewitched you?’ [fr03wt 002]

#### 8.4.3.2. Eligible constituents and word order

Cleft constructions allow the focusing of constituents belonging to most word classes. In cleft constructions, the focused constituents invariably appear sentence-initially, irrespective of their syntactic category.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, focused subjects are neither followed by an out-of-focus relative clause, nor are they anaphorically referred to by a resumptive dependent subject pronoun (the latter is usually the case in subject relative clauses). Cleft focus and particle focus may occur together in the same clause as in this example:

- (864) *Nà Nguema Mba* bìn gi mi dan beca sɛf.  
 FOC NAME NAME PST give 1SG.EMP that scholarship EMP  
 ‘It’s Nguema Mba (who) actually gave me that scholarship.’ [ed03sp 058]

Cleft-focused non-subjects appear at the beginning of the sentence (865). The use of resumptive pronouns is not attested and the expression of the out-of-focus part of the sentence as a relative clause like in (866) is very rare:

- (865) *Nà wan sməl hil* è klem.  
 FOC one small hill 3SG.SBJ climb  
 ‘It’s a small hill that he climbed.’ [au07se 041]
- (866) (...) we wì sməl, *nà sosó Pichi* we wì dè tək.  
 SUB 1PL be.small FOC only Pichi SUB 1PL IPFV talk  
 ‘When we were small, it’s only Pichi that we would talk.’ [au07se 213]

There are also numerous instances of focused adverbs. Compare the adverb *so* ‘so, like this’ in (867), which is often encountered in a cleft construction *nà so* ‘it’s like that; that’s how it is’, as well as focused *dɛ* ‘there’ (868):

- (867) Si, *nà so* mi sɛf kìn dɛ.  
 see FOC like.that 1SG.EMP EMP HAB BE.AT  
 ‘See, it’s like that that I’m also usually like.’ [dj03cd 170]

- (868) **Nà de** è dè go, yù no de?  
 FOC there 3SG.SBJ IPFV go 2SG know there  
 ‘It’s there that she’s going, you know there [that place]?’ [ma03hm 029]

The following two examples are of interest because they each present a focus-neutral clause and constituent focus in one sentence. In (869) the manner adverbial *ròn-sáy* ‘backwards’ is first encountered in the clause final adverbial position, then fronted for presentational focus in a *nà*-focus construction. The same applies to *fa* ‘be far’, which is employed as a locative adverbial in (870):

- (869) È dè waka ròn-sáy, **nà ròn-sáy**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk wrong-side FOC wrong.CPD-side  
 è waka.  
 3SG.SBJ walk  
 ‘He is walking backwards, it’s backwards that he walked.’ [au07se 047]

- (870) È se è kòmót fa, **nà fa**  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT3SG.SBJ come.out far FOC far  
 è kòmót.  
 3SG.SBJ come.out  
 ‘He said he came from far away, it’s far away that he was from.’ [ed03sb 186]

Example (871) contains an instrument PP featuring the preposition *wèt* ‘with’:

- (871) **Nà wèt us-tin** dèn bil=àn?  
 FOC with Q=thing 3PL build=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘It’s with what that it was built?’ [dj07ae 480]

Sequences of the homophones *nà* ‘FOC’ and *nà* ‘LOC’ are not attested, possibly due to a “surface structure constraint” (Perlmutter 1971: 45). Hence, the use of a focused locative prepositional phrase featuring *fɔ* as a locative preposition as in (872) is the alternative:

- (872) (...) **nà fɔ dan área** wì ste.  
 FOC ASS that area 1PL stay  
 ‘(...) it’s in that area that we stay.’ [hi03cb 071]

Entire sentences may also be focused by means of the cleft construction. For one part, sentence clefting may be achieved by means of *nà/nəto* optionally followed by the quotative marker and complementiser *se*.

In (873), we witness the use of *nà se* in order to focus a sentence containing the verb *want* ‘want’ together with its subjunctive complements. Besides cleft focus, this sentence



exemplifies other features that characterise emphatic speech in Pichi: the TMA marker sequence *dən dè* ‘PRF IPFV’ is employed instead of *dè* ‘IPFV’ alone and the repetitive use of verbs with similar meanings serves as a means of emphatic reinforcement:

- (873) We yù dən dè nak, **nà se** yù want sòn tin  
 SUB 2SG PRF IPFV hit FOC QUOT 2SG want some thing  
 è **brok, mek** è kras, **mek** è **destroza**.  
 3SG.SBJ break SBJV 3SG.SBJ crash SBJV 3SG.SBJ destroy  
 ‘When you’re hitting, it’s that you want a thing to break, to crash, to be destroyed.’ [au07se 245]

*Noto se* always signals contrastive focus of a clause or sentence (874). In (875), a conditional clause is singled out for focus. Hence the negative focus marker *noto* appears after *ɛf* ‘if’:

- (874) È dè kray pero **noto se** è want chəp.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV cry but NEG.FOC QUOT 3SG.SBJ want eat  
 ‘He is crying but it’s not the he wants to eat.’ [dj07ae 520]
- (875) **ɛf noto** yù bay dan human gò bit yu soté  
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy that woman POT beat 2SG.EMP until  
 yù gò go lɛf=àn.  
 2SG POT go leave=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘If it’s not that you’ve bought [the correct type], that woman would beat you until you would go return it.’ [ab03ab 033]

The Spanish-derived focus phrase *es que* ‘it’s that’ consists of the 3SG present tense form of the Spanish copula *ser* and the complementiser *que* ‘that’. The phrase is firmly entrenched in the Pichi lexicon and signals affirmative focus of entire sentences. The phrase has an equivalent function in Spanish:

- (876) **Es que** está bien usar el subjuntivo.  
 It’s that it.is good use the subjunctive  
 ‘It’s that it’s good to use the subjunctive (mood).’

In (877), the topical NP *di kayn pikín* ‘this kind of child’ is set off from the rest of the sentence by continuative intonation and a pause. The subsequent clause is under presentational focus with *es que* and the topical NP is picked up by the resumptive pronoun *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’:

- (877) Entonces **di kayn pikín, es que** normalmente  
 so this kind child it.is that normally

è           gò tel yu       dan tin, (...)  
 3SG.SBJ POT tell 2SG.EMP that thing  
 So this kind of child, it's that usually it will tell you exactly  
 that (...)' [to03gm 052]

In the example below, *es que* is immediately followed by a locative adverbial, namely the prepositional phrase introduced by *nà* 'Loc':

(878) **Es que nà dan klem** we è       dè klem,  
 it.is that FOC that climb SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV climb  
 è       dè go è       dè klem.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV go 3SG.SBJ IPFV climb  
 'It's that in that climbing that she's climbing, she's just  
 climbing along.' [au07se 070]

Cleft focus is characterised by a large degree of syntactic flexibility. For example, focusing into a relative clause is permitted. Example (879) presents a subject relative clause featuring focus of a 3SG person (i.e. *nà in* 'it's him'), anaphoric to the preceding head nominal *wan* 'one (person)':

(879) Bèt è       fiba       se       **wan**   de       **we nà in**  
 but 3SG.SBJ resemble QUOT one BE.AT SUB FOC 3SG.EMP  
 dè pul dì òda wan   dì tòrí.  
 IPFV pull DEF other one DEF story  
*Lit.* 'But it seems one is there that it's him who is telling the other  
 one a story.' [au07se 100]

#### 8.4.3.3. Focus of resumptive elements

Cleft constructions of the type in (879) above, where a resumptive element is focused, serve an important function in discourse. They serve as anaphors that establish reference to preceding topical material in the sentence or the paragraph. The relevant collocations involve the focus particle *nà* 'FOC' followed by the adverbs *ya* 'here', *de* 'there', *so* 'so, like that', the personal pronoun *in* '3SG.EMP' as well as complex NPs like *dan ten* 'that time' and *dì tin* 'the thing'. Mostly, these collocations function as resumptive adverbials of location, time or cause, but *in* '3SG.EMP' may also refer to preceding subjects and objects.

In (880), the topical, clefted adverbial phrase *fràn in hos* 'from her house' is anaphorically referred to by another clefted adverbial, namely *de* 'there':

(880) Nà fràn   ìn       hos,   **nà de**   yù gò tek   mared.  
 FOC from 3SG.POSS house FOC there 2SG POT take marry  
 'It's from her house, it's there that you'd enter marriage.' [ab03ay 033]

A similar anaphoric relation holds between *dì say* ‘the place’ and *nà de* ‘it’s there’ in (881). In fact, the deictic locative adverbs *de* ‘there’ and *ya* ‘here’ as well as the deictic manner adverbial *so* ‘like that’ need to be clefted in this way, if they are to appear in the clause-initial, rather than their usual clause-final position:

- (881) *Dì say we m̀nì de,      nà de      yù get f̀ go.*  
 DEF side SUB money BE.AT    FOC there    2SG get ASS go  
 ‘The place where there’s money, that’s where you have to go.’

An anaphoric temporal relation may also be established by means of the locative adverbs *ya* ‘here’ and *de* ‘there’. In (882), the left-dislocated and topical Spanish adverbial *a los quince años completamente* is picked up by the resumptive focus construction *nà ya* ‘FOC here’ = ‘that’s when’. The same principle is at work in (883), where *nà de* refers to a preceding time clause earlier in the paragraph:

- (882) *A los quince años completamente, nà ya è kan.*  
 at DEF fifteen years completely    FOC here    3SG.SBJ come  
 ‘With exactly fifteen years, that’s when she came.’ [ab03ay 156]

- (883) *Nà de dan, dan kàndá, dan tin, dan membrano,*  
 FOC there that that skin that thing that membrane  
*nà de è k̀m̀t, (...).*  
 FOC there 3SG.SBJ go.out  
 ‘That’s when that, that skin, that membrane, that’s when  
 it came out (...).’ [ab03ay 093]

The collocation *nà in* features the emphatic 3SG pronoun *in*, which functions as a ‘catch-all’ anaphora. Hence, it may refer to any preceding subject, object or adverbial. The exact nature of the anaphoric relation that holds between *nà in* and its antecedent is therefore determined by context.

In (884), *nà in* refers to the antecedent subject under focus *nà dì fayn ch̀p* ‘it’s the good food’. Example (885) features a resumptive *nà in* anaphorical to the dislocated, topical object *dis traje f̀ mono* ‘this overall-like suit’:

- (884) *Nà dì fayn ch̀p, nà in d̀ stawt=àn.*  
 FOC DEF fine food    FOC 3SG.EMP IPFV make.corpulent=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘It’s the good food, that’s what’s making her corpulent.’ [dj07ae 170]

- (885) *T̀l=àn se, ǹ, dis traje f̀ mono,*  
 tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT INTJ this suit ASS overall  
*nà in è want.*  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ want

‘(He) told him, no, this overall-like suit, that’s what he wants.’ [to03gm 004]

In (886), *nà in* refers to an antecedent time clause introduced by *we* ‘SUB’. When there is a relation of temporal succession like in this example, it is only natural that the *we*-clause precedes the main clause:

- (886) **We** è dòn de pan dì chia, **nà in** è stret.  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF BE.AT ON DEF chair FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ be.straight  
 ‘When she was completely on the chair, that’s when she straightened up.’  
 [au07se 089]

In turn, cause clauses are more likely to follow their main clauses. As a consequence, sentence-initial cause clauses are in-focus by default, and are therefore quite often additionally marked for focus in a cleft construction.

Whenever this the case, the phrasal expressions *nà in (mek)* ‘FOC 3SG.EMP (make)’ = ‘that’s why’ (887) or alternatively, *nà dì tin (mek)* ‘FOC DEF thing (make)’ = ‘that’s why’ (888) may refer anaphorically to the preceding cause clause (cf. (809) for the analogous content question):

- (887) **Nà bikos** ìn abuelo dòn day,  
 FOC because 3SG.POSS grandfather PRF die  
**nà in** è dè kray.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ IPFV cry  
 ‘It’s because his grandfather has died, that’s why he’s crying like that.’ [ref]
- (888) **Nà bikos** dèn pul dì mòtó, **nà dì tin**  
 FOC because 3PL remove DEF car FOC DEF thing  
**mek** è chàkrá  
 make 3SG.SBJ destroy  
 ‘It’s because the car was removed, that’s why it got broken.’ [dj05be 047]

Amongst the sentences involving focus of resumptive elements presented so far, we also find focused constituents appearing in the initial position which are not preceded by the focus markers *nà* (eg. (882) and (885)). Such structures, in which a sentence-initial, usually topical constituent is taken up by a resumptive pro-element later in the sentence can be likened to pseudo-cleft constructions in other languages (cf. e.g. 1978 for English).

However, there is no reason to see these structures as being fundamentally different from cleft constructions involving the focus marker *nà*. The only thing ‘missing’ in these constructions is the focus particle.

#### 8.4.4 Presentatives

Pichi features a presentative construction involving *nà/noto* as well as the proximal and distal demonstrative forms *dis* ‘this’ (889) and *dat* ‘that’ (890) in sentence-final position. Presentatives may be seen as inverted copula clauses with particular deictic force, which direct an addressee’s attention to, and identify an entity. By highlighting an entity in this way, presentatives manifest a functional overlap with (presentational) cleft constructions:

(889) È        se        **nà** man    **dis**.  
           3SG.SBJ QUOT    FOC man    this  
           ‘He said “this is a man”.’ [ed03sb 224]

(890) **Nà** rop        **dat**.  
           FOC rope     that  
           ‘That’s a rope.’ [li07pe 002]

Examples (889)-(890) may also be expressed with less deictic force as regular copula clauses. The following two equative clauses feature the demonstratives *di* ‘this’ and *dan* ‘that’ in the ordinary pronominal position. When employed in an NP in this way, demonstratives may be realised as the short forms *di* and *da* respectively. However, these apocopated forms do not occur in sentence-final position in presentatives like (889)-(890) above:

(891) (...) **di** wan    **nà** bif,            (...)  
           this one     FOC wild.animal  
           ‘(...) this is a wild animal (...)’ [ma03sh 011]

(892) **Da** wan        **nà** b̀̀b̀b̀í.  
           that one     FOC breast  
           ‘That’s the breast.’ [dj05ce 209]

The highlighted NP of a presentative construction may be modified by further constituents in the same way as a nominal participant in an equative clause. In (893), the NP *chəp* ‘food’ has been modified prenominally by *beta* ‘very good’ and postnominally by a relative clause introduced by *we* ‘SUB’:

(893) Nà dì **beta**            **chəp** **we** man    dè chəp    **dat**,    (...)  
           FOC DEF very.good    food    SUB man    IPFV food    that  
           ‘That was the best food that one [I] was eating, (...)’ [ed03sp 123]

Content questions may also be formulated as presentatives (894), in which case they may occur without a sentence-initial *nà* (indicated by an underscore). This distribution may be linked to the fact that questioned constituents are focused by default, and may optionally cooccur with *nà*-focus anyway (cf. 8.3.2):

- (894) Se pàpá gòd \_ us=kayn tròbul **dis**?  
 QUORfather God Q=kind trouble this  
 ‘(I) said God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

#### 8.4.5 Predicate cleft

Besides focus of verbs by means of clausal focus, verbs may be singled out for focus individually in a construction termed “predicate clefting” (cf. e.g. Koopman 1984; Larson & Lefebvre 1991) or “verb fronting” (Muysken 1978).

In Pichi predicate cleft constructions, the focused verb appears twice in the sentence: fronted in the initial focus position directly after the focus marker *nà*, and at the same time in its original syntactic position in the out-of-focus part of the sentence. Compare the following example featuring the clefted dynamic verb *go* ‘go’. It is noteworthy that a negative predicate cleft by means of *nòto* ‘NEG.FOC’ is not attested:

- (895) **Nà go** à dè **go** ò.  
 FOC go 1SG.SBJ IPFV go SP  
 ‘[Mind you] I’m going.’ [ch07fn 151]

Predicate cleft signals presentational or contrastive focus of the predicate and produces intensifying, emphatic meanings. It should therefore be seen as part of the range of emphatic structures that involve iteration in Pichi (i.e. reduplication and repetition, cf. 5.6 and the use of cognate objects, cf. 11.3.3).

Neither temporal or causal adverbial meanings, nor factive clauses are expressed through predicate cleft (cf. Lefebvre 1994, cited in Veenstra & den Besten 1994: 307). In natural speech, predicate cleft almost exclusively occurs with dynamic verbs, as in the example above. In fact, the natural speech data in my corpus reveals relatively few instances of predicate cleft constructions in general.

The predicate cleft construction in (896) features a stative verb, the property item *big* ‘be big’. Like other cleft constructions, predicate cleft does not require marking of the out-of-focus part of the sentence as a relative clause. This is, in fact rejected in unison by all speakers who were asked about this possibility (897):

- (896) Chico, **nà big** è **big**.  
 boy FOC big 3SG.SBJ big  
 ‘Oh boy, it’s really big.’ [ye07fn 070]
- (897) \***Nà big** we è **big**.  
 FOC big SUB 3SG.SBJ big  
 \*It’s really big. [ne07fn]

Sometimes verbs are clefted together with a pronominal object (898). If this is the case, the pronominal object is not repeated with the second verb. The fronting of a subject or

adverbial modifier. together with the verb is not accepted (899):

- (898) Nà **krach=àn** yù dè **skrach**.  
 FOC scratch=3SG.OBJ 2SG IPFV scratch  
 ‘You’re actually scratching it.’ [dj07ae 386]

- (899) \*Nà **luk fayn** yù **luk**.  
 FOC look fine 2SG look  
 \*‘You looked really well.’ [ne07fn]

However, verbs are not clefted together with TMA markers (900). These always remain in their ‘original’ position with the second verb. The two following examples are of interest because they involve clefting of the major verb of a motion-direction SVC. As these examples show, the minor verb *go* ‘go’ remains in its original syntactic position (901):

- (900) Nà waka wì **bìn dè** waka **go** de.  
 FOC walk 1PL PST IPFV walk go there  
 ‘We actually walked there.’ [pa07me 002]

- (901) Nà waka wì **waka go** de.  
 FOC walk 1PL walk go there  
 ‘We walked there.’ [pa07me 003]

The same holds for other types of SVCs. In the modal SVC in (902), it is once again only the major verb *waka* that gets fronted, while the minor verb *want* ‘want’ stays behind:

- (902) Nà **waka** è **want waka** so.  
 FOC walk 3SG.SBJ want walk like.this  
 ‘He really wants to walk right now.’ [pa07me 008]

A few Pichi verbs have homophonous nominal counterparts which are not merely action nominalisations. One of these is *chəp*, which means ‘eat’ as a verb and ‘food’ (rather than ‘eating’) as a noun. While (903) may be interpreted as involving either predicate or nominal cleft, the cleft construction in (904) is unlikely to be anything else than a nominal cleft construction, since the focused noun *chəp* ‘food’ is modified by *bòkú* ‘be much’:

- (903) Nà **chəp** è **chəp** yéstàdé ò.  
 FOC eat/food 3SG.SBJ eat yesterday SP  
 ‘He really ate yesterday.’ OR ‘It’s (really good) food that he ate yesterday.’ [dj07ae 463]

- (904) Nà **bòkú chəp** è kìn **chəp**.  
 FOC be.much food 3SG.SBJ HAB eat  
 ‘It’ a hell of a lot of food that he usually eats.’ [dj07ae 462]

### 8.4.6 Other means of expressing emphasis

Focus constructions frequently come along with a variety of other emphatic elements and structures which breathe life into discourse and signal speaker involvement.

For example, the TMA marker sequences *dɔn dɛ* ‘PFV IPFV’ and *dɔn dɛ finis* ‘PFV IPFV finish’, rather than the imperfective marker *dɛ* alone, may be recruited in order to emphasise that the situation designated by the verb is in full course.

In (905), NP focus (i.e. *dis wan sef* ‘this one EMP’ coocurs with a predicate featuring the perfect marker *dɔn* and the imperfective marker *dɛ*. Sentence (906) additionally features the completive aspect auxiliary verb *finis* ‘finish (doing something), which adds even more emphatic force :

- (905) Dis wan sef, yù **dɔn dɛ** tray.  
 this one EMP 2SG PRF IPFV try  
 ‘Even this [little Bubi that you speak], you’re really making an effort.’ [ab03ab 014]

- (906) Naw à **dɔn dɛ finis** sem  
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed  
 fɔ̃ wer dan sus (...)  
 ASS wear that shoe  
 ‘Now I’m really ashamed to be wearing that (pair of) shoes (...)’ [ma03hm 021]

Adverbial modification, for example via the value property items *fayn* ‘be fine’ and *bad* ‘be bad’ or the quantity property item *bàkú* ‘be much’ (907) may also express emphasis by itself or in conjunction with other elements and/or focus constructions. The use of the demonstrative determiner *dan* ‘that’ together with the possessive construction *in yay* ‘his eye’ builds up additional emphatic force in (907):

- (907) È dɛ para nà dan in yay **bàkú bad**.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand LOC that 3SG.POSS eye much bad  
 ‘It [the white spot in his eye] just sits there in that his eye really bad.’ [ye03cd 109]

Other means of expressing emphasis and by extension various nuances of sentential focus are the suprasegmental means outlined in sections 4.3.2, 4.4.2 and 8.7.3, the various forms of iteration, i.e. repetition (908), reduplication, predicate cleft and cognate objects – the latter in combination with the particle *ò* in (909) as well as ideophones (910):

- (908) èn, ba in sidón **dɔn dɔn dɔn** yàndá.  
 yes but 3SG.EMP stay down REP REP yonder  
 ‘Yes, but he stays far down there.’ [ma03ni 020]



- (909) Dèn bìn **fayn** wan **fayn** ò.  
 3PL PST fine one fine SP  
 ‘They were really beautiful.’ [mi07fn 120]
- (910) Dèn **nak=àn** nà ìn ches **kip**.  
 3PL hit=3SG.OBJ LOC 3SG.POSS chest IDEO  
 ‘They hit him (hard) in the chest with a thumping sound.’ [dj05ce 100]

## 8.5 Topic

Topicalisation involves dislocation: The topic appears at the beginning of the sentence and is reiterated in the original syntactic position by a resumptive pronoun. A topic is often set off from the remainder of the sentence by a short pause and a continuative boundary tone. The element *naw* ‘now’ may optionally function as a post-posed topic marker.

### 8.5.1 Dislocation

There is a strong tendency for definite subject NPs to be marked as topical by an intonation break, i.e. a short pause and/or continuative intonation, and a resumptive subject pronoun (cf. also 8.1.1). The definite subject in (911) is set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, indicated by a comma. At the same time, the following coreferential resumptive pronoun *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ reiterates the topical subject NP *dan skul* ‘that school’:

- (911) **Dan skul,** è de nia bèrin-gròn, nɔ?  
 that school 3SG.SBJ BE.AT near burial.CPD-ground INTJ  
 ‘That school is near the cemetery, right?’ [ma03hm 018]

In contrast, the data does not contain a single instance of a resumptive subject pronoun in a clause featuring an indefinite subject. Such clauses are formed in the way of (912), without a resumptive pronoun:

- (912) Wan de wan pìkín bìn dè sik.  
 one day one child PST IPFV sick  
 ‘One day, a child was sick.’ [ye03cd 071]

Non-subject topical NPs also appear at the beginning of the sentence, are normally separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, and are referred to by a resumptive element in the clause. The dislocated object *dì cartón* ‘the carton’ in (913) is resumed by the coreferential object pronoun *àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

- (913) **Di cartón,** è mit=àn ya?  
 this carton 3SG.SBJ meet=3SG.OBJ here  
 ‘This cardboard box, did she find it here?’ [li07pe 070]

In (914), the topical object NP *eni tin* ‘everything’ is reiterated by the resumptive, coreferential object pronoun =*àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ after the verb *pul* ‘remove’:

- (914) **Eni tin,** yù wənt pul=**àn**  
 every thing 2SG want remove=3SG.OBJ  
 nà puerto yù dè pe.  
 LOC harbour 2SG IPFV pay  
 ‘Everything, you want to remove it from the port, you pay [tax].’ [f103fp 002]

Sentence (915) involves the initial, dislocated topical object pronoun *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’, which is reiterated in the object position after *si* ‘see’ and anaphorically referred to by *à* ‘1SG.SBJ’:

- (915) **Mi,** lèk haw yù dè si **mi,** à dən  
 1SG.EMP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ PRF  
 si plente tin.  
 see plenty thing  
 ‘As for me, as you see me (now), I’ve seen many things (in life).’ [ab03ab 023]

The resumptive pronoun of an antecedent, dislocated topic may also be focused in a cleft construction. Such cross-cutting topic-focus structures are very common in Pichi. In the following sentence, the topical subject NP *Pànyá* ‘Spain’ is picked up by the coreferential 3SG.EMP pronoun *in*, which is, in turn, focused in a cleft construction (cf. also 8.4.3.3):

- (916) **Pànyá, nà in** wəs mə.  
 Spain FOC 3SG.EMP be.very.bad more  
 ‘As for Spain, that’s what’s really terrible [as a place to live in].’ [07fn 040]

Certain types of adverbial clauses are more likely to precede their main clauses than to follow them. When such adverbial clauses do precede their main clauses they usually are topical, and may be set off from the following part of the sentence by an intonation break as well. Compare the purpose clause beginning with *fə* ‘Ass’ in (917):

- (917) **Fə tək Pichi,** yù no nid fə go skul.  
 ASS talk Pichi 2SG NEG need ASS go school  
 ‘In order to talk Pichi, you don’t need to go to school.’ [au07se 267]

Sentence (918) involves the rather rare case of a right-dislocated, topical (and nominalised hence nonfinite) clause namely *fə put nivél* ‘to level the ground’. This last example also shows once more that the transition is smooth to focus marking, since (918) may also be seen as an example of pseudo-clefting:

- (918) Dì tin we bìn de diffcil mə nà di hos,  
 DEF thing SUB PST BE.AT difficult more LOC this house

**fə put nivél.**

ASS put level

'The thing that was most difficult in [building] this house, [was]  
to level the ground.' [07fn 065]

### 8.5.2 Topic particle

It has been shown that dislocation and intonation are by themselves sufficient means of indicating the topicality of a constituent. In addition to dislocation, the adverbial *naw* 'now' may optionally indicate the topicality of a constituent. A particle is, however, not obligatory, often accompanied by an intonation break, and in most cases, by a resumptive element in the clause.

Apart from being used to signal topicality, the particle *naw* 'now' is a time adverbial (919), which may occur in presentational sentences like the following:

- (919) **Naw** è tinap nà grən.  
now 3SG.SBJ stand LOC ground  
'Now it's standing on the ground.' [li07pe 093]

Sentence (920) below is a metacomment in which speaker (dj) classifies the term *mənt* 'month' as an English word (a more current Pichi term is *mun* 'moon, month'). In this example, the post-posed particle *naw* signals the topicality of *mənt*.

- (920) 'Mənt' **naw**, è dən bi inglés.  
month now 3SG.SBJ PRF BE English  
'As for "mənt", it's already English.' [dj05ce 030]

Sometimes we encounter sentences, in which the topic is not reiterated in a syntagmatic relation within the clause. In such cases, the topic functions like in many topic-prominent languages: it is adjoined to the clause and provides a referential frame, within which the precise relation between topic and comment is recovered by pragmatic context (cf. Li & Thompson 1976). For example, in (921), the topicality of *pikín* 'child(ren)' is signalled by *naw* 'now' and an intonation break. However, the 'resumptive' pronoun *è* '3SG.SBJ' does not refer to a topical syntactic subject *pikín*. Instead, *è* '3SG.SBJ' refers to a concept as a whole, namely procreation, which is loosely referred to by the topic *pikín*:

- (921) **Pikín naw**, è no had.  
child now 3SG.SBJ NEG hard  
'As for [having] kids, that's not difficult.' [hi03cb 162]

Example (922) presents the topical and focused NP *sosó pichi* 'only Pichi', however without the focus marker *nà* 'foc'. The topic is followed by *naw* and fronted. The out-of-focus part of the sentence is exceptionally expressed in relative clause:

- (922) **Sosó Pichi naw** we wì dè tək.  
 only Pichi now SUB 1PL IPFV talk  
 ‘(It was) only Pichi that we used to talk.’ [au07se 214]

Example (923) below features the 3SG personal pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’, under assertive focus by means of clefting and additional topic marking by means of a post-posed *naw*:

- (923) **Nà in naw** à bìn dè chek se è bìn fò  
 FOC 3SG.EMP now 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV check QUOT 3SG.SBJ PST ASS  
 de fayn if à mit wan pəsin (...)  
 BE.AT fine if 1SG.SBJ meet one person  
 ‘That’s why I was thinking it would be fine if I met somebody (...)’ [fr03ft 176]

## 8.6 BEING and HAVING

The forms employed to express BEING and HAVING in Pichi form part of a web of interlinked and overlapping functions which extends from the formation of focus structures and copula clauses to the expression of possession and the formation of predicate adjective clauses. An important feature of the expression of both BEING and HAVING is the notion of time-stability.

Figure 8.1 Expression of BEING and HAVING

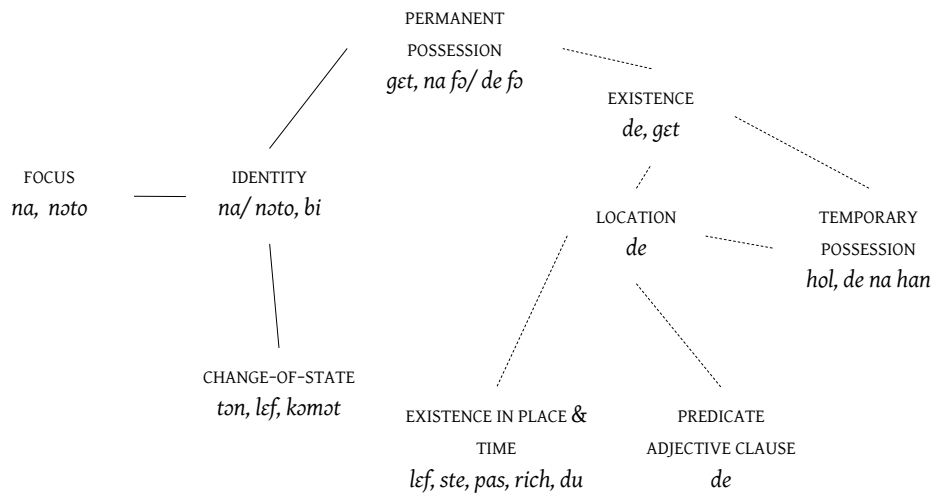


Figure 8.1 maps the linkages between the different elements that participate in the expression of BEING and HAVING. Time-stable situations are connected with an unbroken, non-time-stable states with a broken line. Glosses for the elements contained in the figure can be culled from the following sections and Table 8.8:

### 8.6.1 Core copulas

The expression of identity (i.e. equation) is provided by the elements *nà* 'FOC', *nɔto* 'NEG.FOC' and *bi* 'BE'. The element *de* 'BE.AT' serves as the locative-existential copula. Pichi employs overt copulas in all relevant contexts. The expression of BEING is characterised by several asymmetries. Firstly, there is a functional and formal differentiation between the expression of identity (via *nà/nɔto*) and location-existence (via *de*). Secondly the expression of identity is taken care of by the three suppletive forms *nà* 'FOC', *nɔto* 'NEG.FOC' and *bi* 'BE' which are in complementary distribution with each other. Some relevant characteristics of the distribution of the Pichi core copulas are summarised in Table 8.7:

Table 8.7 Core copulas

|  | Identity        |                       |                | Location & existence |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|
|  | <i>nà</i> 'FOC' | <i>nɔto</i> 'NEG.FOC' | <i>bi</i> 'BE' | <i>de</i> 'BE.AT'    |
| Can occur with TMA markers?                | No              | No                    | Yes            | Yes                  |
| Suppletive negative form?                  | Yes             | Yes                   | Yes            | No                   |
| Can occur in factative marked main clause? | Yes             | Yes                   | No             | Yes                  |
| Can occur as non-finite form?              | No              | No                    | Yes            | Yes                  |

Clauses involving the three core copulas *nà* 'FOC', *nɔto* 'NEG.FOC' and *bi* 'BE' feature a subject, the copula and a nominal complement. The functions of the copula include expression of the identity of two participants (924), and classification as member of a group (925):

(924) Dan tin **nà** dì pasta.  
 that thing FOC DEF paste  
 'That thing is the paste.' [fr03do 036]

(925) In **nà** kres-human.  
 3SG.EMP FOC be.crazy.CPD-woman  
 'She's a crazy woman.' [ro05ee 037]

Further functions are the attribution of a role (926), a name (927) and the expression of a family relationship (928). Note the presence of the verb *tən* ‘turn’ which denotes a change of state when used as a copula verb (926):

(926) Mì pàpá **nà** dəkta bət mi no gò **tən** dəkta.  
 1SG.POSS father FOC doctor but 1SG.EMP NEG POT turndoctor  
 ‘My father is a doctor but I won’t become a doctor.’ [ro05ee 024]

(927) Yes, mì nem **nà** Djunais.  
 yes 1SG.POSS name FOC NAME  
 ‘Yes my name is Djunais.’ [dj05ce 188]

(928) Nà dan tən à kan sàbí se mì màamá  
 FOC that time 1SG.SBJ PFV know QUOT 1SG.POSS mother  
**nà** mì màamá.  
 FOC 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘It’s then that I came to know that my mother was my  
 mother.’ [fr03ft 019]

Equative clauses are characterised by asymmetries and suppletion in the use of personal pronouns, polarity and TMA marking. These asymmetries presumably derive from the core function of *nà/nəto* to express “identification” (cf. Higgins 1979: chapter 5) in presentational sentences like (929) and (930). In these clauses, the identified elements (i.e. *kasara* ‘cassava’ and *wì Pichi* ‘our (kind of) Pichi’) are in focus by default. Therefore, I consistently gloss *nà/nəto* as FOC and NEG.FOC respectively in order to render the chiefly pragmatic function of these elements:

(929) **Nà** kasara.  
 FOC cassava  
 ‘That’s (a) cassava.’ [li07pe 028]

(930) (...) **nəto** wì Pichi.  
 NEG.FOC 1PL Pichi  
 ‘(...) that’s not our (kind of) Pichi.’ [ra07ve 009]

In sentences like the two above, *na* has expletive reference and is therefore non-referential. The core pragmatic function of identification of *nà/nəto* can be extended to express identity between two full NPs (hence with default 3SG reference) in equative clauses:

(931) Ìn pàpá **nà** chino.  
 3SG.POSS father FOC Chinese  
 ‘Her father is Chinese.’ [ed03sp 028]

However, when identity between a personal pronoun with reference other than 3SG and another NP is expressed, the deeply pragmatic nature of the copula-like element in sentences like (931) above is revealed. Since *nà/nɔto* is not a copula ‘verb’, the subject pronoun cannot come from the dependent series of the pronominal paradigm. Instead, an independent emphatic pronoun must be used:

- (932) **Mi** **nà** dì wàn-gren pìkín.  
 1SG.EMP FOC DEF one.CPD-grain child.  
 ‘I am the only child.’ [l007he 060]

Therefore even equative clauses are best analysed as identificational. These clauses are grammaticalised topic-comment structures, in which the topical subject is followed by an entity identified by *nà/nɔto*. The copula-like element *nà/nɔto* therefore retains its pragmatic, identificational and focus-marking function even in such ‘copula clauses’.

The two asymmetries in the formation of copula clauses next to negative suppletion (i.e. (930) and 3SG default reference, i.e. (929) and (931)) are complemented by a third asymmetry: Whenever overt TMA marking is required or the copula is employed in a context suggesting reduced finiteness, the copula verb *bi* ‘BE’ is made use of. This complementary distribution is strict. Therefore a clause like the following one is ungrammatical, since *bi* may not appear in basic identity clauses without overt TMA marking. Compare (931) above and (933) below:

- (933) \*ĭn màamá **bi** rusa.  
 3SG.POSS father FOC Russian  
 \*‘Her mother is Russian.’ [dj07ae 532]

In the following two equative clauses, the presence of the TMA markers *dɔn* ‘PRF’ (934) and *gò* ‘POT’ (935) motivates the appearance of the suppletive identity copula *bi* ‘BE’. In spite of its slightly defective distribution (cf. (933)) the copula *bi* behaves much more like a copula verb than *nà/nɔto*: It may take dependent personal pronouns (e.g. in (934)) and appear with TMA marking (e.g. (934) and (935)) and may appear in many more contexts than the *nà/nɔto*:

- (934) È **dɔn bi** wan seńorita.  
 3SG.SBJ PRF BE one little.lady  
 ‘She has already become a real young lady.’ [fr03ft 117]
- (935) Mi **gò bi** dɔkta.  
 1SG.EMP POT BE doctor  
 ‘I’ll be doctor.’ [ro05ee 025]

Sentence (936) below contains two copula clauses. The first one features the copula *bi* marked for past tense by *bin* ‘PST’. In contrast the second clause is not overtly marked for tense hence the copula *nà* is employed. Recall that Pichi employs relational tense. Hence the identity copula *nà* may have past tense reference because tense reference has been

anchored in the past by the use of *bìn* in the preceding clause. In fact, in this example a past tense reference of *nà* is a plausible option because the speaker's mother is deceased (unless the speaker considers reference to her mother to be generic in nature):

- (936) Mì nem **bìn bi** Francisca Belobe Toichoa, porque  
 1SG.POSS NAME PST BE NAME NAME NAME NAME because  
 mì mà má ìn nem **nà** Belobe Toichoa.  
 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS NAME FOC NAME NAME  
 'My name was Francis Belobe Toichoa because my mother's name  
 is/was Belobe Toichoa. [fr03ft 090]

A further example involving overt TMA marking in an equative clause follows. Sentence (937) features the narrative perfective marker *kan* 'PFV' followed by *bi* 'BE'. Note that the combination of *kan* 'PFV' with the copula *bi* renders a change of state reading of *bi* just like with any other (inchoative-)stative verb (cf. e.g. (482)-(483)):

- (937) So mi, mì yon è **kan bi** una desgracia  
 SO 1SG.EMP 1SG.POSS OWN 3SG.SBJ PFV BE DEF disgrace  
 'So as for me, mine [my matter] became a disgrace.' [ab03ay 034]

*Bi* is also employed instead of *nà/nòto* in contexts of reduced finiteness. In (938), *bi* 'BE' occurs as the second verb in a modal SVC involving the verb *fit* 'can'. The form *bi* also appears in subjunctive clauses (939). Such clauses are not only inherently future-referring and non-assertive. They also feature reduced tense-aspect marking and are less finite:

- (938) 'Kòt' **fit bi** lèkè herida.  
 cut can BE like wound  
 "'Kòt" can be [mean] like a wound.' [ye05ce 227]
- (939) **Mek** è **bi** se Kòfí dòn kan.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.AT QUOT NAME PRF come  
 '(Please) let it be that Kòfí has come.' [dj05ae 032]

Furthermore, *bi* is the only identity copula attested in a context like (940) below. In the example, the copula occurs in a subordinate clause featuring the clause linker *we* 'SUB'. The non-assertive environment of the subordinate clause precludes use of *nà/nòto* as copulas. This is presumably due to the fact that these particles realise their core function in identificational and presentational sentences, which are assertive structures par excellence.

Additionally, tense reference of the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause, which is set in the past. These factors contribute to the use of *bi* although the context is finite and there is no overt TMA marking in the subordinate clause in (940):



- (940) **Fròn** **we** **à** **bi** pikín **à** **bìn** want  
 from SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ PST want  
 kòmót nà dis kòntri.  
 go.away LOC this country  
 'From when I was a child, I wanted to leave this country.' [ro05ee 027]

A copula clause featuring *bi* 'BE' is negated like any other verbal clause. The negator *no* 'NEG' appears in its usual position in the predicate. Compare the following sentence, in which the copula clause is in the potential mood:

- (941) È **no** **gò** **bi** mecanico.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG POT BE mechanic  
 'He won't be a mechanic.' [dj05ae 215]

The element *de* 'BE.AT' functions as a locative-existential copula. Accordingly, this form is used to express relatively transient, less permanent existence in space and time, either on its own or when followed by an adverbial complement. The element *de* also occurs as a copula in predicate adjective constructions (cf. 8.6.5). Hence *de* may also take adjectives as complements.

The copula *de* may occur in intransitive clauses without any complement. Such clauses show that *de* is semantically quite rich and has a meaning of its own, namely 'exist in a place' or 'exist in a certain manner'. Compare the question in (942)(a) and the corresponding answer in (942)(b):

- (942) a. Ebongolo **de**?  
 NAME BE.AT  
 'Is Ebongolo around/his usual self/fine/alright?' [ge07fn 180]  
 b. Yes, **è** **de**.  
 yes 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 'Yes, he's here/around/his usual self/fine/alright.' [he07fn 181]

In (943), *de* takes a locative adverbial phrase introduced by the general locative preposition *nà* 'LOC' as a complement. The adverbial phrase in (944) involves the locative noun *nia* 'be near':

- (943) È **de** **nà** gròn.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC ground  
 'He is [lying] on the ground.' [ab03ab 063]  
 (944) Yù fon **de** **nia** **tebul**.  
 2SG phone BE.AT near table  
 'Your phone is near (the) table.' [ro05ee 109]

Locative complements of *de* other than locative adverbs like *yàndá* ‘yonder’ in (945) rarely appear without a preposition or a locative noun. Where they do, the absence of the locative noun is usually lexically determined. Compare *de layf* ‘BE.AT life’ = ‘be alive’ in (946). Also note that the copula *de* receives an imperfective, present tense interpretation like any other unmarked stative verb in Pichi:

- (945) Afta di wan we è **de** **yàndá**, è big.  
 then this one SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT yonder 3SG.SBJ be.big  
 ‘Then, that one that’s over there, it’s big.’ [li07pe.091]
- (946) Somos tu dasəl we wì **de** **layf**, (...)  
 we.are two only SUB 1PL BE.AT life  
 ‘We are only two who are alive.’ [ab03ay 133]

Sentence (947) exemplifies how *de* is used to express existence in time. In contrast to locative complements, time adverbials like *ivin ten* ‘evening’ appear as direct complements of the copula *de* when the intended meaning is location in time (cf. 10.2.2 for other temporal relations):

- (947) Wì **de** **ibin** **ten**.  
 1PL BE.AT evening time  
 ‘It’s evening.’ [dj05ce 249]

Further, the time is always told in a code-mixed Pichi-Spanish construction. The noun phrase employed in telling the time in Spanish appears as a complement of the copula *de* which in turn takes a 1PL subject (948). No prepositions are employed in this construction either. Hence here too, there is no formal indication of the adverbial status of the time expression:

- (948) Wì **de** **las** **dos y media**.  
 1PL BE.AT the.PL two and half  
 ‘It’s two thirty.’ [dj05ce 056]

The form *de* may also be employed to attribute a relatively transient, non-time-stable property to a subject. Hence, *de* is encountered as a predicator in predicate adjective constructions involving the few adjectives that Pichi has. One of these is *fayn* ‘(be) fine’ in (949). As explained in detail in section 8.6.5, predicate adjective constructions, rather than verbal clauses are only chosen when the situation is perceived as non-time-stable:

- (949) Dan ten à **de** **fayn**.  
 that time 1SG.SBJ BE.AT fine  
 ‘That time I was a [feeling] fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

Another manifestation of the non-time stable character of the situation predicated by *de* is

given in the following three sentences. The copula *de* is used when an adverbial complement designates a way of being rather than intrinsic being. Adverbial complements can be a simple manner adverbs like *so* ‘so’ (950), a bare NP featuring the generic noun *stayl* ‘manner, style’ (951) or a PP with the similative and equative preposition *lèk* ‘like’ (952):

(950) Nà **so** è **de**.  
 FOC like.that 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 ‘That’s the way it is.’ [au07se 159]

(951) È **de** **ɔda** **stayl**.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT other style  
 It’s different.’ [dj05ae 081]

(952) À want **de** **lèk** Miguel Angel.  
 1SG.SBJ want BE.AT like NAME NAME  
 ‘I want to be like Miguel Angel [the way he dresses/acts/looks].’ [ye07ga 007]

By extension, *de* is also employed whenever an attributed property is questioned directly (953) and indirectly (954), or when a property is attributed to a main clause verb in a free adverbial manner clause (955):

(953) **Haw** yù gò **de**, yù no get pìkín?  
 how 2SG POT there 2SG NEG get child  
 ‘How would you be [feel] (if) you had no child?’ [kw03sb 203]

(954) Bòt mi want sàbí **haw** dan tin **de**.  
 but 1SG.EMP want know how that thing BE.AT  
 ‘But I [EMP] wanted to know how that thing was.’ [ed03sb 147]

(955) (...) yù get fò lɛf=àn **lèk haw** è **de**.  
 2SG get ASS leave=3SG.OBJ like how 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 ‘(...) you have to leave it the way it is.’ [hi03cb 065]

Contrary to the time stable copulas *nà/nɔto* and *bi* described above, *de* exhibits no irregularities with respect to TMA marking and negation (956). It occurs with the standard negator and any TMA marker compatible with its distribution as a stative verb (957):

(956) No bɔdi **no de** nà pueblo.  
 NEG body NEG BE.AT LOC village  
 ‘Nobody is in the village.’ [fr03ft 156]

(957) Se us=tin **kìn de** insay de?  
 QUOTQ=thing HAB BE.AT inside there  
 ‘(They) said “what is usually in there?”’ [ed03sb 052]

### 8.6.2 Copula verbs

Besides the core system of copula expression covered in the previous section, Pichi recruits a number of stative and dynamic verbs in order to express more specific copula meanings linked to the notions of change of state and existence in place and time. Copula verbs and their meanings are provided in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Copula verbs

| Type                      | Verb         | Copula meaning               | Other meanings  | Other functions               |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Change of state           | <i>tən</i>   | ‘turn into’                  | ‘turn’          | —                             |
|                           | <i>ləf</i>   | ‘turn into, become’          | ‘leave, remain’ | Causative verb                |
|                           | <i>kəmót</i> | ‘turn out as’                | ‘go/come out’   | Egressive aspect              |
| Existence in place & time | <i>get</i>   | ‘exist’                      | ‘get, have’     | Modal verb ( <i>get fɔ̃</i> ) |
|                           | <i>ləf</i>   | ‘remain’                     | ‘leave’         | Causative verb                |
|                           | <i>ste</i>   | ‘last (long)’                | —               | Duration SVC                  |
|                           | <i>pas</i>   | ‘exceed in degree’           | ‘pass’          | Comparative SVC               |
|                           | <i>rich</i>  | ‘equal in degree, be enough’ | ‘arrive’        | SVC                           |
|                           | <i>du</i>    | ‘be enough’                  | ‘do’            | —                             |

When employed as a lexical verb, *tən* means ‘turn; stir’ (959). In its literal sense, *tən* is employed as a dynamic verb with an agent subject and a patient object (958), or a locative adverbial (959). The collocation *tən bak* means ‘return’ (960):

(958) Yù get fɔ̃ dè **tən**=àn.  
 2SG get ASS IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You have to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

(959) **Tən** nà yù lèf-han!  
 turnLOC DEF left.CPD-hand  
 ‘Turn left!’ [ye05ce 278]

(960) Mek à go du sməl tin à **tən bak**.  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ go do be.small thing 1SG.SBJ turn back  
 ‘Let me go do something quickly (and) come back.’ [ge07fn 016]

As a copula verb *tən* ‘turn’ designates a change of state from one identity to another (961):

(961) Dèn-əl dèn dən **tən europeos dèn**.  
 3PL.CPD-all 3PL PRF turn Europeans PL  
 ‘They have all turned into Europeans.’ [fr03ft 149]

In contexts other than copula expression and causative formation, *lef* may be employed as a dynamic verb in transitive clauses with the meaning ‘leave (behind)’ (962):

- (962) À        **lef**        dì tin        dèn dì        say we yù bìn tɛl mi  
 1SG.SBJ    leave    DEF thing    PL    DEF side SUB 2SG PST tell 1SG.EMP  
 ‘I left the things where you told me to.’ [ro05de 025]

The verb *lef* ‘leave remain’ also functions as a resultative copula in resultative causative constructions like the following one (cf. 11.4.4 for a thorough treatment):

- (963) Yù gò mek        mekdì gal **lef**        wèt        bròkhát.  
 2SG POT make    SBJV DEF girl remain with    broken-hearted  
 ‘You’re going to make that girl become broken-hearted.’ [ge07fn 103]

Besides the verb *get* ‘get, have’ (cf. 8.6.3), a few other verbs express existence in space and time. When the inchoative-stative verb *lef* occurs in an intransitive clause featuring a comitative or locative adverbial, this verb assumes a copula function with the meaning ‘remain (behind), stay with’ (964).

- (964) Machyta    **lef**        wèt        ìn        fambul.  
 NAME        remain with    3SG.POSS family  
 ‘Machyta has remained with his family’ OR  
 ‘Machyta is temporarily with his family.’ [ge07ae 213]

The verb *kòmót* ‘come out’ is employed to indicate a change of state in lexicalised collocations involving associative objects (cf. also 11.3.2). Compare (965):

- (965) À        dè tren=àn        porque è        gò **kòmót**        pòsin.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV train=3SG.OBJ because 3SG.SBJ POT come.out    person  
 ‘I’m bringing him up because [so that] he will turn out to be a (responsible) person.’ [au07se 145]

The dynamic verb *ste* means ‘last (a long time)’ as in (966). This verb also expresses excessive duration in an adverbial SVC (cf. 13.2.5):

- (966) Beta        tin        no dè **ste**.  
 very .good thing    NEG IPFV last  
 ‘Good things don’t last.’ [ra07fn 076]

Finally, the occurrence of *pas* ‘pass’ and *rich* ‘arrive’ as inchoative-stative verbs in comparatives like (638) and equatives like (670) may also be seen as manifestations of a copula-like use of these, otherwise dynamic verbs.

### 8.6.3 Existentials

The locative-existential copula *de* 'BE.AT' as well as the verb *get* 'have, get, acquire' both participate in existentials, constructions which predicate the general existence of an entity. Pichi existentials appear in two types of clauses with respect to respect to number and type of participants: transitive clauses featuring *get* 'have' and intransitive clauses featuring *de* 'BE.AT'. Some of the characteristics of these two types of existentials are given in Table 8.9:

Table 8.9 Existential clauses

| Existential verb  | Frequency  | Syntactic relation of existing entity? | Attested in negative existentials? | Attested with non-finite use? | Attested with overt TMA marking? |
|-------------------|------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>get</i> 'have' | About half | Object                                 | Marginal                           | No                            | Marginal                         |
| <i>de</i> 'BE.AT' | About half | Subject                                | Yes                                | Yes                           | Frequent                         |

The *get*-existential construction occurs in a transitive clause. The subject position is filled by an expletive 3SG pronoun, the object position by the existing entity (967). This construction exclusively serves the expression of existential meaning and has no locative connotation. None of the other constructions that follow are uniquely employed to express existential meaning in this way:

- (967) Dis sməl bɔtul dèn Fanta, we è **get** Coca-Cola, è  
 this small bottle PL NAME SUB 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ  
 get Fanta, è **get** limón, è bay=àn wan.  
 get NAME 3SG.SBJ get lemon 3SG.SBJ buy=3SG.OBJ one  
 'These small bottles of Fanta, where there is Coca-Cola, there is Fanta, there is  
 Lemon, she bought him one (of them).' [ab03ab 130]

Pichi has other ways of establishing the type of impersonal reference characteristic for *get*-existentials besides a 3SG expletive pronoun. The verb *get* may also occur with an impersonal 3PL (968) or 2SG (969) pronoun in clauses that are functionally similar to existentials (967):

- (968) ɔ **dèn get** problema fɔ̀ dì sistema ò è sɛn=àn  
 or 3PL get problem ASS DEF system or 3SG.SBJ send=3SG.OBJ  
 nà ɔ̀da empresa, we nɔ̀to Western Union.  
 LOC other company SUB NEG.FOC NAME

Either they have a problem in the system, or she sent it to another company  
 which is not Western Union.' [ge07ac 217]

THE CLAUSE

- (969) Bòt yù dòn sàbí nà Afrika yù no get no  
 but 2SG PRF know LOC PLACE 2SG NEG getNEG  
 relación fò man lèk nà Europa.  
 relation ASS man like LOC Europe  
 ‘But you already know that in Africa you don’t have a  
 relationship with a man like in Europe.’ [fr03ft 167]

There are no restrictions on the use of *get*-existentials in subordinate clauses. In sentence (970) the existential clause appears in a relative clause introduced by *we* ‘SUB’:

- (970) Bòt nà dan fòs ten hos dèn we è get  
 but FOC that first timehouse PL SUB 3SG.SBJ get  
 da piso dèn fò dan altura dèn (...)  
 that storey PL ASS that height PL  
 ‘But its those houses of the past where there are those  
 high storeys (...)

Copula clauses featuring *de* ‘BE.AT’ typically acquire an existential reading clauses when they lack a copula complement. In these clauses, we find the predicated entity, which may be of varying complexity, in subject position (971). Since there is no complement to provide further specification, the clause acquires the default locative and manner reading that typifies such *de*-clauses (972):

- (971) Bueno aunque de, bòkú interés económico de.  
 good althoughthere much interest economic BE.AT  
 ‘Alright although there, there’s a lot of economic interest.’ [fr03ft 110]
- (972) Bueno, mì grànpá bìn de.  
 good 1SG.POSS grandfather PST BE.AT  
 ‘Alright, my grandfather was around/fine.’ [fr03ft 166]

Hence, constructions featuring *de* acquire a locative reading when a locative expression is present. Hence in (973), we find the locative adverbial *nà sala* ‘in the hall’:

- (973) Paciente dèn de nà sala, yu døkta la una  
 patient PL BE.AT LOC hall 2SG.EMP doctor the one  
 yù dè kan?  
 2SG IPFV come  
 ‘Patients are in the hall (and) you doctor, it’s (only)  
 at one o’clock that you come?’ [ab03ab 118]

Existential clauses featuring *get* are not often negated. The data contains only a single

negative *get*-existential clause, presented in (974). This is probably so because the ‘true’ existential construction featuring *get* is subject to an affirmative presupposition:

- (974) Dèn dè kəl dèn se, è **no get tək** nà Pichi.  
 3PL IPFV call 3PL QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG get talk LOC Pichi  
 ‘They’re called, there is no word (for that) in Pichi.’ [dj05be 014]

In contrast, there are many examples of negated *de*-copula clauses with an existential reading as in the following two examples. Note the occurrence of negative concord in the first of the two following examples:

- (975) **No pat** fɔ wəl mɔ **no de.**  
 NEG part ASS world more NEG BE.AT  
 ‘There is no other part of the world [where it’s like that].’ [au07se 224]
- (976) ‘Fàm-mán’ **no de.**  
 farm.CPD-man NEG BE.AT  
 ‘[The word] “Farm-man” doesn’t exist.’ [dj05be 016]

Likewise, the corpus does not reveal any instance of a non-finite *get* with an existential sense. Conversely, we once more encounter many examples of non-finite *de* ‘BE.AT’ with an existential reading as in (977):

- (977) Ebanistas dèn **get fɔ de.**  
 carpenters PL get ASS BE.AT  
 ‘Carpenters have to be there/around.’ [hi03cb 042]

The same applies to TMA marking. While quite a few *de*-existentials are found with overt TMA marking as in (978), there is no such example of a *get*-existential. The latter type of existential therefore appears to be prototypical in an additional sense – *get* existentials typically predicate a generic situation, which is also marked as such by factative tense-aspect with stative verbs like *get*:

- (978) (...) èhé wan accidente fɔ môtô **bìn de.**  
 INTJ one accident ASS car PST BE.AT  
 ‘(...) oh yes there was a car accident.’ [ye03cd 073]

Finally, it is useful to draw attention to the linkages between existential and factive clauses. Factive clauses featuring the copula *de* are existential clauses with a referentially empty subject position and a complement clause introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’. The subject is either an expletive è ‘3SG’, or a dummy noun like *tin* ‘thing’ as in this example (cf. eg. (1380) for further details on factive clauses):



- (979) **Dì tin de se** mek è mek rabia wèt mi.  
 DEF thing BE.AT QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ make anger with 1SG.EMP  
 ‘The thing is that let her be angry with me.’ [ye05rr 001]

#### 8.6.4 Possessives

Pichi employs a verbal and a copula strategy in the formation of possessive clauses. The verbs *get* ‘get, have’ and *hol* ‘hold, keep’ are the principal verbs of possession and express time-stable and non-time-stable possession respectively. Three collocations involving copulas are also used, albeit less frequently, in order to express possessive relations: *de fɔ̃* ‘be.at ASS’ = ‘have’ and *nà fɔ̃* ‘FOC ASS’ = ‘have’ as well *de nà/fɔ̃ han* ‘be.at LOC/ASS hand’ = ‘have on’. The use of these collocations may also be differentiated along the criterion of time-stability: *de fɔ̃* and *nà fɔ̃* express time-stable, *de nà han* transient, non-time-stable possession. Table 8.10 presents some characteristics of possessive clauses:

Table 8.10 Possessive clauses

|        | Time-stable                       | Non-time-stable                           | Possessor               | Frequency |
|--------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------|-----------|
| Verbal | <i>get</i> ‘get, have’            | <i>hol</i> ‘keep’                         | Subject                 | Majority  |
| Copula | <i>de fɔ̃, nà fɔ̃</i><br>‘be for’ | <i>de nà/fɔ̃ han</i><br>‘be LOC/ASS hand’ | Prepositional<br>phrase | Minority  |

The verb *get* ‘get, have’ expresses permanent, time-stable possession. When *get* occurs in a factative marked clause (980), a lexicalised light verb construction (981), an existential construction (cf. 8.6.3) or other contexts that propose a generic reading, the verb leans towards the stative meaning ‘own, be in permanent possession’:

- (980) À **get mɔ̀dɛ̀lɛ̀.**  
 1SG.SBJ get mother-in-law  
 ‘I have a mother-in-law.’ [ro05de 009]
- (981) (...) di man **get liba** èn, fɔ̃ kòmót wèt dis  
 this man get liver INTJ ASS go.out with this  
 kayn big gɛl, (...)  
 kind big girl  
 ‘(...) this man has guts, right, to go out with such an influential girl.’ [dj05ce 291]

Conversely, when *get* cooccurs with a TMA marker with a default or explicit perfective reading (982) or sentential aspect suggestive of telicity (i.e. the ‘when’ time clause in (983)), an inchoative interpretation of *get* as ‘acquire, enter into permanent possession’ is favoured:

- (982) Dì pàpá dè gladin se ìn pìkín **dòn get** wok.  
 DEF father IPFV be.glad QUOT 3SG.POSS child PRF get work  
 ‘The father is happy that his child has found work.’ [dj07ae 073]
- (983) À **kìn get** m̀nì, à kìn fala human d̀n.  
 1SG.SBJ HAB get money 1SG.SBJ HAB follow woman PL  
 ‘(When) I used to receive money, I would chase women.’ [ed03sp 089]

Sometimes we also find the phrases *dè f̃* or *nà f̃* expressing time-stable possession. There is no difference in meaning between the two constructions although *nà* ‘FOC’ is employed as a time-stable identity copula in other contexts (985):

- (984) S̀n Pichi **dè f̃** s̀n man we d̀ sing,  
 some Pichi BE.AT ASS some man SUB IPFV sing  
 d̀n d̀ k̀l Lapiro.  
 3PL IPFV call NAME  
 ‘There’s a kind of Pichi used by a man who sings, he’s called Lapiro [de Mbanga].’ [ye05ce 039]
- (985) Dì tin **dè f̃r=àn**, d̀ tin **nà f̃** in.  
 DEF thing BE.AT ASS=3SG.OBJ DEF THING FOC ASS 3SG.EMP  
 ‘The thing is his, the thing is his (...).’ [dj05ae 239]

The verb *hol* expresses non-time-stable, temporary possession in a transitive clause like (986). In such contexts, it is best translated as ‘keep’. The temporary nature of possession expressed by *hol* is reaffirmed by the adverbial phrase *durante un mes entero* ‘for one whole month’, which specifies the period of possession:

- (986) À fit **hol** dan m̀nì **durante un mes entero**.  
 1SG.SBJ can keep that money during DEF month whole  
 ‘I’m able to keep that money for a whole month.’ [ro05rt 049]

Speaker (dj) summarises the difference between *get* and *hol* in (987). Note the difference in aspect marking with *hol*, *get* and *drayb* ‘drive’. Imperfective aspect is expressed through factative marking with the inchoative-stative verbs *hol* and *get*. Meanwhile, it is the presence of *dè* ‘IPFV’ that signals imperfective aspect with the dynamic verb *drayb*:

- (987) ‘Yù **hol** wan m̀tó’, yù **dè drayb=àn**, pero se yù **get**,  
 2SG holdone car 2SG IPFV drive=3SG.OBJ but QUOT 2SG get  
 cuando tienes, ‘à **get** wan m̀tó’.  
 when you.get 1SG.SBJ get one car

“Yu hol wan mòtó” (means) you’re driving it, but when you possess it, when you have it “à get wan mòtó.” [dj05ae 223]

The notion of temporary possession expressed by *hol* may also be applied to a human possessed NP. A characteristic of West African pedagogy is to confer responsibility for the upbringing of a child to members of the extended family other than the biological parents. Such temporary guardianship is also expressed by *hol*. I leave it to speaker (au) to explain the meaning of *hol* in sentences (988) and (989):

(988) (...) à        **hol**        mì        brɔda    ìn        pikín,    à        dè    tren=àn.  
                  1SG.SBJ   hold    1SG.POSS   brother   3SG.POSS   child   1SG.SBJ   IPFV   train=3SG.OBJ  
                  ‘Because I have guardianship over my brother’s child, I’m bringing him up.’ [au07se 141]

(989) Bikɔs    è        **hol**        yu        nà    hos        yù    get    fɔ̃    get  
                  because   3SG.SBJ   hold        2SG.EMP   LOC   house    2SG   get    ASS   get  
                  dì    hom    trenin.  
                  DEF   home   training  
                  ‘Because she has guardianship over you in her house you have to receive home education.’ [au07se 130]

When *hol* is employed as a dynamic verb in a transitive clause has the more literal meaning of ‘hold’, hence the presence of the imperfective marker *dè* in the following example:

(990) No, nà dì human **dè hol**        dì    plet.  
                  NEG   FOC   DEF   woman   IPFV   hold        DEF   plate  
                  ‘No, it’s the woman that’s holding the plate.’ [ra07se 012]

A second strategy for establishing a non-time-stable possessive relation makes use of the phrasal expression *de nà X han/de fɔ̃ X han* ‘be in X’s hand’, where X is the possessor. This phrase is another variant of the copula strategy of possessive clause formation. In such invariably intransitive clauses the subject instantiates the possessed NP and a prepositional phrase the possessor. In the following example, the transient nature of possession is underscored by the time adverb *naw* ‘now’:

(991) George, mì        móvil    no    **de**        nà    mì        **han**,  
                  NAME    1SG.POSS   mobile   NEG   BE.AT    LOC   1SG.POSS   hand  
                  à        no    get    móvil    **naw**.  
                  1SG.SBJ   NEG   get    mobile   now  
                  ‘George, I don’t have my mobile phone on me, I don’t have a mobile phone now.’ [dj05ae 088]

All possessive clauses covered in this section can be negated by standard verb negation. The

negator *no* ‘NEG’ is inserted between the personal pronoun and the verb:

- (992) Yù sàbí se yù **no get** pikín?  
 2SG know QUOT 2SG NEG get child  
 ‘Do you know whether you don’t have a child?’ [fr03wt 173]

### 8.6.5 Predicate adjectives

We are concerned here with a few property items that may be employed as predicate adjectives next to their use as inchoative-stative verbs. The fluidity between adjective and verb with these items shows that, notwithstanding its existence, the verb-adjective distinction is weak in Pichi. Adjectives can be identified by their distribution. Only adjectives may appear as complements to the locative-existential copula *de* in predicate adjective clauses such as the following one:

- (993) Tidé dì human **de fayn**.  
 today DEF woman BE.AT fine  
 ‘Today the woman is fine.’ [dj05ae 153]

In (993), *fayn* ‘be fine’ is used as an adjective and denotes a physical property, namely a body state in an intransitive clause. The predicate adjective construction featuring the copula *de* translates as ‘be fine; well; healthy’. Contrast this meaning with (994), where *fayn* is employed as an inchoative-stative verb with the meaning ‘be intrinsically fine’ hence ‘beautiful’. In the latter example, *fayn* therefore denotes a value:

- (994) Dì human **fayn**.  
 DEF woman be.fine  
 ‘The woman is beautiful.’ [dj05ae 149]

In the corpus, the verb-adjective distinction according to time stability only applies to the adjectives *bad*, *gud*, and *fayn* without fail, and with these, only consistently so with animate, usually human subjects. For example, in (995) *bad* ‘be bad’ appears in a non-time-stable, predicate adjective construction although the speaker is referring to an inherent property of the street:

- (995) Dì **strit è de bad**, dèn mek dì strit bad.  
 DEF street 3SG.SBJ BE.AT bad 3PL make DEF street bad  
 ‘The street is bad, it is badly made.’ [dj05ae 137]

In the corpus, three groups of property items can be distinguished with respect to their potential to function as predicate adjectives. With group 1 property items, the perceived time stability of the property determines whether it is used as a time-stable inchoative-stative verb or a non-time-stable adjective with an animate subject. When the words *bad* ‘be

bad; ill' *fayn* 'be fine; beautiful' and *gud* 'be good; well' occur as adjectives, they denote a body state. When they occur as inchoative-stative verbs, these property items denote a value, an intrinsic property.

Only these three words are unequivocal members of the small adjective class in Pichi. Beyond that, two other groups of property items are characterised by variation in their use. Table 8.11 lists all property items attested in predicate adjective constructions in the corpus:

Table 8.11 Adjectives and adjective-verb variation

| Adjectives  |        | Adjective – verb variation |             |             |         |                |           |
|-------------|--------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| Group 1     |        | Group 2                    |             | Group 3     |         |                |           |
| <i>bad</i>  | 'ill'  | <i>brayt</i>               | 'bright'    | <i>fri</i>  | 'free'  | <i>neked</i>   | 'naked'   |
| <i>fayn</i> | 'fine' | <i>wòwó</i>                | 'messed up' | <i>klin</i> | 'clean' | <i>slo</i>     | 'slow'    |
| <i>gud</i>  | 'well' | <i>pyo</i>                 | 'pure'      | <i>layt</i> | 'tipsy' | <i>speshal</i> | 'special' |

In the table above, words which all speakers accept in predicate adjective constructions are provided in group 1 in the 'Adjectives' column. Group 2 words denote physical properties other than body state. They occur as adjectives and inchoative-stative verbs, with speakers being able to opt for either usage according to how time stable they perceive the property.

For example, the property item *brayt* 'be bright; glowing with beauty' is attested as an adjective where it denotes a transient body state as in (996) – the speaker is an elderly lady giving an account of her youth. Compare *brayt* with *fres* 'be fresh' in the same sentence, which is used as an inchoative-stative verb although it also denotes a transient body state. Meanwhile, the speaker in (997) employs *brayt* as an inchoative-stative verb without any differentiation according to time stability:

(996) Mòka bɔy dɛn kres we dɛn si lèk haw à **fres**,  
 PLACE boy PL go.mad SUB 3PL see like how 1SG.SBJ be.fresh

nà so à **de brayt**, (...)  
 FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ BE.AT bright

'The Moka boys went crazy when they saw how fresh I was, that's how I was glowing.' [ab03ay 059]

(997) Yù skin **brayt** ò.  
 2SG body be.bright SP  
 'Your body is really glowing (with beauty).' [dj07ae 165]

With group 2 property items less specialised in their meaning to the expression of typically human attributes, the time-stability distinction is even less categorical. The physical property item *wòwó* 'be ugly, messed up' is used by the same speaker as an adjective in (998)

and as an inchoative-stative verb in (999). Probably, the speaker is making a distinction according to time-stability as well. If this is so, the first example featuring *wòwó* may express a temporary state of the street, while the second is more time-stable in its meaning:

(998) Dì strit **de** **wòwó**.  
 DEF street BE.AT ugly  
 ‘The street is messed up.’ [dj05ae 136]

(999) Dì strit **wòwó**, dì strit **chàkrá**,  
 DEF street be.ugly DEF street be.destroyed  
 dì strit no **de** **fayn**.  
 DEF street NEG BE.AT fine  
 ‘The street is messed up, the street is destroyed, the street is not fine.’ [dj05ae 134]

For group 3 words in Table 8.11, it is difficult to see any systematic time-stability gradient. Some speakers simply appear to accept the use of group 3 words as adjectives while others do not.

For example, *saful* ‘be slow, diligent’ and *slo* ‘be slow’ usually occur as inchoative-stative verbs (1000). However, *slo* is also employed as an adjective by one speaker (1001), while another only rejects this usage as ungrammatical:

(1000) È **saful**, è **slo**.  
 3SG.SBJ be.careful 3SG.SBJ be.slow  
 ‘It [the car] is careful, it’s slow.’ [dj07ae 137]

(1001) Mì mòtó **de slo**.  
 1SG.POSS car BE.AT slow  
 ‘My car is slow [at the moment/characteristically].’ [ye07je 144]

(1002) \*Dì tàksí **de slo**.  
 this taxi BE.AT slow  
 \*This taxi is slow. [he07fn 182]

Predicate adjective clauses may be marked for TMA like any other copula clause featuring the copula *de*. Compare the adjective *bad* ‘ill’ in (1003) with a future tense reference:

(1003) We yù gò fòdón yù gò **de bad**, (...)  
 SUB 2SG POT fall 2SG POT BE.AT bad  
 ‘When you fall you’ll be in a bad state (...)’ [ab03ay 114]

Adjectives may also be employed attributively as prenominal modifiers. In this, adjectives behave no differently from other property items (cf. 6.2.1). Below, the adjective *fayn* ‘be fine’ appears as a modifier of *gɛl* ‘girl’:

- (1004) Yù si wan **fayn** **gɛl**, yù dè go tun=àn.  
 2SG see one fine girl 2SG IPFV go tune=3SG.OBJ  
 '(If) you see a fine girl, you go chat her up.' [au07se 062]

The class of adjectives is closed for words of Pichi origin since the use of property items as copula complements is lexically restricted. But the predicate adjective construction is a port of entry for Spanish adjectives (cf. 14.2.2).

Finally, I draw attention to the various other means of attributing properties to a noun. Speakers make use of postnominal modification through relative or quotative clauses. Other ways of expressing modification are associative constructions and compounding. Two strategies of modification serve as a productive means of deriving new property items next to the use of Spanish adjectives in the Pichi predicate adjective construction. A *de*-copula clause with an adverbial complement featuring *wèt* 'with' (1005) as well as light verb constructions involving *get* 'get, have' (1006) allow the attribution of a property to a referent:

- (1005) È had fɔ mek mek dèn bil nà ya so bikɔs  
 3SG.SBJ be.hard ASS make SBJV 3PL build LOC here like.that because  
 dì grɔn è tu **de** **wèt** **ston.**  
 DEF ground 3SG.SBJ too BE.AT with stone  
 'It's hard for them to build here because the ground is too stony.' [dj05be 111]

- (1006) È had fɔ bil nà ya bikɔs se dì grɔn  
 3SG.SBJ be.hard ASS build LOC here because QUOT DEF ground  
**get b̀̀kú s̀̀nsán.**  
 get much sand  
 'It's hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.' [ro05ee 063]

## 8.7 Adverbial modification

Pichi adverbials modify verbs and clauses. It is useful to distinguish between adverbs proper and adverbials. I employ 'adverbial' as a cover term, which includes adverbs, but also encompasses other clause constituents with the functions of adverbs. Adverbs constitute an underived, largely monomorphemic minor word class of their own, and unlike other constituents that may function as adverbials (e.g. common NPs) do not normally appear in the syntactic positions of other word classes.

Adverbials may occupy a clause-initial, a preverbal, a postverbal and a clause-final position. Some adverbs consist of a single morpheme (e.g. *b̀̀mbáy* 'gradually'; *naw* 'now'), others are lexicalised phrases with idiosyncratic, underivable meanings (e.g. *s̀̀n.tɛn* 'some.time' = 'perhaps'). Other expressions are more or less conventionalised phrases, constituted by means of phrasal syntax (e.g. *b̀̀kú tɛn dèn* 'many times, often'), but usually not encountered in non-adverbial functions. Often such noun phrase adverbials are fixed

collocations involving generic nouns denoting time (*tɛn* ‘time’; *awa* ‘hour’), manner (*stayl* ‘style’; *fasiɲ* ‘manner’) and space (*say* ‘side’; *ples* ‘place’; *pat* ‘part’). There is thus a smooth transition from more basic monomorphemic adverbs to more or less lexicalised adverbial phrases.

The expression of degree and manner modification is particularly rich and varied in Pichi and deserves special attention. It should, however, also be pointed out that many adverbial notions are expressed by wholly different means than adverbials. For example, movement verbs may take goal objects while some spatial and temporal notions may be expressed by motion-direction and adverbial SVCs. Many ideophones function as manner adverbials next to the adverbs of manner covered in this section.

Equally, many clause linkers are not very different in function from the linking adverbs listed in Table 8.12 below (e.g. *bikəs* ‘because’, *adðnké* ‘even if’). Further, modal clauses with expletive subjects (e.g. *è fit bi se* ‘3SG.SBJ can BE QUOT’ = ‘it could be that’ and *è fiba se* ‘3SG.SBJ seem QUOT’ = ‘it seems that’) convey meanings similar to those of sentence adverbs like *sðntén* ‘perhaps’ and *mebi* ‘maybe’.

### 8.7.1 Adverbs

Table 8.12 below presents all monomorphemic adverbs found in the corpus and the most common conventionalised phrasal expressions with adverbial functions. The preferred or canonical syntactic positions are also indicated. The table also contains the two most common Spanish-derived adverbs *pero* ‘but’ and *bueno* ‘alright’. Adverbs with multiple meanings are arranged in all the corresponding ‘adverb type’ sections (e.g. *smɔlten* ‘shortly after’ = locative adverb; *smɔlten* ‘nearly’ = modal adverb):

Table 8.12 Adverbs

| Adverb type | Members  | Preferred position        |
|-------------|--|---------------------------|
| Locative    | <i>de</i> ‘there’, <i>ya (so)</i> ‘here’, <i>hia</i> ‘here’, <i>yàndá</i> ‘yonder’, <i>arawn</i> ‘around’  | Clause final              |
| Time        | <i>bàmbáy</i> ‘gradually’, <i>naw</i> ‘now’, <i>fəs</i> ‘first’, <i>fəs tɛn</i> ‘formerly’, <i>sðn tɛn dèn</i> ‘sometimes’, <i>smɔlten</i> ‘shortly after’, <i>wan tɛn</i> ‘(at) once’, <i>wan wan tɛn</i> ‘from time to time’ | Clause initial            |
|             | <i>bàkú tɛn</i> ‘for a long time’, <i>lɔn tɛn</i> ‘long (ago)’, <i>soté</i> ‘for a long time’, <i>mə</i> ‘again’, <i>yet</i> ‘yet’   | Clause final              |
|             | <i>wan de</i> ‘someday’, <i>no wan de</i> ‘never’, <i>ɔl tɛn</i> ‘always’ <i>ɔl awa</i> ‘all the time’   | Clause initial or final   |
| Degree      | <i>jis/jəs</i> ‘just’, <i>stil</i> ‘still’   | Preverbal                 |
|             | <i>tu (mɔch)</i> ‘too (much)’, <i>so</i> ‘so much’<br><i>bad</i> ‘extremely’, <i>mə</i> ‘more’, <i>mə-èn-mə</i> ‘more and more’,<br><i>soté</i> ‘extremely’  | Preverbal<br>Clause final |



THE CLAUSE

|                    |  |                                |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Linking            | <i>afta</i> ‘then’, ( <i>è</i> ) <i>finis</i> ‘then’, <i>bèt</i> ‘but’, <i>sò</i> ‘so’, <i>nà in</i> ‘that’s when; that’s why’, <i>dasòl</i> ‘then’, <i>pero</i> ‘but’, <i>bueno</i> ‘alright’ | Clause initial                 |
| Modal & evaluative | <i>badten</i> ‘unfortunately’, <i>smòlten</i> ‘nearly’, <i>sòntén</i> ‘perhaps’, <i>mebi</i> ‘maybe’<br><i>ò</i> ‘sp’  | Clause initial<br>Clause final |
| Manner             | <i>kwik</i> ‘quickly’; <i>hàydháyð</i> ‘secretly’, <i>so</i> ‘like that’, <i>fayn</i> ‘well’<br>ideophones   | Clause final                   |

Adverbs that appear at the beginning modify the sentence in its entirety – they have a wide scope. In (1007), the linking adverb *pero* ‘but’, the modal adverb *sòntén* ‘perhaps’ and the time adverb *bàmbáy* ‘gradually’ all occur sentence-initially:

- (1007) **Pero** **bàmbáy** **bàmbáy sòntén** yù gò si dì wan  
 but gradually REP perhaps 2SG POT see DEF one  
 we gò mared yu.  
 SUB POT marry 2SG.EMP  
 ‘But very gradually perhaps you might find the one who will marry you.’ [ab03ab 204]

Locative and time adverbs may also occur after the verb, in which case they have narrow scope and modify the meaning of the verb alone. In (1008), the repeated locative noun *dòn* ‘down’ and the locative adverb *yàndá* ‘yonder’ modify the verb *sìdón* ‘sit; stay’:

- (1008) Bèt in sìdón **dòn** **dòn dòn yàndá**.  
 but 3SG.EMP stay down REP REP yonder  
 ‘But he stays far down over there.’ [ma03ni 026]

The data contains diverse time adverbs. A few of these are monomorphemic, e.g. *bàmbáy* ‘gradually’ in (1007) above. Others are more or less idiosyncratic phrases containing the time-denoting generic noun *tèn* ‘time’, as in *bòkú tèn* ‘much time’ = ‘for a long time’ (1009) or *de* ‘day’, as in *wan de* ‘someday’ (1010). Location-in-time adverbs like *wan de* prefer the initial, duration adverbs like *lòn tèn* ‘long ago’ and *bòkú tèn* the final position:

- (1009) No chεk=àn **bòkú tèn**, tɛl mi se no.  
 NEG think=3SG.OBJ much time tell 1SG.EMP QUOT NEG  
 ‘Don’t think about it for a long time, tell me no.’ [ye07me 034]

Adverbs with generic time reference like *wan de* ‘someday’ and *ɔl tèn* ‘always’ are equally often encountered in the initial as well as the final position:

- (1010) Nà in **wan** **de** à bìn tel wan grand frère nà,  
 FOC 3SG.EMP one day 1SG.SBJ PST tell one big brother LOC

nà mì colegio de, (...).  
 LOC 1SG.POSS college there

'That's why one day, I told one of my seniors in, in my secondary school there, (...).' [ye07ga.003]

- (1011) À m̀̀s go Alemania wan de.  
 1SG.SBJ OBL go PLACE one day  
 'I absolutely have to go to Germany someday.' [to07fn 197]

In clauses featuring double object constructions, speakers may place a time adverbial between the recipient or beneficiary object and the patient object instead of placing it in the clause-initial or clause final position. This position appears to be focus-induced since it was encountered more often during the elicitation of adverbials than in natural speech:

- (1012) Ebongolo tel mi ỳ̀stàd̀̀ è in problema.  
 NAME tell 1SG.EMP yesterday 3SG.POSS problem  
 'Ebongolo told me about his problem yesterday.' [dj07ae 347]

The phrase *è finis* '3SG.SBJ finish' = 'then' is a stand-alone clause, which may function as a linking 'adverb' (1013). A formal indication of its hybrid status between clause and adverb is that the personal pronoun *è* '3SG.SBJ' is sometimes dropped:

- (1013) À g̀̀ò was ẁ̀t mì han mi senwe  
 1SG.SBJ POT wash with 1SG.POSS hand 1SG.EMP EMP  
 à dray=àn, è finis à ayɛn=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ dry=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ finish 1SG.SBJ iron=3SG.OBJ  
 'I myself would wash with my hands, dry it, then iron it.' [dj07re 050]

The two modal adverbs *s̀̀nt̀̀n* 'perhaps' (cf. (1007) above) and *sm̀̀lt̀̀n* 'nearly' (1015) and the evaluative adverb *badt̀̀n* 'unfortunately' (1014) are lexicalised phrases involving the generic noun *t̀̀n* 'time' as a formative element (cf. (247) above). Modal and evaluative adverbs are normally found in the initial position, with scope over the entire clause:

- (1014) **Badt̀̀n** naw, d̀̀l f̀̀s d̀̀kta we ẁ̀l get,  
 unfortunately now DEF first doctor SUB 1PL get  
 è no de ɔp nà ɔspitul.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.AT up LOC hospital  
 'Unfortunately, the first doctor that we had wasn't up  
 (there) in the hospital.' [ab03ay 078]

THE CLAUSE

- (1015) **Sməlten** à bin fɔ̃ day de.  
 nearly 1SG.SBJ PST ASS die there  
 ‘I nearly died there.’

The adverb *mebi* ‘maybe’ (1016) is not as common as *səntén* ‘perhaps’. Note that *sməlten* (i.e. ‘small.time’) has an opaque, lexicalised sense ‘nearly’ in the example above, and a more transparent, temporal sense ‘shortly (after)’ in (1017) below

- (1016) **Mebi** dɛ̃n no gò beg yu plente fɔ̃ pe, (...).  
 maybe 3PL NEG POT beg 2SG.EMP plenty ASS pay  
 ‘Maybe they won’t ask you to pay a lot (...).’ [hi03cb 011]

- (1017) **Sməlten** è mek hɛɛɛ.  
 shortly 3SG.SBJ make ‘exhalation’  
 ‘Shortly after, he made [imitates exhalation].’ [ab03ab 086]

The L-toned clause-initial linking adverb *sò* ‘so’ (1018) differs from the clause-final H-toned deictic manner adverb *so* ‘like this, like that’ (1019) in tone alone. The latter adverb is often focused and fronted in a *nà* cleft construction, in order to establish reference to preceding discourse material (1020) (cf. also 8.4.3.3):

- (1018) **Sò** dì ɔ̃da wan dè listin=àn.  
 So DEF other one IPFV listen=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘So the other one is listening to him.’ [au07se 101]

- (1019) (...), è dè pas **so** lèk se è no no mi mɔ̃.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV pass.like.this like QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG know 1SG.EMP more  
 ‘(...), she was passing by just like that as if she didn’t know me anymore.’ [ru03wt 041]

- (1020) **Nà so** dɛ̃n gò mek yu.  
 FOC like.this 3PL POT make 2SG.EMP  
 ‘That’s what they would do to you.’ [ab03ay 045]

The H-toned adverb *so* ‘like that’ is also found in the conventionalised collocations (*nà*) *ya so* ‘right here’ (1021) and *naw so* ‘right now’ (1022), where its deictic character provides emphasis:

- (1021) Fròn **nà ya so** dɛ̃n kìn controla dì human.  
 from LOC here like.that 3PL HAB control DEF woman  
 ‘They control the woman from right here.’ [ed03sb 158]

- (1022) **Naw so** tàksí, no extranjero no dè drɛb tàksí mɔ̃.  
 now like.that taxi NEG foreigner NEG IPFV drive taxi more  
 ‘Right now, as for taxis, no foreigner drives taxis anymore.’ [ye07je 177]

Manner adverbs other than *so* ‘like that’ and ideophonic adverbs generally occur after the verb since they directly modify the meaning of the verb. Compare *kwik* ‘quickly’ and the ideophone *kwaráng* in the two following sentences:

(1023) Bòt da m̀nń́ d̀e finis **kwik**.  
 but that money IPFV finish quickly  
 ‘But that money used to finish quickly.’ [ed03sp 088]

(1024) D̀en d̀e ple=àn **kwaráng**.  
 3PL IPFV play=3SG.OBJ IDEO  
 ‘It is played with this hollow sound (of the seeds falling into the pits of the wooden Oware board).’

Pichi has a small set of four preverbal adverbs, which appear in the predicate before the verb. The set includes the time adverbs *jis/jəs* ‘just’ and *stil* ‘still’ as well as the degree adverbs *so* ‘so much’, *tu* (*məch*) ‘too much’. The use of the preverbal time adverbs *jis/jəs* and *stil* coincides with resumptive imperfective aspect marking – the adverbs are preceded and followed by *d̀e* ‘IPFV’.

The aspect-marking functions of the time adverbs *jis/jəs* ‘just’ and *stil* ‘still’ are covered in 7.4.2 and 7.4.4 respectively (cf. also 5.4.1 for a discussion of the position of preverbal adverbs):

(1025) Naw d̀en d̀e **jis** d̀e kan.  
 now 3PL IPFV just IPFV come  
 ‘Now, they’re just coming.’ [ye07je 179]

Preverbal degree adverbs usually occur with gradable property items or lexicalised light verb constructions which attribute properties as in (1026). Hence, sentences like (1027), in which a non-gradable verb (i.e. *tək* ‘talk’), and a dynamic one at that, is preceded by a preverbal degree adverb, are very rare:

(1026) Ỳù **tu lek** human.  
 2SG too like woman  
 ‘You’re too much of a womaniser.’ [ge07fn 02]

(1027) È fiba l̀ek se à d̀on d̀e **tu tək** b̀òkú.  
 3SG.SBJ resemblelike QUOT 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV too talk much  
 ‘It seems like I’m talking to much.’ [be07he 015]

Non-gradable verbs are more likely to be modified postverbally by the expression *tu məch* ‘too much’ than by preverbal *tu* ‘too (much)’ (1028). The phrase *tu məch* includes the quantifying adverb *məch*. When a verb is modified in this way for superlative degree, the use of *məch* is mandatory. The same applies when *tu məch* modifies a nominal (1029):

(1028) È        dè    so        ìn        sɛf    **tu mɔch**.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV show    3SG.POSS self too much  
 ‘He boasts too much.’ [ye07je 133]

(1029) À        dè    fil    **tu mɔch hɔt**.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel too much heat  
 ‘I’m feeling too hot [too much heat].’ [dj07ae 316]

Nonetheless *tu mɔch* may also be used in preverbal position without any difference in meaning to *tu* ‘too (much)’. The following sentence features both possibilities. While the compound property item *sməl.skín* ‘small.body’ = ‘be thin’ is modified preverbally, the property item *dray* ‘be dry, haggard’ is modified postverbally by *tu mɔch*:

(1030) Dì    pìkín    **tu mɔch sməlskín**,    è        **dray tu mɔch**.  
 DEF child    too much    be.thin    3SG.SBJ    be.dry    too much  
 ‘The girl is too thin, she’s too lean.’ [dj07ae 206]

Somewhat similar to the distribution of *tu (mɔch)* is that of the adverb *so* ‘like that, that much’. When *so* occurs in a preverbal position it implicitly expresses equative degree and means ‘that much’ (1031).

However, when *so* appears in the clause-final position it means ‘like that’ and therefore retains its central meaning as a manner adverb (cf. (1019) above):

(1031) Dèn no dè **so yus=àn mɔ**.  
 3PL NEG IPFV like.that use=3SG.OBJ more  
 ‘It’s not used that much anymore.’ [ye07je 009]

The word *mɔ* ‘be more; again’ also functions as a degree adverb and is characterised by an unusual amount of syntactic flexibility. In contexts other than comparison, *mɔ* may occur clause-finally as a time adverb with the meaning ‘again’ (1032) and ‘still’ (1033)-(1034):

(1032) Put=àn        bihén    **mɔ!**  
 put=3SG.OBJ    behind    more  
 ‘Put it behind [rewind] again!’ [au07se 057]

(1033) Dèn se        nɔto    in        wan,    ɔda    wan    de        **mɔ**.  
 3PL QUOT    NEG.FOC    3SG.EMP    one    other    one    BE.AT    more  
 ‘They said it’s not her alone, there’s yet another one.’ [ed03sb 069]

(1034) (...) è        dè    sigue    **mɔ**.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV continue more  
 ‘(...) it’s still continuing.’ [ro05rr 003]

In negative clauses, *mɔ* is best translated as ‘anymore, no longer; not again’. Compare the

following examples with the negated dynamic verb *ansa* ‘answer’ (1035) and (1036) with the negated stative verb copula *de* ‘BE.AT’:

- (1035) È        de        è        no dè **ansa**    mi        **mə**.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT    3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV answer 1SG.EMP more  
 ‘She was (just) there (and) wasn’t responding to me any more.’ [ru03wt 041]

- (1036) Fròn    Rebola bajando    è        no gò **de**        **mə**.  
 from    PLACE    descending 3SG.SBJ NEG POT BE.AT    more  
 ‘As we descend from Rebola, it [the fog] won’t be there anymore.’ [ye07fn 071]

In (1037) below *mə* may be analysed as occupying the object position of *tək* ‘talk; say’ with the meaning ‘more’. Alternatively, *mə* may be seen to function as an adverbial and be translated as ‘still; again continue to’:

- (1037) À        no dè **tək mə**.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV talk more  
 ‘I was not talking any longer.’ OR ‘I wasn’t saying more.’ [ab03ay 090]

The scope of *mə* may also be narrower than the clause. In (1038), *mə* is in the postnominal position and modifies the preceding NP in a way no different from that of the focus particle *sef* ‘FOC’ or the quantifier *əl* ‘all’. In (1039), *mə* modifies the adverbial *afta* ‘then’:

- (1038) **No pat fɛ wəl mə**    no de.  
 NEG part ASS world    more    NEG BE.AT  
 ‘There is no other part of the world [where it’s like that].’ [au07se 224]

- (1039) **Afta mə**    à        bìn wok    dis sen    wok  
 then    more    1SG.SBJ PST work    this same    work  
 we à        dè du (...)  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV do  
 ‘Then, additionally, I worked this same job that I’m doing (now).’ [ma03hm 057]

Besides the adverbs treated so far, compounds (1040) or constructions featuring generic nouns of place (i.e. *say* ‘side, place’), time (i.e. *tɛn* ‘time’ and *de* ‘day’) and manner (i.e. *stayl* ‘manner, style’) serve as locative, time (1041) and manner adverbials (1042):

- (1040) **Wòk-say**    à        dè hiɛ    we dèn dè tək=àn    bòkú.  
 work.CPD-side 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear    SUB 3PL IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ    much  
 ‘(At) work I hear them talk it [Ghanaian Pidgin English] a lot.’ [ye07je 166]

- (1041) È        kan        **san tɛn**.  
 3SG.SBJ come    sun time  
 ‘He came (at) noon.’ [dj05ce 050]

- (1042) Dèn so dì sọt      **tu stayl.**  
 3PL sew DEF shirt      two style  
 ‘The shirt was sewn in two (different) ways.’ [ra07ve 063]

Other than that, Pichi employs noun phrases introduced by prepositions (e.g. *nà* ‘loc’, *fɔ̃* ‘Ass’, *tò* ‘to’) or locative nouns (e.g. *bifó* ‘before’, *bòtón* ‘under’, *kəna* ‘next to’, *mindul* ‘middle’) to form various types of adverbial phrases which provide modification to clauses:

- (1043) À            put dì ki **nà** pala.  
 1SG.SBJ put DEF key LOC parlour  
 ‘I put the key in the parlour.’ [to07fn 114]

### 8.7.2 Modification of manner and circumstance

The corpus contains only few underived manner adverbs (amongst them *kwik* ‘quickly; early’ in (1023) above). Nevertheless, the possibilities for providing manner modification are particularly rich. They encompass the use of adverbials, ideophones, SVCs, secondary predication, compounds, associative constructions, lexicalised iteration and adverbial clauses of manner.

The value property item *fayn* ‘be fine; nice; correct’ is frequently found in clause-final position to provide manner modification. The use of *fayn* in this way is conventionalised to such an extent that it may be considered an adverb with its own established meaning of ‘nicely, properly, in the right way’ (a similar case is made for *bad* ‘extremely’, cf. (1061)-(1062) further below):

- (1044) È            **fiks** dən      **fayn.**  
 3SG.SBJ fix 3PLEMP fine  
 ‘She has arranged them properly.’ [li07pe 069]

Another idiosyncratic way of expressing manner modification is through the lexicalised reduplication *hàydháyd* ‘secretly’ (1045):

- (1045) Chico, yù dən **chop=àn**      **hàydháyd.**  
 boy 2SG PRF eat=3SG.OBJ secretly  
 ‘Man, you’ve eaten it secretly.’ [ge07fn 333]

Further, Pichi employs the adverb-deriving suffix *-wan* ‘ADV’ to form manner adverbs (1046), and the generic noun *stayl* ‘style’ (1047) in order to form manner-denoting adverbial NPs in clause-final position (cf. 5.4.1 for more details):

- (1046) As dèn nɔba      bìn si plàntí, dèn bìn **chop=àn**      **rɔn-wan.**  
 as 3PL NEG.PRF PST see plantain 3PL PST eat=3SG.OBJ wrong-ADV  
 ‘Since they had never seen plantain before, they ate it the wrong way.’ [ro05ee 062]

- (1047) Dèn      **tif**      dì m̀nì      **sikrit**      **stayl.**  
 3PL      steal      DEF money      secret      style  
 ‘They stole the money secretly.’ [ra07ve 048]

Likewise, prepositional phrases introduced by *f̂* ‘ass’ may express manner as in the following example:

- (1048) À      waka      **f̂ fut**      wèt      mì      maleta, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ      walk      ASS foot      with      1SG.POSS      suitcase  
 ‘I walked by foot with my suitcase.’ [ab03ay 075]

For one part, biclausal structures are common in providing modifications of circumstance. Compare the following adverbial clauses introduced by *we* ‘SUB’ (1049) and *se* ‘QUOT’ (1050):

- (1049) È      go nà wok      **we** è      **klin.**  
 3SG.SBJ      go      LOC work      SUB 3SG.SBJ      be.clean  
 ‘She went to work clean.’ [ra07ve 076]

- (1050) Di p̄kín      k̀m̀t      **se**      è      **d̀t̄f.**  
 this child      go.out      QUOT      3SG.SBJ      be.dirty  
 ‘This child went out dirty.’ [ra07ve 016]

Another common way of providing modification to a clause is by means of depictive secondary predication (cf also 13.3). In the depictive adjunct in (1051), the secondary predicate *nek̄d* ‘be naked’ provides information about the state of the subject *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ while the situation denoted by *k̀m̀t* ‘come out’ unfolds:

- (1051) È      **k̀m̀t**      nà rum      **nek̄d.**  
 3SG.SBJ      come.out      LOC room      be.naked  
 ‘He left the room naked.’ [ra07ve 001]

Modifications of circumstance may also be provided through nominal depictives that come in the guise of prepositional phrases introduced by *wèt* ‘with’ (1052) and *l̄k* ‘like’ (1053):

- (1052) È      put dì b̄tul      pan dì tebul      **wèt**      **dì m̄t**      **d̄n.**  
 3SG.SBJ      put      DEF bottle      pan      DEF table      with      DEF mouth      down  
 ‘He put the bottle on the table upside-down.’ [li07pe 057]

- (1053) Peromì      mà má      kan accepta      dì p̄kin      **l̄k m̄**  
 but 1SG.POSS      mother      PFV accept      DEF child      like 1SG  
**br̄da ìn p̄kin.**  
 brother 3SG.POSS      child  
 ‘But my mother accepted the child as my brother’s child.’ [fr03ft 122]



Pichi also employs resultative constructions like (1054). I also analyse such constructions as secondary predications:

- (1054) No, à           no want   **tək**   dì gal   **bad**.  
 NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG want   talk   DEF girl   bad  
 ‘No, I don’t want to badmouth the girl.’ [eb07fn 173]

Some relations of modification which habitually reoccur, tend to be expressed through verb-noun compounds. In this vein, the depictive secondary predication in (1055) is more often rendered by (1056):

- (1055) È           dring   dì **wàtá**   **kol**.  
 3SG.SBJ drink   DEF water   be.cold  
 ‘She drank the water cold.’ [ra07ve 004]

- (1056) È           dring   **kòl-wàtá**.  
 3SG.SBJ drink   cold.CPD-water  
 ‘She drank cold water.’ [ra07ve 003]

### 8.7.3 Modification of degree

There are various ways of providing degree modification in Pichi other than by the means covered in 8.7.1. Not all of these involve the use of adverbial constituents. For example, inherently comparative and superlative expressions, cognate objects, some types of focus constructions (i.e. predicate cleft) as well as repetition all provide some form of explicit or implicit modification of degree.

Degree modification may also be realised on the suprasegmental level. Vowel-lengthening and stress (i.e. extra-high pitch) may indicate a larger amount of intensity, extent or dimension of a referent, which is generally a property item or an adverbial. The only syllable of the property item *kol* ‘be cold’ in (1057) is pronounced with an extra-high tone and lengthened. The phonetic transcription is provided in squared brackets:

- (1057) Pero   we à           kìn täch   ìn   fut,  
 but   SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch   3SG.POSS leg  
 ìn   han   de,   nà so   dèn **ko.ol** [kó::l].  
 3SG.POSS hand   there   FOC like.that 3PL cold.EMP  
 ‘But when I would touch his foot (and) his hand,  
 they were so extremely cold.’ [ab03ab 066]

Vowel lengthening and stress are conventionalised with the preposition *soté* ‘until’. Both phenomena always occur when *soté* is employed as a clause-final temporal adverb with the meaning ‘for a long time’ or a degree adverb with the meaning ‘extremely’ (1058):

- (1058) Dèn kech=àn      dèn bit=àn      **soté.e** [sóté:].  
 3PL catch=3SG.OBJ 3PL beat=3SG.OBJ until.EMP  
 ‘They caught him and beat the hell out of him.’ [pa07fn 556]

Suprasegmental degree modification is performed in accordance with the syllable structure of the modified word. Monosyllabic words bear an extra-high tone over their H-toned syllable. If the syllable ends in a vowel, liquid or nasal, it may also be lengthened. Two examples for this pattern are *kol* ‘be cold’ in (1057) above and *fa* ‘be far’ in (1059) below.

The H-toned syllable of a bisyllabic word may also be lengthened if it ends in a vowel or liquid. Compare *fawe* ‘be far’ in (1059) below. Both *fa* and *fawe* in (1059) are additionally stressed by means of an extra-high tone:

- (1059) Wantèn à      skia,      è      se ‘no skia,      à      kòmót  
 suddenly 1SG.SBJ be.scared 3SG.SBJ QUOTNEG be.scared 1SG.SBJ come.out  
**fa.awe** [fá:wè], à      kòmót      **fa.a** [fá:].’  
 far.EMP 1SG.SBJ come.out far.EMP  
 ‘Suddenly, I became scared, he said “don’t be scared, I come from very far away,  
 I come from very far.”’ [ed03sb 176]

In contrast, vowel-lengthening for degree modification is not attested with mono- or bisyllabic words with word-final H-toned syllables that end in plosives or fricatives. With this group of words we only find stress and/or other types of degree modification. For example, in (1060), the property item *big* ‘be big’ is modified for degree by repetition and is additionally stressed by means of extra-high tone over both iterations:

- (1060) Dèn gət wan **big big** [bǐg bǐg] fam (...)  
 3PL get one big REP farm  
 ‘They have a huge farm.’ [fr03ft 012]

Property items that do not denote dimension or a physical property and adverbs that do not denote a manner or degree are not usually modified suprasegmentally in this way. One way of providing degree modification to other types of words is by means of the value property item *bad* in clause-final position. For example, in (1061) the property item *bad* ‘bad’ is employed as a degree adverb with the meaning ‘extremely’.

- (1061) (...) à      dè **səri**      **bad.**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel.sorry extremely  
 ‘I really feel sorry.’ [hi03cb 069]

In (1062), *bad* modifies *fayn* ‘(be) fine’. The example shows that *bad* retains little if any of its lexical meaning of ‘be bad’ when employed in this function. It is a true degree adverbial and may also modify a verb which is the antonym of its lexical source:

THE CLAUSE

- (1062) È        **fayn**   **bad**,        è        **fayn**   **bad**.  
3SG.SBJ   be.fine   extremely   3SG.SBJ   be.fine   extremely  
'She is really beautiful, she is really beautiful.' [fr03ft 113]

The sentence-final particle ò may also provide degree modification to a sentence (1063). The various functions of this particle are covered in detail in 9.3:

- (1063) È        **had**   ò.  
3SG.SBJ   be.hard   SP  
'It's really difficult.' [ro05fe 037]

## 9 Pragmatic elements and routines

A certain degree of ritualised expressivity characterises the communicative conventions of some forms of Pichi speech. The pragmatically oriented elements covered in this chapter form part of a range of performative and expressive devices which extend into the realm of gesture and body posture. In this chapter, sections are dedicated to ideophones, interjections and two other elements that have much in common with interjections but defy rigid demarcation: the sentence particle ò ‘sp’ as well as ‘suck teeth’, a phonetic realisation with important pragmatic functions.

Like interjections, ideophones represent an expressive dimension of communicative interaction. Also common to both micro word classes is that many of their members do not enter into grammatical constructions with other word classes, and are fit into discourse by adjunction. Equally, many interjections and ideophones manifest some degree of sound symbolism, hence the relation between form and meaning is not entirely arbitrary. However, while interjections can occur as utterances on their own, ideophones (unless they are interjectional) occur as parts of utterances (Ameka, p.c.).

The two final sections cover two important manifestations of the socio-pragmatic domain of politeness, namely the address system and greeting routines.

### 9.1 Ideophones

This section deals with the semantic and syntactic characteristics of ideophones. The morpho-phonological features of ideophones are covered separately in 5.6.3.

Ideophones constitute a micro word class with expressive and imaginistic semantics and phonology (cf. e.g. Doke 1935: 118-119; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2002: 1-8; Westermann 1930: 187-189). Compare the ideophone *gbogbògbo* in (1064), which expresses haste or precipitous hurry:

- (1064) Tokòbé dən wɛr klos **gbogbògbo**.  
NAME PRF wear clothing IDEO  
‘Tokòbé had put on (her) clothes in haste.’ [ab03ab 111]

Ideophones are not very prominent in the corpus and tend to be employed more by older, ‘group 2’ (cf. 1.4) speakers. All ideophones encountered in the data are listed in Table 9.1. Many of the ideophones listed below and in particular those listed under ‘manner adverb’

and ‘verb’ in particular, appear to be multicategorical. It is highly likely that they may be used in the syntactic positions of other word classes as well. On the other hand, an ideophonic noun like *pətəpətó* ‘mud’ and the verb/adjective *wəwó* seem to be firmly entrenched as members of their wordclass(es). The list also features an ideophonic interjection.

Many of the ideophonic manner adverbs given in the table only occur once in the corpus and were only grudgingly accepted, or rejected during elicitation. It is therefore difficult to ascertain how widespread the use of these ideophones is, and whether some of them are sound symbolic ad hoc creations, are carried over from other languages used by the speaker, or form part of the lexicon of Pichi (e.g. *bwà*, *fwifwifwí* and *wowó/wewé*).

Table 9.1 Ideophones

| Word class attested | Example                       | Translation   |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Verb                | <i>kakàra</i>                 | ‘be restless’   |
|                     | <i>katakata</i>               | ‘be active, hectic’   |
|                     | <i>menyemenyé</i>             | ‘whine, nag in a childlike fashion’                           |
| Verb & adjective    | <i>wəwó</i>                   | ‘be ugly, in disorder’  |
| Noun                | <i>pətəpətó</i>               | ‘sticky substance, mud’                                       |
|                     | <i>wuruwuru</i>               | ‘deceit’  |
| Manner adverb       | <i>bwà</i>                    | ‘sound of water gushing’                                      |
|                     | <i>byà</i>                    | ‘sound of coughing’   |
|                     | <i>fwifwifwí</i>              | ‘sound of wind blowing’                                       |
|                     | <i>gbin</i>                   | ‘sound of a hard, sudden blow’                                |
|                     | <i>gbogbògbo</i>              | ‘in haste’  |
|                     | <i>kamúkàmú</i>               | ‘sight of buttocks moving’                                    |
|                     | <i>kìp</i>                    | ‘sound of a dull thud’  |
|                     | <i>kutùku</i>                 | ‘sound of heart beating’                                      |
|                     | <i>kwaráng</i>                | ‘sound of round and hard object(s) falling into a receptacle’ |
|                     | <i>kpù</i>                    | ‘sound of impact on a soft matter’                            |
|                     | <i>prìng</i>                  | ‘sound of ringing’  |
|                     | <i>súkútúpàmpa</i>            | ‘in a cheap and mean fashion’                                 |
|                     | <i>tik</i>                    | ‘cracking sound’  |
| <i>wewé; wowó</i>   | ‘sound of crying and wailing’ |   |
| Interjection        | <i>kóngkóngkóng</i>           | ‘seek permission to enter’                                    |

Ideophones differ from other word classes in three respects: probably all the ideophones listed above are tonal words from minor pitch classes; about half of the ideophones listed above represent cases of lexicalised full or partial duplication and triplication (cf. also 5.6.3); three ideophones feature the phonemes /gb/ and /kp/, which are only attested with this

word class (i.e. *gbin*, *gbogbògbo* and *kpù*), while others exhibit ‘unusual’ phoneme combinations. For example, the word-initial cluster /fw/ is not attested in any other word than the ideophone *fwífwífwí*. Equally, many of the ideophones listed feature otherwise rare CV syllable structures (e.g. *súkútúpàmpa*, *kutùku*, *wewé*). Further, at least one ideophone, namely *bwà*, may be pronounced with a breathy voice.

Ideophonic verbs are found in the syntactic positions available to any other property item of the language. Hence, the ideophone *kakarakakàra* ‘be restless’ is employed as a dynamic verb in (1065), and preceded by the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’. Note the repetition of the ideophone for emphasis:

- (1065) In **dè kakàra**, kakàra kakàra.  
 3SG.EMP IPFV be.restless REP REP  
 ‘He [EMP] was all restless.’ [ab03ab 047]

Like other property items, ideophonic verbs also appear in the prenominal modifier position. Compare *katakata* ‘be (hyper-)active, hectic’ in the following sentence:

- (1066) Nà wan **katakata** man.  
 FOC one hectic man  
 ‘He’s a hectic man.’ [tr07fn 229]

The most commonly used ideophonic (and generally quite frequent) verb is *wòwó* ‘be ugly, messy, in disorder’. This verb, too, is attested in as a stative verb (1067), and in a prenominal position as an attributive modifier (1068). Some speakers also employ *wòwó* as an adjective, i.e. a complement to the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ (1069). Another indication of the ideophonic nature of *wòwó* besides its segmental structure is that it is often pronounced with reduced speed and ‘exaggerated’ precision, and accompanied by a facial expression suggestive of disapproval:

- (1067) Dì say **wòwó** èn.  
 DEF side be.ugly SP  
 ‘The place is messy, you know.’ [ma03ni 014]
- (1068) Nà Afrika è get **wòwó** **wòwó** tin dèn (...).  
 LOC PLACE 3SG.SBJ get ugly REP thing PL  
 ‘In Africa there are really messy things [happening], (...).’ [ed03sb 187]
- (1069) Dis chəp **de** **wòwó**.  
 this food BE.AT ugly  
 ‘This food is a mess.’ [dj05ae 181]

Ideophonic nouns appear in the same syntactic position as other nouns. In the following sentence, *pətəpətó* ‘mud’ is the head of an object NP featuring the quantifier *bə̀kú* ‘much’:

- (1070) Dan say get bòkú **põtəpõt** ò.  
 that side get much mud SP  
 '[Mind you] that place is very muddy.' [ne07fn 230]

Ideophonic adverbs usually modify verbs in the clause-final position. Sentence (1071) illustrates the depictive power of an ideophone like *kwaráng* when used to express the sensory experience connected to playing the African board game Oware. Example (1072) presents the ideophone *fwi* 'sound of the wind blowing', which modifies the preceding Spanish-derived verb *sopla* '(to) fan':

- (1071) Dèn dè ple=àn **kwaráng**.  
 3PL IPFV play=3SG.OBJ IDEO  
 'It is played with this hollow sound (of the seeds falling into the pits of the wooden Oware board).'

- (1072) Nà so à dè wayp=àn, à dè sopla in **fwifwifwí**  
 FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ IPFV wipe=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ IPFV blow 3SG.EMP IDEO  
 'I was wiping him, I was fanning him just like that.' [ab03ab 068]

In the following sentence, speaker (ro) uses the ideophone *súkútúpàmpa* in order to depict the supposedly cheap and mean manner in which sex workers in Malabo offer themselves for sale:

- (1073) Dèn dè sɛl dèn skin **súkútúpàmpa**  
 3PL IPFV sell 3PL body IDEO  
 'They barter their bodies away.' [ro05fn 240]

Ideophonic manner adverbs sometimes occur in what appears to be a nominal position as in the following two sentences. Actually, the ideophones do not enter syntactic constructions in these examples either. Instead the preceding generic verb *mek* 'make' and *gi* 'give' may be said to function as a kind of quotative index followed by a syntactically independent utterance consisting of the ideophonic adverb:

- (1074) Nà so ìn hat **mek kutùku kutùku kutùku**.  
 FOC like.that 3SG.POSS heart make IDEO REP REP  
 'That's how his heart was going "kutùku kutùku kutùku".' [ab03ab 070]

- (1075) È **gi mi gbin**.  
 3SG.SBJ give 1SG.EMP IDEO  
 'He gave (it) to me "gbin".' [ne07fn 008]

Some other combinations of verbs and ideophonic manner adverbs encountered in the data are: *nak kíp* 'hit=3SG.OBJ IDEO' = 'hit and produce a dull thud'; *mek nɔys tik* 'make noise IDEO' = 'make a cracking noise'; *kray wowó wowó* 'cry IDEO REP' = 'cry bitterly'.

## 9.2 Interjections

In the following, I employ the term ‘interjection’ liberally as a cover term for individual words, phrases and clauses that index physical and discursive entities (Kockelman 2003), cognitive and emotional states (Ameka 1992a), and social relations. Interjections are pragmatically oriented elements that appear at the beginning or end of an utterance or constitute utterances onto themselves.

In (1076), the initial interjection  $\epsilon$  ‘INTJ’ (cf. Table 9.4) functions as an attention-getter and by doing so, indexes the following utterance. The sentence-final element  $\grave{\epsilon}n$  functions as a channel checker, i.e. ‘have you heard what I’ve just said?’ and thereby solicits a preferably affirmative response. The example also shows that interjections are set off from the rest of the utterance by a prosodic break (indicated by the comma). This indicates that they function as co-text rather than forming an integral part of the clause:

- (1076)  $\epsilon$ , di man get liba,  $\grave{\epsilon}n$ .  
 INTJ this man get liver INTJ  
 ‘Hey, this man has guts, you know.’ [dj05ce 290]

Following Ameka (Ameka 1992a, 1992b), I classify Pichi interjections along three functions: expressive, conative and phatic. Many interjections are “primary” (Ameka 1992a: 105) and constitute a micro word class of mostly monosyllabic ‘small words’ which do not occur in contexts other than those described here. Some primary interjections are also phonologically deviant. For example, interjections constitute the only word class in which vowel length may be distinctive (i.e.  $\grave{a}$  ‘1SG.SBJ’ vs.  $\grave{a}a$  ‘expression of insight’). Other interjections are “secondary” (ibid.), are also employed as members of other word classes and may enter into grammatical constructions with other constituents.

In the following, I cover the most commonly used interjections. Some interjections are cross-classified and may therefore be members of more than one of the three functional types (e.g. *mámá* ‘mother’ which is employed as an expressive and a phatic interjection).

### 9.2.1 Expressive

Expressive interjections reflect the emotional and cognitive state of the speaker, but they also serve a communicative purpose by drawing the attention of potential listeners to the mental state of the utterer. Consider the following expressive interjections:

Table 9.2 Expressive interjections

|         | Interjection    | Gloss        | Function            |
|---------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Primary | <i>chay/che</i> | ‘INTJ’       | Exasperation        |
|         | <i>ay</i>       | ‘INTJ’       | Extreme sensation   |
|         | <i>ékié</i>     | ‘INTJ’       | Counterexpectation  |
|         | <i>‘chip’</i>   | ‘suck teeth’ | Irritation, fatigue |



|           |                   |              |                           |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| Secondary | <i>pàpá gəd</i>   | 'father God' | Exasperation, self-pity   |
|           | <i>nàwá (ò)</i>   | 'oh my'      | Exasperation, (self) pity |
|           | <i>màmá</i>       | 'mother'     | Surprise, shock           |
|           | <i>chico</i>      | 'boy'        | Surprise, admiration      |
|           | <i>dios (mio)</i> | 'my God'     | Surprise, irritation      |
|           | <i>señor(mio)</i> | 'my Lord'    | Surprise, irritation      |
|           | <i>bió bió</i>    | 'behold'     | Pleasant surprise         |
|           | <i>mierda</i>     | 'shit'       | Annoyance, anger          |

An exemplary primary interjection with an expressive meaning is *che* or *chay*, which conveys the feeling of exasperation in the face of a difficult task. In (1077), *che* is the reaction of (dj) to a particularly ungrammatical sentence that I (ko) submit to him for a grammaticality judgement:

- (1077) a. *Nà dì pul dì mòtó fɔ̀ dì mecanico/*  
FOC DEF remove DEF car ASS DEF mechanic  
 '[Can you say:] "It's the removal of the car from the mechanic"/ [ko0502e2 045]
- b. **Chɛ!**  
INTJ  
 'Phew [now this is too much]!' [dj05be 045]

An extreme physical sensation is expressed by the primary interjection *ay*. As indicated by the two following examples, the sensation may be pain or pleasure – in particular the pleasure of good food or sexual delight:

- (1078) *Dèn fit nak yu yù fit tək se*  
3PL can hit 2SG.EMP 2SG can talk QUOT  
 'ay à fil hat ò!  
INTJ 1SG.SBJ feel hurtsP  
 'You could be hit (and) you would say "ouch I feel pain."' [dj05ae 083]
- (1079) **Ay**, *dì tin swit ò.*  
INTJ DEF thing be.tasty SP  
 'Wao, this tastes/feels good.'

The interjection *ékié* is an established loan from Fang. It expresses counterexpectation, amazement and (often playful) indignation. In the corpus, *ékié* is mainly used by female speakers. Sentence (1080) is a humorous comment by speaker (ge) addressed to her female friend. The latter has just said that she finds a white European acquaintance of hers attractive. Speaker (ge) teases her friend by pretending to be outraged and calls her *bùsca-blanco* 'look.for-white.male' = 'sex worker specialised on white expatriates':

- (1080) **Ékié,** búscá-blanco.  
 INTJ look.for.CPD-white.male  
 ‘Good gracious, (you’re a) prostitute.’ [ge07fn 077]

Pichi also features expressive “secondary interjections” (Ameka 1992a; Bloomfield 1933: 176) which function as members of other word classes besides their use as deictic-pragmatic elements. One group of secondary interjections stems from religious terminology. The lexicalised collocation *pàpá gəd* is a Pichi term for ‘God’ (1081). As an interjection, *pàpá gəd* is used to implore the help of God during prayer and inner speech (1082), or to express self-pity and exasperation (1083). Note that *pàpá gəd* in (1082) is preceded by the conative interjection *oó*, which introduces an emphatic vocative (cf. Table 9.4):

- (1081) **Papa gəd** gò mek mekè chench, mekè chench fasin.  
 father God POT make SBJV 3SG.SBJ change SBJV 3SG.SBJ change manner  
 ‘God will make him change, change (his) habits.’ [dj07ae 160]

- (1082) Dì tin dè gò mi bad, **oó pàpá gəd,**  
 DEF thing IPFV POT 1SG.EMP bad INTJ father God  
 mek mi so.  
 make 1SG.EMP like.that  
 The matter is going bad for me, oh God do this for me.’ [dj07ae 161]

- (1083) Se **pàpá gəd** us=kayn tröbul dis?  
 QUOT father God Q=kind trouble this  
 ‘(I said) God, what (kind of) trouble (is) this?’ [ab03ab 082]

A number of expressive secondary interjections in the corpus are Spanish-derived and used in similar ways in peninsular Spanish. The interjections *señor mio* ‘good Lord’ and *dios mio* ‘my God’ express sentiments like surprise, irritation and frustration (1084):

- (1084) **Señor mio,** tɛl mi, mì man  
 Lord my tell 1SG.EMP 1SG.POSS man  
 è dè kòmót wèt yu?  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.out with 2SG.EMP  
 ‘Good Lord tell me, is my husband going out with you?’ [ro05rt 009]

A second group of expressive secondary interjections includes kinship terms and other human-denoting nouns. These nouns are intermediary in their function. On the one hand, these nouns resonate with a strong emotive component when used as interjections. However, by the very nature of their meaning as kinship terms and terms of address, they also index the social relation which they stand for and thereby convey a phatic message to interlocutors.

The Spanish noun *chico* ‘boy’ is one of the most frequently employed secondary

interjections and covers a large range of expressive meanings. It conveys real, playful or mock surprise (1085)-(1086), shock and amazement (1087), awe and admiration (1088):

- (1085) **Chico**, yù no bring mi glas?  
 boy 2SG NEG bring 1SG.EMP glas  
 ‘Gee, you haven’t brought (along) a glas for me?’ [fr03cd 079]
- (1086) **Chico**, di man è tu opin ìn sɛf.  
 boy this man 3SG.SBJ too be.open 3SG.POSS self  
 ‘Oh boy, this man boasted too much.’ [ye07je 131]
- (1087) **Chico**, yù dè mit ɛni kayn colór de.  
 boy 2SG IPFV meet every kind colour there  
 ‘Man, you find any kind of (skin) colour there [in Cuba].’ [ed03sp 030]
- (1088) **Chico**, Jibril trɔn ò!  
 boy NAME be.strong SP  
 ‘Wow, Jibril is really great.’ [ye05ce 023]

The following excerpt renders reported discourse of a conversation, in which speaker (ro) is taking her husband to task for cheating on her. The husband tells (ro) that he and his lover would meet up in a car. An incredulous (ro) repeats what her husband has just told her in (1089)(a), and then cries out *màmá* ‘mother’ in shock (b). Her mental state at that moment is reflected by (c). The kinship term *pàpá* ‘father’ is employed as an expressive interjection in a similar way to *màmá* (cf. (1093) below):

- (1089) a. Insay dì mòtó, nà de ùnu dè slip ùnu sɛf?  
 inside DEF car FOC there 2PL IPFV sleep 2PL self  
 ‘In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]
- b. **Mama.**  
 mother  
 ‘Good gracious.’ [ro05rt 021]
- c. À kres.  
 1SG.SBJ be.crazy  
 ‘I went mad.’ [ro05rt 022]

The interjection *màmá* therefore expresses the emotional stress that speaker (ro) was experiencing at that moment. But beyond that, *màmá* is also a meta-comment on the amorality of the husband’s act, a performative element embedded in reported discourse, directed at us, the listeners of the narrative. This type of “rhetorical underlining” (Longacre 1996: 39), in which the narrator steps out of the narrative and addresses her audience is a significant element of Pichi narrative technique. The use of *màmá* in this way sheds light on the communicative dimension of expressive interjections in Pichi.

The interjection *bió bió* ‘(lo and) behold’ expresses pleasant surprise. By doing so, this interjection also has a strong communicative, phatic component to its meaning:

- (1090) **Bió bió**, dèn dòn kan.  
 behold RED 3PL PRF come  
 ‘Lo and behold, they’ve (finally) come.’ [pa05fn 456]

The Spanish noun *mierda* ‘shit’ is used as an expressive interjection for anger and annoyance. The Pichi equivalent *kàkà* ‘faeces’ is not used in this way (However, the Pichi compound *kàka-ras* ‘shit.CPD-arse’ ‘Arse’ is used as an insult):

- (1091) **Mierda mierda**, us=say è pas?  
 shit shit Q=side 3SG.SBJ pass  
 ‘Shit, shit, which way did she go?’ [ro05rt 002]

### 9.2.2 Phatic

Phatic interjections and phrases are embedded in the verbal interaction between interlocutors. These elements are interactional and are aimed at constructively maintaining the communicative situation. Table 9.3 lists the phatic interjections encountered in the corpus. The functions of the phatic elements and agreement markers *ye(s)* ‘yes’ and *no/no* ‘no’ are covered in detail in 8.3.3:

Table 9.3 Phatic interjections

|           | Interjection      | Gloss          | Function                |
|-----------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Primary   | <i>àa</i>         | ‘INTJ’         | Insight                 |
|           | <i>o.k</i>        | ‘okay’         | Insight                 |
|           | <i>e</i>          | ‘INTJ’         | Dismay, empathy         |
|           | ‘ <i>chip</i> ’   | ‘suck teeth’   | (Solicit) empathy       |
| Secondary | <i>pàpá (gəd)</i> | ‘father (God)’ | Express/solicit empathy |
|           | <i>màmá</i>       | ‘mother’       | Express/solicit empathy |
|           | <i>duya</i>       | ‘please’       | Solicit favour          |
|           | <i>plis</i>       | ‘please’       | Solicit favour          |
|           | <i>èskyús</i>     | ‘excuse (me)’  | Present excuses         |
|           | <i>kuse (ò)</i>   | ‘good job’     | Encouragement for work  |
|           | <i>ye(s)</i>      | ‘yes’          | Agreement, appreciation |
|           | <i>nə/no</i>      | ‘no’           | Disagreement, doubt     |

The phatic interjection *àa* expresses sudden insight into a proposition or real-world fact. In this, its meaning is similar to *o.k* (1092)(b):

- (1092) a. *À de wèt Paquita.*  
 1SG.SBJ BE.AT with NAME  
 ‘I’m with Paquita.’ [ko03cb 075]
- b. *Àa o.k.*  
 INTJ INTJ  
 ‘Alright.’ [hi03cb 076]

The interjection *e* is usually uttered with a compressed voice and an extra-high tone. It is also usually lengthened to up to three beats. It is best translated as ‘good gracious’ and expresses dismay and empathy with a deplorable event or fact. In (1093), the expressive meaning of *e* is underlined by the presence of the interjection *pàpá* ‘father’:

- (1093) a. *È get bèlé, we è wɔnt pul dì bèlé.*  
 3SG.SBJ get belly SUB 3SG.SBJ want remove DEF belly  
 ‘She was pregnant and wanted to abort the pregnancy.’ [ko03cb 099]
- b. *E pàpá!*  
 INTJ father  
 ‘Good gracious!’ [bo03cb 100]

The kinship terms *pàpá* ‘father’ and *màmá* ‘mother’ are also employed as phatic interjections in appealing for consideration, empathy and compassion by evoking the nature of the kinship relation that holds between a parent and a child, a provider and a dependent. Consider (1094), where (ye) relates how Rubi appeals to the person represented by *àn* ‘3SG.OBJ’ to leave him his fair share of the remaining food:

- (1094) a. *È dè fɔgét se Rubi nɔba chɔp.*  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat  
 ‘He forgot that Rubi hadn’t yet eaten.’ [dj03cd 148]
- b. *È tɛl=àn se ‘pàpá’ mi neva*  
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT father 1SG.EMP NEG.PRF  
*chɔp mi senwe.’*  
 chop 1SG.EMP EMP  
 ‘(So) he [Rubi] told him ‘please, I also haven’t eaten myself.’ [ye03cd 149]

The interjection *duya* ‘please’ and the less frequent *plis* ‘please’ play an important role as politeness markers. Both interjections are used in polite imperatives like the following one:

- (1095) *Put=àn mɔ duya!*  
 put=3SG.OBJ more please  
 ‘Put [play] it again, please!’ [au07se 095]

### 9.2.3 Conative

Conative interjections solicit a verbal or kinetic response from listeners. By their imperative nature, they are used in calling and responding, seeking approval and confirmation, constraining and restraining the interlocutor. Table 9.4 lists common conative interjections:

Table 9.4 Conative interjections

|           | Interjection   | Gloss            | Function                 |
|-----------|----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Primary   | ò              | 'sp'             | Vocative, warning        |
|           | yeè            | 'INTJ'           | Response to call         |
|           | óóó            | 'INTJ'           | Response to call         |
|           | yes            | 'yes'            | Response to call         |
|           | oó             | 'INTJ'           | Emphatic vocative        |
|           | ε              | 'INTJ'           | Attention getter         |
|           | èn?            | 'INTJ'           | Channel check            |
|           | hε             | 'INTJ'           | Rebuke                   |
|           | àa             | 'INTJ'           | Impatience, repudiation  |
|           | 'chip'         | 'suck teeth'     | Remonstrative            |
| Secondary | nó?            | 'INTJ'           | Channel check            |
|           | (yù dè) hia?   | '(do you) hear?' | Channel check            |
|           | no tək (èn)!   | 'don't talk!'    | Solicit approbation      |
|           | no laf (èn)!   | 'don't laugh'    | Solicit approbation      |
|           | à tel yu       | 'I tell you'     | Emphasise veracity       |
|           | kóngkóngkóng   | 'IDEO'           | Seek permission to enter |
|           | di bəy/ di gəl | 'hey you (M/F)'  | Vocative (for M/F)       |

One of the numerous functions of the sentence-final particle *ò* is its use as a vocative marker in combination with a personal name (cf. 9.2.3 for more). An emphatic, imploring vocative is formed by preposing the interjection *oó* to the name or term of address of the person called (cf. (1082) above).

The most appropriate way of responding to the call of a social superior is by calling the term of address of the caller (1096)(b). If the caller is a peer, the person called may also simply respond with a long-drawn *yes* 'yes' (1097)(b).

- (1096) a. Pancho!  
NAME
- b. **Màamá!**  
mother  
(Yes) mum.

- (1097) a. Tia Kuki!  
 aunt NAME  
 ‘Auntie Kuki’ [ge07ga 024]
- b. **Ódó!**  
 INTJ  
 ‘Yes’

Alternatively, a person can respond with a response call involving the vowels /e/ and /o/ with different degrees of lengthening and in slightly varying pitch configurations over the lengthened vowel. A response call may simply follow the call or additionally feature the caller’s name (1098)(b):

- (1098) a. Pancho!  
 NAME
- b. **Yeè** Paquita!  
 INTJ NAME

The interjection *hɛ* is employed as a remonstrative, when a grown-up or social superior scolds a child or social inferior. It is used shortly before, or in the very moment a person commits a transgression in order to warn and rebuke them:

- (1099) Dì pìkín dòn get seven hia, è gò want go waka,  
 DEF child PRF get seven year 3SG.SBJ POT want go walk  
 ‘**hɛ**, no kòmót nà hos!’  
 INTJ NEG go.out LOC house  
 ‘(When) the child is seven years old, she will want to roam the streets,  
 (then you say to her) “don’t you dare leave the house!”’ [ab03ay 115]

The interjection *àa* (homonymous with the phatic *àa* in (1092) above) expresses negligence. In that sense, it may communicate to an interlocutor not to worry or bother about a situation. In the appropriate context, negligence may shade off into impatience and serve to express irritation with a person’s insisting or nagging stance. In the latter case, *àá* is often pronounced with a rising contour and supported by ‘suck teeth’ (1101).

The uses of this interjection point towards an area of transition between phatic interjections aimed at constructively maintaining a communicative situation and conative interjections with their imperative nature:

- (1100) **Àa** lef=àn de!  
 INTJ leave=3SG.OBJ there  
 ‘Just leave it there [don’t bother to pick it up]!’

- (1101) ‘chip’ **àa** apaga eso!  
 SKT INTJ extinguish this  
 ‘Switch this off! [you’re getting on our nerves  
 with that noise]’ [dj05be 116]

The interjections and phrases *èn*, *nə*, *hia* ‘hear’ and *yù dè hia?* ‘2SG IPFV hear’ = ‘do you hear?’ are employed as channel checking devices in seeking feed-back or approval from discourse participants. Thus, they always bear the boundary tone associated with question intonation. Compare *èn* in (1102), which occurs in sentence final position, often after a pause in order to increase dramatic effect, as well as *nə* (cf. (818) further above):

- (1102) Dì tru comedor de fɔ̃ soja, Manolete,  
 DEF true dining.room BE.AT ASS soya NAME  
 Corrobes, **èn**.  
 NAME INTJ  
 ‘The true dining room had soy (oil), Manolete (oil),  
 Corrobes (oil), you hear?’ [ab03ab 031]

A sentence-final *hia* ‘hear’ may require explicit approval so it is used in addressing a listener of equal or inferior social rank. The undertone of authority is stronger with the question phrase *yù (dè) hia?* in (1104)(a), which always requires explicit approval, usually with the idiom *à hia* ‘I have heard’ (1104)(b):

- (1103) No obstante, à bɛg go si dɔkta fɔs, **hia?**  
 nonetheless 1SG.SBJ beg go see doctor first hear  
 ‘Nonetheless, please go see a doctor first, you hear?’ [fr03wt 053]
- (1104) a. Yù **dè hia?**  
 2SG IPFV hear  
 ‘Do you hear?’ [fr03wt 056]
- b. À **hia**.  
 1SG.SBJ hear  
 ‘I’ve heard.’ [ru03wt 057]

Other phrasal interjections are employed to seek attention, approbation and confirmation. The phrases *no tək* ‘don’t talk’, which appears together with *nə* and *èn* in (818) further above and *no laf* ‘NEG laugh’ = ‘I’m not kidding’ (1105)(b) underline the credibility of the speaker’s proposition or story. A similar function is fulfilled by *à tɛl yù* ‘I tell you’ in (1106):

- (1105) a. Djunais tək se ‘nɔ Rubi, di gɛl lɛk yu,  
 NAME talk QUOT INTJ NAME this girl like 2SG.EMP



di gəl lek yu,      naw bigín      mek=àn      so.  
 this girl like 2SG.EMP      now begin      make=3SG.OBJ like.that

‘(So) Djunais said “really Rubi, this girl likes you, this girl likes you,  
 now go about it like this with her.”’ [ru03wt 021]

- b. **No laf!**  
 NEG laugh  
 ‘I’m not kidding.’ [ru03wt 022]

- (1106) **À tɛl yu,**      dèn no lek pòsin.  
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP 3PL NEG like person  
 ‘I tell you, they don’t like people.’ [ma03hm 010]

The interjections *di bɔy* ‘this boy’ and *di gal/gəl* ‘this girl’ are used as vocatives for calling social equals or inferiors whose names are unknown. These interjections of address are rather informal but not necessary impolite. They are frequently heard on the streets of Malabo, where they are employed particularly by the youth:

- (1107) **Di bɔy,** us=say      dèn dè sɛl brɛd      nà ya?  
 this boy Q=side      3PL IPFV sell bread      LOC here  
 ‘Hey you, where is bread sold around here?’ [nn07fn 241]

### 9.3 The particle ò ‘sp’

The sentence-final particle ò plays an important pragmatic role. It is employed for degree modification (cf. e.g. (1063)), may signal clausal focus (cf. 8.4.2) is used as a vocative marker and provides a means of modifying a sentence with various expressive and emphatic meanings. The function of the particle also extends into the domain of modality. I analyse the element ò as a ‘sentence particle’ rather than an interjection, because it is never set off by a prosodic break from the utterance it modifies. Instead ò forms a prosodic unit with the preceding utterance. One indication for this is that ò normally forms a syllable with the final consonant of the preceding word, i.e. *è bad ò* [è bá tò] ‘3SG.SBJ be.bad sp’ = ‘it’s really bad’.

The particle ò serves as a vocative marker in combination with personal names in order to call people from a distance (1108) or get their attention during conversation (1109). Presumably, it is this function of alerting which lies at the heart of the other uses follow:

- (1108) Concha **ò,** Maura **ò,** una kan,      à      beg!  
 NAME      SP      NAME      SP      2PL come      1SG.SBJ beg  
 ‘Concha! Maura! Come over, please!’

- (1109) Lindo **ò,** Charly **ò,** ùna dè si,      à      bìn tɛl di gal se  
 NAME      SP      NAME      SP      2PL IPFV see      1SG.SBJ      PST tell this girl QUOT

mekè        no hàmbóg mi        ò, à        gò hat=àn.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG bother 1SG.EMP SP 1SG.SBJ POT hurt=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Lindo, Charly, you see, I told this girl not to bother me (lest) I might  
 hurt her!’ [ye05ce 079]

Urgency, advise and warning colour the sentences in which this particle is used. The following, successively spoken sentences (1110)(a)-(c) are characterised by an air of urgency and warning as speaker (ab) relates a near-death experience:

- (1110) a. À        dòn tɛl mì        sista    se        ‘nà dì pikín    dat ò.’  
 1SG.SBJ PRF tell 1SG.POSS sister QUOT FOC DEF child that SP  
 ‘I had already told my sister “mind you, this is the [my] child”.’ [ab03ay 081]
- b. Mek        yù mèn=àn        ò!’  
 SBJV 2SG care for=3SG.OBJ SP  
 ‘Be sure to take good care of her [because I’m going to die].’ [ab03ay 082]
- c. À        dòn dè go ò, à        dòn dè go ò.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV go SP 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV go SP  
 ‘I’m going [dying], I’m going.’ [ab03ay 083]

Further gradations of the meanings of ò are found in the following two sentences. In both examples, ò assumes the function of a modal particle, a marker of assertion, which signals commitment by the speaker to the truth of the proposition:

- (1111) Yes, à        sàbí de        yes. Bòt à        nòba    ɛnta    insay ò.  
 yes 1SG.SBJ know there yes but 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF enter inside SP  
 ‘Yes, I know that place, yes. But mind you, I haven’t entered the place  
 before.’ [ma03hm 016-017]
- (1112) À        fɔ̀ bìn yɛr=àn        à        fɔ̀ go ò.  
 1SG.SBJ ASS PST hear=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ ASS go SP  
 ‘If I had known (about) it, I would have certainly gone [to the funeral].’ [hi03cb 086]

## 9.4 Suck teeth

The term ‘suck teeth’, or alternatively ‘kiss teeth’, (transcribed as ‘chip’ and glossed as SKT) are terms employed for a phonetic realisation whose various meanings are determined through pragmatic context (cf. e.g. Figueroa & Patrick 2002; Rickford & Rickford 1999 [1976]). ‘Suck teeth’ is produced by closing the mouth and creating a suction in the oral cavity. The lips are then opened while keeping the teeth closed. The influx of air through the teeth in order to fill the vacuum of the oral cavity produces a release sound followed by a short hiss. ‘Suck teeth’ can be modulated in sound and meaning by manipulating the

amount of suction and pursing the lips in varying degrees while the air rushes through.

‘Suck teeth’ is employed as a signifier of “negative affect” (Figuerola & Patrick 2002: 10) throughout large parts of Africa and in African-descended communities of the Americas (cf. Rickford & Rickford 1999 [1976]). The large range of functions and meanings of ‘suck teeth’ in Pichi correspond to those recorded for the entire cultural area.

‘Suck teeth’ is employed as an expressive interjection to convey negatively loaded sentiments ranging from annoyance, irritation, frustration, to exasperation, fatigue and weariness. In (1113), speaker (ed) remembers the hard times he went through as a student in Cuba, when the equatoguinean government stopped paying him his living allowance. Suck teeth underlines his feeling of exasperation as he delves into his memories:

- (1113) a. *Sɔfa dan m̀nɪ bɪn d̀ du mi f̀ us=tin ‘chip’?*  
 suffer that money PST IPFV do 1SG.EMP ASS Q=thing SKT  
 ‘(The) suffering that [lack of] money caused me for what [SKT]?’ [ed03sp 099]
- b. *Tɛl yu, à sɔfa de.*  
 tell 2SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ suffer there  
 ‘(I) tell you, I suffered there.’ [ed03sp 100]

In (1114), the negative affect associated with suck teeth is downgraded to signal a frustrated effort and an ensuing change of heart. After her grandchild has fallen sick in the night, speaker (ab) is at a loss about the appropriate treatment. Suck teeth expresses her indecision:

- (1114) *À want tek solwàtá mek à gi=àn,*  
 1SG.SBJ want take saltwater SBJV 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ  
*à se ‘chip’, nɔ.*  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT SKT INTJ  
 ‘I wanted to take salt-water and give it to him (and) I said (to myself)  
 [SKT] no.’ [ab03ab 094]

Suck teeth is rarely used to exclusively render inner speech. Rather, there is a smooth transition from expressive to phatic meanings. Sentence (1115) is coloured by reproach. Speaker (ye) employs suck teeth – albeit with a humorous undertone – to indicate his irritation with the fact that he has not been invited to go eat at Marathon (a restaurant), while his interlocutors had:

- (1115) *Naw so, è falta, ùna dɔn go nà Marathon,*  
 now like.that 3SG.SBJ lack 2PL PRF go LOC NAME  
*mi no go nà Marathon ‘chip’.*  
 1SG.EMP NEG go LOC PLACE SKT  
 ‘Right now it remains, you [EMP] have gone to Marathon, while  
 I haven’t gone to Marathon [SKT].’ [ye05ce 303]

In sentence (1116), speaker (ma) recollects the circumstances of the separation from her husband. Suck teeth not only expresses the negative feelings that she recalls. The interjection also communicates to the interlocutor that (ma) attaches a negative moral judgment to the fact that her husband *get ɔda human* ‘got (himself) another woman’:

- (1116) È            gɛt ɔda        human ‘chip’,    b̀̀kú        problema,  
 3SG.SBJ    get other    woman SKT        much    problem  
 dan,        mi        b̀̀n dɔn ste,        ẁ̀i    b̀̀n gɛt b̀̀kú  
 that        1SG.EMP    PST    PRF    be.long    1PL    PST    get    much  
 problema    de        afta/  
 problem    there    then  
 ‘He got another woman [SKT], many problems, that, I [EMP] stayed  
 (and) we had many problems at that time, then/ [ma03ni 031]

Suck teeth in sentence (1117) below combines expressive and phatic meanings in a similar way as in (1116) above. Speaker (ed) relates that he had not intended to marry a woman from his place of origin, *Pagàlú*, the island of Annobón, until his mother arranged a marriage for him. Suck teeth aptly summarises the negligent disinterest that speaker (ed) states to have had for women from *Pagàlú*:

- (1117) a. Si fɔs tɛn à        b̀̀n de        hia,        à        no  
 see first time 1SG.SBJ    PST    BE.AT    here    1SG.SBJ    NEG  
 b̀̀n dè bisin    f̀̀    Pagàlú    gɛl dɛn.  
 PST    IPFV    be.busy    ASS    PLACE    girl    PL  
 ‘See formerly, I was here, I didn’t bother about Annobonese girls.’ [ed03sp 005]  
 b. ‘chip’    à        no    b̀̀n bisin.  
 SKT        1SG.SBJ    NEG    PST    be.busy  
 ‘[SKT] I couldn’t care less.’ [ed03sp 006]

Feigned disinterest and playful insubordination colour the use of suck teeth by female Pichi speakers in flirtatious male-female interaction. A simple suck teeth by Beatrice in (1118)(b) is sufficient to ward off the humorous advances of speaker (ye) in (1118)(a). The remonstrative character of suck teeth in (b) points towards an area of transition from expressive and phatic to conative functions of suck teeth:

- (1118) a. Beatrice, wetin mek ỳ̀ dɔn frɛs so?  
 NAME    what    make    2SG    PRF    be.fresh    like.that  
 ‘Beatrice, how come you’re so fresh recently?’  
 b. ‘chip’.  
 SKT  
 [SKT]

The conative function of suck teeth is brought to its conclusion in (1119)(a), where ‘chip’ accompanies an insult. The pungency of the insult, and by extension the gesture of suck teeth itself, is commented by (dj) in (1119)(b):

- (1119) a. ‘chip’ àa muf, kòmót ya!  
 SKT INTJ move go.away here  
 ‘[SKT] move, get lost.’ [dj07ae 367]
- b. Yù si dan pòsin lèk wandòg.  
 2SG see that person like one dog  
 ‘You take that person for a dog.’ [dj07ae 368]

## 9.5 Terms of address

Often, the African and European given names of individuals are only known to relatives and close friends. Peers tend to address each other by nicknames which may be conferred on an individual during interaction with family members, friends, the neighbourhood, and the wider community. Nicknames may also change in the passage of time as new events come to mark a person’s daily life.

I list three nicknames in (1120) that are used by peers most of the time in addressing their bearers. The bearer of the first name is female, the second and third names are borne by men. As can be seen, peer nicknames tend to be characterised by an air of informality:

|        |                  |                                      |
|--------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1120) | Nickname         | Origin                               |
|        | <i>Lage</i>      | ‘Lineas aereas de Guinea Ecuatorial’ |
|        | <i>Bòyé Loco</i> | ‘Crazy Bòyé’                         |
|        | <i>Johnson</i>   | ‘Johnson Power Systems’              |

*Lage* was born aboard a flight from Madrid to Malabo, operated by the now defunct National Airline of Equatorial Guinea, in Spanish *Lineas aereas de Guinea Ecuatorial* (abbrev. LAGE). Her birth back then was the talk of the town and the name stuck for a life time. *Bòyé Loco*’s name is composed of his Bubi given name *Bòyé* and the Spanish adjective *loco* ‘crazy’ due to his reputation as a charismatic bon vivant. The byname *Johnson* originates in the brand name ‘Johnson Power Systems’. Due to the unreliability of power supply in Malabo, generators produced by ‘Johnson’ are ubiquitous in Malabo. The nickname is a humorous allusion to the bearer’s supposed sexual prowess.

Figure 9.1 presents the degree of formality from informal (the –pole) to very formal (the +pole) attached to the terms of address terms covered in the following (cf. Mühleisen 2005: 209). The corresponding kinship terms can be taken from Figure 9.2 further below:

Figure 9.1 Degree of formality of terms of address

|           |                    | Degree of formality |                      |                     |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|           |                    |                     |                      |                     |
|           |                    | -                   |                      | +                   |
| Nicknames | Same generation    | Kinship terms for   | <i>don/doña</i> + FN | <i>señor/a</i> + LN |
|           | kinship terms + FN | 1 & 2 generations   | <i>señor/a</i> + FN  |                     |
|           |                    | older + FN          | <i>sa</i>            |                     |
|           |                    |                     | <i>ma</i>            |                     |

Spanish honorifics are employed for the most formal degrees of relationships between interactants. Without doubt, this circumstance is intimately tied to the status of Spanish itself as a language of dominance, distance and social asymmetry. The address terms *señor* (male) and *señora* (female) are in use with first names (FN) or last names (LN). The latter option follows Spanish usage (i.e. *Señora Belobe Toichoa* ‘Ms Belobe Toichoa’) and is commonly employed in symmetrical or asymmetrical relations in institutional or work contexts in the formal sector of the economy.

The former option, *señor* or *señora* with an FN (i.e. *Señora Maura*; *Señor Javier*), is not common in Spanish. In Pichi, it is a means of respectfully addressing an already familiar, social superior in less formal situations than the ones appropriate for *señor/a* and LN. The use of *señor/a* and FN parallels that of the Spanish honorifics *don* (male) and *doña* (female) followed by FN, for elderly and respected members of the community, i.e. *Don Samuel* and *Doña Cristina*. The combination *don/doña* and FN is, however, current in Spanish.

Two Pichi address terms of a high degree of formality are, however, also in use, namely *sa* ‘sir’ and *ma* ‘madam; mother’. These two terms are used as address terms and sentence-final address tags when interacting with an elder of higher social rank, usually without an FN or LN. For example *sa* ‘sir’ can be found in the respectful speech of a well-behaved child or youngster when replying to an enquiry by an elder. Compare the following answers by a child to a WHEN enquiry by a female elder (1121) and a yes-no question by a male elder who is not a family relation (1122):

(1121) Yéstàdé **ma.**  
yesterday madam  
‘Yesterday, madam.’ [ra07se 150]

(1122) Yes **sa.**  
yes sir  
‘Yes, sir.’ [au07se 153]

Kinship-based terms of address are situated in the middle range of formality and may be used in addressing familiar persons or strangers. The dimension of age naturally relates to the degree of formality in so far as senior members of society are more likely to be addressed by one of the more formal terms of address in Figure 9.1. Under normal

circumstances, the use of an FN presupposes the use of a kinship term if the addressee is older than oneself (i.e. *Màmí Rose* ‘mother Rose’ = ‘respectful address term for Rose, who is of my mother’s generation). The use of a first name alone for an older person is highly inappropriate. For people of the same age group, and young people in particular, kinship terms are, however, not required as terms of address. Social equals may refer to each other by their first names or their nicknames alone.

Figure 9.2 provides the kinship-based address terms referred to in Figure 9.2, arranged along the dimension of age:

Figure 9.2 Kinship-derived terms of address

|               |                  | Age               |                    |               |                     |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|
|               |                  | -                 |                    |               | +                   |
|               |                  | Same generation   | 1 generation older |               | 2 generations older |
| <i>cuñada</i> | ‘sister-in-law’  | <i>màmá, màmí</i> | ‘mother’           | <i>grànmá</i> | ‘grandmother’       |
| <i>cuñado</i> | ‘brother-in-law’ | <i>màmí</i>       | ‘mother’           | <i>grànpá</i> | ‘grandfather’       |
| <i>sista</i>  | ‘sister’         | <i>pàpá, pàpí</i> | ‘father’           | <i>abueta</i> | ‘grandmother’       |
| <i>bræda</i>  | ‘brother’        | <i>àntí</i>       | ‘aunt’             | <i>abuelo</i> | ‘grandfather’       |
|               |                  | <i>ðnkúl</i>      | ‘uncle’            |               |                     |
|               |                  | <i>tia</i>        | ‘aunt’             |               |                     |
|               |                  | <i>tio</i>        | ‘uncle’            |               |                     |

As a general principle, any of the address terms listed may be combined with an FN. In practice, an FN hardly ever follows the same generation terms *cuñado/a* ‘brother/sister-in-law’, *sista* ‘sista’ or *bræda* ‘brother’. At the same time, the use of an FN with a kinship term for an addressee one or two generations older tends to be avoided as well unless there is a high degree of familiarity and/or an actual kinship relation between the interlocutors. Compare the following combination of address term and FN:

- (1123) **Tia** **Tòkó,** us=say yù dè go?  
 aunt NAME Q=side 2SG IPFV go  
 ‘Auntie Tòkó, where are you going?’ [ye07fn 213]

I should point out that Spanish kinship terms form an integral part of the address system of Pichi. The Spanish terms *cuñado/a* ‘brother/sister-in-law’ - with *cuñado* invariably being pronounced as [kùnjáð] - have been appropriated and changed in their meaning. In Pichi, these two kinship terms function as markers of acknowledgement and solidarity amongst peers. They are therefore used to address any person of the same generation, whether related or not. In this function, *cuñado/a* are far more common than the equivalent *sista* ‘sister’ and *bræda* or *bra* ‘brother’:

- (1124) **Cuñado,** mi get fɔ go fɛn dan mì  
 brother-in-law 1SG.EMP get ASS go look.for that 1SG.POSS

prima ò, Cristina.

cousin SP NAME

'Brother(-in-law), I [EMP] really have to go look for that my cousin, Cristina.' [ge07ga 045]

In the same vein, the Spanish kinship terms *tia* 'aunt' and *tio* 'uncle' are equally common as =*ántí* 'aunt' and *ànkúl* 'uncle' as terms of address. The same holds for the Spanish-derived terms *abuela* 'grandmother' and *abuelo* 'grandfather' as opposed to *grànmá* 'grandmother' and *grànpá* 'grandfather'. However, the Pichi words *ántí* 'aunt' and *ànkúl* 'uncle' are more often used to denote the kinship relation as such (1125):

- (1125) È mit mì àntí.  
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS aunt  
 'He met my aunt.' [fr03ft 084]

Conversely, the Spanish words *abuela* 'grandmother' and *abuelo* 'grandfather' are more common as terms of address and at least as common as *grànmá* 'grandmother' and *grànpá* 'grandfather' in denoting the kinship relation as such:

- (1126) **Abuela,** Guinea fit=àn?  
 grandmother Equatorial.Guinea fit=3SG.OBJ  
 'Grandmother, (so) Equatorial Guinea is good for him?' [fr03ab 171]

Since first names are not normally used to refer to social superiors, including next of kin, a kinship term will normally be used to refer to a common kin. In (1127), speaker (ro) is conversing with her nephew. She refers to her own husband as *yù ànkúl* 'your uncle':

- (1127) **Yù ànkúl** no get no hàmbóg fɔ chəp.  
 2SG uncle NEG get NEG bother ASS food  
 'Your uncle [my husband] is not picky about food.' [ro05rt 058]

## 9.6 Greetings and other routines

A general greeting routine is normally initiated by addressing an individual with the phrase in (1128) and a group of people by (1129). These phrases may be reformulated at will to enquire after the health of partners, children or other relatives (1130). A general observation is that conventional Spanish greeting routines are widely used together with Pichi routines (i.e. *buenos dias* 'good morning'):

- (1128) Haw fɔ yu?  
 how ASS 2SG.EMP  
 'How are you?' [ye07je 063]



(1129) Haw fɔ̀ ùna?  
 how ASS 2PL  
 ‘How are you [PL]?’ [ye07je 064]

(1130) Haw fɔ̀ yù màamá?  
 how ASS 2SG mother  
 ‘How is your mother?’ [ne07fn 215]

The enquiry is usually replied to by one of the phrases in (1131)-(1133):

(1131) À de.  
 1SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 ‘I’m (fine).’ [ye07je 065]

(1132) Dèn de fayn.  
 3PL BE.AT fine  
 ‘They’re fine.’ [ye07je 067]

(1133) À wɛl.  
 1SG.SBJ be.well  
 ‘I’m well.’ [li07fn 011]

The most wide-spread greeting formula amongst the youth, peers and in relaxed and informal social settings is featured in (1134). One common reply is the idiom in (1135):

(1134) Haw fa?  
 how be.far  
 ‘What’s up?’ [be07fn 174]

(1135) Chico, wì dè pus=àn.  
 boy 1SG.SBJ IPFV push=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Man, we’re pushing it [we’re managing].’ [ch07fn 214]

Longer exchanges of greetings are usually initiated by employing the property item *gud* ‘be good’ together with the noun that denotes the period of the day in which the greeting takes place. The resulting collocations constitute greeting formulas by themselves but are very often followed by one of the general greeting formulas in (1128)-(1130) above. The collocation (*gud*) *mɔ̀nin* ‘good morning’ or a simple *mɔ̀nin* ‘morning’ is used from sunrise to noon (1136):

(1136) ‘Gud mɔ̀nin’ nà soté las doce.  
 good morning FOC until the.PL twelve  
 ‘Good morning is until twelve o’clock.’ [ye07je 015]

*Gud ivin* is used from noon to sunset (1137). The collocation *gud áftènun* ‘good afternoon’ is sometimes used by ‘group 2’ (cf. 1.4) speakers instead of *gud ivin*, but it is virtually absent from the speech of ‘group 1’ speakers:

- (1137) Fròn las doce, soté è go las seis,  
 from the.PL twelve until 3SG.SBJ go the.PL six  
 nà **gud ivin**.  
 FOC good evening  
 ‘From twelve to six o’clock, its “good evening”.’ [ye07je 011]

The collocation *gud naye* ‘good night’ is used after night has fallen. The presence of the otherwise rare variant *naye* ‘night’ in the greeting instead of *net* ‘night’ is indicative of the formulaic, lexicalised character of the collocation.

Also note the apposition of the 2PL pronoun *ùna* when a greeting is directed to more than one person. The use of *yù* ‘2SG’ in the same position as *ùna* in greetings directed at an individual is not attested. Responses to greetings usually involve the repetition of the corresponding phrase by the interlocutor:

- (1138) ùna **gud naye**.  
 2PL good night  
 ‘Good night to you [PL].’ [ye07je 045]

Other greetings are issued on specific occasions rather than periods of the day. On the occasion of imminent travel, the most common way of bidding farewell is by saying *waka fayn* ‘walk fine’. Upon arrival, the traveler is greeted by *wèlkəm* ‘welcome’.

The greeting formula *kusé ò* (< Yoruba *kuşe*, cf. Fyle & Jones 1980) is said as a token of encouragement and empathy towards one or more people engaged in physically strenuous work (e.g. a group of construction workers working on the road). *Kusé* is also used to congratulate a person for their good work:

- (1139) ùna **kusé** ò!  
 2PL good.job SP  
 ‘(We) encourage you [PL] in your good work!’ [ye07je 028]

Gratitude is expressed by means of *tɛnki* ‘thank you’ (1140)(a). Reply options are provided in (b) and (c). Note that *fɔ̀ natin* in (b) and *nà natin* (c) are calques from Spanish *de nada* ‘of nothing’ = ‘you’re welcome’:

- (1140) a. Tɛnki.  
 thanks  
 ‘Thank you.’ [ye07fn 096]

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- b. Nə, **ɸ** **natin**.  
INTJ ASS nothing  
'No, not at all.' [hi07fn 097]
- c. Lɛf, **nà** **natin**.  
leave FOC nothing  
'Don't mention, it's nothing.'

## 10 Spatial and temporal relations

Location in space is expressed by elements from diverse word classes and through a large variety of constructions. Some of the means employed for the expression of spatial relations are carried over into the expression of temporal relations but there are also independent ways of expressing location in time.

### 10.1 Spatial relations

Prepositions, locative nouns and locative verbs play a part in expressing spatial relations. Other items involved are motion verbs - verbs whose meanings include a motion component. The relation between 'figure' and 'ground' may be mediated through various types of structures. The expression of source and goal is of particular interest in the discussion because it may involve the use of various competing structures.

#### 10.1.1 Locative prepositions

Prepositions are employed to express the location and direction of motion of an entity (the 'figure') in relation to a place (the 'ground'). Locative prepositions and locative nouns (cf. 10.1.2) belong to separate word classes but some shared characteristics make the distinction less clear-cut. The following table contains the Pichi inventory of prepositions. There are no postpositions in Pichi. Non-locative roles expressed by prepositions are covered in 11.1.3. Note that Pichi also has the two temporal prepositions *apás* 'after' and *sins* 'since' (cf. 10.2):

Table 10.1 Locative uses of prepositions

| Preposition | Gloss   | Location/direction         | Other semantic roles/uses             |
|-------------|---------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>nà</i>   | 'loc'   | General location (at rest) | —                                     |
| <i>fɔ̀</i>  | 'ass'   | General location (at rest) | Various non-locative roles            |
| <i>pàn</i>  | 'on'    | Superior location          | 'in addition to'                      |
| <i>fràn</i> | 'from'  | Source                     | 'since' (temporal)                    |
| <i>soté</i> | 'up to' | Extent                     | 'until' (temporal); 'extremely' (ADV) |
| <i>tò</i>   | 'to'    | Goal                       | Complementiser                        |

Locative prepositions introduce adverbial prepositional phrases. Prepositions differ from locative nouns because they cannot be employed in the syntactic position of nouns. Prepositions require explicit mention of the ground, which is usually a nominal complement (1141)-(1142). The prepositions *fɔ̃* ‘Ass’, *pàn* ‘on’ and *wèt* ‘with’ may however be stranded in questions, cf. (757)-(758), as well as in relative clauses:

- (1141) *Dì pepa de nà tebul.*  
DEF paper BE.AT LOC table  
 ‘The paper is on the table.’ [dj05be 190]
- (1142) (...) *è lɛf dɛn pàn di tebul.*  
3SG.SBJ leave 3PL.EMP on DEF table  
 ‘(...) she left them on the table.’ [li07pe 020]

Next to full nouns, locative adverbs may also function as complements to prepositions. Take note of the temporal meaning of the locative adverb *dɛ* ‘there’ in (1143):

- (1143) *We in mà má day, nà frɔ̃n de è bigín kres.*  
SUB 3SG.POSS mother die FOC from there 3SG.SBJ begin be.crazy  
 ‘When his mother died, that’s when he began to go insane.’ [dj07ae 103]
- (1144) *È kan fɔ̃dɔ̃n soté ya.*  
3SG.SBJ PFV fall until here  
 ‘(And then) it fell up to here.’ [li07pe 090]

The general locative preposition *nà* ‘Loc’ and the general associative preposition *fɔ̃* ‘Ass’ take the locative adverb *ya* (so) ‘(right) here’ as a complement but are not attested with *dɛ* ‘there’ or *yàndá* ‘yonder’ as a complement:

- (1145) (...) *nà di tin à kan nà ya.*  
FOC DEF thing 1SG.SBJ come LOC here  
 ‘(...) that’s why I came here.’ [ed03sb 087]
- (1146) *Fɔ̃ ya so, pipul fɔ̃ isla dɛn dè pe lika, (...)*  
ASS herel like.that people ASS island 3PL IPFV pay alcohol  
 ‘Here, people of the island buy alcohol [for weddings].’ [hi03cb 004]

It is also common to find the generic noun say ‘side; place’ and a demonstrative as a complement to *nà* or *fɔ̃* instead of a deictic locative adverb:

- (1147) *Nà so dɛn dè mek café nà di say (...)*  
FOC like.that 3PL IPFV make coffee LOC this side  
 ‘That’s how they make coffee here (...)’ [ye07ga 038]

Personal pronouns do not normally occur as complements to locative prepositions. Pichi employs other means of expressing the relevant notions. For example, the ground may be named more specifically as in (1148) or an idiomatic expression may be used as in (1232) further below:

- (1148) È            bìn pas **nà mì**        **hos**.  
           3SG.SBJ PST passLOC 1SG.POSS house  
           ‘She passed by my house [to see me].’ [ro05ee 078]

The preposition *tò* ‘to’ is rare. It is employed with a locative function to mark a goal (1149). The following sentences represent two of altogether four occurrences of this preposition in the corpus. I point out that in (1150), the preposition *tò* is used to mark the goal in a motion-direction SVC in the same position as *nà* ‘loc’ or *fɔ* ‘ass’ (cf. e.g. (1198)). The use of *tò* as a complementiser is even more marginal (cf. (1521) for an example involving the main verb of cognition *no* ‘know (how to)’) and is not common with the vast majority of speakers:

- (1149) Yù go **tò** yù kòmpin yù se        ‘chico dan gɛl dè  
           2SG go to 2SG friend 2SG QUOT boy that girl IPFV  
           bɔt                            mi.  
           hit.with.head        1SG.EMP  
           ‘You go to your friend (and) you say “man, that girl is rejecting me”.’ [au07se 066]
- (1150) We dèn bìn kɛr=àn        go **tò** dɔkta, (...)  
           SUB 3PL PST carry=3SG.OBJ go to doctor  
           ‘When they took her to the doctor, (...).’ [ab03ay 121]

The preposition *nà* ‘LOC’ expresses location in the most general way. Depending on context, *nà* may denote ‘superior’ (1141), interior, proximate or lateral (1147) location. The associative preposition *fɔ* ‘ASS’ is employed as a general locative preposition in ways similar to *nà* (cf. e.g. (1176), (1196), (1197) and (1224)). But compared to *nà* ‘LOC’, the preposition ‘*fɔ* ‘ASS’ is only employed in a minority of instances for the expression of general location.

### 10.1.2 Locative nouns

Table 10.2 presents the repertoire of locative nouns. The distribution of these elements (cf. Table 10.3 further below) reflects their heterogeneity and intermediary status between noun and preposition. Circumferential location is expressed via the locative verb *rawn* ‘surround’ (cf. (1178)) and distal location by means of the multifunctional word *fa(we)* ‘(be) far’ (cf. e.g. (1059)). In Pichi, body part nouns such as *bak* ‘back’ or *fes* ‘face’ are not usually employed to express location roles.

Table 10.2 Locative nouns

| Locative noun        | Translation             | Type of location   | Other uses         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>nia</i>           | 'near, in contact with' | Proximate; lateral | Verb: 'be near'    |
| <i>kona</i>          | 'next to'               | Proximate; lateral | Noun: 'corner'     |
| <i>insay</i>         | 'inside'                | Interior           | Temporal: 'during' |
| <i>nàdó</i>          | 'outside'               | Exterior           | —                  |
| <i>bifó</i>          | 'front, before'         | Anterior           | Temporal: 'before' |
| <i>bihén</i>         | 'rear, behind'          | Posterior          | —                  |
| <i>pàntáp; èntóp</i> | 'top, on'               | Superior (contact) | 'in addition to'   |
| <i>əp</i>            | 'up(per side)'          | Superior           | —                  |
| <i>bàtón</i>         | 'bottom, under'         | Inferior (contact) | —                  |
| <i>dən</i>           | 'down (side)'           | Inferior           | —                  |
| <i>mindul</i>        | 'middle, amidst'        | Medial             | —                  |

Locative nouns have characteristics in common with ordinary nouns. They may occur in the position of NPs, for example as subjects (1151) or as goal objects of movement verbs like *rich* 'arrive' (1152). In both cases, an explicit mention of the ground is not required:

(1151) (...) mek yù tən=àn, porque **bàtón** gò ros.  
SBJV 2SG turn=3SG.OBJ because bottom POT burn  
 '(...) turn it, because the bottom might burn.' [dj03do 055]

(1152) Yù dè klem fò **rich** **pàntáp**.  
2SG IPFV climb ASS arrive top  
 'You're climbing in order to reach the top.' [au07se 086]

In the same vein, a locative noun can appear as the adverbial complement of the locative-existential copula *de* 'BE.AT' (1153):

(1153) (...) è **de** **əp**, go so!  
3SG.SBJ BE.AT up go like.that  
 '(...) it's [farther] up, go this way!' [ma03ni 011]

All locative nouns except *nia* 'near', *kona* 'next to' and *nàdó* 'outside' may also be preceded by the definite article *dì* 'DEF' as in the following example:

(1154) **Dì dən** nà violeta (...)  
DEF down FOC violet  
 'The lower part is violet (...)' [ma03hm 034]

In addition, all locative nouns except *nia* ‘near’, *kəna* ‘next to’ and *nàdó* ‘outside’ may also be preceded by the general locative preposition *nà* ‘LOC’ like any ordinary noun. In the data, such constructions are, however, very rare and none of these locative nouns is preceded by the general associative preposition *fə* ‘ASS’ instead of *nà* ‘LOC’:

(1155) È pul=àn **nà pàntáp** dī bed.  
 3SG.SBJ remove=3SG.OBJ LOC top DEF bed  
 ‘She took him from the bed.’ [ab03ab 079]

(1156) Nà fə mek no go **nà dən**.  
 FOC ASS make NEG go LOC down  
 ‘It’s in order (for us) not to go down.’ [ma03hm 003]

The locative nouns *nia* ‘near’, *kəna* ‘next to’, *nàdó* ‘outside’ and *bifó* ‘before, front’ are not normally found as complements to *nà* ‘LOC’ in prepositional phrases like the ones above. The peculiar distribution of *nia* and *kəna* may be due to their multifunctionality. *Nia* also functions as a locative verb ‘be near’ (cf. (1180)), *kəna* as an ordinary noun ‘corner’ and *bifó* as a time clause linker ‘before’ (cf. e.g (1726)). In (1174) below, *kəna* is employed as a locative noun, in the following example (1157), as an ordinary noun:

(1157) (...) è dè sɛl è dè put sməl sməl wan fə **kəna**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sell 3SG.SBJ IPFV put small RED one ASS corner  
 mek è fit bak dan man ìn məní, (...)  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ can return that man 3SG.POSS money  
 ‘(...) she’s selling (and) she’s putting bit at the side in order qto be able to give  
 that man back his money.’ [hi03cb 220]

In turn, *nàdó* is a lexicalised collocation, in which the locative preposition *nà* already serves as the first component. The second component is the obsolescent noun *do* ‘door’ (the more current word for ‘door’ is *dò.mót* ‘door.mouth’). Although it is lexicalised, the prepositional phrase which constitutes this collocation therefore has a residual meaning of its own. I assume that this results in the ungrammaticality of a sequence like \**nà nədó* ‘LOC outside’.

When the locative nouns *bifó* ‘before’, *bihén* ‘behind’, *əp* ‘upperside’ and *dən* ‘downside’ appear in a nominal position, speakers tend to employ an associative construction featuring the generic place noun *səy* ‘side; place’ (1159) and sometimes *pat* ‘part place’ (1160) as a modified noun and the locative noun as a modifier noun. This construction, which serves to derive a nominal structure, is favoured with these nouns when a ground is not mentioned. Compare (1158) with an explicit ground (i.e. *dī hos* ‘the house’) and the two sentences thereafter without mention of a ground:

(1158) È de **bifó** dī hos.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT before DEF house  
 ‘She’s in front of the house.’ [ye07de 026]



(1159) È de **bifó** say.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT before side  
 ‘She’s at the front.’ [ye07de 025]

(1160) Dì pàmbód go bìhén di big ston ya, **bifó** pat,  
 DEF bird go behind this big stone here before part  
 è go de.  
 3SG.SBJ go there  
 ‘The bird went behind this big stone here, the front part, it went there.’ [ed03sb 174]

However when the ground is explicitly mentioned, most locative nouns participate in a construction which is functionally equivalent with a prepositional phrase featuring a preposition and an object complement. Compare (1142) above with (1161) and (1162) below:

(1161) Dì béd de **mindul** ò rum.  
 DEF bed BE.AT middle DEF room  
 ‘The bed is in the middle of the room.’ [ro05ee 118]

(1162) Bòyé sìdón **bìhén** ò hos.  
 NAME stay behind this house  
 ‘Bòyé lives behind this house.’ [ro05ee 073]

(1163) È dè crùza-cruza **bifó** ò òmót, è dè du  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV cross.CPD-CROSS before DEF door 3SG.SBJ IPFV do  
 lèk se è dè fèn sòn tin (...)  
 like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV look.for some thing  
 ‘He’s walking back and forth in front of the door, he’s pretending to be looking for something.’ [ne07fn 170]

The same holds for the locative nouns *nia* ‘near’ and *kona* ‘next to’, which behave differently from other locative nouns in other contexts:

(1164) Yù fit tók se ‘dèn sìdón **nia** ò faya’.  
 2SG can talk QUOT 3PL sit near DEF fire  
 ‘You can say “they’re sitting by the fire”.’ [ro05ee 112]

(1165) À sìdón **kona** ò aeropuerto.  
 1SG.SBJ stay next.to DEF airport  
 ‘I stay next to the airport.’ [dj05be 213]

The ground need not be marked for definiteness as it is in the two examples above. Three sentences follow without overt definiteness marking. In this respect, the same principles of definiteness marking apply as they do for other objects. Note that the locative nouns *òntóp*

‘top; on’ (1166) and *pàntáp* ‘top; on’ (1155) above are absolute synonyms and equally frequent:

- (1166) Dì pepa de òntóp tebul.  
 DEF paper BE.AT top table  
 ‘The paper is on the table.’ [ro05ee 091]
- (1167) Discoteca dèn de bətón gron èn.  
 club PL BE.AT bottom ground INTJ  
 ‘(The) clubs are under the ground, you know.’ [ed03sb 217]
- (1168) Dan skul è de nia bèrin-gron, nɔ?  
 that school 3SG.SBJ BE.AT near burial.CPD-ground INTJ  
 ‘That school is near the cemetery, right?’ [ma03hm 018]

The locative noun *nàdó* ‘outside’ behaves differently in this respect. The ground may only be expressed in a possessive construction, namely a *fə*-prepositional phrase:

- (1169) Pəsin dèn de nàdó fə dì avión.  
 person PL BE.AT outside ASS DEF plane  
 ‘People are outside the plane.’ [dj05be 165]

The expression of the ground by way of a *fə*-prepositional phrase as in (1169) above is not accepted with other locative nouns, i.e. *\*mindul fə dì rum* ‘middle ASS DEF room’ = ‘in the middle of the room’, *\*bihén fə dis hos* ‘rear ASS this house’ = ‘behind this house’. This also holds for the locative associative constructions described further below in (1171). Compare the ungrammatical example (1170), which involves such a structure:

- (1170) \*È de bifó say fə dì hos.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT before side ASS DEF house  
 \*She’s in front of the house. [ye07de 024]

Furthermore, *dən* ‘down’ does not normally occur in clauses with an explicit ground at all. An explicit ground may, however, be included in the clause by making use of another possessive structure, namely an associative construction. *Dən* enters into a recursive collocation with the generic noun *say* ‘side, place’, which in turn functions as the modifier to the ground in yet another associative construction. Compare the following example:

- (1171) Dən say Santa Teresita.  
 down side PLACE PLACE  
 ‘(At) the lower side (of) Santa Teresita.’ [ye07de 021]

All locative nouns except *nàdó* ‘outside’ may be followed by locative adverbs as in the following two examples featuring *dən* ‘down’ and *bətón* ‘under’:

(1172) Wì dè du=àn **dən** **ya** nà mì kɔntri.  
 1PL IPFV DO=3SG.OBJ down here LOC 1SG.POSS hometown  
 ‘We do it down here in my hometown.’ [ab03ay 070]

(1173) È se mi no dè mek è slip **bətón** **de**.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.EMP NEG IPFV make 3SG.SBJ sleep under there  
 ‘She said I [EMP] don’t make him sleep under there [the mosquito net]’ [ab03ab 139]

Moreover, all locative nouns except *nàdó* ‘outside’, *dən* ‘down’ and *əp* ‘up’ may appear with personal pronouns as the ground in the same way as prepositions like *fə* ‘ASS’ and *wèt* ‘with’ (hence prepositions that are not (exclusively) used for the expression of locative roles). This sets the locative nouns to which this applies apart from locative prepositions:

(1174) È pas **kona** **mi**.  
 3SG.SBJ pass next.to 1SG.EMP  
 ‘He went past next to me.’ [dj05be 212]

(1175) Mòtó dè kòmót **bihén** **yu** pàn yù lèf-han.  
 car IPFV come.out behind 2SG.EMP on 2SG left.CPD-hand  
 ‘A car is coming out behind you on your left.’ [ro05ee 108]

The distribution of the locative nouns discussed is summarised in the following table:

Table 10.3 Distribution of locative nouns

| Locative noun        | Can be pre-ceeded<br>by <i>dì</i> ‘DEF’ and <i>nà</i><br>‘LOC’ | Can be followed<br>by <i>ya</i> ‘here’ and<br><i>de</i> ‘there’ | Can be modifier<br>to <i>say</i> ‘side’ or<br><i>pat</i> ‘part’ | Relation of<br>ground to<br>locative noun |
|----------------------|--|---|---|---|
| <i>nàdó</i>          |  |   |   | <i>fə</i> -PP                             |
| <i>nia</i>           |  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>kona</i>          |  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>insay</i>         | x  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>mindul</i>        | x  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>bətón</i>         | x  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>pàntáp, àntóp</i> | x  | x   |   | Complement                                |
| <i>bifó</i>          | x  | x   | x   | Complement                                |
| <i>bihén</i>         | x  | x   | x   | Complement                                |
| <i>əp</i>            | x  | x   | x   | Complement                                |
| <i>dən</i>           | x  | x   | x   | <i>dən say</i> + ground                   |

In sum, locative nouns are diverse in nature. All locative nouns differ from prepositions in

that they do not require an explicit complement. Some locative nouns cannot be preceded by the determiner or the locative preposition *nà* 'LOC', and hence lack a decisive diagnostic feature of 'nouniness' in Pichi (i.e. *nia* 'near', *kəna* 'next to' and *nàdó* 'outside').

Other locative nouns are, in contrast, 'nouny'. They may not only be preceded by the definite article *dì* and the preposition *nà* (i.e. *bifó* 'before', *bihén* 'behind', *əp* 'up(per side)', *bətón* 'bottom', *dən* 'down (side)' and *mindul* 'middle'). Many of them may also enter as modifier nouns into associative constructions with the generic place nouns *say* 'side, place' and *pat* 'part, place'.

Except *nàdó* 'outside' and *dən* 'down', however, all locative nouns also appear in the same syntactic position as prepositions when relating a figure to an explicitly mentioned ground. In this respect, these two locative nouns are therefore similar in their distribution to the deictic adverbs *ya*, 'here', *de* 'there' and *yàndá* 'yonder'.

### 10.1.3 Locative verbs

Table 10.4 below provides an overview of the most common locative verbs. These verbs serve to express the manner in which a figure is located with respect to a ground. The column entitled 'manner of location' groups these verbs into three classes (cf. Ameka 2007):

Table 10.4 Locative verbs

| Verbs        | Stative & dynamic gloss             | Manner of location      |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>de</i>    | 'BE.AT'                             | Location                |
| <i>rawn</i>  | 'be round, form a circle, surround' |                         |
| <i>lef</i>   | 'remain at, leave at'               |                         |
| <i>nia</i>   | 'be near to, bring near'            |                         |
| <i>sídón</i> | 'sit, seat'                         | Posture                 |
| <i>tinap</i> | 'stand, stand up'                   |                         |
| <i>slip</i>  | 'sleep, lie, lay'                   |                         |
| <i>le</i>    | 'lie, lay'                          |                         |
| <i>jam</i>   | 'be in/make contact'                | Adhesion and attachment |
| <i>heng</i>  | 'be hung onto, hang onto'           |                         |
| <i>pin</i>   | 'stuck to/in, stick to/in'          |                         |
| <i>ling</i>  | 'lean against, be leaning against'  |                         |

With the exception of the locative-existential copula *de* 'BE.AT', all other verbs listed above are labile verbs. Hence they may be used as (inchoative-)stative verbs in intransitive clauses and as dynamic verbs in transitive clauses. In intransitive clauses, the figure is the theme subject (1176), and in transitive clauses, the figure is the patient object (1177). The ground is expressed as a locative adverb(ial phrase) in both alternations:

- (1176) Dèn **ling** fò dan butaca.  
 3PL lean ASS this armchair  
 ‘They’re sitting reclined in that armchair (...).’ [befn07 207]
- (1177) È **ling=àn** de.  
 3SG.SBJ lean=3SG.OBJ there  
 ‘He leaned it there.’ [li07pe 063]

The copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ expresses existence in a location or in a manner in its most general sense (cf. 8.6.1). More specific nuances of location are expressed by other locative verbs. Compare the stative use of *rawn* ‘surround’ in the intransitive clause in (1178):

- (1178) Dì riba è **rawn** dì hos  
 DEF river 3SG.SBJ surround DEF house  
 ‘The river flows around the house.’ [dj05be 228]

Next to its use as a locative noun (1179), the multifunctional item *nia* ‘near’ may be employed as a an inchoative-stative (1180) or dynamic verb (1181) like any other locative verb, although the latter usage is rare:

- (1179) Dì glas de **nia**.  
 DEF glas BE.AT near  
 ‘The glass is near.’ [dj07ae 193]
- (1180) Dì glas **nia** dì dòmót.  
 DEF glas near DEF door  
 ‘The glass is near the door.’ [dj07ae 194]
- (1181) **Nia** dì glas, à beg.  
 near DEF glas 1SG.SBJ beg  
 ‘Bring the glass near, please.’ [dj07ae 195]

Some locative verbs select specific figures according to the criterion of animacy. For example, *sidón* ‘sit (down)’ generally implies an animate (e.g. *pikín* ‘child’) and *pin* ‘stick (into)’ an inanimate (e.g. *stik* ‘tree’) figure. Consider (1182) and (1183) respectively:

- (1182) È **sidón** **dì pikín** nà butaca.  
 3SG.SBJ seat DEF child LOC armchair  
 ‘She seated the child in (the) armchair.’ [dj07ae 234]
- (1183) È **pin** **dì stik** nà gròn.  
 3SG.SBJ stick DEF tree LOC ground  
 ‘He stuck the stick in (the) ground.’ [li07pe 092]

In contrast, all the other verbs listed in Table 10.4 exhibit no such restrictions. This includes verbs that denote other, typically human postures. For example, *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ may appear with an inanimate (1184) or animate (1185) figure as well as in intransitive and transitive (1186) clauses alike:

(1184) **Dì kasara tinap** mindul tu stik.  
 DEF cassava stand middle two tree  
 ‘The cassava is standing upright between two trees.’ [li07pe 081]

(1185) **Dì man tinap** mindul pipul dèn.  
 DEF man stand middle people PL  
 ‘The man is standing amidst people.’ [ye05ce 282]

(1186) È **tinap dì kasara** mindul tu stik.  
 3SG.SBJ stand.up DEF cassava middle two tree  
 ‘He stood up the cassava between two trees.’ [li07pe.082]

Also compare the intransitive use of *slip* ‘sleep, lie, lay’ in (1187) with the transitive use of *slip* in (1188). Both sentences involve the inanimate figure *botul* ‘bottle’:

(1187) **Dì botul slip** pàntáp dì tebul bìkàs **dì botul le** de.  
 DEF bottle sleep top DEF table because DEF bottle lie there  
 ‘The bottle is lying [in a horizontal position] on the table because the bottle is lying there.’ [li07pe 075]

(1188) È **slip dì botul** pàntáp dì tebul.  
 3SG.SBJ sleep DEF bottle top DEF table  
 ‘He lay the bottle on the table [in a horizontal position].’ [li07pe 072]

The verb *jam* ‘make/be in contact’ denotes contact between figure and ground. The meaning of *jam* contains no connotation with respect to the type of contact. Hence intransitive *jam* means ‘be in contact’ in (1189). Note the use of the Spanish-derived verb *para* ‘stand’ as a labile locative verb just like its Pichi equivalent *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ in (1186) above:

(1189) Dèn **para** dì buk dèn se dèn **jam** dèn sɛf.  
 3PL stand.up DEF book PL QUOT 3PL make.contact 3PL self  
 The books were stood up [in such way] that they’re in contact with each other.’ [dj07re 044]

When *jam* is used transitively, context may imply a sudden or forceful contact as in the following sentence:

- (1190) So dì mankan pas nia in, è **jam=àn**,  
 so DEF manPFV pass near3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ make.contact=3SG.OBJ  
 dì plet fòdón nà gròn.  
 DEF plate fall LOC ground  
 ‘So the man passed near her, he bumped into her, the plate fell  
 to the ground.’ [au07se 013]

The following two examples involve the stative/dynamic alternation of the verb of adhesion and attachment *heng* ‘be hung onto; hang onto’:

- (1191) Dì pisis **heng** nà dì stik nɔ,  
 DEF piece.of.cloth hang LOC DEF tree INTJ  
 bikɔs no man no put=àn.  
 because NEG man NEG put=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘The piece of cloth is hanging onto the stick, right, because  
 nobody put it there.’ [li07pe 058]
- (1192) È tay dì kasara wèt rop afta è **heng=àn**.  
 3SG.SBJ tie DEF cassava withrope then 3SG.SBJ hang=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘He tied the cassava with a rope and then he hung it up.’ [li07pe 078]

#### 10.1.4 Motion verbs

Besides the locative verbs discussed in 10.1.3, Pichi features verbs of diverse semantic types whose meanings also include a change of location. A selection of the most common ones in the corpus is provided in Table 10.5. These verbs all denote situations involving motion. Some of the verbs contain the additional meaning components of direction (e.g. *go* ‘go (away)’) and/or manner of motion (e.g. *jump* ‘jump’).

Further, some verbs denote self-motion of the figure subject, hence are lexically intransitive (e.g. *waka* ‘walk’), or preponderantly appear in intransitive clauses (e.g. *enta* ‘enter’). Others involve motion caused by the figure subject and are therefore more likely to occur in transitive clauses with an overt ground object than in intransitive clauses without one (e.g. *dreb* ‘drive’; *put* ‘put’).

Moreover, the verbs listed in the table differ in the way the ground is expressed as a participant in the clause. Hence we find the ground expressed as prepositional phrases (PP), objects (O), and as objects or prepositional phrases in serial verb constructions (SVC):

Table 10.5 Motion verbs

| Verb          | Gloss              | Direction | Manner | Causation | Ground     |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|------------|
| <i>go</i>     | 'go'               | x         |        |           | PP; O      |
| <i>kan</i>    | 'come'             | x         |        |           | PP; O      |
| <i>kəmót</i>  | 'go/come out'      | x         |        |           | PP; O      |
| <i>rich</i>   | 'arrive'           | x         |        |           | PP; O      |
| <i>enta</i>   | 'enter'            | x         |        |           | PP         |
| <i>baja</i>   | 'go down'          | x         |        |           | PP         |
| <i>sube</i>   | 'go up'            | x         |        |           | PP         |
| <i>fə́dón</i> | 'fall'             |           | x      |           | PP; O      |
| <i>jump</i>   | 'jump'             |           | x      |           | PP; O      |
| <i>pas</i>    | 'pass'             |           | x      |           | PP; O      |
| <i>klem</i>   | 'climb'            |           | x      |           | PP; O      |
| <i>waka</i>   | 'walk'             |           | x      |           | PP; SVC    |
| <i>rən</i>    | 'run'              |           | x      |           | PP; SVC    |
| <i>flay</i>   | 'fly'              |           | x      |           | PP; SVC    |
| <i>fala</i>   | 'follow'           |           | x      |           | PP; SVC    |
| <i>drɛb</i>   | 'drive'            |           | x      | x         | PP         |
| <i>bət</i>    | 'cause to rebound' |           | x      | x         | PP         |
| <i>fling</i>  | 'fling'            |           | x      | x         | PP         |
| <i>pus</i>    | 'push'             |           | x      | x         | PP         |
| <i>hib</i>    | 'throw'            |           | x      | x         | PP         |
| <i>tek</i>    | 'take'             |           |        | x         | PP; SVC; O |
| <i>kɛr</i>    | 'carry; take (to)' |           |        | x         | PP; SVC; O |
| <i>bring</i>  | 'bring'            | x         |        | x         | PP; SVC; O |
| <i>sɛn</i>    | 'throw; send'      | x         | x      | x         | PP; SVC; O |
| <i>put</i>    | 'put'              | x         | x      | x         | PP; O      |
| <i>pul</i>    | 'remove'           | x         | x      | x         | PP         |

The most commonly employed verbs to simultaneously encode motion and direction are *go* 'go (away)', *kan* 'come', *kəmót* 'go/come out of' and *rich* 'arrive (at)'. These verbs also function as V2 in motion-direction SVCs. With any of these four motion verbs, the ground (i.e. the source or goal of the motion) may be expressed as an object of a transitive clause (1193) or as a prepositional phrase in an intransitive clause (1194). The second alternative is however, attested in the majority of cases:

- (1193) À        **kəmót**        **colegio**, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ    come.out    college  
 'I came out of college (...)' [ab03ay 132]



- (1194) À        dè **kòmót**      **nà tòn**      naw      naw.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV come.out    LOC town    now      REP  
 'I'm coming from town right now.' [ro05ee 076]

The preference for a prepositional phrase rather than an object also holds when the ground is a named place, such as Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea (1195). A PP is also the favoured option when the ground occurs in a motion-direction SVC featuring one of the motion verbs listed above as a V2 (cf. 13.2.1):

- (1195) Bõt we è        **kan**      **nà Malabo**, eni      net  
 but SUB 3SG.SBJ come    LOC Malabo every    night  
 ìn      abuela      kìn kan      hàmbóg=àn.  
 3SG.POSS grandmother HAB come    bother=3SG.OBJ  
 'But when she came to Malabo, every night her grandmother  
 would come bother her.' [ed03sb 042]

In principle, the preposition *fɔ* 'ASS' may introduce the inanimate goal of a motion verb instead of *nà* 'LOC' (1196). In practice, the use of the general locative preposition *nà* instead of *fɔ* 'ASS' as in (1194) above is pervasive. Nevertheless, *fɔ* must be used when the goal (or any other locative role) is animate (1197):

- (1196) Wì kòmót de        wì kan **go fɔ, fɔ Akebeville**.  
 1PL go.out there    1PL PFV go ASS ASS PLACE  
 'We left that place (and then) went to, to Akebeville.' [ma03hm 039]
- (1197) Yù get fɔ **go fɔ yù fambul**.  
 2SG get ASS go ASS 2SG family  
 'You had to go to your family.' [ab03ab 035]

All other verbs in Table 10.5 whose goals may be expressed as a PP, an SVC and an O exhibit the same pattern with respect to ground marking. This applies to locomotion verbs such as *waka* 'walk', *rən* 'run' or *pas* 'pass (by)', to the caused location verb *put* 'put', or the caused motion verbs *tek* 'take', *bring* 'bring' and *ker* 'carry; take'. The following three examples featuring the verb *ker* once more present the PP (1198), the object (1199) and the SVC alternatives (1200). Again the PP option is the most common one. Note that the goal object *hospital* 'hospital' in (1199) is positioned to the right of the patient object *dì pikín* 'the child':

- (1198) Dì cemento,      estaba dicho      que      **nà fɔ ker=àn**  
 DEF cement      was      said      that      FOC ASS carry=3SG.OBJ  
 directamente **nà Ela Nguema**.  
 directly      LOC PLACE  
 'The cement, it was said that it was to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.' [ye03cd 008]

- (1199) À        **ker**        dì pikín    **hospital.**  
 1SG.SBJ carry    DEF child    hospital  
 ‘I took the child to hospital.’ [dj07ae 343]
- (1200) Dèn **ker=àn**        **go fò polis,**    (...)  
 3PL carry=3SG.OBJ go    ASS police  
 ‘They took him to the police.’ [ma03sh 009]

The manner-of-motion verbs *waka* (also *wək*) ‘walk’, *rən* ‘run’ and *flay* ‘fly’ are intransitive. Speakers univocally reject these verbs in grammaticality judgments featuring an undergoer or goal object (cf. 11.2.1 for more details).

Next to these, we find the manner-of-motion verbs *fə́dón* ‘fall’ and *pass* ‘pass’. These two verbs allow for the ground to be expressed as an O or a PP without any difference in meaning. Compare *fə́dón* ‘fall’ in the following two examples:

- (1201) È        **fə́dón**    dì **bed.**  
 3SG.SBJ fall        DEF bed  
 ‘He fell from the bed.’ [pa07me 042]
- (1202) Dì bolí **fə́dón**    **frən**        dì **tebul.**  
 DEF pen fall        from        DEF table  
 ‘The pen fell off the table.’ [dj05be 204]

In turn, the use of either the PP or the O strategy of ground marking is accompanied by a change in meaning with the two manner-of-motion verbs *jump* ‘jump’ (1203) and *klem* ‘climb’ (1204). When the ground is expressed as an object, a clause featuring these two verbs is usually interpreted as involving locomotion (hence motion with a path) of the figure, as in the following two sentences:

- (1203) Dì human, è        dè **jump**    dì **winda.**  
 DEF woman 3SG.SBJ IPFV jump    DEF window  
 ‘The woman is jumping through the window.’ [ra07se 068]
- (1204) È        stil bùtú    yet we è        dè **klem**    dì **chia.**  
 3SG.SBJ still stoop    yet SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV climb    DEF chair  
 ‘She’s still stooped over while she’s climbing the chair.’ [au07se 088]

When the ground is, however, encoded as a PP, these two verbs may denote motion without a path, or locomotion with a path. Compare the alternative translations of (1205), featuring *jump* ‘jump’:

- (1205) Miguel Angel    dè **jump**    **pàntáp**    dì **bed.**  
 NAME    NAME    IPFV jump    top        DEF bed  
 ‘Miguel Angel is jumping on/onto the bed.’ [dj07ae 019]

Likewise, speaker (au) finds (1206) unacceptable, because he interprets the clause featuring *klem* ‘climb’ as involving motion without a path on the ground *chia* ‘chair’:

- (1206) Noto    ‘è        **klem**    **pàntáp**    **dì**    **chia.**  
 NEG.FOC 3SG.SBJ climb top DEF chair  
 ‘Not “he climbed [being] on the chair”.’ [au07se 085]

The “propulsion verbs” (Longacre 1996: 200ff.) *hib* ‘throw’ and *fling* ‘fling’ are caused-motion verbs without a direction component in their meaning. Here the ground is preferably expressed as a PP or an equivalent locative adverbial as in the following examples:

- (1207) Dèn **hib=àn**        **dòn.**  
 3PL throw=3SG.OBJ down  
 ‘It was thrown down.’ [dj07fn 136]
- (1208) À        **fling=àn**        **nà**    **solwàtá.**  
 1SG.SBJ fling=3SG.OBJ LOC sea  
 ‘I flung it into the sea.’ [nn03fn 002]

The propulsion verb *sen* equally involves caused motion without direction when used with the sense ‘throw (with aim)’. However, *sen* additionally involves the notion of aim, hence has a manner component in its meaning:

- (1209) È        **dè**    **sen**        **dì**    **bəl**    **fə**    **mekè**        **nak**    **dì**    **cartón.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV send DEF ball ASS SBJV 3SG.SBJ hit DEF carton  
 ‘He’s throwing the ball with aim in order to hit the cardboard box.’ [ra07se 175]

In contrast, when *sen* occurs as a transfer verb in a double object construction, it acquires the sense ‘throw to, send’, and therefore also features a direction component. In such double object constructions, the ‘ground’, a usually animate recipient, is only expressed as an object, not as a PP:

- (1210) È        **sen=àn**        **dì**    **bəl.**  
 3SG.SBJ send=3SG.OBJ DEF ball  
 ‘He threw the ball to him.’ [ra07se 093]

Another motion verb which may appear in double object constructions and has a direction, manner and causation component is *put* ‘put’ (covered in detail in 11.3.4).

### 10.1.5 Expressing source and goal

The foregoing sections have shown that the prepositions *nà* ‘LOC’ and *fə* ‘ASS’ have a very general meaning and participate in various types of clauses expressing spatial relations. We have seen that these two prepositions may also mark the ground in clauses with a motion-

to and a motion-from component. For example, in (1194) above *nà* marks the source of *kàmót* ‘go/come out of’, and in (1197) above *fɔ̃* the goal of *go* ‘go’.

In fact, any preposition or locative noun that may serve to express an ‘at rest’ location role does not contribute any meaning to the motion component of the spatial relation. Instead, these elements specify the part of the ground where the figure is located (cf. Essegbey 2005). Compare the locative nouns *ɔ̃ntóp* ‘top’ (1211) and *nia* ‘near’ (1212), which both express ‘at rest’ location and appear with motion verbs in these two sentences:

(1211) Dì pàmbód dè **flay** **ɔ̃ntóp** dì stik.  
 DEF bird IPFV fly top DEF tree  
 ‘The bird is flying over/above the tree.’ [ro05ee 099]

(1212) À no no wetin mek Anto **pul**  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know what make NAME pull  
 Reina naw **nia** Tokòbé.  
 NAME now near NAME  
 ‘I don’t know how come Anto pulled Reina away from Tokòbé.’ [ab03ab 157]

Hence, when a motion verb lacks a directional sense, it is the combined meaning of the verb, the preposition, and the complement that provides the meaning of the entire construction. The following sentences featuring the prepositions *nà* ‘LOC’ and *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ are therefore not interpreted as involving ‘at rest’ location. Instead, the compositional meaning suggests a goal sense:

(1213) Dèn **rɔ̃n** **nà** farmacia, receta de méré̀sin.  
 3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine  
 ‘They ran to [\*in] the pharmacy, [to get a] prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]

(1214) Dèn **pus** dì mòtó **nà** garaje.  
 3PL push DEF car LOC garage  
 ‘They pushed the car into [\*in] the garage.’

Sometimes, however, there may be room for ambiguity between a motion and a location reading as in (1215), featuring the propulsion verb *sut* ‘shoot’, which lacks a directional sense. The ground PP introduced by the locative noun *bifó* ‘before’ may be interpreted as a location (at rest), a source (motion-from) or a goal (motion-to):

(1215) Dì soldado **sut** **bifó** dì hos.  
 DEF soldier shoot before DEF house  
 ‘The soldier shot in front of/at/from the front of the house.’ [dj05be 188]

Any potential ambiguity between the goal and source senses of *nà* and *fɔ̃* may be eliminated by employing the directional prepositions *fràn* ‘from; since’ (1216) and *soté* ‘until, up to’ (1217):

(1216) Dì bolí **fɔ́dón** **fràn** dì tebul.  
 DEF pen fall from DEF table  
 ‘The pen fell from the table’ [dj05be 204]

(1217) È kan **fɔ́dón** **soté** ya.  
 3SG.SBJ PFV fall until here  
 ‘(And then) it fell up to here.’ [li07pe 090]

Alternatively, a motion-direction SVC may be employed to mark a goal with verbs permitting such use as in (1218). A biclausal structure featuring a modifying purpose or other adverbial clause may also serve the same end. Compare (1219) with (1214) above:

(1218) Dèn bìn dè **ròn go nà** ospitul la una de la noche.  
 3PL PST IPFV run go LOC hospital the one of the night  
 ‘They were running to hospital at one o’clock in the night.’ [ab03ab 137]

(1219) Dèn **pus** dì mòtó **mek** è **enta** nà garaje.  
 3PL push DEF car SBJV 3SG.SBJ enter LOC garage  
 ‘They pushed the car in order for it to enter the garage.’

Nevertheless, even in clauses featuring inherently directional verbs where no such ambiguity could possibly arise, the goal or source is sometimes additionally marked with a directional preposition. Compare the following example, in which the elative motion-from sense of *kàmót* ‘come out of’ is reiterated by the ablative motion-from preposition *fràn* ‘from’:

(1220) Olinga **kàmót** **fràn** bôtón.  
 NAME come.out from bottom  
 ‘Olinga comes from the bottom [worked himself up from the bottom].’ [ye03cd 068]

The general locative preposition *nà* ‘loc’ may also additionally mark the ground when preceded by the directional prepositions *fràn* ‘from’ and *soté* ‘until, up to’. This usage is not attested with the associative preposition *fɔ́* ‘Ass’:

(1221) È kəl **fràn** **nà** plataforma, è kəl dòn ya.  
 3SG.SBJ call from LOC oil.rig 3SG.SBJ call down here  
 ‘He called from the platform, he called down here.’ [to03gm 006]

(1222) (...) mekè fit dè rich ɔl say **soté** **nà** Riaba.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ can IPFV arrive all side until LOC PLACE  
 ‘(...) so that he should be able to get everywhere (even) up to Riaba.’ [fr03cd 070]

The use of the preposition *fɔ́* ‘Ass’ may open up another space of ambiguity. Besides marking

an animate goal (cf. (1157) above), *fɔ̃* may also mark an animate source or beneficiary. Hence, the meaning of clauses featuring verbs which assign both animate source and beneficiary roles are potentially ambiguous. Compare *recibe* ‘receive’ and *bay* ‘buy’ below:

(1223) (...) è        **recibe** wan regalo **fɔ̃** ìn        mà má.  
                   3SG.SBJ receive one present ASS 3SG.POSS mother  
 ‘(...) she received a present for/from her mother.’ [dj05be 067]

(1224) À        bìn **bay** wan mòtó **fɔ̃** mì        masa.  
                   1SG.SBJ PST buy one car        ASS 1SG.POSS boss  
 ‘I bought a car for/from my boss.’ [dj05be 073]

Speakers may resort to other means of expressing these relations in pursuit of disambiguation. Example (1223) above and (1225) below were both elicited by means of the Spanish sentence *recibió un regalo de su mamá* ‘she received a present from her mother’. In the sentence below, speaker (ro) prefers to employ the transfer verb *das* ‘give as present’ which assigns an agent instead of a theme subject:

(1225) Mì        mà má bìn **das**                    mi        sòn        regalo.  
                   1SG.POSS mother PST give.as.present 1SG.EMP some present  
 ‘My mother gave me a present.’ [ro05ee 055]

Speaker (ro) also employs a partitive possessive construction in (1226) below in order to render the meaning of Spanish *compré un coche de mi jefe* ‘I bought a car from my boss.’ Compare (1226) below to (1224) above, where speaker (dj) uses the *fɔ̃*-possessive construction instead (which is structurally similar to the Spanish *de*-possessive construction):

(1226) À        bìn **bay wan**        mì        masta **ìn**        mòtó.  
                   1SG.SBJ PST buy one        1SG.POSS boss        3SG.POSS car  
 ‘I bought one of my boss’s cars.’ [ro05ee 057]

The manner-of-motion verb *pas* ‘pass (by)’ is employed to express motion-past a ground. The ground is normally expressed as a PP introduced by a locative preposition (1227) or locative noun (1228):

(1227) In        bìn **pas nà** mì        hos.  
                   3SG.EMP PST passLOC 1SG.POSS house  
 ‘He [EMP] passed (by/through) my house.’ [dj05be.143]

(1228) Dì mòtó **pas òntóp** dì rày-t-han.  
                   DEF car        pass top        DEF right.CPD-hand  
 ‘The car passed (by) on the right hand side.’ [ro05ee 104]

The nature of a spatial relation may be specified in detail by making use of the appropriate combination of motion verbs, locative prepositions, locative nouns and serial verb constructions.

For example, the situation in (1229) involves a figure (the theme *pikín* ‘child’) which undergoes a change-of-location (denoted by *fɔ́dón* ‘fall’) in a motion-from along a path (specified by *fràn* ‘from’) out of the specific part (the superior location *ɔp* ‘upperside’) of the ground (the source *stik* ‘tree’):

- (1229) Dì pikín **fɔ́dón fràn ɔp** dì stik.  
DEF child fall from up DEF tree  
 ‘The child fell from up in the tree.’ [dj05be 201]

In (1230), the figure (*wì* ‘1PL’) instigates a motion-from (denoted by *kámót* ‘go out’) out of the specific part (the anterior location *bifó* ‘before’) of the ground (the source *chəch* ‘church’):

- (1230) Wì **kámót bifó** dì chəch.  
1PL go.out before DEF church  
 ‘We went away from the front side of the church.’ [dj05be 179]

Sentence (1231) features a change-of-location (denoted by the manner-of-motion verb *flay* ‘fly; rush’) in a motion-to (expressed through the V2 *go* ‘go’ of a motion-direction SVC) into the specific part (the interior location *insay* ‘inside’) of the ground (the goal *Ela Nguema*, a quarter of Malabo):

- (1231) Chico, à want **flay go insay** Ela Nguema naw so.  
boy 1SG.SBJ want fly go inside PLACE now like.that  
 ‘Man, I’m about to rush to Ela Nguema right now.’ [dj07ae 360]

Additional dimensions that may add to the complexity of a spatial relation are manner modifications to the clause, reciprocity and animacy. For example, the idiomatic expression *nà X han*, literally ‘in X’s hand’ (where X is the possessor) encodes an animate source as in the following example (cf. 8.6.4 for the use of this idiom in possessive clauses):

- (1232) Dèn **pul** dì mòtó **nà in han**.  
3PL remove DEF car LOC 3SG.POSS hand  
 ‘They seized the car from him.’ [to07fn 206]

The locative noun *nia* ‘near; next to’ expresses various degrees of proximity to the ground including contact with it. Compare the use of *nia* with the verb of adhesion *jam* ‘be in/make contact with’ in (1233). *Nia*, as well as *kəna* ‘next to’ are also used to express a reciprocal spatial relation, in which figure and ground are ground and figure to each other (1234):

- (1233) È        **jam=àn**                    **nia**    wan    stik we è        tinap.  
 3SG.SBJ    make.contact=3SG.OBJ    near    one    tree SUB 3SG.SBJ    stand  
 ‘He placed it next to [and in contact with] a tree that’s standing.’ [li07pe 050]
- (1234) **Dèn sîdón**    **nia**        **dèn sɛf.**  
 3PL sit        near        3PL self  
 ‘They’re sitting next to each other.’ [dj07re 028]

Clauses which express spatial relations can be modified further for manner independently of the meaning of the verb. This may be done through adverbial clauses introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ (cf. 12.8.2), *we* ‘SUB’ (cf. 12.8.1) or secondary predication (cf. 13.3).

The sentence (1235) exhibits a complex spatial relation featuring the figure è ‘3SG.SBJ’ that has carried out a motion-past (i.e. *pas* ‘pass by’) the proximity (i.e. *kona* ‘next to’) of the ground *chia* ‘chair’. The clause is followed by the secondary predicate ‘*de waka*’ ‘IPFV walk’ which provides circumstantial information about the manner of movement. The secondary predicate is in turn modified by the compound adverbial *ròn-say* ‘backwards’:

- (1235) È        pas        **kona**    chia    dè **waka**    **ròn-say.**  
 3SG.SBJ    pass        next.to    chair    IPFV walk    wrong,CPD-side  
 ‘She passed by next to (the) chair walking backwards.’ [au07se 051]

## 10.2 Temporal relations

The clause-internal temporal relations of location in time, duration and iteration are established through adverb(ial)s, quantifiers, prepositions and lexicalised phrases featuring verbs. The expression of standard time units is characterised by a high incidence of conventionalised code-mixing.

### 10.2.1 Standard time units

In Pichi, the two equal halves of the day are split into *de* ‘day’ and *net* ‘night’. The conventionalised associative constructions *mònin tɛn* ‘morning time’ = ‘morning’, *san tɛn* ‘sun time’ = ‘midday, noon’ (1236), *ivin tɛn* ‘evening time’ = ‘afternoon, evening’, *mindul net* ‘middle night’ = ‘midnight’ (1237) denote the central points of the twenty-four hour day:

- (1236) È        kan        **san tɛn.**  
 3SG.SBJ    come        sun time  
 ‘She came (at) noon/in the afternoon.’ [dj05ce 050]
- (1237) È        kan        **mindul net.**  
 3SG.SBJ    come        middle night  
 ‘He came (at) midnight.’ [dj05ce 053]



The expression *aftanun* ‘afternoon’ is occasionally heard in the speech of ‘group 2’ speakers (cf. 1.4) in the greeting formula *gud áft=ànun* ‘good afternoon’. However this word is not usually employed to denote the corresponding period of the day.

The concept ‘dawn’ may be expressed by means of paraphrase, i.e. via emphatic repetition of the modifier noun *mənin* ‘morning’ as in (1238) or the use of another emphatic element (here the quantifier *sosó* ‘only’), with or without repetition for emphasis (1239):

- (1238) Tuməro      **mənin mənin tən**      lək haw yù grap,  
 tomorrow    morning REP      time      like how 2SG get.up  
 bífó      yù nəba      chəp.  
 before    2SG NEG.PRF eat

‘Tomorrow very early in the morning, as soon as you get up,  
 before you have eaten.’ [ro05ee 144]

- (1239) (...), dis **sosó**    mənin tən, dis **sosó**    **sosó**    mənin tən.  
 this only    morning time this only    REP    morning time  
 ‘(...) early this morning, very early this morning.’ [ye05ce 048]

An additional way of expressing ‘dawn’ is through a clause featuring the subject *mənin* and the verb *brek* ‘(to) dawn’ (1240), or simply, by way of the Spanish noun *madrugada* ‘dawn’:

- (1240) È      kan      we dì **mənin**    dè **brek**.  
 3SG.SBJ    come      SUB DEF morning IPFV dawn  
 ‘He came while morning was breaking.’ [dj05ce 049]

- (1241) È      kan      **madrugada**.  
 3SG.SBJ    come      dawn  
 ‘She came (at) dawn.’ [dj05ce 050]

When telling the time of day, Spanish lexical items are fit into a conventionalised code-mixed construction, which does not have an exact equivalent in Spanish (cf. also 14.3.1 on code-mixing). There is no other generally accepted way of telling the time:

- (1242) So yù want    de    de    las    cuatro, wì dən **de**  
 so 2SG want    BE.AT    there    the.PL    four    1PL PRF BE.AT  
**las    tres    y    veinte**.  
 the.PL    three    and twenty

‘So you want to be there at four (and) we’re already here  
 at three twenty.’ [ma03ni 005]

The Pichi day names *mənde* ‘Monday’, *tyusde* ‘Tuesday’, *wənsde* ‘Wednesday’, *təsde* ‘Thursday’, *frayde* ‘Friday’ *satidé* ‘Saturday’ and *sənde* ‘Sunday’ are (falling) out of use. Instead, the vast majority of speakers employ the corresponding Spanish day names *lunes*,

*martes, miércoles, jueves, viernes, sabado* and *domingo* at all times. The code-mixed sentences in (1243) reflect typical usage.

- (1243) a. Us=de yù dè go, **viernes?**  
 Q=day 2SG IPFV go Friday  
 ‘Which day are you going, (on) Friday?’ [fr07se 166]
- b. Ùna go nà dì sen avión, **sabado!**  
 2PL go LOC DEF same plane Saturday  
 ‘Go [PL] in the same plane, (on) Saturday!’ [fr07se 167]

The Spanish noun phrase *fin de semana* is also usually recruited to express ‘weekend’ in Pichi:

- (1244) À gò lef nà Luba soté **fin de semana.**  
 1SG.SBJ POT remain LOC PLACE until weekend  
 ‘I’ll remain in Luba until the weekend.’ [ye05ce 010]

The following Spanish designations for the months of the year are in use: *enero* ‘January’, *febrero* ‘February’, *marzo* ‘March’, *abril* ‘April’, *maio* ‘May’, *junio* ‘June’, *julio* ‘July’, *agosto* ‘August’, *septiembre* ‘September’, *octubre* ‘October’, *noviembre* ‘November’, *diciembre* ‘December’. Hence, dates are also exclusively expressed in code-mixed structures like the following one:

- (1245) El **diez de agosto**, bay god in pawa, à gò pas nà ya.  
 the ten of August by God 3SG.POSS power 1SG.SBJ POT pass LOC here  
 ‘(On) the tenth of August, by the grace of God, I’ll pass by this place.’ [ab07fn 113]

The two seasons of the year may be designated by the compounds *rèn-sisin* ‘rain.CPD-season’ = ‘rainy season’ (1246) and *drày-sisin* ‘dry.CPD-season’ = ‘dry season’. An alternative designation for the rainy season is the phrasal expression *tɛn (dɛn) fɔ ren* (1247):

- (1246) Dis de dɛn **rèn-sisin** gò bɛgɪn.  
 this day PL rain.CPD-season POT begin  
 ‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]

- (1247) Wì de **tɛn fɔ ren.**  
 1PL BE.AT time ASS rain  
 ‘We’re in the rainy season.’ [ro05ee 116]

The noun *amàtán* stands for ‘harmattan’, the dry and dusty seasonal weather condition throughout West Africa (between November and March):

- (1248) Wi dè kɔl ya so **amàtán** dan, lɛk se  
 1PL.EMP IPFV call here.like.that harmattan that like QUOT

è            kìn de        lèkε niebla.  
 3SG.SBJ    HAB BE.AT    like fog  
 ‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

### 10.2.2 Temporal deixis

Adverb(ial)s, quantifiers, prepositions and lexicalised phrases featuring verbs are recruited for the expression of temporal deixis within the clause. These means are summarised in Table 10.6 below with respect to the temporal relations of location, duration and iteration.

In the table, the letter ‘X’ stands for a compatible time-unit like *tɛn* ‘time’, *lunes* ‘Monday’, *tu de* ‘two days’, *tumara* ‘tomorrow’, *wan wik* ‘one week’ *mun* ‘moon; month’ or *hia* ‘year’. Optional elements are in parentheses. There is quite some flexibility with regard to TMA marking, the expression of participants and the use of prepositions or locative nouns in the phrasal expressions in the column entitled ‘temporal expressions’ (e.g. *las mun we è pas (bihén)* ‘last month SUB pass (behind)’ = ‘last month’).

Therefore, I limit myself to including the most common alternative in the table, and only provide a free translation. Exact glosses of these phrases can be found in the examples further below:

Table 10.6 Temporal deixis

| Temporal relations | Temporal expressions          |                            |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Location           |                               |                            |
| Future             | <i>tumoro/tumara</i>          | ‘tomorrow’                 |
|                    | <i>apás tumoro/tumara</i>     | ‘the day after tomorrow’   |
|                    | <i>nɛks X</i>                 | ‘next X’                   |
|                    | <i>insay X</i>                | ‘in X’                     |
|                    | <i>X we è dè kan</i>          | ‘coming X’                 |
| Present            | <i>naw (so)</i>               | ‘(right) now’              |
|                    | <i>tidé/tùdé</i>              | ‘today’                    |
| Past               | <i>yéstàdé</i>                | ‘yesterday’                |
|                    | <i>apás yéstàdé</i>           | ‘the day before yesterday’ |
|                    | <i>las X</i>                  | ‘last X’                   |
|                    | <i>làs-net</i>                | ‘last night’               |
|                    | <i>insay X</i>                | ‘in X’                     |
|                    | <i>lɔn ten</i>                | ‘long ago’                 |
|                    | <i>(las) X we pas (bihén)</i> | ‘X ago’                    |
|                    | <i>(we) X finis</i>           | ‘at the end of X’          |
| Anterior           | <i>(we) X dɔn</i>             | ‘at the end of X’          |
|                    | <i>bifó X</i>                 | ‘before X’                 |
| Posterior          | <i>apás X</i>                 | ‘before X’                 |
|                    | <i>apás X</i>                 | ‘after X’                  |

|          |                             |                           |           |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Duration | <i>fɔ̃ X</i>                | 'for X'                   |           |
|          | <i>sins X</i>               | 'since X'                 |           |
|          | <i>frɔ̃n X</i>              | 'since X'                 |           |
|          | <i>soté X</i>               | 'until X'                 |           |
|          | <i>frɔ̃n X soté X</i>       | 'from X to X'             |           |
|          | <i>bòkú tɛn</i>             | 'for a long time'         |           |
|          | <i>pas bòkú tɛn we/se X</i> | 'be a long time since X'  |           |
|          | <i>kɛr X</i>                | '(to) last X, stay for X' |           |
|          | <i>ste (fɔ̃) X</i>          | 'stay for X'              |           |
|          | <i>ste (we)</i>             | 'be a long time (that)'   |           |
|          | <i>ste + V2</i>             | 'be a long time since V2' |           |
|          | Iteration                   | <i>ɛni X</i>              | 'every X' |

A relation between event time and a point of reference in the present, future and past can be established by combining an element from Table 10.6 with absolute time reference (i.e. time points like *las dos* 'two o'clock' and *san tɛn* '(after)noon' or calendric units like *viernes* 'Friday') with the appropriate TMA marking. Compare (1236), (1242) and (1243) above.

Some items incorporate time reference to the present, past or future. The time adverb *naw* 'now' (1249) and the temporal nouns *tidé/tùdé* 'today' (1250). Note that the reference point of *tidé/tùdé* is event time not absolute time. Hence *tidé* in (1250) may refer to 'today', the actual day on which the sentence was uttered or to 'that day', the day on which speaker (ye) conversed with the subject è '3SG.SBJ':

(1249) **Naw** à dɔn si dì tin we yù nid.  
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF see DEF thing SUB 2SG need  
 'Now I've seen what you need.' [au07se 003]

(1250) È se ɔl tidé è bìn dè kɔl yu,  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 2SG.EMP  
 yù no tek teléfono.  
 2SG NEG take telephone

'He said the whole of today [that day], he had been calling you (and) you didn't pick up the telephone.' [ye03cd 021]

The equally synonymous temporal nouns *tumoro/tumara* 'tomorrow' incorporate future reference to a day ahead of event time (1251). When *tumoro* is combined with the temporal preposition *apás* 'after' the resulting collocation means 'the day after tomorrow' and denotes a point of reference two days into the future ahead of event time (1252):

(1251) **Tumara** à gò si mì mà má.  
 tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT see 1SG.POSS mother  
 'Tomorrow, I'll see my mother.' [dj05ce 045]

- (1252) **Apás tumoro** à gò si mì mà má  
 after tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘The day-after-tomorrow, I’ll see my mother.’ [ye05ce 046]

The temporal noun *yéstàdé* ‘yesterday’ relates event time to a reference point one day back into the past (1253). The temporal preposition *apás* ‘after’ also combines with *yéstàdé* ‘yesterday’ in the collocation *apás yéstàdé* ‘the day before yesterday’ (1254):

- (1253) **Yéstàdé** à si mì mà má.  
 yesterday 1SG.SBJ see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Yesterday, I saw my mother.’ [dj05ce 033]

- (1254) **Apás yéstàdé** à si mì mà má.  
 after yesterday 1SG.SBJ see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘The day before yesterday, I saw my mother.’ [dj05ce 043]

The temporal nouns *tumoro/tumara* and *yéstàdé* express relative time reference in the same way as *tidé/tùdé* above. Depending on context, they may therefore also be translated as ‘one day after event time’ and ‘one day before event time’ respectively.

Examples (1252) and (1254) above also show that the preposition *apás* ‘after’ may be used to indicate both a posterior and an anterior temporal relation. *Apás* may therefore be combined with *tumoro* ‘tomorrow’ as well as *yéstàdé* ‘yesterday’. The “spatial frame of reference” (Levinson 2003: 24) of temporal posteriority is characterised by a mirror-like “reflection” (Bender et al 2005: 222) of the speaker’s vantage point into both directions of the time stream.

Temporal deixis involving time units other than two days in either direction from event time is achieved through a variety of means. The quantifier *neks* ‘next’ may modify the Pichi nouns, *wik* ‘week’, *mun* ‘month’ and *hia* ‘year’ and thereby remove the reference point from event time into the future by one unit. Compare (1255) and also note the use of the spatial and temporal preposition *soté* ‘until; up to’ which expresses extent:

- (1255) À dè lɛf nà Lùbá soté dī neks wik.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV leave LOC PLACE until DEF next week  
 ‘I’m remaining in Luba until the next week’ [ye05ce 014]

The quantifier *las* ‘last’ mirrors the time reference of *neks* ‘next’. *Las* ‘last’ pushes a reference point into the past by one unit from event time as in (1256)-(1257). Note the presence of the definite article *dī* ‘DEF’ in (1256):

- (1256) Bòyé kòmót nà tɔn dī las mun.  
 NAME go.out LOC TOWN DEF last month  
 ‘Bòyé left town last month.’ [dj05ce 027]

- (1257) èf è no bìn go **las hia**, è bìn fò de  
 if 3SG.SBJ NEG PST go last year 3SG.SBJ PST ASS BE.AT  
 wèt wi nà ya so.  
 with 1PL.EMP LOC herel ike.that  
 'If she hadn't gone last year, she'd be with us right here.' [dj05ae 059]

In Pichi, the expression of punctual location in time does not require the use of a locative preposition or locative noun (e.g. *nà* 'LOC', *fò* 'ASS' or *insay* 'inside') if the temporal expression is inherently time deictic. This is the case in various examples throughout this section featuring relational items like *nɛks* 'next' and *tumara* 'tomorrow' above or *las* 'last'.

The collocation *lɔn tɛn* 'long time ago' is also inherently relational. Rather than expressing duration (i.e. \*for a long time) its meaning includes an unspecified reference point in the past:

- (1258) È bìn dɔn pas **lɔn tɛn**, nɔto **lɔn lɔn tɛn**.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV PRF pass longtime NEG.FOC long red time  
 'It happened long ago, not very long ago.' [ma03sh 001]

The collocation *làs-net* 'last.CPD-night' = 'last night' is a compound (1259). The lexicalisation of this collocation distinguishes it from other time expression featuring *las* 'last' (cf. e.g. *las hia* 'last year' in (1257)), which are not usually subjected to the tonal derivation characteristic of compounding:

- (1259) **Làs-net** à chàkrá mì sɛns.  
 last.CPD-night 1SG.SBJ destroy 1SG.POSS brain  
 'Last night, I drank myself senseless.' [ra07fn 060]

Spatial expressions are, however, used to encode temporal relations if the temporal expression in the clause is not inherently time deictic. This may apply to temporal location as in (1260), where the locative noun *insay* 'inside' fulfills this function.

- (1260) À dè wet se mekà go **insay** tu de.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV waitQUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ go inside two day  
 'I'm hoping to go in two days.' [dj05ae 033]

Neither the associative preposition *fò* 'ASS', nor the general locative preposition *nà* 'LOC' are generally employed to mark adverbial phrases with a location in time sense. An exception in the data is the presence of *nà* 'LOC' in the lexicalised collocation *nà net* 'at night'. All other standard periods of the day are expressed through associative constructions featuring the generic noun *tɛn* 'time' (1261). In view of the limited number of *tɛn* 'time' collocations in Pichi and their often idiosyncratic meanings (cf. (247) in section 5.4.1), even these expressions may be seen as lexicalised structures:

- (1261) Boy dèn de de, **mənin ten san ten nà net**,  
 boy PL BE.AT there morning time sun time LOC night  
 nà Pichi dèn dè tək Pichi.  
 FOC Pichi 3PL IPFV talk Pichi  
 ‘(The) guys are there, in the morning, at day time, at night,  
 it’s only Pichi that they talk.’ [au07se 257]

The extension of spatial notions into the temporal domain is also reflected in the means employed to encode the temporal relation of anteriority by means of the locative noun *bifó* ‘before’. In contrast to *apás* ‘after’, which may express anteriority or posteriority, the use of *bifó* in (1262) incorporates an “intrinsic” (Bender et al. 2005: 221) temporal perspective. The intrinsic beginning or end of the time unit itself provides the temporal reference point. Contrary to the “reflection” perspective inherent to *apás* ‘after’ (1263), a relational linkage with the vantage point of the speaker is not expressed:

- (1262) Kòfí bìn de ya so **bifó** las hia.  
 NAME PST BE.AT here like.that before last year  
 ‘Kofi was here before last year [the year before last].’ [ro05ee 130]
- (1263) Dèn gò tən bak **apás** di neks wik.  
 3PL fut turnback after DEF next week  
 ‘They’ll return the week after next [in two weeks].’ [he07fn 209]

Duration in time for a specific period is expressed by means of the general associative preposition *fə* ‘ass’ followed by a time expression:

- (1264) Yù gò moja di res nà wàtá, **fə tǐdé, tu de (...)**  
 2SG POT soak DEF rice LOC water ASS today two day  
 ‘You soak the rice in water, for today [one day], (for) two days (...)’ [dj03do 019]

An equally common way of expressing duration for a specified period is by means of the verb *ker* ‘carry, take; last’. The ‘figure’ enduring in time is expressed as the subject of the clause and may be inanimate (1265) or animate (1266), while the specified time period is the object of *ker*:

- (1265) (...) pero di fiba bìn **ker wan de** dasəl.  
 but DEF fever PST carry one day only  
 ‘(...) but the fever only lasted for a day.’ [ru03wt 062]
- (1266) **Haw mōch ten** yù gò **ker** nà kōntri?  
 how much time 2SG POT carry LOC hometown  
 ‘How long are you going to stay in (your) hometown?’ [lo07he 046]

Aside from that, elements that express motion through space are put to use for establishing temporal relations of duration. Firstly, the allative motion-to preposition/clause linker *soté* ‘up to, until’ also expresses temporal duration-to (1267).

- (1267) À        dè lɛf        nà Luba    **soté**    **wik**    **finis.**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC PLACE until week finish  
 ‘I’m staying in Luba until the end of the week.’ [ro05ee 128]

Secondly, example (1268) and (1267) illustrate the use of durational *soté* together with the lexicalised (factive-marked) clausal structures *mun dɔn* ‘month done’ = ‘at the end of the month’ and *wik finis* ‘week finish’ = ‘at the end of the week’. Both expressions establish a punctual and past temporal reference point:

- (1268) Mekè        wet        **soté**    **mun**    **dɔn,**    we à        gɛt  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ wait until month done SUB 1SG.SBJ get  
 dɪ mɔ̀nɪ à        gò bay dɪ chɔp.  
 DEF money 1SG.SBJ POT buy DEF food  
 ‘Let him wait until the month is over, when I get the money,  
 I’ll buy the food.’ [hi03cb 214]

The multifunctional item *soté* ‘up to, until’ may also introduce finite adverbial extent clauses, in which the subordinate verb may take the full range of TMA and person marking (1269). Next to that, *soté* also appears as a temporal preposition directly followed by a verb as in (1270). The resulting combination acquires a resultative sense and means that the situation denoted by the verb has been attained. Since *soté* is also a preposition, it may also take nominal complements. For example, the complement *taya* ‘be tired’ in (1270) is a non-finite, deverbal noun and appears without TMA or person marking:

- (1269) À        chɔp        frijoles **soté**    à        **taya.**  
 1SG.SBJ eat beans until 1SG.SBJ be.tired  
 ‘I ate until I was tired (of it).’ [ed03sp 121]
- (1270) À        chɔp        **soté**    **taya.**  
 1SG.SBJ eat until be.tired  
 ‘I ate to my full satisfaction.’ [dj07ae 523]

The ablative preposition *frɔ̀n* ‘from, since’ marks a source when used with a spatial sense. In the temporal domain, *frɔ̀n* expresses duration-from a reference point (1271). The period of duration may be further specified by employing both *frɔ̀n* ‘from’ and *soté* ‘until’ as in (1272). I draw attention to the optional use of another lexicalised clausal structure in the second example, namely *è go* ‘3SG.SBJ GO’ = ‘going to’ in order to provide an additional allative sense:



(1271) Dèn no no dèn sɛf **fròn** bòkú tɛn.  
 3PL NEG know 3PL self from much time  
 ‘They don’t know each other since much time.’ [ch07fn 210]

(1272) **Fròn** las doce, **soté** è **go** las seis,  
 from the.PL twelve until 3SG.SBJ go DEF six  
 nà ‘gud ivin’.  
 FOC good evening  
 ‘From twelve to six o’clock, its “good evening”.’ [ye07je 011]

The temporal preposition *sins* ‘since’ is specialised to expressing duration-from but its use is marginal when compared with the frequency of *fròn* ‘from’:

(1273) Wì de ya **sins** las dos.  
 1PL BE.AT here since the.PL two  
 ‘We’re here since two o’clock.’ [ab07fn 242]

The transfer of spatial concepts into the temporal domain is also reflected in the kind of verbs employed. Location in the future features the ablative motion verb *kan* ‘come’, that of past location and duration the motion verb *pas* ‘pass (by)’ - hence time is conceived as moving and the reference point as fixed:

(1274) À dè lɛf nà Luba soté **dì wik**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV leave LOC PLACE until DEF week  
**we è dè kan.**  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV come  
 ‘I’m remaining in Luba until the coming week.’ [dj05ce 015]

(1275) Djunais bìn lɛf nà Luba soté **dì wik**  
 NAME PST leave LOC PLACE until DEF week  
**we è bìn pas.**  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PST pass  
 ‘Djunais remained in Luba until last week.’ [dj05ce 016]

The verb *ste* ‘stay, be a long time’ inherently expresses lengthy duration, so no further specification of the length of the period is required (1276). The verb is versatile in its syntactic behaviour. Firstly, it may appear as the only verb of a sentence like (1276) or participate as a V1 in an adverbial SVC (cf. 13.2.5 for details):

(1276) Nà wan hos we è dòn **ste** nɔ?  
 FOC one house SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF remain INTJ  
 ‘It’s a house that’s been around for a long time, right?’ [dj05ae 161]

Secondly, the verb *ste* may also appear with an expletive subject followed by an adverbial time clause which specifies the relevant time period:

- (1277) È dòn **ste**, à tink se è dòn **ste**  
 3SG.SBJ PRF stay 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF stay  
**we ùna bìn get insecticida ya.**  
 SUB 2PL PST get insecticide here  
 ‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [PL] have had insecticide [sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

The quantifier *eni* ‘every’ expresses iteration of the time unit it refers to (1278). Time units are generally conceived as countable, *eni* is semantically compatible with any time unit including units of the clock (1279):

- (1278) À bìn dè chench human **eni siks mun**, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV change woman every six month  
 ‘I was changing women every six months, (...). [ed03sp 033]
- (1279) Bìkòs in dè se, **eni las doce** nà in  
 because 3SG.EMP IPFV QUOT every the.PL twelve FOC 3SG.EMP  
 ìn abuela kìn kan kòl=àn.  
 3SG.POSS grandmother HAB come call=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Because she would say, always at twelve o’clock, that’s when her grandmother used to come and call her.’ [ed03sb 150]

Table 10.7 contains all locative nouns and prepositions that participate in expressing temporal relations in Pichi. The table complements the inventory of locative and non-locative prepositions presented in Table 10.1 and Table 11.1 respectively.

Table 10.7 Temporal (uses of) prepositions and locative nouns

| Element      | Temporal use | Temporal relation    | Other semantic roles/uses             |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>insay</i> | ‘inside’     | Location             | Locative noun                         |
| <i>bifó</i>  | ‘before’     | Location (anterior)  | Locative noun; time clause linker     |
| <i>bihén</i> | ‘after’      | Location (posterior) | Locative noun                         |
| <i>apás</i>  | ‘after’      | Location (posterior) | —                                     |
| <i>fð</i>    | ‘for’        | Duration             | General associative preposition       |
| <i>fròn</i>  | ‘since’      | Duration (from)      | source (locative)                     |
| <i>sins</i>  | ‘since’      | Duration (from)      | <i>sins we</i> : time clause linker   |
| <i>soté</i>  | ‘until’      | Duration (to)        | Extent (locative); time clause linker |

## 11 Grammatical relations

Pichi verbs exhibit a large degree of flexibility in the number and type of nominal participants they may cooccur 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. 11.2.1). The vast majority of verbs can act freely as intransitive or transitive verbs. However, with the class of labile verbs, either option has consequences for the semantic role attributed to the subject, the causation reading of the verb, and with most verbs, lexical aspect (cf. 11.2.3). In addition, any transitive verb may also occur in a double object construction (cf. 11.3.4). Moreover, most verbs may appear with deverbal copies of themselves, so called cognate objects (11.3.3). 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. 11.3.1). Next to these, we also find combinations of verbs and associative objects. These objects may fulfil various non-core semantic roles (cf. 11.3.2). Clauses featuring referentially empty, expletive subjects reflect a need for the subject position to be filled in Pichi clauses (cf. 11.2.4). Reflexivity and reciprocity are largely expressed by the same formal means (cf. 11.3.5-11.3.6). Verb valency may be adjusted through a rich variety of causative and impersonal constructions involving 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns or human-denoting generic nouns (cf. 11.4). Finally, the expression of weather phenomena (cf. 11.3.7) and body states (cf. 11.3.8) provides good examples for the configuration of semantic roles and grammatical relations in two specific semantic fields.

### 11.1 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, serial verb constructions are recruited to mark participants, even if they are less frequent in terms of general frequency.

### 11.1.1 Subjects

Verbs usually cooccur with at least one participant, namely a subject. Nonetheless, in certain discourse contexts, subject ellipsis occurs (cf. 11.4.1) and some serial verb constructions allow for subjects to remain unexpressed (e.g. in certain types of motion-direction SVCs, cf. 13.2.1). Subjects subsume the actor roles of agent (1280) and experiencer (1281):

(1280) **Dèn** kech=àn,      **dèn** bit=àn.  
 3PL catch=3SG.OBJ 3PL beat=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They caught him (and) they beat him.’ [ye05ce 095]

(1281) **È**      lək dans,      **è**      lək 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 (1282), theme in the intransitive alternation of locative verbs (1283) and property items (1284), and patient in the intransitive alternation of change of state verbs (1285):

(1282) **Tosti**      kech      mi.  
 thirst catch 1SG.EMP  
 ‘I’m hungry.’ [dj07ae 327]

(1283) **In**      sɪdón      nà      Ela Nguema.  
 3SG.EMP stay      LOC PLACE  
 ‘She [EMP] stays in Ela Nguema.’ [ye07fn 017]

(1284) **Dì**      gəl      stret.  
 DEF girl be.straight  
 ‘The girl is sincere.’ [ye07je 109]

(1285) **À**      kət.  
 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 11.2.4.

### 11.1.2 Objects

Objecthood is marked by word order alone with full nouns (1286) and by morphological case and word order with pronominal objects (1287). The overt expression of objects is, in

principle, optional although in practice, prototypically transitive verbs are very likely to occur with an object. In (1288), the object of *nak* ‘hit’ remains unexpressed, but it is coreferential with the subject è ‘3SG.SBJ’ of the main clause:

- (1286) We dèn **sut**      **dì pəsin**    dì pəsin    kìn sek.  
 SUB 3PL shoot    DEF person    DEF person    HAB shake  
 ‘When they’ve shot the person, the person shakes.’ [ed03sb 112]

- (1287) Go **pul=àn**                    de.  
 go remove=3SG.OBJ    BE.AT  
 ‘Go remove it there.’ [ro05ee 093]

- (1288) Èf yù no **nak**,      è            no fit      brok.  
 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 *go* ‘go’ and *kəmót* ‘go/come out’ may also be expressed as objects, although prepositional phrases are more common. Compare the goal object *colegio* ‘college’ in (1289):

- (1289) So we yù **kəmót**            **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 (1290):

- (1290) Dì tin            dè **gò mi**            bad (...)  
 DEF thing    IPFV POT 1SG.EMP    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:

- (1291) Dan      tòrí      bìn dè **swit**      mi      **wan**      **swit**.  
 that    story    PST IPFV be.tasty 1SG.EMP 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. 11.3.2.)

### 11.1.3 Prepositional phrases

Participants with non-core semantic roles are most commonly expressed through prepositional phrases, and in specific cases through SVCs (cf. 11.1.4). Table 11.1 lists the prepositions employed for the expression of non-core semantic roles. Refer to Table 10.1 and Table 10.7 for locative and temporal uses of prepositions and locative nouns:

Table 11.1 Non-locative uses of prepositions

| Prepositions         | Gloss     | Other uses/comments     |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| <i>fə</i>            | 'ASS'     | General location        |
| <i>wət</i>           | 'with'    | NP coordination         |
| <i>bikəs</i>         | 'due to'  | Clause linker 'because' |
| <i>fəseka/fəseko</i> | 'due to'  | —                       |
| <i>lək</i>           | 'like'    | IF-clause linker        |
| <i>bày</i>           | 'by'      | Only idiomatic use      |
| <i>witáwt</i>        | 'without' | Rare                    |

The semantic roles expressed by the prepositions listed in Table 11.1 are provided in Table 11.2 below. The table reveals a bipartite structure in the marking of semantic roles. The prepositions *fə* 'ASS' and *wət* 'with' may express virtually all roles listed. In contrast, all other prepositions express a single semantic role. In addition, the prepositions *bày* 'by' and *witáwt* 'without' are marginal, and in the case of *bày*, only encountered in idiomatic expressions. Given the large range of functions covered by *fə* and *wət*, 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 cooccurs with:

Table 11.2 Expression of non-locative semantic roles by prepositions

|                | <i>fə</i> | <i>wət</i> | <i>bikəs</i> | <i>fəseka</i> | <i>lək</i> | <i>bày</i> | <i>witáwt</i> |
|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Beneficiary    | x         |            |              |               |            |            |               |
| Stimulus       | x         | x          |              |               |            |            |               |
| Comitative     |           | x          |              |               |            |            |               |
| NEG comitative |           |            |              |               |            |            | x             |
| Instrument     | x         | x          |              |               |            | x          |               |
| Circumstance   | x         | x          |              |               |            |            |               |
| Cause          | x         | x          | x            | x             |            |            |               |
| Purpose        | x         |            |              |               |            |            |               |
| Manner         |           | x          |              |               | x          |            |               |

The preposition *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ may introduce the stimulus NP of a small number of experiential verbs with affected agents. The corpus features five such verbs: *bisin* ‘bother, be busy (with)’, *gladin* ‘be glad (about)’, *kɔ̃stɔ̃n* ‘be used to’, *lukɔ̃t* ‘watch out (for)’, *sɛm* ‘be ashamed (about)’. Of these verbs, only *lukɔ̃t* is intransitive; the only non-subject participant this verb may appear with is a stimulus PP (1292):

- (1292) Lukɔ̃t    **fɔ̃**    **tif-man**                    **dɛ̃n!**  
 look.out ASS steal.CPD-man            PL  
 ‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

On the contrary, the stimulus of the verbs *bisin* and *kɔ̃stɔ̃n* 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:

- (1293) À            **bisin**    **dan**    **gal.**  
 1SG.SBJ    be.busy    that    girl  
 ‘I checked out that girl.’ [dj07ae 025]

- (1294) Si    fɔ̃s    tɛ̃n            à            bìn    de            hia,            à    no  
 see    first    time            1SG.SBJ    PST    BE.AT            here1SG.SBJ    NEG  
 bìn    dè    **bisin**    **fɔ̃**    **Pagalú**            **gel**    **dɛ̃n.**  
 PST    IPFV    be.busy    ASS    Annobón            girl    PL  
 ‘See formerly (when) I was here, I wasn’t checking out Annobonese girls.’ [ed03sp 005]

- (1295) Layf    had    pero    à    dɔ̃n    **kɔ̃stɔ̃n=àn**            so.  
 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]

- (1296) Wì    dɔ̃n    **kɔ̃stɔ̃n**            **fɔ̃r=àn.**  
 1PL    PRF    be.used.to            ASS=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘We’ve got used to it.’ [ur07fn 218]

The verb *kɔ̃stɔ̃n* ‘be used to’ is also attested with a third option: It may take a stimulus PP marked by the preposition *wèt* ‘with’:

- (1297) À            dɔ̃n    **kɔ̃stɔ̃n**            **wèt**    **dì**    **trɔ̃n**    **layf.**  
 1SG.SBJ    PRF    be.used.to            with    DEF    strong    life  
 ‘I’ve got used to a difficult life.’ [dj07ae 102]

The preposition *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ may also mark the stimulus of motion of some agent-induced motion verbs like *hayd* ‘hide (from)’ or *rɔ̃n* ‘run away (from)’ as in the following example (cf. 10.1.5 for the use of *fɔ̃* in marking locative source roles):

- (1298) È        **hayd fɔ̀** ìn        kɔmpin.  
 3SG.SBJ hide        ASS 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 *luk* ‘look (at)’ in (1299). Other verbs in this group are *si* ‘see’, *hia/yer* ‘hear’ and *listin* ‘listen’:

- (1299) À        **luk=àn.**  
 1SG.SBJ look=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I looked at him.’ [ab03ab 069]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *fɔ̀* ‘Ass’ also denote the semantic roles of purpose (1300) and cause (1301), the latter in combination with a body state:

- (1300) Mi        gi    dɛn        diez mil        **fɔ̀ transporte.**  
 1SG.EMP give 3PLEMP ten thousand        ASS transport  
 ‘I [EMP] gave them ten thousand (Francs) for transport.’ [fr03cd 005]

- (1301) È        day **fɔ̀ tɔsti.**  
 3SG.SBJ die ASS thirsty  
 ‘He died of thirst.’ [dj05be 123]

Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, a cause of death due to a body state like *hangri* ‘hunger’, *tɔsti* ‘thirst’ (1302) or *sɔ́fút* ‘wound, injury’ (1303) is marked by *wèt* ‘with’. Note however that the cause of a sickness is usually expressed as an associative object (cf. 11.3.2):

- (1302) È        day **wèt tɔsti.**  
 3SG.SBJ die with thirsty  
 ‘He died of thirst.’ [ro05ee 064]

- (1303) È        day **wèt sɔ́fút.**  
 3SG.SBJ die with wound  
 ‘She died of her injury.’ [ro05ee 066]

The prepositions *fɔ̀seka* ‘due to’ (and its less frequent variant *foseko*) (1304) and *bikɔs* ‘because; due to’ (1305) 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. 12.8.7).

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



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(1304) Nà **fəseka** **bən** **pikín**, è day.  
 FOC due.to give.birth child 3SG.SBJ die  
 ‘It’s due to childbirth (that) she died.’ [dj05be 052]

(1305) Nawso po gal dèn dən bəs ìn hed  
 now.like.that poor girl 3PL PRF burst 3SG.POSS head

**bikəs natin.**  
 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 *wèt* ‘with’ if instruments (1306), materials (1307) and functions (1308) are involved. Instruments and materials can also be expressed by argument-introducing serial verb constructions involving *tek* ‘take’ (cf. 11.1.4):

(1306) Dèn sut=àn **wèt** **gən** nà ìn hed.  
 3PL shoot=3SG.OBJ with gun LOC 3SG.POSS head  
 ‘He was shot in the head with a gun.’ [ro05ee 054]

(1307) Dì hos bil **wèt** **plenk.**  
 DEF house build with board  
 ‘The house is built from boards.’ [dj07ae 459]

(1308) À waka **wèt** **fut.**  
 1SG.SBJ walk with foot  
 ‘I walked by foot.’ [dj07ae 357]

Besides that, the preposition *fə* is used for an instrument role in a more general sense of ‘by means of’ (1309). Still, the functional overlap of *wèt* and *fə* may lead to variation in the marking of certain expressions. Compare ‘walk by foot’ in (1308) above with (1310) below:

(1309) È dè kwench **fə** ìn **sɛf.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV die ASS 3SG.POSS self  
 ‘It goes of by itself.’ [ma03ni 017]

(1310) À waka **fə fut** wèt mì maleta, (...)  
 1SG.SBJ walk ASS foot with 1SG.POSS suitcase  
 ‘I walked by foot with my suitcase.’ [ab03ay 075]

The preposition *bày* ‘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 *fə* ‘ASS’ in the two preceding examples:

- (1311) El diez de agosto, **bày gòd in pawa**, à gò pas nà ya.  
 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 *wèt* ‘with’ introduces participants with a comitative role (1312). A comitative role may also be expressed through an SVC involving *fala* ‘follow’ if the accompanee is human (cf. e.g. (1821)). Comitative *wèt* ‘with’ may shade off into general circumstance (1313):

- (1312) Yù dè enta **wèt sus?**  
 2SG IPFV enter with shoe  
 ‘You’re coming in with shoes?’ [ge07fn 092]
- (1313) Yù no dan tin **wèt yùn-bòy** nɔ?  
 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 *witàwt* ‘without’ (with the alternative pronunciation *bitàwt*) (1314). However, clausal alternatives are preferred to the use of this rarely employed preposition. One means of rendering ‘without’ is by employing a relative/adverbial clause construction introduced by *we* ‘SUB’ as in (1315):

- (1314) Dan man dè waka **witàwt sus**  
 that man IPFV walk without shoe  
 ‘That man is walking without shoes.’ [ge07fn 133]
- (1315) À pas bòkú tɛn **we à no chɔp.**  
 1SG.SBJ pass much time SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG eat  
 ‘I spent a long time without eating.’ [au07ec 080]

The use of a prepositional phrase is only one of numerous means of expressing manner in Pichi (cf. e.g. 8.7.2), in which case the preposition *wèt* ‘with’ usually serves this purpose (1316). An equative or similitive participant is introduced by *lèk* ‘like’ (1317):

- (1316) Yù no dè tɔk=àn **wèt pawa.**  
 2SG NEG IPFV talk =3SG.OBJ with power  
 ‘You’re not saying it forcefully.’ [lo07he 065]
- (1317) (...) wì fit de **lèk kɔmpin.**  
 1PL can BE.AT like friend  
 ‘(..) we can be (like) friends.’ [ru03wt 029]

The marking of beneficiary roles by means of *fɔ* ‘ASS’ is covered in detail in 11.3.4 on double object constructions.

### 11.1.4 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are utilised to introduce syntactic objects that denote the standard in comparative constructions, instruments and materials, as well as the accompanee in comitatives. The areally widespread serial verb construction employing a verb meaning ‘give’ to mark a beneficiary or recipient role does not exist in Pichi. Compare the following SVC, in which the (fronted) object of *tek* ‘take’ denotes a material:

- (1318) Nà **us=kayn tin** dèn **tek mek** dis, digamos **di botul?**  
 FOC Q=kind thing 3PL take make this let’s say this bottle  
 ‘What is, let’s say this bottle, made of?’ [ye05ce 113]

On a whole, SVCs are not as frequent as other means of marking participants in Pichi – to the exception of the standard in comparison. The use of a comparative construction featuring the verb *pas* ‘surpass’ is the ordinary way of introducing the standard object:

- (1319) Nà dèn bìn dè transfiere m̀nì m̀ nà Western Union  
 FOC 3PL PST IPFV transfiere money more LOC NAME NAME  
**pas Guineano dèn.**  
 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 *waka* ‘walk’ and *go* ‘go’ express locative roles, often in combination with a prepositional phrase as in the following example:

- (1320) Dì gəl **waka go nà tòn.**  
 DEF girl walk go LOC town  
 ‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]

## 11.2 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 causation reading in either alternation. Finally, expletive verbs take referentially empty subjects and may be used transitively or intransitively.

### 11.2.1 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 11.3 below. The group of dynamic intransitive verbs is made up of locomotion verbs as well as other body experiences, weather verbs, verbs of existence in time and space and an inherently reciprocal “verb of social interaction” (Levin 1993: 201). All these verbs have in common that they involve experiencer and theme subjects, hence actors that are affected by the situation denoted by the verb:

Table 11.3 Intransitive dynamic verbs

| Semantic class                                     | verb            | gloss        |
|--|-----------------|--------------|
| Locomotion verbs                                   | <i>flay</i>     | ‘fly’        |
|  | <i>grap</i>     | ‘get up’     |
|  | <i>kan</i>      | ‘come’       |
|  | <i>rɔn</i>      | ‘run’        |
|  | <i>swin</i>     | ‘swim’       |
|  | <i>waka</i>     | ‘walk’       |
| Body state, physical activity & experiential verbs | <i>hangri</i>   | ‘be hungry’  |
|  | <i>tɔsti</i>    | ‘be thirsty’ |
|  | <i>bɛlch</i>    | ‘belch’      |
|  | <i>day</i>      | ‘die’        |
|  | <i>lukot</i>    | ‘look out’   |
|  | <i>mekes</i>    | ‘hurry’      |
|  | <i>ambiente</i> | ‘live it up’ |
| Existence verbs                                    | <i>pàchá</i>    | ‘live it up’ |
|  | <i>ste</i>      | ‘stay’       |
| Weather verbs                                      | <i>lif</i>      | ‘live’       |
|  | <i>fəl</i>      | ‘rain’       |
| Verb of social interaction                         | <i>brek</i>     | ‘(to) dawn’  |
|  | <i>fɛt</i>      | ‘fight’      |

Inchoative-stative and stative intransitive verbs fall into three classes: modal & aspectual verbs (e.g. *fit* ‘can’ and *dɔn* ‘be finished’), verbs denoting existence in place or time (e.g. *blant* ‘reside’) and property items, most of which are human propensities (e.g. *bàdhát* ‘be mean’; *fulis* ‘be foolish’, *rayt* ‘be right’) and physical properties (e.g. *had* ‘be hard’, *saful* ‘be slow’). One explanation for the intransitivity of verbs from these three classes is the high time stability of the situations they denote:

Table 11.4 Intransitive (inchoative-)stative verbs

| Semantic class          | Verb              | Gloss               |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Modal & aspectual verbs | <i>fit</i>        | 'can'               |
|                         | <i>hebul</i>      | 'be capable'        |
|                         | <i>tink</i>       | 'think'             |
|                         | <i>døn</i>        | 'be done, finished' |
| Existence verbs         | <i>de</i>         | 'BE.AT'             |
|                         | <i>bi</i>         | 'BE'                |
|                         | <i>blant</i>      | 'reside'            |
| Property items          | <i>bàdhát</i>     | 'be mean'           |
|                         | <i>beta</i>       | 'be very good'      |
|                         | <i>difren</i>     | 'be different'      |
|                         | <i>fulis</i>      | 'be foolish'        |
|                         | <i>had</i>        | 'be hard'           |
|                         | <i>las</i>        | 'be last; end up'   |
|                         | <i>rayt</i>       | 'be right'          |
|                         | <i>saful</i>      | 'be slow'           |
|                         | <i>siryos</i>     | 'be serious'        |
|                         | <i>smat</i>       | 'be quick'          |
|                         | <i>tru</i>        | 'be true'           |
|                         | <i>wel</i>        | 'be well'           |
|                         | <i>wik&amp;ed</i> | 'be wicked'         |

Intransitive verbs may only appear with a subject and may not take objects. Participants other than subjects appear in the guise of prepositional phrases. For instance, the locomotion verbs *flay* 'fly' and *waka* 'walk' are intransitive. The use of theme (1321) or goal objects (1322) is rejected as ungrammatical:

(1321) \*Dì piloto dè **flay dì avión**.  
 DEF pilot IPFV fly DEF plane  
 \*The pilot is flying the plane. [dj07ae 006]

(1322) \*Waka hos!  
 walk house  
 \*Walk home! [dj07ae 131]

Serial verb constructions and prepositional phrases may be employed if the goal is to be made explicit. Compare the following two sentences:

- (1323) Dì gəl      **waka**    go   nà   tòn.  
 DEF girl    walk    go   LOC town  
 ‘The girl walked to town.’ [ne05fn 243]
- (1324) À          want    **flay rich**    nà   tòn    naw    naw.  
 1SG.SBJ want    fly arrive   LOC town   now    REP  
 ‘I want to fly [hurry] to town right now.’ [dj07ae 362]

In contrast to *waka* ‘walk’ and *flay* ‘fly’ other motion verbs like *go* ‘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 *Luba* ‘(the town of) Luba’ in (1325):

- (1325) Di miercoles    à                    dè    **go**    Luba.  
 this wednesday    1SG.SBJ            IPFV go    PLACE  
 ‘This Wednesday, I’m going to Luba.’ [ro05ee 119]

The transitive motion verb *go* ‘go’ and the intransitive motion verb *rən* ‘run’ are also found with a meaning other than physical motion through space. Three such cases of idiomatic transitivity follow with *go* ‘go’ in (1326)-(1327) and *rən* ‘run’ in (1328):

- (1326) Dì tin          dè    **gò**    mi          bad    (...)  
 DEF thing    IPFV POT 1SG.EMP bad  
 ‘The matter is going bad for me (...)’ [dj07ae 161]
- (1327) Di fayn    klos    dè    **go**    yu.  
 this fine clothing    IPFV go    2SG.EMP  
*Lit.* ‘These fine clothes go [fit] you.’ [nn05fn]
- (1328) (...) è            dè    **rən**    mi          kəntri    tin          dèn.  
           3SG.SBJ IPFV run 1SG.EMP 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 11.3 above require the use of a PP if a participant other than the subject is to be expressed. The stimulus of *lukət* ‘look out’ needs to be expressed as a *fə*-prepositional phrase:

- (1329) \***Lukət**      tif-man          dèn!  
 look.out    steal.CPD-man    PL  
 \*Watch out for thieves! [dj07ae 095]
- (1330) **Lukət**    fə    tif-man          dèn!  
 look.out ASS steal.CPD-man    PL  
 ‘Watch out for thieves!’ [dj07ae 096]

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The verb *fet* ‘fight’ cannot take an object either (1331) A comitative participant needs to be expressed as a prepositional phrase (1332) or within a coordinate structure (1333):

- (1331) \*Djunais dè **fet** Bòyé.  
NAME IPFV fight NAME  
 \*Djunais is fighting Bòyé. [dj07ae 395]
- (1332) Djunais dè **fet wèt** Bòyé.  
NAME IPFV fight with NAME  
 ‘Djunais is fighting with Bòyé.’ [dj07ae 396]
- (1333) Djunais **wèt** Bòyé dèn dè **fet**.  
NAME with NAME 3PL IPFV fight  
 ‘Djunais and Bòyé are fighting.’ [dj07ae 394]

The ground associated with the intransitive stative verb *blant* ‘reside’ may only be expressed as a prepositional phrase (1334)-(1335):

- (1334) \*À **blant** Malabo.  
1SG.SBJ reside Malabo  
 \*I reside in Malabo. [dj07ae 027]
- (1335) À **blant nà** Malabo.  
1SG.SBJ reside LOC Malabo  
 ‘I reside in Malabo.’ [dj07ae 026]

Intransitive property items include *gud* ‘be good’ (1336) and *beta/bete* ‘be very good, better’ (1337). With both property items, a valency increasing causative construction is required in order to add a participant in addition to the subject (1338):

- (1336) \*Gød gò **gud=àn**.  
God POT good=3SG.OBJ  
 \*God will make it good.’ [dj07ae 155]
- (1337) \*Gød gò **betar=àn**.  
God POT very.good=3SG.OBJ  
 \*God will better it [things]. [dj07ae 154]
- (1338) Gød gò **mek** è **bete**.  
God POT make 3SG.SBJ be.very.good  
 ‘God will make it [things] good.’ [dj07ae 159]

Compare the intransitive verb *gud* in the examples above to the transitive, causative use of the labile verb *fayn* ‘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 *fayn* in (1339) becomes an actor (agent) subject in (1340). Even if this transitive, causativising use of *fayn* is quite unusual, it is not ungrammatical:

- (1339) Dì human **fayn**.  
 DEF woman be.fine  
 ‘The woman is beautiful.’ [dj05ae 149]
- (1340) Gød gò **fayn=àn**.  
 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 (1341) involves the intransitive dynamic verb *day* ‘die’ followed by a cognate object:

- (1341) Ey, dan kayn spétikul, à **day day**.  
 INTJ that kind glasses 1SG.SBJ die die  
 ‘Hey, that kind of glasses, (if I had it) I would die.’ [ne07ga 015]

### 11.2.2 Transitive verbs

Verbs other than the ones listed in Table 11.3 and Table 11.4 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 *bit* ‘beat’, *nak* ‘hit’, *kil* ‘kill’ or *hib* ‘throw’. The labile verbs covered in 11.2.3 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 (1342), the verb *swela* ‘swallow’ is followed by the patient object *in* ‘3SG.EMP’, (1343) features the stimulus object *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’, object to the body process verb *laf* ‘laugh’:

- (1342) À **swela in**, dèn bìn tɛl mi se  
 1SG.SBJ swallow 3SG.EMP 3PL PST tell 1SG.EMP QUOT  
 dì tin gò gro nà mì bɛlé.  
 DEF thing POT grow LOC 1SG.POSS belly  
 ‘I swallowed it, (and) I was told that the thing would grow in my stomach.’ [dj07ae 079]
- (1343) Dasɔl è **laf mi**.  
 only 3SG.SBJ laugh 1SG.EMP  
 ‘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 *swet* ‘sweat’ featuring the effected object *wòtá* ‘water’ = ‘sweat’ (1344). The same holds for experiential (or human propensity) verbs like *jelàs* ‘envy, be jealous’, which may appear with a stimulus object (1345):

(1344) À        dè        **swet**    **wòtá**.  
1SG.SBJ IPFV    sweat    water  
‘I’m sweating’ [dj07ae 124]

(1345) À        dè **jelàs**    **dan**    **man**    so.  
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 *blu* ‘be blue; make blue’ in (1346):

(1346) À        want    **blu**        **di mòtó**    mek    è        chench    kòla.  
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 *hət* ‘be hot’ (1347), nor a value concept like *dia* ‘be expensive’ (1348) is barred from appearing in a transitive clause. Note the causativising effect of the transitive use of inchoative-stative labile verbs in (1347), (1348) and (1346) above:

(1347) **Hət**    **dì chəp**    bífó    yù sən=àn    bífó.  
heat    DEF food    before    2SG send=3SG.OBJ before  
‘Heat the food before you send it to the front [of the restaurant].’ [dj07ae 152’]

(1348) Dì gəvna        **dən dia**        **dì petrol**.  
DEF government PRF make.expensive    DEF petrol  
‘Government has made petrol more expensive.’ [dj07ae 167]

Likewise, motion verbs other than the intransitive locomotion verbs listed in 11.2.1 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’. Here the verb features the body state *fiba* ‘fever’ and the animate experiencer *in* ‘3SG.EMP’:

(1349) Fiba    no **sube**    **in**.  
fever    NEG go.up    3SG.EMP  
‘His fever hasn’t risen.’ [Lit. The fever hasn’t risen on him.].’ [eb07fn 171]

### 11.2.3 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 covariation of the semantic macro-role of the subject (undergoer vs. actor), the causation reading of the verb (noncausative 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, however, only two broad classes 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 11.5 lists the relevant features of labile verbs in accordance with the two formal and five semantic classes. An additional covariation 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 if they are interpreted as stative. Alternatively, they may also receive a past tense interpretation if they are interpreted as inchoative.

In turn, the unmarked dynamic variants of class (b) behave like other dynamic verbs and receive a past tense interpretation (cf. 7.3.1 for an extensive treatment). The abbreviation ISTA stands for (inchoative)-stative:

Table 11.5 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<br>Locative verb<br>Property item | Actor/undergoer                   | Non-causative/causative             | ISTA/dynamic                     |
| b. Experiential<br>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 covaries with the 'role of the subject': Intransitive clauses have an undergoer subject while transitive clauses feature an actor subject and an undergoer object.

In my corpus, change of state verbs constitute the largest subclass of labile verbs. Some representative change of state verbs are provided in (1350). 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. e.g.

Croft 1990; Haspelmath 1993; Levin and Rappaport 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. *brok* ‘break’, *chàkrá* ‘destroy’), ‘material transformation’ (e.g. *bɛn* ‘bend’, *bwɛl* ‘boil’), ‘body states’ (e.g. *bɛ̀lfúl* ‘be satiated’, *taya* ‘be tired’) and ‘natural states’ (e.g. *rətin* ‘be rotten’, *sok* ‘be wet’), ‘other human states’ (e.g. *wɛr* ‘wear’, *mared* ‘marry’):

## (1350) Change of state verbs

|    |              |               |                |                |                 |
|----|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>brok</i>  | ‘break’       | <i>hat</i>     | ‘hurt’         |                 |
|    | <i>kras</i>  | ‘crash’       | <i>mared</i>   | ‘marry’        |                 |
|    | <i>cher</i>  | ‘tear’        | <i>wɛr</i>     | ‘wear’         |                 |
|    | <i>kət</i>   | ‘cut’         | <i>wɛk(əp)</i> | ‘wake up’      |                 |
|    | <i>spwɛl</i> | ‘spoil’       |                |                |                 |
|    | <i>bɛn</i>   | ‘bend, fold’  | b.             | <i>bɛ̀lfúl</i> | ‘be satiated’   |
|    | <i>bwɛl</i>  | ‘boil’        |                | <i>drəngo</i>  | ‘be dead drunk’ |
|    | <i>kuk</i>   | ‘cook’        |                | <i>layt</i>    | ‘be lit; tipsy’ |
|    | <i>fray</i>  | ‘fry’         |                | <i>taya</i>    | ‘be tired’      |
|    | <i>bil</i>   | ‘build’       |                | <i>rətin</i>   | ‘be rotten’     |
|    | <i>fiks</i>  | ‘fix, repair’ |                | <i>dray</i>    | ‘be dry’        |
|    | <i>was</i>   | ‘wash’        |                | <i>sok</i>     | ‘be wet’        |
|    | <i>kəba</i>  | ‘cover’       |                | <i>fuləp</i>   | ‘be full’       |
|    | <i>lək</i>   | ‘close’       |                | <i>rɛ̀dí</i>   | ‘be ready’      |

In the intransitive clause in (1351) below, the change of state verb *chak* ‘be drunk, get drunk’ takes an undergoer subject (with the specific role of patient). In the transitive clause in (1352), *chak* 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 (1351) below, it normally receives a present tense interpretation – the situation holds at reference time. In turn, the dynamic variant of *chak* receives a default past tense interpretation in (1352).

(1351) Dì wàch-man **chak**.  
DEF watch.CPD-man be.drunk  
 ‘The guard is drunk.’ [dj07ae 048]

(1352) Dèn **chak** dì wàch-man fəs fə mek  
3PL get.drunk DEF watch.CPD-man first ASS SBJV  
 dèn fit go tif.  
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 (1351) 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 *dɔn* ‘PRF’ focuses the end-state of the change of state.

Compare *fray* ‘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 (1353):

- (1353) Dì plàntí **dɔn fray**.  
 DEF plantain PRF fry  
 ‘The plantain has been fried.’ [dj07ae 418]

- (1354) À bigín dè pica-pica, wì **fray patata**,  
 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV RED.CPD-cut.up 1PL fry potato  
 wì **fray plàntí**.  
 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 *fray* ‘fry’ makes it less likely for these verbs to appear in agentless, intransitive clauses than group (b) verbs like *bèlfúl* ‘be satiated’ or *taya* ‘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 (1355) and transitive (1356) use of the locative verb *le* ‘lie, lay’. The latter example also features the transitively used locative verb *slip* ‘sleep; lie, lay’. A more extensive listing of locative verbs and a detailed treatment of their distribution is given in 10.1.3:

- (1355) Dì **kasara le** mindul tu stik.  
 DEF cassava lie middle two tree  
 ‘The cassava is lying between two branches.’ [li07pe 080]
- (1356) È **le dì bɔtul** pàntáp dì tebul, è **slip**  
 3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle top DEF table 3SG.SBJ lay  
**dì bɔtul** pàntáp dì tebul.  
 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 *lən* 'be long; lengthen' in the two following examples:

(1357) Dan human **lən** bad.  
that woman be.long extremely  
'That woman is/was extremely tall' [li07pe 064]

(1358) À want **lən** **dì** **klos**.  
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 *lən* '(be) long' (cf. 5.1.2 for a listing of relevant semantic types). Compare the intransitive meaning of 'be small' of the dimension concept *sməl* '(be) small' in the intransitive clause in (1359) with the causative meaning 'make small, shrink' in the transitive clause in (1360). The imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV' specifies *sməl* in (1360) just like any dynamic verb with simultaneous taxis:

(1359) Di **klos sməl**.  
DEF clothing be.small  
'This (piece of) clothing is small.'

(1360) Sòn **klos** **dèn de**, **hət-wətá** **dè sməl-àn**.  
some clothing PL BE.AT hot.CPD- water IPFV make.small=3SG.OBJ  
'There are some clothes, hot water shrinks them.' [dj07ae 211]

A value concept like *fayn* '(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:

(1361) Libreville **fayn**.  
PLACE be.fine  
'Libreville is beautiful.' [ma03sh 009]

Now consider the transitive use of *fayn* in the following two sentences. Note that a transitive use may also lead to an idiosyncratic meaning of *fayn*. Sentence (1362) presents the regular, derived transitive meaning of 'make beautiful', while (1363) represents a case of idiomatic transitivity with a 'dative of interest' reading of the experiencer object pronoun of *fayn*. Such a meaning is also recorded for cases of idiomatic transitivity with other verbs low on the transitivity scale, e.g. the motion verbs *go* 'go' (1326), *rən* 'run' (1328) and *sube* 'rise, raise' (1349):

- (1362) Nòto klos gò **fayn** **yu** si no que  
 NEG.FOC clothing POT make.fine 2SG.EMP if NEG that  
 nà yu gèt fò **fayn** **yù sef.**  
 FOC 2SG.EMP get ASS make.fine 2SG self  
 ‘It’s not clothes that would make you beautiful, it’s rather you  
 that has to make yourself beautiful.’ [dj07ae 176]

- (1363) Dan belps dè **fayn** **mi.**  
 that babe IPFV be.fine 1SG.EMP  
 ‘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 *fayn* ‘(be) fine’ and *blak* ‘(be) black’ are employed as secondary predicates. Sentence (1364) features a resultative causative construction and (1365) involves a resultant state resultative construction:

- (1364) Dèn dè **lef=àn** **fayn?**  
 3PL IPFV leave=3SG.OBJ fine  
 ‘Are they making it [the house] beautiful?’ [hi03cb 041]

- (1365) È **pent** dì hos **blak.**  
 3SG.SBJ paint DEF house be.black  
 ‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Labile experiential and aspectual verbs in class (b) of Table 11.5 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 11.5 covary 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 (1366). Experiential verbs comprise (a) body movements and processes, as well as (b) mental states denoting various types of affective conditions:

- (1366) Experiential verbs

|    |                |           |    |               |              |
|----|----------------|-----------|----|---------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>blo</i>     | ‘relax’   | b. | <i>gladin</i> | ‘be glad’    |
|    | <i>res</i>     | ‘rest’    |    | <i>kres</i>   | ‘be crazy’   |
|    | <i>hori</i>    | ‘hurry’   |    | <i>sem</i>    | ‘be ashamed’ |
|    | <i>hayd</i>    | ‘hide’    |    | <i>skia</i>   | ‘be scared’  |
|    | <i>trimbul</i> | ‘tremble’ |    | <i>səfa</i>   | ‘suffer’     |
|    | <i>sek</i>     | ‘shake’   |    | <i>veks</i>   | ‘be angry’   |

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

|               |              |              |          |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------|
| <i>muf</i>    | 'move'       | <i>wanda</i> | 'wonder' |
| <i>chench</i> | 'change'     | <i>wori</i>  | 'worry'  |
| <i>tən</i>    | 'turn'       | <i>lan</i>   | 'learn'  |
| <i>lef</i>    | 'leave'      |              |          |
| <i>mən</i>    | 'get better' |              |          |
| <i>bən</i>    | 'be born'    |              |          |
| <i>gro</i>    | 'grow'       |              |          |

Consider the use of the group (b) dynamic experiential verb *kres* 'be crazy; drive crazy' in the following intransitive (1367) and transitive (1368) clauses respectively:

(1367) À **kres.**  
 1SG.SBJ be.crazy  
 'I went mad.' [ro05rt 022]

(1368) We dì màmá day, nà in **kres** dì pikín.  
 SUB DEF mother die FOC 3SG.EMP 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 *hayd* 'hide, conceal'. In both the intransitive (1369) and transitive (1370) clauses the imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV' is present, so experiential verbs do not exhibit the stativity alternation that characterises the other semantic classes covered so far:

(1369) È **dè hayd fɔr=àn.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV hide ASS=3SG.OBJ  
 'She's hiding from him.' [dj07re 042]

(1370) È **dè hayd=àn.**  
 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) – 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 (1371):

(1371) Aspectual verbs

- |    |              |         |    |              |          |
|----|--------------|---------|----|--------------|----------|
| a. | <i>bìgín</i> | ‘begin’ | b. | <i>finis</i> | ‘finish’ |
|    | <i>stat</i>  | ‘start’ |    | <i>stop</i>  | ‘stop’   |

I give an example for the intransitive and transitive uses of the verb of completion *finis* ‘finish’ in the following two examples. The verbs *finis* and *bìgín* ‘begin’ are also employed as aspectual auxiliary verbs in completive and ingressive SVCs (cf. 7.4.1 and 7.4.3 respectively):

(1372) Dèn-əl      **finis.**  
 3PL.CPD-all    finish  
 ‘They’re all finished.’ [dj03cd 157]

(1373) À          dè tɛl yu,      yù gò si naw  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV tell 2SG.EMP 2SG POT see now  
 yù no gò **finis dan wàtá.**  
 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. *taya* ‘be tired’) and natural states (e.g. *dray* ‘be dry’), experiential verbs denoting body processes and movements (e.g. *rɛs* ‘rest’) mental state verbs (e.g. *gladin* ‘be glad’), as well as aspectual verbs. In natural speech, these semantic (sub)classes share a higher likelihood of occurring in intransitive clauses rather than transitive ones.

In contrast, ‘agentive’ change of state verbs denoting ‘destruction’ and ‘material transformation’ (e.g. *brek* ‘break’), experiential verbs denoting physical movement (e.g. *muf* ‘move’), and the entire class of locative verbs (e.g. *slip* ‘sleep; lie’) generally occur with equal likelihood in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

#### 11.2.4 Expletive verbs

Expletive verbs take the dependent pronoun è ‘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. 11.3.7 for a separate treatment of the weather verb *fəl* '(to) rain'). All elements in the corpus which may take expletive subjects are listed in Table 11.6:

Table 11.6 Expletive verbs

| Types                   | Verbs          | Gloss                |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Copula elements         | <i>bi</i>      | 'BE'                 |
|                         | <i>nà/nəto</i> | 'FOC/NEG.FOC'        |
|                         | <i>de</i>      | 'BE.AT'              |
|                         | <i>fiba</i>    | 'seem'               |
|                         | <i>get</i>     | 'get, have, exist'   |
|                         | <i>nid</i>     | 'need; be necessary' |
|                         | <i>ləf</i>     | 'leave; remain'      |
|                         | <i>ste</i>     | 'last'               |
| Evaluative verbs        | <i>bad</i>     | 'be bad'             |
|                         | <i>fayn</i>    | 'be fine'            |
|                         | <i>gud</i>     | 'be good'            |
|                         | <i>had</i>     | 'be hard'            |
|                         | <i>isi</i>     | 'be easy'            |
|                         | <i>no sməl</i> | 'be considerable'    |
| Spanish expletive verbs | <i>falta</i>   | 'lack'               |
|                         | <i>sigue</i>   | 'follow'             |
| Weather verb            | <i>fəl</i>     | 'rain'               |

The copula verbs *bi* 'BE', *de* 'BE.AT' and the focus markers *cum* copulas *nà/nəto* occur in copula clauses with expletive subjects.

Sentence (1374) illustrates the expletive use of the locative-existential copula *de* in the factive clause *è de se* 'it's that'. The second occurrence of *de* also shows that when the copula *de* functions as the predicate of an existential clause, the existing entity (i.e. *sən wich* '(some) witches') must be expressed as the subject of the clause. Hence, existential clauses featuring *de* have no expletive subjects:

- (1374) È        **de**        **se,**        yù sàbí        se        ya        so  
                  3SG.SBJ BE.AT QUOT 2SG know QUOT here like.that
- sən wich        de        nə.**  
                  some sorcerer BE.AT INTJ
- 'It is that, you know that here there are socerers, right.' [ed03sb 093]

There is no difference in meaning between the use of *de* 'BE.AT' and the identity copulas *bi* and *nà/nəto* in factive clauses like the following two. However, contrary to other elements

with expletive subjects, *nà/noto* may never occur with the dummy subject *è* '3SG.SBJ' in factive clauses, nor be preceded by an emphatic pronoun as is the case in equative clauses (cf. 8.6.1). This is so because the focus markers/identity copulas *nà/noto* incorporate 3SG reference (cf. 8.6.1). The identity copula *bi* may also appear with an expletive subject in factive clauses in the place of *de* 'be.at' (1375):

- (1375) **È**        **fit bi** se        **nà** paludismo.  
 3SG.SBJ can BE QUOT FOC malaria  
 'It could be that it's malaria.' [fr03wt 058]

In these functions, *bi* and *de* are also used as introductory formulas of narratives with the meaning 'it came to pass that' (1376):

- (1376) (...) **è**        **kan bi se**        **mì**        **abuela,**        **we** à  
 3SG.SBJ PFV BE QUOT 1SG.POSS grandmother SUB 1SG.SBJ  
**bìn smòl,**        **è**        **go riba**        (...)  
 PST small 3SG.SBJ go river  
 'It came to pass that my grandmother, when I was small,  
 she went to the river (...)' [ed03sb 015]

Factive clauses can alternatively be formed with the help of two semantically empty dummy nouns, the generic noun *tin* 'thing' (1377) and the noun *kes* 'matter' (1378):

- (1377) **Dì tin de se,** mek è mek rabia wèt mi.  
 DEF thing BE.AT QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ make anger with 1SG.EMP  
 'The thing is let her be angry with me.' [ye05rr 001]
- (1378) **Dì kes de se,** dis de dèn à no get tèn  
 DEF matter BE.AT QUOT this day PL 1SG.SBJ NEG get time  
 fɔ wok.  
 ASS work  
 'It's that these days I do not get time to work.' [ro05ee 036]

Also compare the cleft focus construction in (1379) featuring *dì tin* 'the thing' with the functionally equivalent construction in (1380), featuring the expletive pronoun *è*:

- (1379) **Nà so dì tin de.**  
 FOC like.that DEF thing BE.AT  
 'That's how the thing [it] is.' [sab07fn 104]
- (1380) **Nà so è de.**  
 FOC like.that 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 'That's how it is.' [ma03hm 077]

When the verb *fiba* ‘resemble’ occurs in a transitive clause, the 3SG.SBJ pronoun is not expletive (1381):

- (1381) È        **fiba**    **dɛbul**.  
 3SG.SBJ    seem    devil  
 ‘He resembles a devil.’ [ra07fn 072]

In contrast, when used intransitively, *fiba* is best translated as ‘seem’ (1382) and may take a complement clause (1383). In such contexts, *fiba* also takes an expletive 3SG.SBJ pronoun:

- (1382) È        **fiba**    so.  
 3SG.SBJ    seem    like.that  
 ‘It seems so.’ [dj07ae 252]

- (1383) È        **fiba**    **se**        nɔto    yu        wan        dɛn tif  
 3SG.SBJ    seem    QUOT    NEG.FOC 2SG.EMP one        3PL steal  
 nà    di    kwata.  
 LOC    this quarter  
 ‘It seems that it’s not you alone they stole from in this  
 neighbourhood.’ [ge07fn 165]

The verb *lef* ‘leave, remain’ occurs as a copula verb with an expletive subject in clauses like the following one:

- (1384) È        **lef**        wan        pɔsin  
 3SG.SBJ    leave    one        person  
 ‘There is one person remaining.’

The verb *ste* ‘stay; last (a long time)’ also functions as a copula element in intransitive clauses (1385). Both verbs occur with expletive è in their copula function. Also consider *nid* ‘need, be necessary’ (1386):

- (1385) È        **dɔn ste,**    à        tink    se        è        dɔn ste  
 3SG.SBJ    PRF be.long 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF last  
 we    ùna    bìn    gɛt    insectida    ya.  
 SUB 2PL PST get insecticide here  
 ‘It’s been long, I think it’s been long since you [PL] have had insecticide  
 [sprayed] here.’ [fr03wt 059]

- (1386) È        **nid**        **se**        mek    à        go    de        tumɔro.  
 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 *had* ‘(be) hard’ (1387) and *fayn* ‘(be) fine’ (1388):

- (1387) È        **had**    fɔ bil      nà ya      bikɔs se      di grɔn  
 3SG.SBJ hard    ASS build    LOC here    because QUOT    DEF ground  
 gɛt bɔkú      sànsán.  
 get much    sand  
 ‘It’s hard to build here because the ground is very sandy.’ [ro05ee 063]

- (1388) È        **fayn**    fɔ dring    smɔl-wan.  
 3SG.SBJ fine    ASS drink    small-ADV  
 ‘It’s good to drink moderately.’ [ma03hm 071]

The two verbs *falta* ‘lack’ (< *faltar* ‘lack’) and *sigue* ‘continue; follow’ (< *seguir* ‘continue; follow’) are established loans of Spanish-origin which have been borrowed together with their selectional properties. Hence, like their Spanish etymons (which take covert expletive subjects), they may take (overt) expletive subjects. Compare (1389) and (1390):

- (1389) È        **falta**    mɔní fɔ pul      saco      dɛn de      fɔ  
 3SG.SBJ lack    money ASS remove bag    PL there    ASS  
 kɛr=àn      nà hos.  
 carry 3SG.OBJ LOC house  
 ‘The money is lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring them to the house.’ [ye03cd 004]

- (1390) Porque è        **dè sigue**    wan bad smɛl.  
 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 (1389) and (1391), and *sigue* in (1390) and (1392):

- (1391) (...) è        se        è        no fit      **falta**.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT    3SG.SBJ NEG can    lack  
 ‘She said she can’t be absent.’ [ma03hm 014]

- (1392) (...) mi        rabia    dɔn finis    bɔt we yù go  
 1SG.EMP anger    PRF finish    but SUB 2SG go  
 è        **dè sigue**    mɔ.  
 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 (1393) below, the 3SG.SBJ pronoun *è* anaphorically refers to *dèn yon* ‘theirs’ so the object of the complement clause beginning with the non-finite complementiser *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ has been raised into subject position in the main clause. For other speakers, however, raising is not accepted with evaluative verbs (1394):

- (1393) (...) *bòt dèn yon fayn, è fayn fɔ̃ si.*  
 but 3PL own fine 3SG.SBJ fine ASS see  
 ‘(...) but theirs is beautiful, it [the wedding ceremony] is beautiful to see.’ [hi03cb 005]

- (1394) \**Dan say fayn fɔ̃ si.*  
 that side fine ASS see  
 \*‘That place is nice to see.’ [eb07fn]

The verb *fiba* ‘resemble’ takes full complement clauses introduced by the complementiser *se* (1395). Neither reduced *fɔ̃*-complement clauses nor serial verb constructions are accepted in clause linkage. Hence, an SVC like (1396) is ungrammatical:

- (1395) *È fiba se Bòyé get m̀nì.*  
 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT NAME get money  
 ‘It seems that Bòyé has money.’ [dj07ae 255]

- (1396) \**Bòyé fiba get m̀nì.*  
 NAME seem get money  
 \*‘Bòyé 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 (1397):

- (1397) *Bòyé fiba se è get m̀nì.*  
 NAME seem QUOT 3SG.SBJ get money  
 ‘Bòyé seems to have money.’ [Lit. ‘Bòyé seems that he has money.’] [dj07ae 256]

Existential constructions featuring expletive subjects and the verb *get* ‘get, exist’ are covered in detail in section 8.6.3.

### 11.3 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.

#### 11.3.1 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 11.7. The most common constructions involve the verbs *get* ‘get, have’, *gi* ‘give’, *mek* ‘make’ and *pul* ‘pull, remove’. At the lower end of the table, we find constructions involving verbs which are only found in a single collocation.

Table 11.7 Light verb constructions

| Verb                   | Object                               | Translation                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>get</i> ‘get, have’ | <i>bèlé</i> ‘belly’                  | ‘be pregnant’              |
|                        | <i>pawa</i> ‘strength’               | ‘be strong; potent’        |
|                        | <i>liba</i> ‘liver’                  | ‘have guts’                |
|                        | <i>màní</i> ‘money’                  | ‘be rich’                  |
|                        | <i>pikín</i> ‘child’                 | ‘have children’            |
|                        | <i>lòki</i> ‘luck’                   | ‘be lucky’                 |
|                        | <i>bad-lók</i> ‘bad luck’            | ‘have bad luck’            |
|                        | <i>rayt</i> ‘right’                  | ‘be right’                 |
|                        | <i>bad fasin</i> ‘bad ways’          | ‘be ill-mannered’          |
|                        | <i>trot</i> ‘throat’                 | ‘have appetite, be lusty’  |
|                        | <i>bədi</i> ‘body’                   | ‘be chubby’                |
|                        | <i>rabia</i> ‘anger’                 | ‘be angry’                 |
|                        | <i>novio/man</i> ‘boyfriend/husband’ | ‘have a boyfriend/husband’ |
|                        | <i>novia/human</i> ‘girlfriend/wife’ | ‘have a girlfriend/wife’   |
| <i>gi</i> ‘give’       | <i>bəbì</i> ‘breast’                 | ‘breastfeed’               |
|                        | <i>chəp</i> ‘food’                   | ‘feed’                     |
|                        | <i>bèlé</i> ‘belly’                  | ‘impregnate’               |
|                        | <i>han</i> ‘hand’                    | ‘shake hands’              |

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

|                      |                             |                               |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                      | <i>skul</i> 'school'        | 'give lessons'                |
|                      | <i>wan vuelta</i> 'a walk'  | 'take a walk'                 |
|                      | <i>permiso</i> 'permission' | 'give permission'             |
| <i>mek</i> 'make'    | <i>bigdé</i> 'festivity'    | 'have a festivity'            |
|                      | <i>chöch</i> 'church'       | 'celebrate a mass'            |
|                      | <i>fam</i> 'farm'           | '(to) farm'                   |
|                      | <i>chəp</i> 'food'          | 'prepare food'                |
|                      | <i>jəmba</i> 'affair'       | 'have an affair'              |
|                      | <i>wàyo</i> 'cunning'       | 'be cunning, employ trickery' |
|                      | <i>wuruwurú</i> 'disgrace'  | 'cause disgrace, confusion'   |
|                      | <i>àfēr</i> 'affair'        | 'have an affair'              |
|                      | <i>rabia</i> 'anger'        | 'be angry with somebody'      |
| <i>pul</i> 'remove'  | <i>bèlé</i> 'pregnancy'     | 'abort'                       |
|                      | <i>bris</i> 'air'           | 'breathe'                     |
|                      | <i>fótó</i> 'photo'         | 'take a picture'              |
|                      | <i>tòrí</i> 'story'         | 'narrate a story, converse'   |
| <i>si</i> 'see'      | <i>tən</i> 'time'           | 'menstruate'                  |
|                      | <i>tin</i> 'thing'          | 'have experience in life'     |
| <i>fala</i> 'follow' | <i>human</i> 'woman'        | 'womanise'                    |
| <i>go</i> 'go'       | <i>skul</i> 'school'        | 'attend school'               |
| <i>kot</i> 'cut'     | <i>míná</i> 'penis'         | 'circumcise'                  |
| <i>kray</i> 'cry'    | <i>wətá</i> 'water'         | 'shed tears'                  |
| <i>pik</i> 'pick'    | <i>mət</i> 'mouth'          | 'sound somebody out'          |
| <i>tek</i> 'take'    | <i>bədi/skin</i> 'body'     | 'gain weight'                 |

A good number of the constructions listed above constitute borderline cases between ordinary verb-noun collocations assembled by phrasal syntax and conventionalised or lexicalised verb-noun collocations. Two criteria may be useful in determining which of these constructions 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 *get* 'get, have'.

The verb *get* is an inchoative-stative transitive verb, which occurs with a stative (1398), and at other times, an inchoative reading (1399). The verb also has various functions as an existential and modal verb and expresses possession (cf. e.g. (1400) below):

- (1398) Dèn **get** wok    naw    ò.  
 3PL get work    now    SP  
 'They actually have work now.' [to03gm 008]

- (1399) È            **get** ɔda    human ‘chip’    b̀̀kú    problema,    (...)  
 3SG.SBJ    get    other    woman [SKT]    much    problem  
 ‘He got (himself) another woman, many problems, (...)’ [ma03ni 025]

Ordinary objects of *get* may occur bare or be preceded by determiners depending on pragmatic circumstance. In (1400), the non-specific noun *b̀̀y* ‘boy’ is preceded by the indefinite determiner *wan*. In contrast, non-specific objects of light verbs have a strong tendency to occur devoid of any definiteness marking. In (1400), the noun *man* ‘man’ of the light verb construction *get man* ‘have a man/husband’ remains bare:

- (1400) Sməl    gal, ɛf    è            no    **get wan b̀̀y**,            è            no    **get man**,  
 small    girl if    3SG.SBJ    NEG    get    one boy            3SG.SBJ    NEG    get    man  
 pero    d̀̀i    human, d̀̀i    big    wan            d̀̀en    sef.  
 but        DEF    woman    DEF    big    one            PL    EMP

‘As for young girls, if they don’t have a boy-friend, if they don’t have a man [they feel worthless], but even women, the grown ones themselves.’ [hi03cb 154]

Objects of *get* may be pluralised with a post-posed *d̀̀en* (1401) and may occur with pronominal modifiers like *b̀̀kú* ‘much’ or the 1SG possessive pronoun *m̀̀i* (1401). The verb *get* may also take pronominal objects (1402), or occur with no overt object at all where reference has been established earlier on (1403):

- (1401) Bikəs    à            **get b̀̀kú    m̀̀i    k̀̀ntri-man    d̀̀en** (...)  
 because 1SG.SBJ    get    much    1SG.POSS    country.CPD-man    PL  
 ‘Because I have many of my countrymen (...)’ [ed03sb 157]

- (1402) (...) dan m̀̀nı́    à            fit    **get=àn**            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]

- (1403) (...) mebi    à            **get p̀̀k̀n**,    we    mebi    à            no    **get**.  
 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 *get* in light verb constructions may occur with determiners if so required. Compare *d̀̀i f̀̀s b̀̀l̀é* ‘first pregnancy’ in (1404):

- (1404) Dasəl    we    à            d̀̀on    big    we    à            f̀̀s    **get**  
 only    SUB    1SG.SBJ    PRF    big    SUB    1SG.SBJ    first    get  
**d̀̀i f̀̀s b̀̀l̀é** (...)  
 DEF    first    belly  
 ‘Then when I was grown, when I first had the first pregnancy (...)’ [ed03sb 017]



The NP *dì fàs bèlè* in (1404) 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 (1405). Although there are not many instances of pronominalised light verb objects in the data, these also occur. In (1406), the object pronoun =*àn* substitutes for *tòrí* ‘story’:

(1405) **Nà tòrí** dèn dè **pul**.  
 FOC story 3PL IPFV pull  
 ‘It’s a story that they’re telling.’ [au07se 009]

(1406) À gò **pul yù=àn** tuməro.  
 1SG.SBJ POT pull 2SG=3SG.OBJ tomorrow  
 ‘I will narrate it to you tomorrow.’ [ye07de 018]

Table 11.8 below presents a frequency analysis of *get* in verb-object collocations in a subcorpus of 30’000 words. The verb *get* enjoys a total number of 345 tokens, of which 136 tokens involve *get* as a modal verb and *get* without an overt object. In line (a) of the table, I give the remaining 209 tokens which represent uses of *get* 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 construction 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 *get pìkín* is employed with the general meaning of ‘have children’ from ones in which the collocation is used with a specific meaning like ‘have one, two, etc. children’. The corresponding percentages in relation to the total number of collocations in line (a) are given in the rightmost column:

Table 11.8 Frequency of *get* collocations

| Construction                               | Total number | Percentage over (a.) |
|--|--------------|----------------------|
| a. All <i>get</i> collocations             | 209          | 100%                 |
| b. All ordinary <i>get</i> collocations    | 140          | 67%                  |
| c. All <i>get</i> light verb constructions | 69           | 33%                  |
| <i>get pìkín</i> ‘have children’           | 33           | 16%                  |
| <i>get m̀nì</i> ‘have money’               | 22           | 11%                  |
| <i>get bèlè</i> ‘be pregnant’              | 10           | 5%                   |
| <i>get liba</i> ‘have guts’                | 4            | 2%                   |

Table 11.8 reveals that light verb constructions proper represent 33 percent of the total number of occurrences of collocations involving *get* and an object. Of all *get*-constructions contained in the corpus, *get pìkín* ‘have children’ is the most frequent one and accounts for

16 percent 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 11, seven of which occur only once each. In view of these facts, I assume that the functional load of *get* as a light verb is only moderate.

Next to the borrowing of Spanish verbs, verb-noun collocations consisting of a Pichi verb and a Spanish noun are an important means of extending the lexicon. Code-mixed constructions allow speakers to tap into the nominal lexicon of Spanish in order to derive new ‘verbal’ meanings. These constructions are characterised by a high degree of structural equivalence between Pichi and Spanish. Not only is the order of constituents in verb-noun collocations the same in both languages. The meanings of the light verbs employed in the respective languages are also highly compatible with each other. There is therefore a strong tendency towards convergence in code-mixed collocations. Accordingly, the verbs in these collocations may have the selectional characteristics of the Pichi verb in one instance, while in another, the Pichi verb may select its complement as if it were the synonymous Spanish verb (cf. Muysken 2000: 184ff.).

For instance, none of the nouns in the collocations *get rabia* ‘be angry’ (1407), *get novio* ‘have a boyfriend’ (1408) and *gi permiso* ‘give permission’ (1409) 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’.

- (1407) If à **get rabia** wèt yu, (...)
   
if 1SG.SBJ get anger with 2SG.EMP
   
‘If I’m angry with you (...)’ [ro05rr 002]
- (1408) (...) mekyù no se yù dòn **get novio** nà
   
          SBJV 2SG know QUOT 2SG PRF get boyfriend LOC
   
pueblo, nà kòntri.
   
village LOC hometown
   
‘(...) you should know that you already have a fiancé in the village,
   
in the hometown.’ [ab03ay 010]
- (1409) (...) if dì fambul no **gi** yu **permiso** (...)
   
          if DEF family NEG give 2SG.EMP 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 *gi wan vuelta* ‘take a walk’. Like the Pichi verb *gi* ‘give’, the Spanish verb *dar* ‘give’ selects a determined object in the expression *dar una vuelta* ‘take a walk’:

- (1410) È dè **gi wan** **vuelta** kwik
   
3SG.SBJ IPFV give one round quickly
   
‘She’s doing a round quickly.’ [dj05be 120]

Other code-mixed collocations are further removed from the pole of light verb constructions. The collocation *gi beca* ‘give a scholarship’ (1411)-(1412) occurs with or without determiners in accordance with the referential properties of the NP:

- (1411) Dèn bìn **gi** mi **beca**.  
 3PL PST give 1SG.EMP scholarship  
 ‘I was given a scholarship.’ [ed03sp 057]
- (1412) È **gi** mi **dì beca** à go.  
 3SG.SBJ give 1SG.EMP 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.

### 11.3.2 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. 11.3.4), 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 (cf. Welmers 1973; 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. (1420)). 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 11.9.

Here follows an example with the verb *was* ‘wash (oneself)’ and its associative object *wàtá* ‘water’. The pragmatic context coerces a semantic role of instrument or means on the associative object:

- (1413) À **dè was wàtá**.  
 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 11.9. In most cases, the verb-noun combination given in the table is the preferred means of expressing the corresponding semantic relation between the verb and object listed:

Table 11.9 Associative objects

| Verb          | Object           | Gloss                          | Semantic role of object |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>fuləp</i>  | <i>pipul</i>     | 'be full of/fill with people'  | Content                 |
| <i>fuləp</i>  | <i>wətá</i>      | 'be full of/fill with water'   |                         |
| <i>pak</i>    | <i>polvo</i>     | 'be full of/fill with dust'    |                         |
| <i>bit</i>    | <i>stik</i>      | 'beat with a stick'            | Instrument              |
| <i>chəp</i>   | <i>kətlas</i>    | 'chop (off) with a cutlass'    |                         |
| <i>chuk</i>   | <i>nef</i>       | 'stab with a knife'            |                         |
| <i>chuk</i>   | <i>nidul</i>     | 'sting with a needle'          |                         |
| <i>chuk</i>   | <i>inyección</i> | 'give an injection'            |                         |
| <i>sut</i>    | <i>pistola</i>   | 'shoot with a pistol'          |                         |
| <i>was</i>    | <i>wətá</i>      | 'wash oneself with water'      |                         |
| <i>invita</i> | <i>Guinness</i>  | 'invite for a Guinness'        | Purpose                 |
| <i>kàpú</i>   | <i>hos</i>       | 'fight over a house'           |                         |
| <i>wok</i>    | <i>mòní</i>      | 'work for money'               |                         |
| <i>fəðón</i>  | <i>stik</i>      | 'fall from a tree'             | Source                  |
| <i>pul</i>    | <i>wok</i>       | 'sack from work'               |                         |
| <i>sməl</i>   | <i>chəp</i>      | 'smell of food'                |                         |
| <i>kəmót</i>  | <i>pəsin</i>     | 'become a responsible person'  | Goal                    |
| <i>tən</i>    | <i>pəsin</i>     | 'turn into a person'           |                         |
| <i>pre</i>    | <i>gəd</i>       | 'pray to God'                  |                         |
| <i>kray</i>   | <i>mòní</i>      | 'cry over (lost) money'        | Cause                   |
| <i>sik</i>    | <i>fiba</i>      | 'be sick with fever'           |                         |
| <i>sik</i>    | <i>malerya</i>   | 'be sick with malaria'         |                         |
| <i>sik</i>    | <i>tiphoides</i> | 'be sick with typhoid fever'   |                         |
| <i>bay</i>    | <i>dos mil</i>   | 'buy for two thousand Francs'  | Price                   |
| <i>sel</i>    | <i>dos mil</i>   | 'sell for two thousand Francs' |                         |
| <i>kəl</i>    | NAME             | 'call something X'             | Reference               |

Associative objects are assigned a content role by the labile change of state verbs *fuləp* 'fill up' (1414) and *pak* 'pack, fill up' (1415):

(1414) Nà China mòtó dèn **fuləp** **pipul**.  
 LOC PLACE car PL be.full people  
 'In China cars are full of people.' [au07fn 107]

(1415) ɔl hia **pak** **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 *wèt* ‘with’ in (1416) and (1417):

(1416) Nà lèk se yù **fulop** dì glas **wàtá?**  
 FOC like QUOT 2SG fill DEF glas water  
 ‘That’s as if you fill up a glass with water?’ [dj07ae 066]

(1417) È **fulop** dì glas **wèt wàtá.**  
 3SG.SBJ fill DEF glas with water  
 ‘He filled the glass with water.’ [dj07ae 067]

Instrument is among the most common semantic roles expressed by associative objects (1418). The instrument role may also be expressed by a *wèt*-prepositional phrase (1419):

(1418) Yù fit tók se ‘dèn **chuk=àn nef.**  
 2SG can talk QUOT 3PL stab =SG.OBJ knife  
 ‘You can say “he was stabbed with a knife.”’ [ro05ee 061]

(1419) Dèn **chuk** mi wèt **nɛf.**  
 3PL stab 1SG.EMP 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, *kət* ‘cut’ is not attested with an associative object and requires the instrument to be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

(1420) \*À dè **kət** dì tin **sisəs.**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV cut DEF thing scissors  
 \*I’m cutting the thing with a pair of scissors. [dj07ae 477]

(1421) **Kət=àn wèt sisəs!**  
 cut=3SG.OBJ with scissors  
 ‘Cut it with a pair of scissors!’ [dj07ae 478]

Sentences (1422) and (1423) 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 *fə* (1423):

(1422) Yù dè **kápú hos.**  
 2SG IPFV fight.over house  
 ‘You’re fighting over a house.’ [to07fn 112]

- (1423) Dèn dè **kàpú**      **fɔ̀** **dì**      **hos.**  
 3PL IPFV fight.over    ASS DEF house  
 ‘They’re fighting over the house.’ [ne07fn 025]

The source of the motion verb *fɔ̀dón* ‘fall’ may be realised as an associative object (1424). Alternatively, the source may be indicated via the preposition *fròn* ‘from’ when it marks the ground (1425). Note the possibility of additionally using the ‘at rest’ locative noun *əp* ‘up(perside)’ to mark the ground in (1425):

- (1424) Dì pìkín **fɔ̀dón** **dì** **stik.**  
 DEF child    fall      DEF tree  
 ‘The child fell from the tree.’ [ro05ee 097]
- (1425) Dì pìkín **fɔ̀dón** **fròn** **əp** **dì** **stik,**    fròn    dì **stik.**  
 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 *smɛl* ‘smell’ can only be disambiguated by context. In (1426) the associative object *chəp* ‘food’ denotes the source of the sensation, in (1427), *chəp* denotes the stimulus:

- (1426) È      dè kuk,      afta      è      dè **smɛl**      **chəp.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook    then    3SG.SBJ IPFV smell    food  
 ‘He’s cooking, afterwards he’ll smell of food.’ [dj07ae 013]
- (1427) Yù dè **smɛl** **chəp,**    dèn dè fray eks de.  
 2SG IPFV smell    food    3PL IPFV fry    egg BE.AT  
 ‘You smell food, they’re frying eggs there.’ [dj07ae 016]

Non-locative goal is the semantic role of objects associated with the verbs *kəmót* ‘come out’ and *tən* ‘turn (into)’.

- (1428) È      dè tren    yu      se      yù gò **kəmót**      **pəsin.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV train    2SG.EMP QUOT    2SG POT come.out    person  
 ‘She is bringing you up to become a responsible person.’ [au07se 131]
- (1429) È      **tən**      **pəsin**    wan      tən.  
 3SG.SBJ turn    person one    time  
 ‘He turned into a human-being at once.’ [ma03sh 006]

The objects of *sik* ‘be sick’ denote the cause of the sickness that the subject is suffering from. The verb *sik* 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:

- (1430) È           dè **sik fiba**.  
 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 *mòní* ‘money’, the object of *kray* ‘cry’ in (1431):

- (1431) (...) dan pàpá   dè **kray**   ìn       **mòní**.  
 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 (1432). However, unlike patient or beneficiary objects, associative objects may not be questioned with *wetin* ‘what’ or *udat* ‘who’. Instead, associative objects must be questioned with the corresponding adverbial question phrase or with the selective question element *us=kayn* ‘WHICH’, which questions modifiers.

Hence the clause *è dè sik fiba* ‘3SG.SBJ IPFV be sick fever’ = ‘she’s sick (with) fever’ cannot be questioned as *\*wetin è dè sik* ‘what 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.sick’ = ‘what is she sick (with)?’ Rather, the question must be phrased as in (1433):

- (1432) Dan   pòsin   gò   ansa   yu,           ‘yes,    nà   **malerya**  
 that    person POT answer 2SG.EMP   yes    FOC malaria  
 è       bìn dè **sik**.’  
 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV sick

‘That person would reply to you “yes, it’s malaria that she was sick with”.’ [dj05be 090]

- (1433) Us=kayn **sik**       è       dè **sik**?  
 Q=kind sickness 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.sick  
 ‘What kind of sickness does she have?’ [eb07fn 244]

### 11.3.3 Cognate objects

In Pichi, “cognate objects” (Baron 1971) are deverbal nouns derived from themselves. Firstly, a deverbal noun occurs with a few particular verbs in a non-emphatic, non-specific context and contributes little if nothing at all to the meaning denoted by the verb. For example, the only object with which the intransitive verb *day* ‘die’ is attested is a cognate object as in (1434):

- (1434) Ey, dan kayn   spétikul, à       **day day**.  
 INTJ that kind   glasses 1SG.SBJ die death  
 ‘Hey, that kind of glasses, (if I had it) I would die.’ [ne07ga 015]

The objects of *sik* ‘be sick’ in (1435) and verbs of sound and speech-emission like *sing* ‘sing’ and *tək* ‘talk; say’ also sometimes occur with speech- or sound-denoting cognate objects in non-emphatic contexts (1436). The cognate objects of these verbs have in common, that they are not simply the corresponding action nominal of the verb. Instead, they have partially idiosyncratic meanings:

- (1435) We yù kòmót **sik dan sik** nà Pànyá, we yù dè sik,  
 SUB 2SG come.out be.sick that sickness LOC Spain SUB 2SG IPFV sick  
 naw yù bìgín tək Pànyá.  
 now 2SG begin talk Spanish

‘When you had just fallen sick with that sickness in Spain, when you were sick, then you began to talk Spanish.’ [ab03ab 018]

- (1436) À want **tək dan sməl tək** de.  
 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 (1437)-(1438). Emphatic cognate objects are very frequently preceded by the indefinite determiner *wan* ‘one, a’ which provides emphasis in other contexts as well (e.g. in the context of negative phrases, cf. (738)):

- (1437) Dèn bìn **fayn wan fayn**.  
 3PL PST fine one fine  
 ‘They were really fine.’ [mi07fn 120]

- (1438) Dan tòrí bìn dè **swit mi wan swit**.  
 that story PST IPFV be.tasty 1SG.EMP one be.tasty  
 ‘I really enjoyed that story.’ [ye07ga.006]

There is good reason to assume that the fronted ‘verb’ in predicate cleft constructions like the following one is in fact also a deverbal noun. One indication for this is that the verb is never fronted with predicate constituents like TMA markers. In this view, clefted verbs may also be seen as types of cognate objects:

- (1439) Nà **go** à dè **go** ò!  
 FOC go 1SG.SBJ IPFV go SP  
 ‘[Mind you] I’m going now!’ [ch07fn 151]



### 11.3.4 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 *ùna* ‘2PL’ or another 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun. In such cases, it is the patient object that remains unexpressed. Compare the double object construction in (1440) with the ungrammatical example (1441) and sentence (1442). In the latter example, the 3SG.OBJ theme object =*an* remains unexpressed:

- (1440) Yù get fɔ̃ sɛn wi=*an*.  
 2SG get ASS send 1PL.EMP=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You have to send it to us.’ [ye07de 009]
- (1441) \*À gò gi ùna=*an* tumɔ̃ro.  
 1SG.SBJ POT give 2PL=3SG.OBJ tomorrow  
 \*‘I’ll give you it [PL] tomorrow. [ye07de 011]
- (1442) À gò gi ùnu tumɔ̃ro (...)  
 1SG.SBJ POT give 2PL tomorrow  
 ‘I’ll give you (it) tomorrow.’ [ye07de 012]

Double-object constructions can be divided into three types according to relevant semantic and syntactic properties. The following table provides an overview of the semantic roles of objects involved in double object constructions and their syntactic positions as primary objects immediately to the right of the verb or secondary objects following the primary objects. Some semantic roles associated with the position of primary and secondary objects may alternatively be expressed by prepositional phrases or serial verb constructions. Where such alternatives exist, they are provided in the two rightmost columns:

Table 11.10 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<br>Goal ( <i>put</i> ) | Patient<br>Theme   | <i>fɔ̃</i> -PP<br><i>fɔ̃</i> -PP; <i>nà</i> -PP | —                               |
| 3    | Adjunction  | Patient                            | Associative object | —   | Diverse PPs; SVCs               |

In the type 1 double object construction, the primary object to the right of the verb occupies the recipient role, while the secondary object that follows the recipient invariably

takes on a patient role. This kind of construction is found with verbs expressing the transfer of an entity or an act of communication from the subject to a recipient. All ditransitive communication and transfer verbs encountered in the corpus are listed in (1443):

| (1443) Communication verbs |           | Transfer verbs |                   |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>pul</i>                 | 'narrate' | <i>gi</i>      | 'give'            |
| <i>tɛl</i>                 | 'tell'    | <i>das</i>     | 'give as present' |
| <i>lan</i>                 | 'teach'   | <i>bak</i>     | 'give back'       |
| <i>tich</i>                | 'teach'   | <i>sɛn</i>     | 'send'            |
| <i>aks</i>                 | 'ask'     |                |                   |
| <i>rid</i>                 | 'read'    |                |                   |

Pichi has no serial verb construction 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 (1444). With transfer and communication verbs, a beneficiary is usually expressed in a PP introduced by *ɸ* 'ASS' (1445). 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:

(1444) Mì màmá das **mi** sòn regalo.  
 1SG.POSS mother give.as.present 1SG.EMP some present  
 'My mother gave me a present.' [ro05ee 055]

(1445) Mì màmá das sòn regalo *ɸ* mi.  
 1SG.POSS mother give.as.present some present ASS 1SG.EMP  
 'My mother gave (somebody) a present for me.' [ro05ee 056]

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

(1446) Dèn gi dì **mòní** *ɸ* mi.  
 3PL give DEF money ASS 1SG.EMP  
 'They gave the money (to someone) for me.' [lo07fn 555]  
 \*They gave me the money.

The following two double object constructions involve the transfer verb *gi* 'give' (1447) and the verb of communication *pul* (*tòrí*) 'narrate (a story)' (1448):

(1447) Dèn bìn gi **mi** beca.  
 3PL PST give 1SG.EMP scholarship.  
 'I was given a scholarship.' [ed03sp 057]

- (1448) Nà in è dè kan pul **mi dan tòrí.**  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ IPFV come pull 1SG.EMP that story  
 ‘That’s when she comes to tell me that story.’ [ab03ab 073]

The verb *sɛn* ‘send, throw’ denotes a situation in which both a transfer and a motion event cooccur. When *sɛn* is used in a double-object construction, the primary object is always a recipient (1449).

- (1449) È get fɔ̃ **sɛn mi=àn.**  
 3SG.SBJ get ASS send 1SG.EMP=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘He has to send/throw it to me.’ [ye07de 001]

Like with other transfer verbs, the recipient of *sɛn* may not be expressed as a prepositional phrase. Where we do find a prepositional phrase (usually introduced by *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’), it can therefore only denote a beneficiary or a goal but not a recipient (1450):

- (1450) È get fɔ̃ **sɛn=àn fɔ̃ yu.**  
 3SG.SBJ get ASS send=3SG.OBJ ASS 2SG.EMP  
 ‘He has to send it to (where) you (are).’ OR ‘He has to send it for you.’ [ye07de 003]  
 \*He has to send it to you.

Type 2 double-object constructions are best understood in terms of syntactic promotion. A participant that is more commonly expressed as a prepositional phrase is promoted to object status. In contrast to type 1, the use of type 2 constructions is therefore optional. We find the type 2 double-object construction with two kinds of verbs. First, it is encountered with any Pichi transitive verb save transfer verbs and verbs of communication (type 1). With these verbs, which form the vast majority of Pichi verbs, the primary object has the semantic role of beneficiary. The secondary object is assigned a patient role.

Sentence (1451) features two type 2 double object constructions. The verb *du* ‘do’ takes the primary, beneficiary object *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ and the patient object *sàn febo* ‘a favour’. The verb *was* ‘wash’ also takes *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ as the beneficiary object while *klos dèn* ‘clothing’ functions as the patient object:

- (1451) À want mek yù du **mi sòn febo mek**  
 1SG.SBJ want SBJV 2SG do 1SG.EMP some favour SBJV  
 yù was **mi sòn klos dèn.**  
 2SG wash 1SG.EMP some clothing PL  
 ‘I want you to do me a favour (and) wash some clothes for me.’ [ru03wt 030]

The semantic role of beneficiary may subsume a maleficiary, i.e. the affected party of a socially unacceptable action. In (1452), 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 *tif* ‘steal’, the maleficiary *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ in (1453):

- (1452) À      lef      mì      pikín      nà      Pànyá      bikəs      à      dè      fia  
 1SG.SBJ    leave    1SG.POSS    child    LOC    Spain    because    1SG.SBJ    IPFV    fear  
 se      dèn      gò      bèlé      **mi**      **mì**      **pikín.**  
 QUOT    3PL    POT    impregnate    1SG.EMP    1SG.POSS    child  
 'I have left my child in Spain because I fear that she would fall pregnant on me.' [ge05fn]

- (1453) Dèn      tif      **mi**      **mì**      **sus.**  
 3PL      steal    1SG.EMP    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* 'ASS'. In fact, the alternative involving a prepositional phrase is more common than the corresponding double object construction. Compare the type 2 double object construction (1454) involving the verb *bay* 'buy' with the PP alternative (1455):

- (1454) Afta      primera      dama      bay=**àn**      **wan**      **mòtó,** (...)  
 then      first      lady      buy=3SG.OBJ    one      car  
 'Then the first lady bought him a car (...)' [fr03cd 070]

- (1455) À      bìn      bay      **wan**      **mòtó**      **fɔ**      **mì**      **masa.**  
 SG.sbj    PST    buy    one      car      ASS    1SG.POSS    boss  
 'I bought a car for my boss.' [ye0502e2 073]

The second type of type 2 construction involves the caused location verb *put* 'put'. Here, the primary object has the semantic role of goal while the secondary object fulfills a theme role.

In (1456), the primary object of *put* is the goal object =*àn* '3SG.OBJ', while the secondary object *saldo* '(mobile phone) credit' is the theme. Sentence (1457) also features the goal object =*àn* '3SG.OBJ', while the theme object is *cacahuete* 'groundnut':

- (1456) Yù      gət      móvil,      yù      dən      put=**àn**      **saldo?**  
 2SG    get    mobile    2SG    PRF      put=3SG.OBJ    credit  
 'Do you have a mobile-phone, have you put credit into it?' [go0502e1 087]

- (1457) (...) à      bay      dan      dis      tin,      sòn      sməl      pepa,  
 1SG.SBJ    buy    that    this    thing    some    small    paper  
 dèn      dè      put=**àn**      **cacahuete**      (...)  
 3PL    IPFV    put=3SG.OBJ    peanut  
 '(...) I bought that thing, a small paper, they put peanuts into it (...)' [ed03sp 083]

However, the corpus contains many more examples of *put*-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 *put* is a full noun. The locative construction may be a prepositional phrase (1458) or involve a locative noun (1459). Unlike a few other verbs with a motion component (cf. 10.1.4), the goal of *put* cannot be expressed as a complement of the V2 of a motion-direction serial verb construction (e.g. \*à *put=àn go nà glas* ‘1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ go LOC glas’ = ‘I put it into the glass’):

(1458) Dèn kìn *put=àn*      *fɔ̃* *glas*.  
 3PL HAB put=3SG.OBJ ASS glas  
 ‘They used to put it into the glass.’ [ed03sb 096]

(1459) À      dɔn      *put* mì      buk      *insay*.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF put 1SG.POSS book inside  
 ‘I have put my book inside.’ [dj07ae 329]

There is a preference to interpret a prepositional phrase introduced by *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ as a beneficiary in *put*-double object constructions, particularly where an object pronoun theoretically allows for both interpretations as in (1460). A sentence like (1459) above, which involves a locative noun (i.e. *insay* ‘inside’) is therefore preferred to avoid ambiguity. Nevertheless, an alternative with a prepositional phrase involving the general locative preposition *nà* may also be exploited to the same end (1461):

(1460) À      dɔn *put* grànát *fɔ̃r=àn*  
 1SG.SBJ PRF put peanut ASS=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I have put peanuts [somewhere] for her.’ [dj07ae 331a]  
 ?I have put peanuts into it.

(1461) À      dɔn *put* grànát *nà in*.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF put peanut LOC 3SG.EMP  
 ‘I have put peanuts into it.’ [dj07ae 331b]

Note, however, that *put* ‘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:

(1462) Yù *put=àn*      *wan*      *sardina* òntóp.  
 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 11.9 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 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 (1463) with the single object construction involving a PP in (1464):

(1463) Nà lèk se yù fulòp ðì glas wàtá?  
 FOC like QUOT 2SG fill DEF glas water  
 ‘As if you filled this glass with water?’ [dj07ae 066]

(1464) È fulòp ðì glas wèt wàtá.  
 3SG.SBJ fill.up DEF glas with water  
 ‘She filled the glass with water.’ [dj07ae 067]

### 11.3.5 Reflexivity

In the majority of cases, reflexivity is expressed through an object NP consisting of the pronominal and reflexive anaphor *sef* ‘self’ and a preceding possessive pronoun with the same person and number as the subject. Sometimes, the body part nouns *skin* ‘body’, *bədi* ‘body’ and *hed* ‘head’ are also employed as reflexive anaphors in the same syntactic position as *sef*. A clause featuring a reflexive object NP indicates that the subject does something to her- or himself. Compare the reflexive anaphor as an object of *fiks* ‘fix, make up’ in (1465):

(1465) Dan gal è kìn fiks ìn sef, pent ìn sef.  
 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 a low transitivity. I give a sentence featuring the idiom *sek ìn sef* ‘shake 3SG.POSS self’ = ‘make an effort’:

(1466) È sek ìn sef bəkú fə tən general.  
 3SG.SBJ shake 3SG.POSS self much ASS turn general  
 ‘He made a big effort to turn general.’ [ur07ae 498]

The nouns *skin* ‘body’, *bədi* ‘body’ and *hed* ‘head’ are far less commonly used than *sef* 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:

(1467) À dè si mì skin nà lukìnglás.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV see 1SG.POSS body LOC mirror  
 ‘I’m seeing myself/my body in the mirror.’ [dj07ae 496]

(1468) À dè kil mì skin de, lèk haw à dè wok.  
 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]

- (1469) È        dòn **chak**        ìn        **hed.**  
 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 the a possessive pronoun in conjunction with the pronominal *yon* ‘own’ as a modifier to a head noun:

- (1470) Bõt fõ Bàta dèn dè tek/ dan wan sí que **dèn yon** mared  
 but ASS PLACE 3PL IPFV take that one if that 3PL own marriage  
 dia, **dèn yon** mared dè kari mòní èn.  
 be.expensive 3PL own marriage IPFV carry money INTJ  
 ‘But as for the mainlanders, they take/ as for that one, their marriage is expensive, their marriage costs money.’ [hi03cb 010]

Besides that, Pichi has a number of inherently reflexive verbs. For most of these verbs, the use of a reflexive anaphor is optional. Such verbs denote situations involving body or mental processes and physical movements which imply volition and instigation by the actor subject rather than a spontaneous event.

Compare *wër* ‘dress (up)’ in an explicitly reflexive clause (1471) and a clause in which reflexivity remains unexpressed (1472):

- (1471) Toichoa **wër** ìn **sef.**  
 NAME wear 3SG.POSS self  
 ‘Toichoa has/is dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]
- (1472) À **wër.**  
 1SG.SBJ wear  
 ‘I’m dressed/have got dressed.’ [ye05ae 233]

### 11.3.6 Reciprocity

Next to its use as a reflexive anaphor, the pronominal *sef* ‘self’ also serves as a reciprocal pronominal with plural referents. In sentence (1473) the reciprocal NP is an object to the verb *slap* ‘slap’, in (1474) to the locative noun *bifó* ‘before’:

- (1473) **Dèn dè** slap **dèn sef.**  
 3PL IPFV slap 3PL self  
 ‘They’re slapping each other.’ [dj07re 020]
- (1474) Pero **dèn** no sión bifó **dèn sef.**  
 but 3PL NEG sit.down before 3PL self  
 ‘But they’re not sitting in front of each other.’ [dj07re 031]

Reflexive and reciprocal meaning are disambiguated through a combination of verb meaning, the presence of plural referents and often, the occurrence of compound personal pronouns indicating dual number (i.e. *dèn-əl-tu* ‘the two of them’) as in (1475) or universal inclusivity (*dèn-əl* ‘all of them’) as in (1476):

- (1475) Fəs nà **dèn-əl-tu** dèn bìn dè abraza **dèn sef**.  
 first FOC 3PL.CPD-all.CPD-two3PL PST IPFV embrace 3PL self  
 ‘First it’s the two of them that were embracing each other.’ [dj07re 013]

- (1476) **Dèn-əl** dèn dè sàlút **dèn sef**.  
 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 *yon* as illustrated in (1477):

- (1477) Dèn luk **dèn yon** fes.  
 3PL look 3PL own face  
 ‘They looked at each other’s faces.’ [eb07fn 313]

Pichi also has inherently reciprocal verbs, many of which preferably do not occur with the anaphor *sef* (cf. 11.4.3).

### 11.3.7 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 *blo* ‘blow’ (1478)-(1479) and *brayt* ‘be bright’ (1480) and the weather nouns *tinada* ‘thunderstorm,’ *bris* ‘air’ and *san* ‘sun’:

- (1478) Tinada dè **blo**.  
 thunderstorm IPFV blow  
 ‘A thunderstorm is raging.’ [dj07ae 239]
- (1479) Bris dè **blo**.  
 air IPFV blow  
 ‘The wind is blowing.’ [dj07ae 242]
- (1480) Dì san **brayt**.  
 DEF sun be.bright  
 ‘The sun is bright/is shining.’ [dj07ae 164]



Sentence (1481) exemplifies the transitive usage of *blo* ‘blow’, sentence (1482) that of *brayt*, here with the meaning ‘brighten, light up’:

(1481) Dì ventilador dè **blo** mi.  
 DEF fan IPFV blow 1SG.EMP  
 ‘The fan is blowing at me.’ [dj07ae 243]

(1482) Dì san **brayt** dī de.  
 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 *de* ‘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 (1482) above:

(1483) Dī **de** dak.  
 DEF weather be.dark  
 ‘It’s dark.’ [ab07fn 115]

(1484) Dī **de** fə **tidé** tu hot, tu mōch san.  
 DEF weather ASS today too be.hot too much sun  
 ‘The weather of today is too hot, too much sun.’ [dj07ae 249]

(1485) Dī **de** kol.  
 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 è ‘3SG.SBJ’ rather than a weather noun. This construction is limited to a single intransitive verb, namely *fəl* ‘rain’, which exclusively functions as a weather verb (1486). The verb *fəl* may, however, also occur in the first type of construction, together with the weather noun *ren* ‘rain’ in subject position (1487):

(1486) À dè si dī de lèke se è want **fəl**.  
 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]

(1487) À bìn chek se **ren** gò **fəl**.  
 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 *get* ‘get, exist’ or the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ (cf. 8.6.3 for details on the syntax of these clauses). This construction is only attested in code-mixed utterances

involving a Spanish atmospheric phenomenon:

- (1488) È            **get relámpago.**  
 3SG.SBJ get lightning  
 'There is lightning.' [dj07ae 245]
- (1489) Dan say, **niebla de** de.  
 that side fog      BE.AT      there  
 'It's foggy there.' [he07fn 262]

### 11.3.8 Body states

Body states are expressed in constructions involving transitive (cf. 1a-1c in Table 11.11) and intransitive (2a-2c) clauses. I summarise the constructions described in this section in Table 11.11. Details are provided below:

Table 11.11 Expressing body states

| Body state verb              | 1a | 1b | 1c | 2a | 2b | 2c |
|------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| a. <i>pen</i> 'pain'         | x  |    | x  |    |    |    |
| <i>hat</i> 'hurt'            | x  |    | x  |    | x  |    |
| b. <i>hangri</i> 'be hungry' |    | x  | x  | x  |    |    |
| <i>tosti</i> 'be thirsty'    |    | x  | x  | x  |    |    |
| <i>slip</i> 'sleep'          |    | x  | x  | x  |    |    |
| <i>sik</i> 'be sick'         |    |    |    | x  |    |    |
| c. <i>kol</i> 'be cold'      |    |    | x  |    | x  |    |
| <i>hot</i> 'be hot'          |    |    | x  |    | x  |    |
| <i>taya</i> 'be tired'       |    |    |    |    | x  |    |
| <i>bèlfúl</i> 'be satiated'  |    |    |    |    | x  |    |
| <i>wel</i> 'be well'         |    |    |    |    | x  |    |
| d. <i>gud</i> 'be well'      |    |    | x  |    |    | x  |
| <i>bad</i> 'be ill'          |    |    | x  |    |    | x  |
| <i>fayn</i> 'be fine'        |    |    | x  |    |    | x  |

Type 1 constructions in Table 11.11 involve transitive clauses. In type 1a constructions, the affected body part is found in the subject position, while the experiencer is in the object position. This construction is the preferred one for expressing pain and hurt. The verb is either of the dynamic experiential verbs *hat* 'hurt' or *pen* 'pain':

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(1490) Mì      **bèlé**      dè **hat**      mi.  
 1SG.POSS belly    IPFV hurt    1SG.EMP  
 ‘My stomach is hurting me.’ [dj07ae 312]

(1491) Mì      **bèlé**      dè **pen**      mi.  
 1SG.POSS belly    IPFV pain    1SG.EMP  
 ‘My stomach is paining me.’ [dj07ae 314]

(1492) Mì      **tit**      dè **pen**      mi.  
 1SG.POSS tooth    IPFV pain    1SG.EMP  
 ‘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 *kech* ‘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:

(1493) Smòlten      **slip**      **kech**=àn.  
 shortly      sleep      catch=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Shortly afterwards, he became sleepy/fell asleep.’ [ab03ab 050]

(1494) Wan      **hangri** **kech**      mi      de.  
 one      hunger    catch    1SG.EMP    there  
 ‘I suddenly felt very hungry there.’ [dj07ae 324]

(1495) **Tòsti**      **kech**      mi.  
 thirst      catch    1SG.EMP  
 ‘I (suddenly) felt thirsty.’ [dj07ae 327]

Type 1c constructions in Table 11.11 are the mirror-image of type 1b constructions. The experiencer is in the subject position, while the body state or sensation is expressed as a deverbal noun in the object position. Hunger, thirst and sleep(iness) can be expressed by this construction with the dynamic body state verbs *fil* ‘feel’ (1496)-(1497). Hunger and thirst can also be expressed in combination with the verb *səfa* ‘suffer, endure’ (1498):

(1496) À      dè **fil** **hangri**, à      dè **fil** **slip**.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV feel hungry    1SG.SBJ    IPFV feel sleep  
 ‘I’m feeling hungry, I’m feeling sleepy.’ [ye07fn 132]

(1497) (...) à      **fil** dì pikín      ìn      **pen** (...)  
                  1SG.SBJ    feel DEF child    3SG.POSS pain  
 ‘(...) I went into labour [Lit. I felt the child’s pain].’ [ab03ay 076]

- (1498) À        **səfa**    wan        **hangri**    nà    dan    kəntri.  
 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 (1498) and (1497). In the latter example, we find a dislocated possessive construction in the object position of *fil*. In the former example, the indefinite determiner *wan* ‘one, a’ precedes *hangri* ‘hunger’, the object of *səfa* ‘endure’.

The type 1c construction also serves to express the body states ‘feel hot’ and ‘feel cold’. Compare the following two examples:

- (1499) À        dè    **fil**    tu    məch    **hət**.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV    feel too much    heat  
 ‘I’m feeling too hot.’ [dj07ae 316]
- (1500) È        dè    **fil**    **gud**        èf    è        de        mindul    pipul.  
 3SG.SBJ    IPFV    feel good    if    3SG.SBJ    BE.AT    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 (1501)-(1502). However, other transient body states like *sik* ‘be sick’ also appear in this construction (1503):

- (1501) À        **dè**    **hangri**.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV    be.hungry  
 ‘I’m hungry.’ [dj07ae 322]
- (1502) À        **dè**    **təsti**.  
 1SG.SBJ    IPFV    be.thirsty  
 ‘I’m thirsty.’ [dj07ae 326]
- (1503) Wan    de    wan    pikín    bìn    **dè**    **sik**.  
 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 *taya* ‘be tired’ (1504) *wəl* ‘be well’ (1505), *bəlfúl* ‘be satiated’ (1506), and *hat* ‘be hurt’ (1507):

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- (1504) À           **taya.**  
 1SG.SBJ   be.tired  
 ‘I’m tired.’ [dj07ae 318]
- (1505) À           **wel.**  
 1SG.SBJ   well  
 ‘I’m well.’ [li07fn 011]
- (1506) À           **bèlfúl.**  
 1SG.SBJ   be.satiated  
 ‘I’m full.’ [dj07ae 524]
- (1507) Dì gal **hat.**  
 DEF girl hurt  
 ‘The girl is hurt [wounded].’ [dj05be 006]

Type 2c constructions are intransitive copula clauses. The body state verb appears as an adjective complement to the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ (1508). The property items *gud* ‘be well’, *bad* ‘be bad’ and *fayn* ‘be fine’ appear in such predicate adjective constructions when they express a transient body state rather than an (intrinsic) value (cf. 8.6.5):

- (1508) Dan    tɛn    à           **de    fayn.**  
 that    time    1SG.SBJ   BE.AT   fine  
 ‘That time, I was fine.’ [ru03wt 024]

The two body state expressions *sik* ‘be sick’ and *bèlfúl* ‘be satiated’ may also appear in transitive clauses involving associative objects. These constructions appear to be lexicalised (cf. 11.3.2):

- (1509) È           dè **sik fiba.**  
 3SG.SBJ   IPFV sick fever  
 ‘She’s sick with fever.’ [dj07ae 273]
- (1510) À           **bèlfúl    plántí.**  
 1SG.SBJ   be.satiated   plantain  
 ‘I’m full with plantain.’ [dj07ae 529]

## 11.4 Valency adjustments

Verb valency is adjusted in three ways. For one part, the omission of the core participants subject (cf. 11.4.1) or object (cf. 11.4.2) reduces verb valency by one. Object omission is also at play when reflexive and reciprocal object pronouns remain unexpressed (cf. 11.4.3). Second, a notional patient object may be added to a clause by employing a causative

construction (cf. 11.4.4). 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 *dèn* or a generic human-denoting noun with impersonal reference (cf. 11.4.5). In that, agent backgrounding is functionally similar to passive voice in other languages.

#### 11.4.1 Unexpressed subjects

Subjects are normally expressed overtly but subject omission (indicated by  $\emptyset$ ) occasionally occurs with verbs with impersonal reference, as with *fit* ‘can’ in an excerpt from a procedural text (1511):

- (1511)  $\emptyset$  **Fit** sifita in soté tu tɛn mek mek  
 2SG can sieve 3SG.EMP until two time make SBJV  
 dan sməl sməl wàtá dèn no lef.  
 that small REP water PL NEG remain

‘(You) can sift it upto 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 *se* may appear at the beginning of an independent prosodic unit rather than within a prosodically integrated sentence. In such contexts, the element *se* 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 12.5).

The following two sentences are uttered in sequence by the same speaker. Compare ambiguous function of *se* like (1512)(b), which is introduced by *se*, with (a) where *se* is firmly integrated into the sentence as a quotative marker:

- (1512) a. È tel=àn **se** ‘pàpá mi neva chəp  
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOTfather 1SG.EMP NEG.PRF eat  
 mi senwe’.  
 1SG.EMP EMP  
 ‘He told him “please, I myself haven’t eaten yet”.’ [ye03cd 149]
- b. **Se** chico, di tin no gò du mi  
 QUOT boy this thing NEG POT do 1SG.EMP  
 ‘(He said) “man, this won’t do for me”.’ [ye03cd 150]

A final form of subject omission occurs when the particles *nà* ‘FOC’ and *noto* ‘NEG.FOC’ incorporate 3SG reference by default in their function as identity copulas. When pronominal reference is to be overtly established, *nà/noto* must be preceded by independent (emphatic) personal pronoun (cf. also 8.6.1). Dependent pronouns may not precede these two particles.

### 11.4.2 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 *blo* ‘give a blow’ in (1513) 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 2003:123ff):

- (1513) À        **blo**        **di pìkín.**  
 1SG.SBJ give.blow this child  
 ‘I gave this child [guy] a blow.’ [dj07ae 031]

When *blo* occurs without an object it is understood to be the homophonous *blo* ‘rest, relax’ (1514), a verb which is lower on the transitivity scale, but may also be used transitively (1515), due to its status as a labile experiential verb:

- (1514) À        **dè blo**        ò        à        **dè res.**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV relax or 1SG.SBJ IPFV rest  
 ‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]
- (1515) Mek    à        **blo**    **di pòsin**    mek    è        fit recupera.  
 SBJV    1SG.SBJ relax this person SBJV    3SG.SBJ can recover  
 ‘Let me make this person rest for her to be able to recover.’ [dj07ae 033]

When highly transitive verbs are used in a context of non-specificity, they usually occur with generic nouns as objects. Compare the non-specific object *sòn tin* ‘something’ of the highly transitive verb *hib* ‘throw (away)’ (1516) and *pòsin* ‘person’, object of *nak* ‘hit’ (1517):

- (1516) (...) yù **hib**    **sòn**    **tin**    fɔ̀ grɔ̀n    (...)  
 2SG throw some thing ASS ground  
 ‘(...) (if) you throw something on the ground (...)’ [hi03cb 028]
- (1517) (...) nà in        è        **dè nak pòsin.**  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 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” (cf. e.g. Tenny 1994, Næss 2003).

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 *tək* ‘say, talk’ in a transitive (1518) and in an intransitive clause (1519):

- (1518) *Bikəs yù dən tək wan bad tək, è se*  
 because 2SG PRF talk one bad word 3SG.SBJ QUOT  
 ‘gød hama yù mət!’  
 God hammer 2SG mouth  
 ‘Because you have said something bad, she says  
 “God may hammer your mouth!”’ [au07se 030]

- (1519) *Se ‘à bìn si bət à no fit tək.’*  
 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 *sing* ‘sing’ (1520):

- (1520) *È dè sing nà Pichi.*  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV sing LOC Pichi  
 ‘He sings in Pichi.’ [au07se 233]

Likewise, the effected non-specific objects of verbs denoting a process of production may remain unexpressed. Compare *so* ‘sew’ (1521)-(1522) and *kuk* ‘cook’ (1523)-(1524) in the transitive and intransitive sentence pairs below:

- (1521) (...) *we yù no no tò fiks wan klos, tò so wan klos* (...)  
 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]
- (1522) *Dì sastre dè so.*  
 DEF tailor IPFV sew  
 ‘The tailor is sewing.’ [dj07ae 353]
- (1523) *È kìn kuk sup.*  
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup  
 ‘He cooks soups.’ [ye03cd 086]
- (1524) *Dì human kan nà hos dì awa we à dè kuk.*  
 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 *rich* ‘reach; arrive’ (1525)-(1526) and *go* ‘go (away)’ (1527)-(1528), whose goal objects may remain unexpressed:



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- (1525) Yù nɛa **rich** **Luba?**  
 2SG NEG.PRF arrive PLACE  
 ‘You’ve not yet been to Luba?’ [li07re 058]
- (1526) È dɔn **rich.**  
 3SG.SBJ PRF arrive  
 ‘He has arrived.’ [dj07ae 356]
- (1527) Bueno, à dè **go makit** naw.  
 good 1SG.SBJ IPFV go market now  
 ‘Alright, I’m going to the market now.’ [ro05fe 047]
- (1528) À gò **go.**  
 1SG.SBJ POT go  
 ‘I’ll (eventually) go.’ [ra07se 097]

Typical affected-agent verbs are the ingestive verbs *chəp* (1529) ‘eat’ and *dring* ‘drink’ (1530). These two transitive verbs are usually encountered without a patient object when its reference is non-specific. Note that object omission with *dring* in combination with a habitual reading renders the idiomatic meaning ‘habitually drink alcohol’:

- (1529) À kan **chəp.**  
 1SG.SBJ PFV eat  
 ‘(Then) I ate.’ [ed03sb 016]
- (1530) Di pɔsin **dè dring,** nà chàk-man.  
 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 *luk* ‘look’ and *hia* ‘hear, understand’ and *sàbí/no* ‘know’ and *si* ‘see’.

When *si* ‘see, perceive’ occurs without an object, its non-specific reading may translate as ‘understand’ or ‘witness’ (cf. e.g. (1519)). However, *si* is also very often encountered in a non-specific context with a 3sg object pronoun (1531) or an object NP *dì tin* ‘the thing’ (1532). 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. 11.2.4):

- (1531) Yes, yù dè **si=àn?**  
 yes 2SG IPFV see=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Yes, do you understand?’ [dj05ae 188]

- (1532) Yù **si di tin?**  
 2SG see DEF thing  
 ‘You see?’ [ur05fn 013]

The cognition verb *memba* often appears without an explicit object with its meaning of ‘remember’ (1533):

- (1533) (...) à no dè **memba**.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV remember  
 ‘(...) I don’t remember.’ [fr03ft 047]

However, when *memba* occurs in a transitive clause it is best translated as ‘think of’, both with a specific object (1534) and a non-specific one (1535):

- (1534) À kìn **memba yu** bókú.  
 1SG.SBJ HAB think 2SG.EMP much  
 ‘I think of you a lot.’ [nn05fn 045 ]
- (1535) No hàmbóg mi, à dè **memba sòn tin!**  
 NEG bother 1SG.EMP 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 *ple* ‘play’ in (1536):

- (1536) Bèt wì fit dè **ple** à jam yu yù fòdón.  
 but 1PL can IPFV play 1SG.SBJ make.contact 2SG.EMP 2SG fall  
 ‘But we could be playing [football], I hit you (and) you fall.’ [au07se 178]

Verbs denoting sexual intercourse are affected-agent verbs with an interesting distribution. Like in other speech cultures, the use of verbs denoting the sexual act is subject to strict pragmatic norms in Pichi. The nature of the prototypical transitive event, with its foregrounding of control, volition, and instigation by an agent subject and affectedness of a specific patient, makes the transitive use of sexual-act verbs particularly delicate. Therefore, the transitive use of sexual-act verbs generally occurs with verbs perceived as explicit and vulgar and tends to occur in in-group, peer-to-peer, same-gender, and informal discourse.

Consider the uses of the sexual act denoting verbs *nak* ‘hit, knock’ (1537), *mek* ‘make, do’ (1538) and *sɛks* ‘have sex with’ (1539) in the following transitive clauses with specific objects:

- (1537) À se di fayn gel à dè go **nak=àn** tidé.  
 1SG.SBJ QUOTthis fine girl 1SG.SBJ IPFV go hit=3SG.OBJ today  
 ‘I said (to myself) this beautiful girl, I’m going to knock her today.’ [ed03sb 221]

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(1538) À dɔn **mek** **dan** **gɛl**.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF make that girl  
 'I've done that girl.' [dj07ae 279]

(1539) È dè fia man, è gò **sɛks** **yu** è lɛf yu.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear man 3SG.SBJ POT have.sex 2SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ leave 2SG.EMP  
 'She fears men, she'll have sex with you (and) she'll leave you.' [ge07fn 022]

Still, sexual-act verbs may occur without overt objects in non-specific contexts like other physical activity verbs. But *nak*, *mek* or *fɔk* 'fuck' appear much less in intransitive clauses while the verb *kɔt* 'cut; screw' (1540) often does:

(1540) Chico, di wan dɔn dè swɛt soté, è  
 boy this one PRF IPFV sweat until 3SG.SBJ  
 jis kòmót **kɔt**.  
 just come.out cut  
 'Boy, this guy is sweating as if he's just screwed.' [dj05ce 230]

The reason for such a distribution may be found in the degree of semantic transitivity of the respective etymons of these verbs. *Nak* and *mek* are dynamic and highly transitive verbs with their meanings of 'hit' and 'make'. In contrast, *kɔt* 'cut' is a change of state verb with a lower degree of transitivity which does not presuppose instigation by an animate agent. This explains the preference to express the second participant of the sexual act denoted by *kɔt* 'cut; screw' besides the subject through a prepositional phrase instead of an object as in the following example:

(1541) Chico, di bɔy dɔn dè go **kɔt** naw so wèt di bèbí!  
 boy this boy PRF IPFV go cut now ike.that with this babe  
 'Boy, this boy is going of to screw with this babe!' [dj05ce 229]

In the same vein, when the labile locative verb *slip* is employed with the sexual connotation of 'sleep with', the non-subject participant is generally expressed in a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by *wèt* 'with' (1542). In contrast, when *slip* is used intransitively, there is no semantic ambiguity – it simply means 'to lie down, sleep' (1543):

(1542) È **slip** **wèt** human.  
 3SG.SBJ sleep with woman  
 'He slept with a woman.' [au07se 236]

(1543) È **slip**.  
 3SG.SBJ sleep  
 'He's asleep/has lied down.' [ye05ce 284]

The non-specific objects of verbs denoting the characteristic property of an agent often

remain unexpressed. A sense of non-specificity permeates the following example featuring the verb *bət* ‘bite’. It manifests itself in the use of the bare noun *dəg* ‘dog’, the presence of the habitual aspect marker *kìn* and the absence of an overt object:

- (1544) *Dəg kìn bət.*  
 dog HAB bite  
 ‘Dogs bite.’ [dj07ae 371]

### 11.4.3 Unexpressed reflexive and reciprocal nominals

Pichi speakers may make use of the reflexive anaphor *sɛf* or a body part noun in order to express reflexivity and reciprocity (cf. 11.3.5 and 11.3.6). Yet, some verbs that allow a reflexive interpretation do not generally occur with a reflexive pronoun, although the majority of them may. Verbs whose reflexive pronouns usually remain unexpressed denote situations which imply volition and instigation by the agent rather than a spontaneous event. These verbs involve physical action of the agent upon her/himself, or imply movement of the body:

The following examples involve the ‘body care’ verbs *was* ‘wash’ (1545), *baf* ‘bathe’ (1546) and *wɛr* ‘dress (up)’ (1472). Note that *wɛr* takes an object in (1548) and still implies reflexivity:

- (1545) *Dèn dè kan se dèn kan was.*  
 3PL IPFV come QUOT 3PL come wash  
 ‘They come to wash themselves.’ [nn07fn 145]
- (1546) *Yù dòn baf?*  
 2SG PRF bathe  
 ‘Have you bathed?’ [dj07ae 377]
- (1547) *À wɛr.*  
 1SG.SBJ wear  
 ‘I’m dressed/have got dressed.’ [ye05ae 233]
- (1548) *Nà lèk if yù wɛr sət dì gùd-say*  
 FOC like if 2SG wear shirt DEF good.CPD-side  
*wèt dì ròn-say.*  
 with DEF wrong.CPD-side  
 ‘That’s like if you put on a shirt the right way and inside out.’ [au07se 049]

In principle, these verbs may also occur with a reflexive pronoun, although they do so less frequently. Compare the usage of *was* ‘wash (oneself)’ and *wɛr* ‘dress (up)’ in the following sentences:

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(1549) **Was** yù **skin!**  
 wash 2SG body  
 ‘Wash yourself!’ [dj07ae 504]

(1550) Djunais **wer** ìn **sef.**  
 NAME wear 3SG.POSS self  
 ‘Djunais has dressed up.’ [dj07ae 375]

The basic posture verbs *slip* ‘lie (down), sleep’, *tinap* ‘stand (up)’ and *sidón* ‘sit (down)’ are never encountered with a reflexive pronoun in the corpus (cf. 10.1.3 for an extensive treatment). In contrast, verbs denoting less prototypical postures, e.g. *ling* ‘lean over’ and *ben* ‘bend (over)’ in (1551)-(1552), as well as those denoting other types of body-related events, e.g. *hayd* ‘hide’ in (1553)-(1554) are found with or without reflexive pronouns:

(1551) È dè waka è **ben.**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk 3SG.SBJ bend  
 ‘He is walking stooped over.’ [ra07se 080]

(1552) Se dèn **ling** **dèn sef** ò fò lèk haw  
 QUOT 3PL lean 3PL self or ASS like how  
 dèn **ben** **dèn sef?**  
 3PL bend 3PL self  
 ‘That they’re leaning (onto something) or how they’re stooped over?’ [dj07re 026]

(1553) À kan **hayd** insay hos.  
 1SG.SBJ PFV hide inside house  
 ‘(Then) I hid in the house.’ [dj07ae 382]

(1554) À **hayd** **mì** **sef** nà hos.  
 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 *blo* ‘rest’ or *res* ‘rest’:

(1555) À dè **blo** ò à dè **res.**  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV relax or 1SG.SBJ IPFV rest  
 ‘I’m relaxing or I’m resting.’ [dj07ae 030]

(1556) À want go **res** **mì** **sef.**  
 1SG.SBJ want go rest 1SG.POSS self  
 ‘I want to go rest.’ [dj07ae 379]

- (1557) À want go **blo** **mì** **sef**.  
 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 *sef* ‘self’. Consider the use of reciprocal *sef* with the sexual act denoting verbs *nak* ‘knock’ (1558) and *slip* ‘sleep with’ (1559) as well as the unexpressed reciprocal pronoun in (1560). These examples also illustrate that sexual act denoting verbs, including highly transitive ones like *nak*, do not imply a male agent in Pichi:

- (1558) (...) wì **nak** wì **sef**.  
 1PL knock 1PL self  
 ‘(...) we knocked each other.’ [dj07ae 300]
- (1559) Insay dì mòtó, nà de ùnu dè **slip** ùnu **sef**?  
 inside DEF car FOC there 2PL IPFV sleep 2PL self  
 ‘In the car, that’s where you sleep with each other?’ [ro05rt 020]
- (1560) Ûna **slip**?  
 2PL sleep  
 ‘You slept (with each other)?’ [fr03wt 028]

Conversely, the inherently reciprocal verbs of social interaction *mit* ‘meet’ and *mitəp* ‘meet’ do not normally occur with the anaphor *sef* (1561)-(1562):

- (1561) È tel mi se wì kìn **mitəp** insay wan mòtó.  
 3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.EMP QUOT 1PL HAB meet inside one car  
 ‘He told me “we usually meet inside a car.”’ [ro05rt 019]
- (1562) Afta wì kan **mit** làyk wan seis años después.  
 then 1PL PFV meet like one six years afterwards  
 ‘Then we met some six years afterwards.’ [fr03ft 191]

Nevertheless, like other inherently reciprocal verbs, *mit* and *mitəp* may take part in a reciprocal alternation (cf. also *fet* ‘fight’ in (1331)ff.). The two participants may be expressed as coordinate subjects in an intransitive clause while reciprocity is understood. Compare the transitive use of *mit* ‘meet’ in (1563), with its intransitive use with two coordinate subjects in (1564):

- (1563) Pero è **mit** **mì** **grànmá**.  
 but 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS grandmother  
 ‘But he met my grandmother.’ [fr03ft 085]

- (1564) **Mi wèt Djunais** wì mitɔp.  
 1SG.EMP with NAME 1PL meet  
 ‘Me and Djunais (we) met.’ [dj07ae 092]

A further example for this alternation is provided with *fiɓa* ‘resemble’ in the following transitive and intransitive sentences:

- (1565) **Djunais fiɓa Bòyé.**  
 NAME resemble NAME  
 ‘Djunais resembles Bòyé.’ [dj08ae 397]

- (1566) **Djunais wèt Bòyé** dèn fiɓa.  
 NAME with NAME 3PL resemble  
 ‘Djunais and Bòyé (they) resemble (each other).’ [dj07ae 393]

#### 11.4.4 Causative constructions

A lexically restricted means of expressing causation in Pichi is the use of labile verbs in transitive clauses (cf. 11.2.3). Pichi also features inherently causative verbs like *kil* ‘kill’, which pairs with *ɗay* ‘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 11.12 summarises the majority patterns of causative formation in Pichi. Minor variations to these patterns are discussed below:

Table 11.12 Causative constructions

| Function              | Causative verb     | Expression of causee   | Expression of effect   |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--|------------------------|
| Causative             | <i>mek</i> ‘make’  | Subject of sbjv clause   | Subjunctive clause     |
| Permissive causative  | <i>lef</i> ‘leave’ | Object of <i>lef</i> and simultaneously subject of sbjv clause | Subjunctive clause     |
| Resultative causative | <i>lef</i> ‘leave’ | Object of <i>lef</i>   | Resultative complement |

Causative and permissive constructions are formed with the two verbs *mek* ‘make’ and *lef* ‘leave; permit’. Examples (1567)-(1568) present their use in non-causative transitive clauses:

- (1567) Yù fit **mek** mi wan café?  
 2SG can make 1SG.EMP one coffee  
 ‘Can you make me a coffee?’ [ye07ga 034]

- (1568) À se à no fit **lef**=àn.  
 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. Sentence (1569) presents the most common type of causative construction. It features an (inanimate) causer *loteria* ‘lottery’, the causative verb *mek* ‘make’, the causee *mì m̀nì* ‘my money’, and the verb of effect *b̀̀kú* ‘be much’. The causative verb and the verb of effect are linked in a relation of subordination. The subordinate status of the effect situation is evident through its appearance in a subjunctive clause introduced by the modal complementiser and subjunctive marker *mek* ‘SBJV’ (cf. 12.6.5 on the functions of *mek* ‘SBJV’ in these types of clauses):

- (1569) Loteria d̀n **mek** **mek** mì m̀nì **b̀̀kú**.  
 lottery PRF make SBJV 1SG.POSS money be.much  
 ‘The lottery has made my money become more.’ [dj07ae 198]

In the second type of causative construction, the causative verb *mek* and the verb of effect (here *go* ‘go’) are linked in a serial verb construction (1570). This construction is marginal in terms of frequency:

- (1570) À g̀ **mek**=àn **go** tum̀ro.  
 1SG.SBJ POT make=3SG.OBJ go tomorrow  
 ‘I’ll make him go tomorrow.’ [to05fn 030]

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be causativised. Example (1571) features a causative construction with the intransitive verb of effect *belch* ‘belch’ and (1572) one with the transitive verb *wich* ‘bewitch’. Like in all complement clauses, the subjunctive clause in these constructions can optionally be introduced by the quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ in addition to *mek* ‘SBJV’ (1572):

- (1571) À nid f̀ drink s̀n tin we d̀ **mek**  
 1SG.SBJ need ASS drink some thing SUB IPFV make  
**mek** à **belch**  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ belch  
 ‘I need to drink something that will make me belch.’ [ye07ga 029]

- (1572) Nà in **mek** **se** **mek** d̀n wich=àn.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP make QUOT SBJV 3PL bewitch=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘That’s why he was bewitched.’ [ru03wt 011]

Sentence (1573) illustrates the two options for rendering causative meaning with labile verbs. Before the comma, the verb *dr̀ngo* ‘be/get drunk’ is used as a transitive and causative verb followed by the patient object pronoun =àn ‘3SG.OBJ’. In the second half of the sentence,



causative meaning is expressed periphrastically through the *mek* causative construction. When the second option is used, the speaker may optionally 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:

- (1573) À        **drɔŋgor-àn**,        à        **mek**    mek        è        **drɔŋgo**.  
 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 *gi* ‘give’ in a double-object construction:

- (1574) È        bìn **mek**    mek        à        **gi**    dɪ    gɛl    dɪ    plàntí.  
 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 (1575) as well as the verb of effect in the subordinate clause (1576) may be negated:

- (1575) Put    dɪ    wàtá    pero    **no mek**    mek        è        **fɔ́dón**    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]

- (1576) Fit    sifɬa    in        soté    tu    tɛn    **mek**    mek  
 can    sieve    3SG.EMP    until    two    time    make    SBJV  
 dan    sməl    sməl    wàtá    dɛn    **no lef**.  
 that    small    small    water    PL    NEG    remain  
 ‘(You) can sift it upto 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. 12.6.1). These instances involve the idiomatic expressions *nà in mek/nà dɪ tin mek* ‘that’s why’ and the question phrase *wetin mek* ‘why’.

Hence, the subordinate clauses in (1577) and (1578) feature regular TMA marking via *dən* ‘PRF’ and *dè* ‘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. (1572) above):

- (1577) Nà    in        **mek**    dɔ̀tí    **dən**    plɛnte.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP    make    dirty    PRF    plenty  
 ‘That’s why the dirt has become so much.’ [hi03cb 033]

- (1578) Wetin **mek** yù no **dè** wok tìdé?  
 what make 2SG NEG IPFV work today  
 ‘Why aren’t you working today?’ [ro05ee 016]

The subjunctive marker *mek* also introduces the complement clauses of other main verbs, which – like the causative verb *mek* ‘make’ – induce deontic modality over their subordinate clauses. One such main verb is *want* ‘want’ (1579) (cf. 12.6.5 for a full treatment):

- (1579) Us=say yù **want** **mek** dì smok kòmót?  
 Q=side 2SG want SBJV DEF smoke come.out  
 ‘Where do you want the smoke to come out?’ [ye07fn 123]

Besides that, *mek* ‘SBJV’ introduces purpose and certain types of consecutive clauses (cf. 12.8.6) as well as imperatives and other types of directive main clauses (cf. 7.7.3.3). The conflation of these functions in the element *mek* represents a case in which the semantic linkages of a functional domain are actually instantiated in a single form (cf. e.g. Song 2001: 25–33; Palmer 1986: 180–82; Bybee et al. 1994: 213–30).

The verb *lef* ‘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 *mek* ‘make’. The effect situation is also expressed in a subjunctive clause. Yet, it is commonplace to express the causee as the object of *lef* and reiterate it as the subject of the subordinate subjunctive clause.

Consider the following two permissives and compare them with a causative construction like (1571) above. In (1571), the causative verb *mek* takes no object pronoun *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ that is coreferential with the subject à ‘1SG.SBJ’ of the subjunctive clause:

- (1580) À **lef** **mì** **pikín** mek **è** go Pànyá.  
 1SG.SBJ leave 1SG.POSS child SBJV 3SG.SBJ go Spain  
 ‘I allowed my child to go to Spain.’ [dj07ae 443]

- (1581) Seis años, **lef=àn** mek **è** wër klos,  
 six years leave=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ wear clothing  
 mek **è** go bay ìn bréd.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ go buy 3SG.POSS bread  
 ‘(At) six years, let him dress up (by himself), let him go buy his  
 (own) bread.’ [ab03ab 151]

The verb *lef* ‘leave, remain’ is also employed in the formation of resultative causatives. Resultative causative constructions serve to causativise stative situations denoted by property items as well as stative situations denoted by the identity copulas *nà/nòto* and *bi* 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 *lef* (cf. 13.3 for resultative adjuncts in secondary predicate constructions).

Sentence (1582) features the property item *yun* ‘be young’. The resultative causative equivalent in (1583) features the causer *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ = ‘it’ (i.e. ‘the clothing’), the causee *yu* ‘2SG.EMP’, which is an object to *lef* ‘leave’, as well as the resultative complement *yun* ‘young’. The verb *lef* in these constructions may either be used as an inchoative-stative verb as in (1583) or a dynamic verb as in (1587) below, where *lef* is specified by *dè* ‘IPFV’:

(1582) Di human **yun** yet.  
 this woman be.young yet  
 ‘This woman is still young.’ [ro05fe 014]

(1583) È **lef** yu **yun**.  
 3SG.SBJ leave 2SG.EMP be.young  
 ‘It makes/made you (appear) young.’ [dj07ae 197]

Example (1584) presents a non-causative predication involving the inchoative-stative property item *kàrét* ‘be correct’. The resultative causative counterpart in (1585) features the force causer *gòd* ‘God’, the causative verb *lef* ‘leave’ and the resultative complement *kàrét* ‘(be) correct’:

(1584) Di wan no **kàrét**.  
 this one NEG be.correct  
 This one is not correct.’ [dj07ae 188]

(1585) Gòd gò **lef** dì man **kàrét**.  
 God POT leave DEF man be.correct  
 ‘God will make this man righteous.’ [dj07ae 202]

Sentence (1586) is an equative clause featuring the identity copula/focus marker *nà* ‘FOC’. The causative equivalent in (1587) once more features the resultative causative verb *lef* as well as the compound noun and resultative complement *yùn-bòy* ‘young.CPD-boy’:

(1586) Dì human **nà yùn-gel**.  
 DEF woman FOC young.CDP-girl  
 ‘The woman is a young woman.’ [ro05fe 013]

(1587) Dì klos dèn dè **lef** yu **yùn-bòy**.  
 DEF clothing PL IPFV leave 2SG.EMP 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 *mek* ‘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 (1569) above with the force causer *loteria* ‘lottery’ and the property item *bòkú* ‘be much’ as a verb of effect).

The verb *put* ‘put’ is also used as a causative verb in a few instances in the corpus. In (1588) below, *put* is employed like *lef* in (1583) and (1587) above in order to express the resultative causative equivalent of a non-causative equative clause. The sentence contains the non-causative equative clause *yù human nà big human* ‘your wife is an important woman’ and the causative equivalent *put yù sef big man* ‘make yourself an important man’:

(1588) Èf yù human **nà big human**, è had fɔ̃  
if 2SG woman FOC big woman 3SG.SBJ hard ASS

**put** yù sef **big man**.  
put 2SG self big man

‘If your wife is an important woman it is difficult to make yourself an important man.’ [ma03hm 083]

#### 11.4.5 Impersonal constructions

A backgrounding passive may be formed by using impersonal *dèn* ‘3PL’ in the subject position. To begin with, the 3PL personal pronoun *dèn* may be used generically to refer to a loosely specified collective. Example (1589) features the generic, impersonal use of *dèn* in a transitive clause:

(1589) **Dèn** dè wɛr wayt ɔp violeta dɔn.  
3PL IPFV wear white up violet down  
‘They [the pupils] wear white up (and) violet down.’ [ma03hm 032]

The pronoun *dèn* 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 *dèn* serves to background a non-specific agent:

(1590) Esto nà wan ɔda kɔntri, **dèn** gò pul yu inmediateamente,  
this LOC one other country 3PL POT remove 2SG.EMP immediately

**dèn** dè pul yu wok.  
3PL IPFV remove 2SG.EMP 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 *stret* ‘be straight; straighten’ in an

intransitive (1591) and a transitive clause (1592) respectively. In the intransitive clause, the subject *rod* ‘road’ is patient to the inchoative-stative verb *stret*. In the transitive clause, impersonal *dèn* in subject position denotes the backgrounded agent, while the patient *rod* is now in object position:

(1591) **Dì rod** stret.  
DEF road be.straight  
 ‘The road is straight.’ [dj07ae 122]

(1592) **Dèn** dən stret **dì rod**.  
3PL PRF straighten DEF road  
 ‘The road has been straightened.’ [dj07ae 123]

Impersonal *dèn* 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 *dèn*. For example, (1593) sounds awkward since the backgrounded agent is construed as animate and human. A situation involving a non-human agent like *snek* ‘snake’ is therefore more likely to be expressed through an ‘active’ clause with a foregrounded agent in subject position (1594):

(1593) **?Dèn bet=àn** nà fam.  
3PL bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm  
 ‘?She was bitten on the farm.’ [li07fn 098]

(1594) **Snek bet=àn** nà fam.  
snake bite=3SG.OBJ LOC farm  
 ‘A snake bit her on the farm.’ [li05fn 099]

However, impersonal *dèn* does not retain its plural reference by default. Sentence (1595) was elicited by means of the “caused positions” video clip series of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. In all preceding clips, the agent of a series of actions had been a single individual. Nonetheless, the following sentence was given in response to a still image showing a pot lying upside down on a table:

(1595) **Dèn put=àn** mət dən fɨ dì tebul.  
3PL put=3SG.OBJ mouth down ASS DEF table  
 ‘It has been put mouth-down on the table.’ [li07pe 089]

Impersonal *dèn* is subject to some morphosyntactic restrictions inherent to the non-specific nature of the pronoun. Impersonal *dèn* 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 *posin* ‘person’ and *man* ‘man, human-being’. The generic noun

*pəsin* ‘person, human-being’ may occur as an agent subject in transitive clauses and function like impersonal *dèn* ‘3PL’. The noun *pəsin* refers to a backgrounded non-specific human agent. Compare the use of *pəsin* and *dèn* in these two near-identical sentences:

(1596) **Pəsin** gò entiende bət è no de bien.  
 person POT understand but 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.AT good  
 ‘One would understand but it’s not correct.’ [dj05be 043]

(1597) **Dèn** gò hia in bət è no so de claro.  
 3PL POT hear 3SG.EMP but 3SG.SBJ NEG like.that BE.AT clear  
 ‘It would be understood but it’s not so clear.’ [ye0502e2 050]

In addition to *dèn* ‘3PL’, other personal pronouns are also sometimes used with weak reference. Example (1598) features the use of *wì* ‘1PL’ in the idiom which serves as a response to the enquiry ‘how are you?’. Also compare the use of *wì* in (1599):

(1598) **Wì** dè pus=àn.  
 1PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I’m managing.’ [Lit. ‘We’re pushing it.’] [ur07fn 100]

(1599) Nà lèkε **wì** naw, **wì** dè tók Pànyá, **wì** gò  
 FOC like 1PL.EMP now 1PL IPFV talk Spanish 1PL POT  
 no se dis pəsin, nà Nigeriano.  
 know QUOT this person FOC Nigerian  
 ‘It’s like with us now, (if) we spoke Spanish, we would know  
 that this person, is Nigerian.’ [ma03hm 045]

Likewise, the impersonal backgrounded use of *yù* ‘2SG’ is common in procedural texts (1600):

(1600) De, εni kayn tin nà m̀nì, **yù** fit mek  
 there every kind thing FOC money 2SG can make  
 εni kayn tin **yù** gò si m̀nì.  
 every kind thing 2SG POT see money  
 ‘There, everything is money, you can do anything (and)  
 you’ll earn money.’ [ma03hm 054]

Finally, the copula and focus marker *nà* ‘FOC’ may be used to construct purpose-like clauses with impersonal reference with an obligation reading in combination with the prepositions *fə* ‘ASS’ or *tò* ‘to’ and a subsequent verb without person-marking (1601):

(1601) **Nà fə** tik=àn m̀.  
 FOC ASS thicken=3SG.OBJ more  
 ‘It has to be thickened more.’ [dj07ae 151]

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- (1602) **Nà to** inicia in.  
FOC to initiate 3SG.EMP  
'He has to be initiated [to social life in Malabo].'

## 12 Clause linkage

Relations between clauses may be established in various ways in order to form complex clauses consisting of more than one verb. A relation between clauses can be expressed by using anaphoric adverbials and pronouns (12.1). Adjacent clauses may also be linked by continuative intonation alone, or in combination with the other means available (12.2). Clause linkers may be employed in order to form complex coordinate (cf. 12.4), complement (12.6), relative (12.7) and adverbial clauses (12.8).

The resulting constructions are syntactically integrated in varying degrees. For instance subjunctive clauses introduced by *mek* 'sBJV' (12.6.5) are less finite and arguably syntactically subordinate to their main clauses. At the same time, it is not very useful to posit a relation of syntactic subordination between many types of adverbial clauses even if these clauses are semantically dependent on each other. In these structures, the linked clauses retain their full potential for the expression of person, tense, aspect and modality (e.g. the various types of adverbial clauses introduced by *we* 'SUB', cf. 12.8.1). Clauses may also be linked in multiverb constructions, which are covered separately in chapter 13.

### 12.1 Anaphor

Anaphoric pronouns and adverbs occur at the beginning of a clause and ensure referential continuity with a preceding clause. Such clauses often stand on their own and are neither linked by intonation nor a clause linker. Nevertheless, anaphoric reference may also be accompanied by continuative intonation. Important anaphoric expressions are sentence time and time adverbs like *afta* 'then, afterwards', *bət* 'but', the phrasal adverbial *dan tən* '(at) that time' as well as the phrase *nà in* 'FOC 3SG.EMP'.

The adverb *afta* 'then, afterwards' relates a situation with a previous one. It can be employed in ways very similar to that of certain clause linkers in prosodically more integrated constructions involving the clause linker *we* 'SUB' (cf. 12.8.1). In (1603), *afta* and *we* both establish a link of temporal succession with the preceding clause. Both elements are preceded by continuative intonation (indicated by a comma):

- (1603) Yù go yù pe, siete mil yù baja, **afta** yù finis yù sube,  
2SG go 2SG pay seven thousand 2SG go.down then 2SG finish 2SG go.up  
**we** yù dè pak mō siete mil, **we** yù sube.  
SUB 2SG IPFV pack more seven thousand SUB 2SG go.up



'You go, you pay, seven thousand, you go down, then you finish, you go up and take seven thousand again and go up.' [f203fp 012]

Example (1604) shows how the sequential meaning of *afta* can be read as a result relation in combination with continuative intonation:

- (1604) À no sàbí us=tin bìn kan pas, **afta** è go  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing PST PFV pass then 3SG.SBJ go  
 nà hospital.  
 LOC hospital  
 'I don't know what happened that he went to (the) hospital.' [ye03cd 074]

The adverb *afta* may also introduce the THEN-clause of reality conditionals, in which the IF-clause is introduced by *lèk* 'like' (1605):

- (1605) **Lèk** naw, **lèk** Bòyé so nà mì man, **afta** mì sista  
 like now ike NAME like.that FOC 1SG.POSS man then 1SG.POSS sister  
 gò kól=àn se, we è gò kan, 'us=say mì  
 POT call=3SG.OBJ QUOT SUB 3SG.SBJ POT come Q=side 1SG.POSS  
 bròdàló de?  
 brother-in-law BE.AT  
 'Suppose now, suppose Bòyé here were my husband, then my sister would call him, if she came, "where's my brother-in-law?"' [ro05de 005]

Example (1606) shows how the sequential meaning of *afta* can be read as a reason relation:

- (1606) Èf yù si se, sòn say dì ples klin, **afta** dèn dè du  
 if 2SG see QUOT some side DEF PLACE be.clean then 3PL IPFV do  
 dì tin dèn fayn, yù no gò bisin Èf yù gasta mòní.  
 DEF thing PL fine 2SG NEG POT be.busy if 2SG spend money  
 'If you see that, somewhere the place is clean and/ because things are done well, you don't bother if you spend money.' [ma03hm 066]

The phrasal adverbial *dan ten* 'at that time' also relates a situation to a preceding one. In (1607)(b), *dan ten* indicates a temporal relation of simultaneity with the preceding clause (a):

- (1607) a. È mit mì àntí.  
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS aunt  
 'He met my aunt.' [fr03ft 086]  
 b. **Dan ten** mì àntí get bèlé.  
 that time 1SG.POSS aunt get belly  
 'At that time my aunt was pregnant.' [fr03ft 087]

The phrase *nà in*, consisting of the focus marker *nà* and the emphatic 3sg pronoun *in* establishes various types of anaphoric relationships (cf. also 8.4.3.3). In (1608), a temporal interpretation is favoured due to the presence of the adverbial *las doce* ‘twelve (o’clock)’:

- (1608) Bìkòs in dè se, èni las doce **nà in** ìn  
 because 3SG.EMP IPFV QUOT every the.PL twelve FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.POSS  
 abuela kìn kan kòl=àn.  
 grandmother HAB come call=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Because she would say, always at twelve o’clock, that’s when her  
 grandmother used to come and call her.’ [ed03sb 150]

## 12.2 Intonation

Continuative intonation accompanies various types of clause linkage (cf. also 4.4.4). For example, it may be found at the boundary between coordinate clauses and the main and subordinate clauses in conditionals. Continuative intonation also occurs on its own without any other linker to signal a relation between adjacent clauses.

The deictic manner adverb *so* ‘like that’ in (1609) bears a continuative boundary tone. Such a non-final intonation at the boundary of the first clause signals that it is linked with the subsequent one. The nature of the relation between the clauses is determined by context. In this case, a cause relation reading is favoured:

- (1609) Bòkú mòtó dèn de ya **so,** à no no se  
 much car PL BE.AT here like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT  
 Pancho mek lèkè se è dè sube bihén  
 NAME make like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind  
 wi è baja mò.  
 1PL.EMP 3SG.SBJ go.down more  
 ‘(Because) a lot of cars were just there, I didn’t know that Pancho pretended to  
 go up behind us and went down again.’ [ye03cd 176]

Conditional relations are also frequently signalled by means of continuative intonation alone instead of clause linkers (1610):

- (1610) Yù mek=àn ìn frày-**res,** ìn banana **de,**  
 2SG make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS fry.CPD-rice 3SG.POSS banana there  
 è gò chòp=àn.  
 3SG.SBJ POT eat=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘(if/when) you make him his fried rice (and) his banana, he will eat it.’ [ro05rt 059]

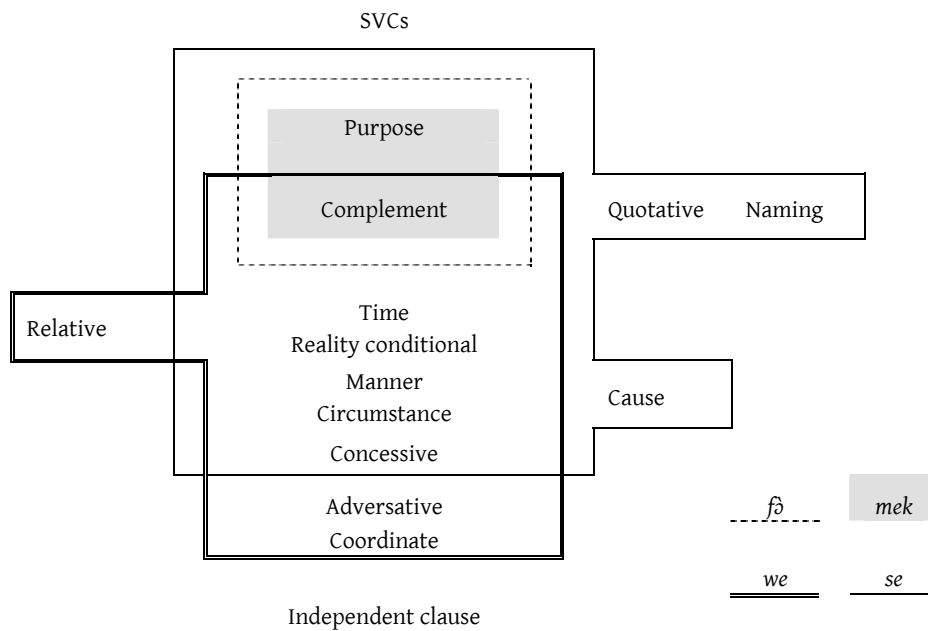
Serial verb constructions by definition involve non-final intonation over all non-final constituents. They form single prosodic units. The main and subordinate clauses of relative constructions are not normally linked by continuative intonation either.

### 12.3 Clause linkers

Next to the use of anaphors, intonation and SVCs, Pichi employs a large array of clause linkers to express relations between clauses. Linkers that serve to introduce adverbial clauses more specialised in their meanings are dealt with in 12.8. At the same time most types of relations, including adverbial ones, can be expressed by one or a combination of the multifunctional elements *we* 'SUB', *se* 'QUOT', *mek* 'SBJV' and *fɔ* 'ASS'.

These four linkers have multiple, partially overlapping functions, which are mapped in Figure 12.1. The ways in which these four linkers introduce different types of clauses are covered in the following sections of this chapter:

Figure 12.1 Functions of *fɔ*, *mek*, *we* and *se* by clause type



## 12.4 Coordination

Coordinate clauses may be linked by way of intonation as well as the linkers *wè* ‘SUB’ and *àn* ‘and’. In (1611), *bus* ‘forest’ bears a continuative boundary tone, which links the clause to the following one after the comma:

- (1611) So è go nà **bus**, è se è dè  
 so 3SG.SBJ POT LOC forest 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 go kil bif.  
 go kill wild.animal  
 ‘So he went to the forest, (and) he said he was going to kill  
 wild game.’ [ma03sh 004]

The clause linker *wè* ‘SUB’ can, amongst its other uses, link coordinate clauses. The preposition *wèt* ‘with’ may only conjoin NPs (cf. 6.5), hence an important function of *wè* is to serve as a clausal connective that can be translated as ‘and (then)’ (cf. Mithun 1988: 349-53 on the formal differentiation between NP and clausal coordination as an areal African feature).

In the following excerpt from a personal narrative, the first *wè* ‘SUB’ in (b) establishes a link (b) to the preceding clause (a) after a clause-final declarative intonation (indicated by the full stop). At the same time, context suggests a more temporal meaning of ‘when’ of the second *wè* in (b). Clause (c) resumes the narrative after declarative intonation at the end of (b):

- (1612) a. Afta nà mì grànmá à bìn dè kòl màrà.  
 then FOC 1SG.POSS grandmother 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV call mother  
 ‘So it’s my grandmother that I used to call mother.’ [fr03ft 016]
- b. **We** wì kan kan nà tòn, wè à bigín go skul,  
 SUB 1PL PFV come LOC town SUB 1SG.SBJ begin go school  
**wè** à bìn get, à tink se seis años.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ PST get 1SG.SBJ think QUOT six years  
 And then we came to town, and then I began to go to school, when I was,  
 I think six years old.’ [fr03ft 017]
- c. À bigín go skul  
 1sg.sbj begin go school  
 ‘I began going to school.’ [fr03ft 018]

The sequential and temporal meanings of *wè* ‘SUB’ in clauses like (1612)(b) above may extend into contiguous meanings such as adversative (1613). The various related meanings of *wè* in these contexts may blur beyond recognition the demarcation between the ‘coordinate’ clauses described in this section and the ‘subordinate’ adverbial clauses covered in 12.8.1:

CLAUSE LINKAGE

- (1613) a. Frijoles *yēs* frijoles.  
 beans yes beans  
 ‘[The Cubans call them] frijoles, yes frijoles. [ed03sp 119]
- b. **We** *ya* so, frijoles *nà* haricot *nà* *ya*.  
 SUB here like.that beans FOC beans LOC here  
 ‘While here, frijoles is haricot here.’ [ed03sp 120]

The quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ also functions as a sequential connective and clause coordinator in ways very similar to *we* ‘SUB’ when it signals inner speech or “internal awareness” (Güldemann 2008: 422ff.) and thereby often occurs without an overt subject as in (1614):

- (1614) a. *Dèn dè kəl dis tin fɔ cacahuete,*  
 3PL IPFV call this thing ASS ground.nut  
*dèn dè kəl=àn maní.*  
 3PL IPFV call=3SG.OBJ ground.nut  
 ‘They call this peanut thing, they call it ‘maní’. [ed03sp 082]
- b. **Se** *mōnin tən à gò go, à bay,*  
 QUOT morning time 1SG.SBJ POT go 1SG.SBJ buy  
*à tek tu peso (...)*  
 1SG.SBJ take two peso  
 ‘So in the morning, I would go and buy (it), I would take two pesos (...).’ [ed03sp 083]

The element *àn* ‘and’ may link NPs as well as coordinate clauses. Most speakers, however, favour coordinate structures linked by means of *we* ‘SUB’. The disjunctive coordinator *ə* ‘or’ may also link coordinate clauses, cf. (1658) further below for an example:

- (1615) *È nak dī tebul àn dī stayl we è nak dī tebul strɔn,*  
 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table and DEF style SUB 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table be.strong  
*è kan sek dī plet àn dī plet kan brok.*  
 3SG.SBJ PFV shake DEF plate and DEF plate PFV break  
 ‘He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way, he shook the plate, and the plate broke. [au07se 014]

## 12.5 Quotation

The element *se* ‘QUOT’ is characterised by an exceptional polyfunctionality that includes use as a lexical verb ‘say’ and use as quotation marker for direct speech and naming, renders inner speech and internal awareness, introduces adverbial clauses of manner, circumstance

and purpose, and reaches into the domain of clausal complementation. Drawing on recent research by Güldemann (2008), I assume that the function as an index of direct reported speech lies at the heart of the functional versatility of *se* 'QUOT'.

The element *se* occurs with a more lexical meaning of 'say'. It may take TMA marking and at the same time predicate a quotative construction. In the following example, *se* is employed as a speech verb. It is marked for potential mood by means of *gò* 'POT' and introduces a direct quote:

- (1616) Dì de we yù gò nid=àn, yù gò **se** 'à no get pàmáyn,  
 DEF day SUB 2SG POT need=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil  
 yù gò kət gadínéks.  
 2SG POT cut egg-plant  
 'The day that you will need it, you are going to say "I don't have oil," (and)  
 you will cut egg-plants.' [ab03ay 015]

In (1617) use of *se* as a lexical verb 'say' coincides with the presence of habitual marking (i.e. *kìn* 'HAB') However, in the overwhelming majority of instances, *se* remains bare, and hence marked for factative TMA, since quotative constructions by their very nature occur in reported, past-time discourse:

- (1617) (...) è **kìn se** 'kan wì go nà Barca wì go dring (...)  
 3SG.SBJ HAB QUOT come 1PL go LOC PLACE 1PL go drink  
 '(...) he usually says "come let's go to Barca and drink."' [ro05rt 029]

The transition from a more lexical reading of *se* to a more functional one is far from clear-cut (which is why I have opted for a unitary gloss of 'QUOT' in all contexts). First, distributional restrictions set *se* apart from true speech verbs *tək* 'talk, say' and *təl* 'tell'. For instance, *se* does not often take a nominal object, as does *tək*. Compare (1618)(a) and (b)

- (1618) a. ?Mek à **se wan wəd.**  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ QUOT one word  
 ?Let me say one word. [to07fn 219]  
 b. À **tək wan wəd.**  
 1SG.SBJ talk one word  
 'I said one word.' [to07fn 220]

Beyond that, adverbials do not usually modify *se* 'QUOT' (1619)(a). Adverbials only appear as quoted complements indexed by *se* (b). Again, there is no restriction on adverbial modification of the speech verb *tək* 'talk, say' (c):

- (1619) a. \*À se=àn **kwik.**  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT=3SG.OBJ quickly  
 \*I said it quickly.' [to07fn 221]

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- b. À se 'kwik'.  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT quickly  
 'I said "quickly."' [to07fn 222]
- c. À tək=àn kwik  
 1SG.SBJ talk=3SG.OBJ quickly  
 'I said it quickly.' [to07fn 223]

Secondly, *se* 'QUOT' is not normally encountered as a verb in any type of MVC. Hence in (1620), the speech verb *tək* 'talk, say' appears as a V2 to the modal verb *fit* 'can'. The appearance of *se* in this position is not attested.

- (1620) Yù **fit** tək 'à dè fil dì sɛnt fò lèk haw  
 2SG can talk 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent ASS like how  
 è dè kuk dì plàntí ò 'à dè **siente** dì sɛnt  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook DEF plantain SP 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent  
**se** pəsin dè kuk plàntí de.'  
 QUOT person IPFV cook plantain there  
 'You can say "I smell the scent of him cooking the plantain or " I smell  
 the scent that somebody is cooking plantain there.' [dj05ae 026]

Note that I do not analyse *se* as a V2 of a complementation SVC when it functions as a complementiser to a verb like *siente* 'feel' above (cf. also 12.6.6). The peculiar distribution of *se* as a speech 'verb' and its broad functional domain, which extends far beyond complementation, may point to the fact that *se* 'QUOT' did not start out as a speech verb in the first place. Instead, it is conceivable that the use of *se* as a speech 'verb' is derived from quotation just like its many other functions (cf. Güldemann 2008: 272-75; chapter 5). In this view, the resemblance of *se* with a purported English etymon *say* may be due either to chance or to the convergence of diverse etymologies and functions in one form.

The recurrent use of quotative clauses in discourse introduced by *se* 'QUOT' with or without a preceding subject in order to render direct and inner speech is a conspicuous feature of longer stretches of narrative discourse. Compare (1621)(a)-(e), in which speaker (ed) recalls how difficult it was for him to distinguish a transsexual man from a woman:

- (1621) a. À **se** 'nà man dis?'  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man this  
 'I said "This is a man?"' [ed03sb 222]
- b. È **se** 'nà man.'  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man  
 'He said "it's a man."' [ed03sb 223]
- c. À **se** 'yù dè kres man.'  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT 2SG IPFV be.crazy man  
 'I said "you're crazy, man."' [ed03sb 224]

- d. È        **se**        'nà man    dis.'  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man    this  
 He said "this is a man." [ed03sb 225]
- e. **Se**        nà man?  
 QUOT FOC man  
 '(You) say it's a man?' [ed03sb 226]

Example (1622) shows that the absence of overt subjects in this type of discourse opens up a grey area in which there is ample room for both a more functional and a more lexical reading of a subject-less, clause initial *se*. Compare the unambiguous use of *se* as a speech verb in (1622)(a) with the alternative translations of the subject-less *se* in (1622)(b):

- (1622) a. (...) è        **gò se**        è        dè fiε, è        no gò gi  
 3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give  
 mi        dī tin        we à        dè sεn=àn.  
 1SG.EMP DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV send=3SG.OBJ  
 '(He) would say, he was afraid (and) he wouldn't give me the thing that  
 I was sending him for.' [ab03ab 041]
- b. **Se**        in        no want    ìn        abuelo        skrach=àn.  
 QUOT 3SG.EMP NEG want 3SG.POSS grandfather scratch=3SG.OBJ  
 '(He'd) say he [EMP] doesn't want his grandfather to scratch him.' Or  
 'Because he doesn't want his grandfather to scratch him.'

Direct speech in Pichi rarely serves the sole aim of giving neutral reports of utterances. One of its crucial functions is the creation of an atmosphere of vivacity and authenticity that builds up tension and draws listeners into the narrative. In such a context, reported discourse often expresses the purported intention of referents as in (1623). Reported discourse also renders inner speech at important narrative junctures (1624):

- (1623) ìn        brɔda    dèn ɔl    kòmót    nà tɔn    ya        so  
 3SG.POSS brother PL all go.out LOC town here like.that  
**dèn se**    dèn dè kan    tek=àn.  
 3PL QUOT 3PL IPFV come take=3SG.OBJ  
 'His brothers all left town, (so) they said they came to take her.' [ab03ay 142]
- (1624) È        no sàbí    tɔk ni        Pànyá, è        **se**        è        want  
 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk even Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ want  
 muchachita de diecisiete años.  
 young.girl of seventeen years  
 'He doesn't even know how to talk Spanish (and) he says he wants a young girl  
 of seventeen years.' [ye03cd 053]



Speakers may use 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns in reported speech as in (1624) above or insert direct quotations as in (1625) below. These elements together constitute some of the conspicuous characteristics of Pichi narrative discourse, in which the already weak boundary between direct and indirect speech in Pichi is often deliberately blurred as part of a performance-oriented narrative technique:

- (1625) Tidé è kan è se, 'à tink se  
 today 3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ think QUOT  
 à gò finis ol dì reste.'  
 1SG.SBJ POT finish all DEF rest  
 'Today he came, he said "I think I am going to finish all the rest".' [ye03cd 147]

A further facet of the quotative function is the use of *se* in a naming construction which serves to identify a nominal element by name and introduce members of a list (cf. Güldemann 2008: 398ff). The named or listed items appear as nominal objects of *se*.

- (1626) Krio mà má dèn we dèn dè tək Pichi dèn kìn **tək se grin.**  
 Krio mother PL SUB 3PL IPFV talk Pichi 3PL HAB talk QUOT green  
 'The elderly Krio women, when they talk Pichi, they usually say green.'  
 [as opposed to "verde" like younger people] [dj05ce 257]

In combination with the verb *kəl* 'call', the naming construction translates as 'be in a kinship relation with X' (1627).

- (1627) Nà fadàló, nà dì pàpá we è bòn mi, nà in  
 FOC father-in-law FOC DEF father SUB 3SG.SBJ beget 1SG.EMP FOC 3SG.EMP  
 mì man gò **kəl se suegro.**  
 1SG.POSS man POT call QUOT father-in-law  
 'That is the father-in-law, that is the father who begat me, it is him that my husband would call father-in-law.' [ro05de 007]

Sentence (1628) exemplifies the use of *se* in listing. In these examples, the name or members of the list appear as nominal complements of *se*:

- (1628) À fit **təl** yu **se morera, teca, kalabo.**  
 1SG.SBJ can tell 2SG.EMP QUOT mulberry teak kalabo  
 'I can tell you mulberry, teak, kalabo [listing types of wood].' [ro05de 051]

The use of *se* to identify a nominal element represents a only context in which the quotative marker introduce nominal(s) rather than a clause. Through this characteristic, the naming construction may be structurally identical to a copula construction involving the focus marker and identity copula *nà* 'FOC'. Compare the two consecutive sentences in (1629):

- (1629) a. Nà mì màamá.  
 FOC 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘That’s my mother.’ [dj05ce 036]
- b. Se mì mom.  
 QUOT 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Namely my mum.’ [dj05ce 037]

The data also contains examples in which the use of *se* as a deictic identifier of a nominal entity has been taken to its logical conclusion. In (1630) *se* expresses identity in combination with the copula and focus marker *nà*:

- (1630) (...) dī píkín ol **se** **nà** mì yon  
 DEF child all QUOT FOC 1SG.POSS own  
 bikòs à dòn pe m̀nì.  
 because 1SG.SBJ PRF pay money  
 ‘The children are all mine because I have paid money  
 [the dowry].’ [hi03cb 196]

Aside from the functions covered in this section, the element *se* ‘QUOT’ is employed as a general clausal complementiser (cf. 12.6).

## 12.6 Complementation

This section covers complex clauses featuring subordinate clauses with the syntactic function of complements. In the following, such clausal participants are referred to as complement clauses. Five strategies of integration of main and subordinate verbs are used next to each other and sometimes they overlap (cf. Table 12.1). These strategies are covered in the following sections.

### 12.6.1 Finiteness

Complement clauses vary in their degree of finiteness. The verbs of complement clauses differ with respect to the complementiser they may occur with, their potential to take person and TMA marking, their potential to be negated, and their inherent time reference.

Table 12.1 summarises the way in which finiteness manifests itself in Pichi clause linkage with respect to these features. The five strategies of linkage of complement clauses are provided in the headline; some relevant diagnostics of finiteness are provided in the leftmost column:

Table 12.1 Clause linkage and finiteness

|   | None (SVCs) | <i>dè</i> 'IPFV' | <i>fɔ̃</i> 'ASS' | <i>mek</i> 'SBJV'        | <i>se</i> 'QUOT' |
|---|-------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Time reference of complement verb         | Dependent   | Dependent        | Dependent        | Dependent                | Independ.        |
| Can complement clause have overt subject? | No          | No               | No               | Yes                      | Yes              |
| Can complement clause be negated?         | No          | No               | No               | Yes                      | Yes              |
| Can complement verb have Person marking?  | No          | No               | No               | Yes                      | Yes              |
| Can complement verb have TMA marking?     | No          | No               | No               | Yes, but marginally used | Yes              |

The columns in Table 12.1 represent points in a continuum. The SVCs at the left end of the continuum express frequent and conventionalised aspect and modality notions (e.g. featuring the egressive auxiliary *kɔ̃mɔ̃t* 'just have done'). Such constructions never involve the use of a complementiser. However, when some auxiliary verbs express an aspectual and modal notion compatible with the unbounded nature of imperfective aspect the marker *dè* 'IPFV' may optionally appear before the lexical verb. This represents the first stage in a gradual increase of finiteness of the second verb in sequence.

The cline from non-finiteness to finiteness continues with complement clauses introduced by the three complementisers *fɔ̃* 'ASS', *mek* 'SBJV' and *se* 'QUOT' respectively. The freer the features defined in the leftmost column of Table 12.1 may occur in complement clauses (hence if they feature a 'yes'), the more finite the clause. In the cline, subjunctive clauses are therefore 'semi'-finite – they feature person marking but are reduced in their TMA marking potential. At the right end of the continuum we find full-fledged biclausal structures introduced by the quotative marker *se* 'QUOT'. It is shown below that the semantic structure of the main verb correlates with the type of complementiser as well as the type of complement clause it may cooccur with. Finally, note that the synonymous clause linkers *ɛ̃f(ɛ)* and *if* 'if' also function as complementisers in indirect question clauses (cf. 12.7.5).

### 12.6.2 Complement-taking verbs and complementisers

Table 12.2 lists some 60 frequent Pichi main verbs that may take different types of complement clauses. The table sorts these verbs according to the type of complement

clause linkage these verbs are attested with. The feature ‘semantic class’ correlates strongly with the complementiser provided in the ‘linkage type’ column. The feature ‘time reference’ refers to one aspect of the inherent temporal structure of these verbs and is covered in more detail in the relevant sections below. Verbs that may take complements introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ are not fully listed, since a complete listing would make the list unduly long. Beginning from the top of the table, the clause ‘linkage types’ increase in finiteness as they descend towards the bottom:

Table 12.2 Complement-taking verbs, semantic class and type of clause linkage

| Verb          | Linkage type    | Gloss                      | Semantic class            | Time reference                             |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <i>kòmát</i>  | SVC             | Egressive aspect           | Aspectual & modal         | Dependent:<br>simultaneous OR<br>posterior |
| <i>finis</i>  |                 | Completive aspect          |                           |  |
| <i>sigue</i>  |                 | Continuative aspect        |                           |  |
| <i>hebul</i>  |                 | ‘be capable of’            |                           |  |
| <i>manech</i> |                 | ‘manage to’                |                           |  |
| <i>sàbí</i>   |                 | ‘know how to’              |                           |  |
| <i>lek</i>    |                 | ‘like to’                  |                           |  |
| <i>bigín</i>  | SVC/dè ‘IPFV’   | ‘begin to’                 | Experiential & body state |  |
| <i>want</i>   |                 | ‘want; prospective aspect’ |                           |  |
| <i>fit</i>    |                 | ‘can’                      |                           |  |
| <i>get fə</i> | ‘have to’       |                            |                           |  |
| <i>stat</i>   | fə ‘ASS’        | ‘start to’                 |                           |  |
| <i>lef</i>    |                 | ‘stop (doing)’             |                           |  |
| <i>lan</i>    |                 | ‘learn to’                 |                           |  |
| <i>fəgét</i>  |                 | ‘forget to’                |                           |  |
| <i>kəstən</i> |                 | ‘be used to’               |                           |  |
| <i>bisin</i>  |                 | ‘be busy (with)’           |                           |  |
| <i>taya</i>   |                 | ‘be tired of’              |                           |  |
| <i>gladin</i> |                 | ‘be happy to’              |                           |  |
| <i>səri</i>   | ‘be sorry to’   |                            |                           |  |
| <i>sem</i>    | ‘be ashamed of’ |                            |                           |  |
| <i>fayn</i>   | fə/mek ‘SBJV’   | ‘be fine to’               | Weak deontic              | Dependent:<br>posterior                    |
| <i>bad</i>    |                 | ‘be bad to’                |                           |  |
| <i>gud</i>    |                 | ‘be good to’               |                           |  |
| <i>had</i>    |                 | ‘be difficult to’          |                           |  |
| <i>isi</i>    |                 | ‘be easy to’               |                           |  |
| <i>fia</i>    |                 | ‘be afraid to’             |                           |  |
| <i>membra</i> |                 | ‘remember to’              |                           |  |
| <i>fil</i>    |                 | ‘feel like’                |                           |  |
| <i>tray</i>   |                 | ‘try to’                   |                           |  |
| <i>nid</i>    |                 | ‘need to’                  |                           |  |

CLAUSE LINKAGE

|                  |                   |                     |                |                 |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>min</i>       |                   | 'intend doing'      |                |                 |
| <i>gri</i>       |                   | 'agree to'          |                |                 |
| <i>help</i>      |                   | 'help to'           |                |                 |
| <i>mek</i>       | <i>mek</i> 'SBJV' | 'cause to'          | Strong deontic |                 |
| <i>lef</i>       |                   | 'allow to'          |                |                 |
| <i>fəs</i>       |                   | 'force to'          |                |                 |
| <i>want</i>      |                   | 'want to'           |                |                 |
| <i>tun</i>       |                   | 'persuade to'       |                |                 |
| <i>təl</i>       |                   | 'tell to'           |                |                 |
| <i>se</i>        |                   | 'tell to'           |                |                 |
| <i>aks</i>       |                   | 'ask to'            |                |                 |
| <i>beg</i>       |                   | 'ask to'            |                |                 |
| <i>tək</i>       | <i>se</i> 'QUOT'  | 'talk; say'         | Speech         | Independent:    |
| <i>təl</i>       |                   | 'tell that'         |                | anterior OR     |
| <i>hala</i>      |                   | 'shout that'        |                | simultaneous OR |
| <i>ansa</i>      |                   | 'answer that'       |                | posterior       |
| <i>chək</i>      |                   | 'think that'        | Cognition      |                 |
| <i>tink</i>      |                   | 'think that'        |                |                 |
| <i>bilif</i>     |                   | 'believe that'      |                |                 |
| <i>kechəp</i>    |                   | 'realise that'      |                |                 |
| <i>si</i>        |                   | 'see that'          | Perception     |                 |
| <i>hia</i>       |                   | 'hear that'         |                |                 |
| <i>smel</i>      |                   | 'smell that'        |                |                 |
| <i>fil</i>       |                   | 'feel that'         |                |                 |
| <i>è de</i>      |                   | 'it is that'        | Factives       |                 |
| <i>nà (nəto)</i> |                   | 'it is (not) that'  |                |                 |
| <i>dì tin de</i> |                   | 'the thing is that' |                |                 |
| <i>dì kes de</i> |                   | 'the thing is that' |                |                 |

### 12.6.3 *dè* 'IPFV'

The 'complements' (depending on whether we classify these constructions as complement or serial verb constructions) in sentences featuring the V1 verbs *bigín* 'begin', *want/wənt* 'want; be about to', *fit* 'can' and *gət fə* 'have to' may optionally be introduced by the imperfective marker *dè* 'IPFV'.

The ingressive aspect auxiliary *bigín* 'begin' also harmonises with imperfective aspect; by highlighting the crossing of the left boundary (beginning) of a situation, the right boundary (end) of the situation is suppressed. *Bigín* is particularly likely to occur with *dè* 'IPFV' when used as an ingressive auxiliary (cf. 7.4.1 for examples). With the other verbs listed above, imperfective marking is less common and usually adds a continuative nuance to the construction. Compare the following constructions:

- (1631) Yu **wont** **dè** go?  
 2SG want IPFV go  
 ‘You want to (get) go(ing)?’ [nn07fn 202]
- (1632) Yù **fit** **dè** bən yù pikín dèn, (...)’  
 2SG can IPFV give.birth 2SG child PL  
 ‘You can be having your children, (...)’ [ab03ab 197]
- (1633) Yù **get** **fɔ̃** **dè** tən=àn.  
 2SG get ASS IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You have to be stirring it.’ [dj03do 057]

Note that both verbs in the constructions above must be coreferential; they have a subject in common. This kind of ‘independent’ aspect marking on a V2 with a coreferential subject is also possible in depictive predications (cf. 13.3).

#### 12.6.4 *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’

The multifunctional element *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ is, amongst its many other uses, employed to mark the citation form of verbs (e.g. *fɔ̃ ros* ‘to burn’, *fɔ̃ spia* ‘to spy on’). *Fɔ̃* introduces nominal, hence non-finite complements. Hence, when *fɔ̃* is used as a complementiser, the complement verb may not take an overtly expressed subject and the main and complement verbs have the same subject by default.

Some aspectual and modal verbs are characterised by variation in their occurrence with *fɔ̃*-complements. For instance, *stat* ‘start’, *help* ‘help’, *gri* ‘agree’ and *tray* ‘try’ are attested without and with *fɔ̃*-complements. The modal verb *tray* ‘try’ appears without the element *fɔ̃* in (1634) and with it in (1635):

- (1634) È want **tray** mən fəs.  
 3SG.SBJ want try cure first  
 ‘She wanted to try to get better first.’ [ed03sb 044]
- (1635) È **dè** tinap, sməl pikín we è **dè**  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand up small child SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
**tray** **fɔ̃** tinap yet.  
 try ASS stand up yet  
 ‘She’s beginning to stand, a small child that is still trying to stand.’ [dj05be 219]

As a complementiser, *fɔ̃* introduces the complements of aspectual and modal verbs that neither occur in SVCs, nor with any other complementiser. One of these verbs is *lef* ‘leave, stop to’ (1636), a verb that expresses the aspectual notion of cessation:

- (1636) Mek è lef fɔ̃ dring.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ leave ASS drink  
 ‘She should leave drinking.’ [ra07fn 033]

The element *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ also introduces the complements of a number of experiential and body state verbs, which are also not attested in any other type of construction. These verbs predetermine a simultaneous time reference of their complements. An example follows, in which *fɔ̃* introduces the complement of the experiential verb *sem* ‘be ashamed’ (1637):

- (1637) Naw à dɔn dè finis sem fɔ̃ wɛr dan sus,  
 now 1SG.SBJ PRF IPFV finish be.ashamed ASS wear that shoe  
 èf à bìn no à fɔ̃ kɛr ɔda sus.  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST know 1SG.SBJ ASS carry other shoe  
 ‘Now I am completely ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known  
 I would have brought another (pair of) shoes.’ [ma03hm 021]

Furthermore, *fɔ̃* introduces complements of a number of verbs whose meaning contains an element of proposal, desire, evaluation and similar affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. I regroup these verbs under the label ‘weak deontic’. The deontic meaning of these verbs is also compatible with the modal meanings of *fɔ̃* itself (cf. 7.7.3.2). When main and complement verbs have the same subject, the complement clause may be introduced by *fɔ̃*. Compare the verbs *isi* ‘be easy’ (1638) and *gri* ‘agree’ (1639):

- (1638) Dì chɔp isi fɔ̃ chɔp.  
 DEF food be.easy ASS eat  
 ‘The food is easy to eat.’ [ye07je 095]
- (1639) Dì gal no gri fɔ̃ fala mi, (...)  
 DEF girl NEG agree ASS follow 1SG.EMP  
 ‘The girl didn’t agree to come with me, (...)’ [au07ec 060]

Any weak deontic verb may alternatively take a subjunctive clause complement introduced by the subjunctive marker and modal complementiser *mek* ‘sBJV’ if the main verb is understood to induce a posterior time reference over the complement verb. For example, the complements of the weak deontic verb *mɛmba* ‘remember to’ may be introduced by *fɔ̃* ‘ASS’ (1640) or by *mek* ‘sBJV’ (1641). In both sentences below, the main and complement clauses share the same subject. However, the subjunctive clauses is more finite – it requires an overt subject. In contrast, the use of a *fɔ̃*-complement does not permit the occurrence of an overt subject.

- (1640) À mɛmba fɔ̃ kəl=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ remember ASS call=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I remembered to call her.’ [au07ec 067]

- (1641) À        **mɛmba**    **mek**    à        kɔl=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ remember SBJV 1SG.SBJ call=3SG.OBJ  
 'I remembered to call her.' [au07ec 065]

With weak deontic verbs, the subjunctive marker *mek* 'SBJV' may not only be employed instead of *fɛ* 'ASS'. A subjunctive clause may also immediately follow *fɛ*. Hence all weak deontic verbs may feature the complementiser series *fɛ mek* 'ASS SBJV' as in (1642) below:

- (1642) So we yù dɔn lan yù langwech èn, è dɔn **had**  
 so SUB 2SG PRF learn 2SG language INTJ 3SG.SBJ PRF hard  
**fɛ mek** yù lan Pànyá.  
 ASS SBJV 2SG learn Spanish  
 'So when you've learned your (home) language, it is hard for you to learn Spanish.' [to03gm 020]

The use of subjunctive complement clauses is, however, required with weak deontic verbs whenever the main and complement clauses do not have a subject in common. Compare (1635) above with (1643) below. Both sentences feature the main verb *tray* 'try':

- (1643) (...) à        gò **tray**    **mek**    è        bay mi    dan    kayn  
           1SG.SBJ POT try    SBJV    3SG.SBJ buy 1SG.EMP that    kind  
 gafas    por dios.  
 glasses by God  
 '(...) I will try that she buys me that kind of glasses, by God.' [ye07ga 003]

A subjunctive complement is also necessary if the complement verb is negated. This is so because non-finite verbs – including those that appear in *fɛ*-complements – are not normally negated in Pichi.

Compare the negated complement clause introduced by *mek* 'SBJV' in (1644) with the affirmative complement clause introduced by *fɛ* 'ASS' in (1640) above. Both sentences involve the main verb *mɛmba* 'remember':

- (1644) Nà in        à        mɛmba    **mek**    à        **no go** de.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ remember SBJV 1SG.SBJ NEG go there  
 'That's when I remembered not to go there.' [bo05fn 021]

The evaluative verbs *fayn* 'be fine', *had* 'be hard', *isi* 'be easy', *bad* 'be bad' and *gud* 'be good' may be followed by a *fɛ*-complement when the subject of the main clause is expletive, i.e. refers to no specific person or entity as in (1645). Complements of evaluative main verbs with expletive subjects are amongst the few ones that function as the notional subject of the main clause:



- (1645) È        **fayn**    **fɔ̃**    dring    sməl-wan.  
 3SG.SBJ    fine        ASS    drink    small-ADV  
 ‘It’s good to drink little.’ [ma03hm 071]

Once the complement situation has a fully referential subject (which is necessarily not coreferential with the expletive subject of the main clause), a subjunctive complement clause is required (1646):

- (1646) We yù dè dring, è        de        **fayn**    **se**        **mek**    yù no chak.  
 SUB 2SG IPFV drink    3SG.SBJ    BE.AT    fine        QUOT    SBJV    2SG NEG get.drunk  
 ‘When you drink, it’s good not to get drunk.’ [ur07fn 288]

Note the presence of the quotative marker and general complementiser *se* ‘QUOT’ in (1646) above. Any subjunctive clause may additionally be preceded by *se* (cf. 12.6.5):

### 12.6.5 *mek* ‘SBJV’

Verbs expressing the strong deontic notion of manipulation are only attested with subjunctive complements introduced by *mek* ‘SBJV’. These complements have a dependent time reference; the complement situation is always posterior to that of the main verb. Strong deontic verbs invariably express a strong degree of manipulation, a notion that is compatible with the use of subjunctive mood in directives (cf. 7.7.3.3). Below follow subjunctive complements of the manipulative verbs *fɔs* ‘force’ (1647) and *tun* ‘tune; persuade’ (1648):

- (1647) À        **fɔs=àn**        **mek**        è        luk        mi.  
 1SG.SBJ    force=3SG.OBJ SBJV    3SG.SBJ    look        1SG.EMP  
 ‘I forced him to look at me.’ [dj05ae 034]

- (1648) À        **tun=àn**        **se**        **mek**        è        bay        mi        mòtó.  
 1SG.SBJ    tune=3SG.OBJ QUOT    SBJV    3SG.SBJ    buy        1SG.EMP    car  
 ‘I coaxed her into to buying me a car.’ [ye05fn 044]

The class of manipulative complement-taking verbs also includes the verbs *mek* ‘make; cause to’ (1649) and *lef* ‘leave; permit’ in their respective functions as causative and permissive-causative verbs (cf. 11.4.4):

- (1649) È        **mek**    **mek**    ìn        human    dring    dì    cervesa.  
 3SG.SBJ    make    SBJV    3SG.POSS woman    drink    DEF    beer  
 ‘He made his woman drink the beer.’ [dj05be 001]

The manipulative verb of desire *want* ‘want’ is very versatile. It may occur in same subject modal SVCs (cf. e.g. (567)) or may take ‘complements’ introduced by *dè* ‘IPFV’ (cf. e.g. (1631)).

When the subjects of the main and complement clauses are not the same, a subjunctive *mek*-complement is required:

- (1650) È        nak dì plet      pàn dì tebul    bikəs    è        **want**  
 3SG.SBJ hit DEF plate    pan DEF table    because 3SG.SBJ want  
**mek**    dì plet    brok.  
 SBJV    DEF plate    break  
 ‘He hit the plate on the table because he wanted the plate to break.’ [au07se 194]

Speech verbs employed as verbs of ordering and manipulation always take subjunctive complements. Examples of such indirect imperatives are provided in the following two sentences involving the verbs *tel* ‘tell (to)’ (1651) and *beg* ‘ask to’ (1652):

- (1651) Afta,    bueno    **tel**=àn        **se**        **mek**    è        bak  
 then    good    tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT    SBJV    3SG.SBJ give.back  
 yu        dì m̀nì.  
 2SG.EMP DEF money  
 ‘Then, ok, tell him that he should give you back the money.’ [ye03cd 032]

- (1652) È        bìn **beg**=àn        **se**        **mek**    è        kil dì f̀l.  
 3SG.SBJ PST beg=3SG.OBJ QUOT    SBJV    3SG.SBJ kill DEF fowl  
 ‘She asked him to kill the fowl.’ [dj05ae 043]

In a few instances in the data, the complements of strong deontic verbs are not introduced by *mek* ‘SBJV’; the subjunctive marker is absent. I give two examples featuring the main verbs *lef* ‘leave, permit’ (1653) and *want* ‘want’ (1654):

- (1653) Nà in        mì        grànmá    bìn kan    t̀k se  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 1SG.POSS grandmother PST come talk QUOT  
 in        no g̀ò **lef**        **mi**        **à**        **go**, (...)  
 3SG.EMP NEG POT leave 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ go  
 ‘That’s when my grandma said that she [EMP] wouldn’t let me go, (...).’ [fr03ft 078]

- (1654) Se        in        no **want**    **ìn**        **abuelo**    **skrach**=àn.  
 QUOT 3SG.EMP NEG want 3SG.POSS grandfather scratch=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘(He) said, he [EMP] didn’t want his grandfather to scratch him.’ [ab03ab 042]

Notwithstanding the absence of the subjunctive marker, I analyse the clauses in bold in (1653) and (1654) above as subjunctive clauses. Evidence comes from the reduced TMA marking that characterises these clauses. Although both subordinate clauses are future-referring, they are not marked by *g̀ò* ‘POT’ as they would if they occurred in main clauses or clauses with independent time reference (e.g. in quotative clauses introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’). Instead the subordinate verbs *go* ‘go’ and *skrach* ‘scratch’ appear stripped of any TMA

marking as do subjunctive complements introduced by *mek* ‘SBJV’.

This shows that the reduction of TMA marking, or “deranking” (Stassen 1985: 76-86; cf. also Cristofaro 2003) of the subjunctive subordinate clause is just as much a diagnostic of subjunctive mood as is the presence of the modal complementiser *mek* ‘SBJV’.

### 12.6.6 *se* ‘QUOT’

We saw in the preceding two sections that the quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ can optionally introduce any subjunctive complement featuring the modal complementiser *mek* ‘SBJV’. This distribution is in line with the function of the quotative marker as a general complementiser.

The quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ introduces the finite complement clauses of speech (1655), cognition (1656) and perception verbs (1657). Complement clauses introduced by *se* have independent time reference and are not reduced; they finite and may occur with the full range of TMA marking as in the following examples:

(1655) Yɛ, à kan **tɛl**=àn **se** ‘chica, mi no lɛk yu  
 yeah 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.EMP NEG like 2SG.EMP  
 bət wì fit de lɛk kəmpin.’  
 but 1PL can BE.AT like friend  
 ‘Yeah, I told her “girl, I don’t love you but we can be like friends”.’ [ru03wt 029]

(1656) Nə à **tink** **se** realmente yù nid pikín.  
 INTJ 1SG.SBJ think QUOT really 2SG need child  
 ‘Actually, I think that one really needs children.’ [fr03ft 163]

(1657) Yù jəs **hia** **se** pəsin dɛn bìn dè tək, bət yù no listin.  
 2SG just hear QUOT person PL PST IPFV talk but 2SG NEG listen  
 ‘You just heard that people were talking but you didn’t listen.’ [au07se 109]

When *se* ‘QUOT’ introduces the complements of speech verbs, the difference between direct and indirect speech hinges on pronominal reference. For instance, the sentence in quotes in (1655) above is a direct speech complement of *tɛl* ‘tell’ because reference to *chica* ‘girl’ switches from =àn ‘3SG.OBJ’ in the main clause to the object pronoun *yu* ‘2SG.EMP’ in the complement clause.

With cognition and perception main verbs, the perceived situation can also be expressed as an adverbial time clause introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ (1658) (cf. also (1719) further below) or *we* ‘SUB’ (cf. (1713)), and an adverbial time clause introduced by *lɛk haw* ‘the way that’ (1658) (cf. also (1732)). The adverbial clause is marked for imperfective aspect, since it is simultaneous with the main clause situation:

- (1658) À       dè **hia**    in       **se**       è       dè nak dì gita    ò  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear   3SG.EMP QUOT   3SG.SBJ IPFV hit DEF guitar or  
 à       dè **hia**    in       **lèk haw**   è       dè nak dì gita.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear   3SG.EMP like how   3SG.SBJ IPFV hit DEF guitar  
*Lit.* ‘I hear him that he’s playing the guitar.’ OR I hear him how he’s playing  
 the guitar [dj05ae 053]

The quotative marker also introduces the complements of copula verbs in statements of facts. In such factive clauses, the copula verb takes a dummy noun like *tin* ‘thing’, *kes* ‘matter’ or the expletive subject pronoun è ‘3SG.SBJ’. Factive main clauses like the one in (1659) are very common as introductory formulas in narrative discourse (cf. also (1377)ff.):

- (1659) È       **de**       **se**       dan   gal       è       bìn dè kan   ya.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT QUOT   that girl   3SG.SBJ PST IPFV come here  
 ‘It’s that/it came to pass that that girl used to come here.’ [ru03wt 019]

Evaluative verbs like *fayn* ‘be fine’, *gud* ‘be good’, or *bad* ‘be bad’ can induce either an indicative or a subjunctive mood over their complements. Accordingly, evaluative verbs are followed by indicative complements when these are intended to convey factual information about present or past situations (1660):

- (1660) È       **fayn**   **se**       è       kan   **yéstadé.**  
 3SG.SBJ fine   QUOT   3SG.SBJ come yesterday  
 ‘It’s good that he came yesterday.’ [dj07ae 260]

A subjunctive complement (albeit with the usual optional *se* ‘QUOT’) is required when the evaluative main verb refers to a potential situation (1661), and by expressing a preference, harmonises with the deontic sense associated with the subjunctive mood in Pichi:

- (1661) È       **fayn**   se       **mek**   è       kan   **tumoro.**  
 3SG.SBJ fine   QUOT   SBJV   3SG.SBJ come tomorrow  
 ‘It’s good for him to come tomorrow.’ [dj07ae 257]

Interrogative complements of speech, cognition and perception verbs are no different from headless, free relative clauses and are covered in 12.7.5.

### 12.6.7 *we* ‘SUB’

The multifunctional linker *we* ‘SUB’ is employed as a subordinator in relative clauses, an adverbial clause linker and a clausal coordinator. In a small minority of complement relations in the corpus, it is also used as a complementiser.

The *we*-clause in (1662) is a borderline case that may either be analysed as an adverbial clause, i.e. a modifying time clause, or a subject complement clause:

- (1662) È dòn ste, à tink se è dòn **ste**  
 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long  
**we** ùna bìn get insecticida ya.  
 SUB 2PL PST get insecticide here  
 ‘It’s long ago, I think that it’s long ago that you people had insecticide here/  
 when you people last had insecticide here.’ [fr03wt 060]

The same holds for the *we*-clause in (1663), which can be interpreted as the complement clause of *hia* ‘hear’ or an indirect interrogative clause, although the presence of a subsequent *se*-complement clause favours the latter interpretation:

- (1663) Yù no **hia we** à təl Mario **se** quiero cocinar?  
 2SG NEG hearsUB 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT I.want cook  
 ‘You didn’t hear that I told Mario that I want to cook?’ OR  
 ‘You didn’t hear when I told Mario that I want to cook?’ [ye03cd 124]

In turn, the complement status of the *we*-clauses in (1664) is unequivocal. The functional equivalence of *we* and the general complementiser *se* in such complement clauses is illustrated by way of the analogous example in (1665). However, the data contains no examples of *we*-complement clauses to speech verbs:

- (1664) Mek yu no **fil sori we** à no gi yu no natin.  
 SBJV 2SG.EMP NEG feel sorry SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG give 2SG.EMP NEG nothing  
 ‘Don’t be disappointed that I didn’t give you anything.’ [to03gm 046]
- (1665) À dè **fil sori se** è dè kil dī fīl.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel sorry QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV kill DEF fowl  
 ‘I feel sorry that she’s killing the fowl.’ [dj05ae 014]

The following example involving *we* ‘SUB’ is also a straightforward case of complementation involving an experiential main predicate:

- (1666) **Tenk gōd we** yù dòn kan!  
 thank God SUB 2SG PRF come  
 ‘Thank God that you have come!’

### 12.6.8 Complements of nouns

The elements *f̂* ‘ASS’ and *se* ‘QUOT’ may also introduce purposive complements of nouns and modify a head noun in a way very similar to a relative clause. In (1667), *f̂* introduces the non-finite (hence nominal) complement *pas* ‘pass’ of the head noun *say* ‘place’. The same

function may be fulfilled by *se* 'QUOT'. In the second half of sentence (1667), the *se*-clause attributes a finite complement clause to the head noun *say* 'place', and thereby, introduces a quasi relative clause:

- (1667) È        gɛt ɔda    **say**    fɔ̃ **pas**,    bɔ̀t à        dè fɛn  
 3SG.SBJ    get other    side    ASS pass    but 1SG.SBJ    IPFV look for  
 dɪ **say**    **se**        yù        nɔ̀ gò gɛt hàmbóg    fɔ̃ pipul    dɛ̀n.  
 DEF side    QUOT    2SG        NEG POT get irritation    ASS people    PL  
 'There is another place to pass (through), but I am looking for the place where you wouldn't be bothered by people.' [ma03ni 009]

In (1668), a *se*-clause specifies the matter of the abstract noun *fulis* 'foolishness'. In (1668) the anaphoric demonstrative pronominal *da wan* 'that one' is modified by a subjunctive marked purpose clause introduced by *se* 'QUOT':

- (1668) À        se        bikɔ̀s    ùna Camerún,    ùna gɛt dɪ **fulis**        **se**,  
 1SG.SBJ    QUOT    because 2PL PLACE    2PL get DEF foolishness    QUOT  
 we naw    we yù tek=àn,    yù gò sel=àn.  
 SUB now    SUB 2SG take=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT sell=3SG.OBJ  
 'I say because you Cameroonians, you have the foolish habit that, when now, when you take it, you will sell it.' [ab03ay 151]

- (1669) (...) yù trowe=àn,    yù put ɔda    nyu wan insay,  
 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG put other    new one inside  
**da wan**    **se**        **mek**    è        nɔ̀ simɛl.  
 that one    QUOT    SBJV    3SG.SBJ    NEG smell  
 '(...) you pour it away, (then) you put another new one [water] inside, that (is) so that it does not smell.' [dj03do 048]

## 12.7 Relativisation

In Pichi, subjects, objects and prepositional phrases as well as possessor and possessed nouns may be relativised. The most common means of forming relative clauses involves the use of the morphologically invariant subordinator *we* 'SUB' as a relative clause linker. Next to *we* 'SUB', the linkers *se* 'QUOT' and *fɔ̃* 'ASS' marginally fulfil the function of relative clause linkers when they introduce noun complements (cf. 12.6.8).

In the second strategy of relative clause formation no relative clause linker is employed and the relative clause simply follows the main clause. Hence, there is a 'gap' between the two clauses. However, resumptive pronouns may optionally refer back to the relativised head noun in most types of relative clauses. Aside from that, restrictive and non-

restrictive relative clauses are not systematically distinguished on formal grounds.

The use of resumptive pronouns is nearly general in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns, fairly common in object relative clauses and rare in the relativisation of prepositional phrases. The frequency of resumptive pronouns with subject relative clauses runs counter to the predictions of the relativisation accessibility hierarchy (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977) and it should be worthwhile investigating whether it constitutes an areal West African phenomenon (cf. however, Sankoff & Tarallo 1984 on a similar distribution of resumptive pronoun usage in Tok Pisin and popular Brazilian Portuguese).

In the example sentences in this section, relative clauses are set in squared brackets. Table 12.3 summarises important features of the different types of relative clauses that Pichi has (RC = relative clause):

Table 12.3 Features of relative clauses

| Feature  | Subject RC | Object RC | PP RC | Possessor RC |
|--|------------|-----------|-------|--------------|
| Are 'gap' rel clauses attested?                        | No         | Yes       | Yes   | No           |
| Are resumptive pronouns found in relativised position? | Yes        | Yes       | Yes   | n.a.         |
| Are free relative clauses attested?                    | Yes        | Yes       | Yes   | No           |
| Is stranding of prepositions attested?                 | n.a.       | n.a.      | Yes   | n.a.         |
| Is pied-piping of prepositions attested?               | n.a.       | n.a.      | No    | n.a.         |

### 12.7.1 General characteristics

The linker *we* 'SUB' introduces relative clauses as well as adverbial and coordinate clauses. Since the use of resumptive subject pronouns is very common (but still optional) in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns (cf. Table 12.3 above), some subject relative clauses may therefore have the same constituent order as an adverbial clause introduced by *we* 'SUB'. Consider the alternative relative and adverbial translations I provide for sentence (1670):

- (1670) (...) ɔl di **man** **dèn** [we **dèn** get m̀nɪ], nà dì tin  
all this man PL SUB 3PL get money FOC DEF thing  
we dèn dè mek.  
SUB 3PL IPFV make

'All these men who have money, that's what they do.' OR  
 'All these men, when they have money, that's what they do.' [ed03sb 133]

However, the meaning of the sentence above is not as ambiguous as it may appear. Relative clauses are never separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break; relative constructions form single prosodic units. In contrast, adverbial clauses are very often separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break: The main clause bears continuative intonation and the subordinate clause is separated from the main clause by a pause. The adverbial clause then begins with the high pitch onset that is characteristic for independent utterances (cf. also 4.4.4). An adverbial interpretation of the clause introduced by *we* 'SUB' in (1670) above would therefore only be possible if a comma were inserted between *man dèn* 'men' and *we* 'SUB'. In contrast, pronoun resumption, even if possible, is not very often seen in object relative clauses, even if the head noun is specific. In the object relative clause below, *get* is not followed by an object pronoun coreferential with the head noun *m̀nì*:

(1671) Mek è bak yu d̀ m̀nì [we è get].  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.EMP DEF money SUB 3SG.SBJ get  
 'Let him give you back the money that he got.' [fr03cd 027]

The possibility of abstaining from pronoun resumption in Pichi relative clauses such as (1671) (for a subject relative clause without a resumptive pronoun, cf. (1682) below) and the prosodic unity of relative constructions are good arguments for viewing relative clauses as embedded clauses.

Relative clauses always follow the head NP that they refer to. The head NP and its relative clause are often separated by quantifiers (1672) as well as topic and focus particles (1673). The examples in this section and following ones also show that TMA and person marking in relative clauses is "balanced" (Stassen 1985); hence it is not reduced and identical to in of simple declarative clauses:

(1672) Somos tu dasol [we wì de layf] (...)  
 we.are two only SUB 1PL BE.AT life  
 'We are, (it's) only two of us that are alive (...)' [ab03ay 133]

(1673) S̀n de yet sef [we à no mek.]  
 some BE.AT yet EMP SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG make  
 'Some is actually still left that I haven't made.' [dj03do 009]

Headed restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses cannot be distinguished on formal grounds. In (1674), the commas in squared brackets in the translation indicate the non-restrictive alternative interpretation of the sentence. Note the presence of the English loan *apart from* in this example:

(1674) Apart from m̀ àntí [we è de ya], ò d̀ pikín  
 apart from 1SG.POSS aunt SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT here or DEF child



CLAUSE LINKAGE

dèn fɔ̀ mì grànmá wèt mì grànpá [we dèn stɪl de  
 PL ASS 1SG.POSS grandmother with 1SG.POSS grandfather SUB 3PL still BE.AT  
 layf], dèn-ɔ̀l dèn de nà Pànyá.  
 life 3PL.EMP.CPD-all 3PL BE.AT FOC Spain

'Apart from my aunt [,] who is here, or the children of my grandmother and grandfather  
 [,] who are still alive, they are all in Spain.' [fr03ft 038]

If the head noun has plural reference, the pluraliser *dèn* 'PL' appears immediately after the head noun and before the subordinator *we* 'SUB' (1675). Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *dèn* '3PL' in the relative clause, which is co-referential with the head noun *tin dèn* 'things':

(1675) Porque dan tin nà **tin** **dèn** [we **dèn** don ste  
 because that thing FOC thing PL SUB 3PL PRF stay  
 dan tɛn dèn we esclavitud de].  
 that time PL SUB slavery BE.AT

'Because those are things that have stayed (from) those times when there  
 was slavery.' [hi03cb 228]

Pichi exhibits generous possibilities of relative clause formation (cf. Keenan 1985: 148). For example, the relativisation of a nominal that is part of a coordinate structure is permitted (1676). Equally, a relative clause may contain a focused resumptive pronoun (1677):

(1676) Bikos mi de sòn stayl, làyk **dan gel** [we **mi** **wèt-àn**  
 because 1SG.EMP BE.AT some style like that girl SUB 1SG.EMP with=3SG.OBJ  
 bìn go de], à tɛl=àn se à wɔ̀nt si haw dèn dè mek(...)  
 PST go there 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ want see how 3PL IPFV make

'Because I was (feeling) a way, like that girl with whom I went there, I told her that  
 I wanted to see how they make (...)' [ed03sb 149]

(1677) Bòt dì pe we yù get fɔ̀ pe, if yù no dè gi mi yù  
 but DEF pay SUB 2SG get ASS pay if 2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.EMP 2SG  
 fɔ̀s **man** [we **nà in** gi yu di bɛ̀lé], yù dè gi  
 first man SUB FOC 3SG.EMP give 2SG.EMP this belly 2SG IPFV give  
 mi dì pìkín [we dè kòmót].  
 1SG.EMP DEF child SUB IPFV come.out

Lit. 'But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don't give me your first man  
 who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that  
 will come out.' [ed03sb 020]

Likewise, there is no restriction on the relativisation of the subject or object of a

complement clause (1678) or of an indirect question clause (1679):

- (1678) Nà dan **bɔy** [we à **tɛl** yu **se** ìn mà má dòn  
 FOC that boy SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP QUOT 3SG.POSS mother PRF  
 go nà Pànyá].  
 go LOC Spain  
 ‘It is that boy (of) who I told that his mother has gone to Spain.’ [he07fn 253]

- (1679) À gɛt sòn kɔmpin, sòn **Ghanà-mán** [we à no **sàbí**  
 1SG.SBJ get some friend some Ghana.CPD-man SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG know  
**us=say** dan man de].  
 Q=side that man BE.AT  
 Lit. ‘I have a friend, a Ghanaian who I don’t know where that man is.’ [ed03sb 188]

Relative constructions are also made use of to express adverbial relations of time, location, and manner through relativisation of generic nouns like *awa* ‘time; hour’, *tɛn* ‘time’ (1723), *de* ‘day’ (1724) and *stayl* ‘manner, syle’ (1730).

### 12.7.2 Subjects and objects

Subject relative clauses normally feature a resumptive subject pronoun that is coreferential with the [+specific] relativised noun. Relative clauses featuring a relativised subject pronoun also usually contain a resumptive pronoun if the head NP is not a 3SG pronoun (1681):

- (1680) Èf yù chɔp ɔl **dis chɔp** [we è no dòn], tumɔro  
 if 2SG eat all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done tomorrow  
 yù gò sik.  
 2SG POT be.sick  
 ‘If you eat all this food that is not done you’ll be sick tomorrow.’ [ro05ee 045]
- (1681) **Mi** nà wan human [we à siryɔs].  
 1SG.EMP FOC one woman SUB 1SG.SBJ be.serious  
 ‘I [EMP] am a woman who is serious.’ [ro05ee 017]

Sentence (1681) exemplifies the relativisation of subject NPs without resumptive pronominal marking. Although the head nouns *Gabonés* and *Guineano* are preceded by the definite article *dì* ‘DEF’, these nouns have [-specific], generic reference, hence they are not reiterated by a resumptive subject pronoun in the relative clause (cf. also 6.1.4):

- (1682) Pero **dì Gabonés** [we dè tɔk Bàta] wèt **dì Guineano**  
 but DEF Gabonese SUB IPFV talk Fang with DEF Guinean

CLAUSE LINKAGE

[we dè tək Bàta], dì sonido no de dì sen.  
 SUB IPFV talk Fang DEF SOUND NEG BE.AT DEF same

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

'Gap' subject relative constructions without the subordinator are not attested. However, object relative clauses formed by means of the gap strategy are sometimes heard. The relativised cognate object in (1683) is a patient object. Note the absence of the subordinator *we* 'SUB' as well as that of a resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause after the verb *want* 'want':

(1683) Mek è bit yu, mek è du yu dì **du**  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ beat 2SG.EMP SBJV 3SG.SBJ do 2SG DEF do  
 [è **want**], (...)  
 3SG.SBJ want  
 'Let him beat you, let him do to you what he wants] (...)' [bo03cb 135]

Object relative clauses involve the use of the subordinator *we* 'SUB' in the vast majority of cases. Once again, take note of the absence of a resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause after *monta* 'mount':

(1684) Sòn **bloques dèn** lɛf [we dèn gɛt fò **monta**] nɔ?  
 some blocks PL remain SUB 3PL get ASS mount INTJ  
 'Some blocks remain that have to be mounted, right?' [ye03cd 114]

A resumptive pronoun may also refer to a recipient head noun in a double object construction (1685). Recipient resumptive pronouns are optional and may therefore be omitted as in (1686):

(1685) Yù si dan **pikín** de [we ìn mà má dè gi=**àn** chɔp]?  
 2SG see that child there SUB 3SG.POSS mother IPFV give=3SG.OBJ food  
 'Have you seen that child whose mother is giving her food?'

(1686) À bìn si dì **pikín** [we dì human bìn gi chɔp nà strit].  
 1SG.SBJ PST see DEF child SUB DEF woman PST give food LOC street  
 'I saw the child that the woman gave food to in the street.' [dj05ae 065]

### 12.7.3 Prepositional phrases

There are no formal constraints on the relativisation of prepositional phrases. However, this type of relativisation is rather rare compared to that of subjects and objects. The following relative constructions involve relativised prepositional phrases introduced by the prepositions *fò* 'ASS' and *pàn* 'on'. These two prepositions, as well as the preposition *wèt*

‘with’, can also be stranded, in other words they may remain in their original position while the relativised NP appears at the beginning of the sentence. Pied piping of prepositions, i.e. the appearance of the preposition at the beginning of the relative clause, is not attested:

- (1687) Dì **bed** [we è dè slip **pàn**], è de nà dì rum.  
 DEF bed SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV sleep on 3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC DEF room  
 ‘The bed that she sleeps on, it’s in the room.’ [tr05fn 047]

In the more common alternative to stranding, a resumptive pronoun fills the original position of the relativised noun. Compare *wèt=àn* ‘with her’ in (1676) above. Alternatively, a resumptive pronoun need not be used at all. The exact meaning of the sentence is then provided by pragmatic context. In such instances of “prepositional phrase chopping” (Tarallo 1983, 1985) disambiguation is left to pragmatic context.

In (1688), there is no *wèt* ‘with’ in the relative clause to point to the semantic role of instrument of the relativised head noun *gòn* ‘gun’:

- (1688) Dèn dè go wèt dan **gòn** [we dèn dè kil bif] ò pistola.  
 3PL IPFV go with that gun SUB 3PL IPFV kill wild.animal or pistol  
 ‘They go with that gun which they kill wild animals (with) or a pistol.’ [ed03sb 114]

Similarly, the *we*-clause in (1689) induces a locative, that in (1690)(b) an instrumental interpretation. It is also of interest that (1690) is an example for the use of *fò* as an introducer of a noun complement that is very similar in function to the preceding relative clause (cf. 12.6.8):

- (1689) À kan kòmót nà dan **hos** [we à bìn de].  
 1SG.SBJ PFV go.out LOC that house SUB 1SG.SBJ PST BE.AT  
 ‘I left that house which I had been (in).’ [ab03ay 097]
- (1690) a. Yù no no nà us=tin, matapenso?  
 2SG NEG know FOC Q=thing pestle  
 ‘You don’t know what it is, a pestle?’ [ye05ce 098]
- b. Dan **tin** [we dèn dè mek sup], fò mek fufú.  
 that thing SUB 3PL IPFV make soup ASS make fufu  
 ‘That thing they make soup (with), in order to make fufu (with).’ [dj05ce 099]

In a similar vein, the *we*-clauses in (1691) and (1692) allow that a causal meaning is inferred:

- (1691) So nà dì **tin** [we è rən], è kòmót.  
 so FOC DEF thing SUB 3SG.SBJ run 3SG.SBJ go.out  
 ‘So that is why [lit. ‘the thing that] she fled, (and) she left.’ [ed03sb 041]
- (1692) (...) è gò se è dè fiε è no gò gi mi  
 3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.EMP

CLAUSE LINKAGE

dì **tin** [we à dè sɛn=àn].  
 DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV send=3SG.OBJ

‘(...) he would say he is afraid, he would not give me the thing that I had sent him (for).’ [ab03ab 041]

Such constructions are structurally no different from those involving objects and like the latter, may involve ‘gap’ constructions. Note the absence of the subordinator *we* ‘SUB’ in the following example. The head noun of the relative clause *say* ‘side; place’ is the syntactic object of *sidón* ‘sit (down); stay’:

(1693) À dè go nia dì **say** [Paquita **sidón**].  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV go near DEF side NAME stay  
 ‘I am going near where Paquita stays.’ [dj05be 147]

Prepositional phrase chopping should be differentiated from instances, in which the goal of a verb may be expressed as an object, as is the case in double object constructions involving *put* ‘put’ in (1694) (cf. 11.3.4 for more details). Once more, note the occurrence of a ‘gap’ relative clause in this example:

(1694) À tek tu peso à bay dan dis-tin,  
 1SG.SBJ take two peso 1SG.SBJ buy that this-thing  
 sòn sməl **pepa** [dèn dè **put**=àn cacahuete].  
 some small paper 3PL IPFV put=3SG.OBJ ground.nut  
 ‘I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit, a small paper  
 (into which) groundnuts are put.’ [ed03sp 083]

Example (1695) shows how the resumption of the entire relativised noun in the position of relativisation can be an alternative to stranding or chopping. Anaphoric NP reiteration is accompanied by a deictic element, the demonstrative *dis* ‘this’ in (1695):

(1695) Bikəs **wan** **isla** de [we è fiba se  
 because one island BE.AT SUB 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT  
 petroleo de **nà dis isla**.  
 oil BE.AT LOC this island  
 ‘Because there is an island of which it seems that there is oil  
 on this island.’ [fr03ft 109]

In sentence (1696) below, the direct object *blak gel dèn* ‘black girls’ is resumed through another full NP, namely the demonstrative pronominal *da wan* ‘that (one)’:

(1696) À se blak gel dèn get sòn **fayn**  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT black girl PL get some fine

[we wayt human dèn no gɛt da wan].  
 SUB white woman PL NEG get that one

'I say black women have a beauty which white women do not  
 have (that one).' [ed03sp 046]

Full NP anaphora can also be observed in the complex relative construction in (1679) above, where *dan man* 'that man' in the relative clause refers to the head noun *Ghàna-man* 'Ghanaian'. All these structures are reminiscent of correlative constructions found in other languages and demonstrate the diversity of relativisation strategies in Pichi.

#### 12.7.4 Possessors

When a possessor noun is relativised, a coreferential possessive pronoun and the possessed noun immediately follow the subordinator *we* 'SUB' (1697):

(1697) (...) dèn dè kòmót nà wan **pueblo** [we **ìn** **nem** nà  
 3PL IPFV come.out LOC one village SUB 3SG.POSS name FOC

Basakato de la Sagrada Familia].

PLACE

'(...) they come from a village whose name is Basakato de la Sagrada  
 Familia.' [fr03ft 042]

The preceding example features a possessor head noun that functions as the subject of the relative clause. When the possessor head noun functions as the object of the relative clause, it is relativised by way of a structure in which the head noun and the relative clause function as the topic. The remainder of the main clause functions as the comment, and is set off from the topic by a pause while a possessive pronoun anaphorically refers to the head noun (1698):

(1698) Dan **human** [we à so yu], **ìn** **mòtó** de nà strit.  
 that woman SUB 1SG.SBJ show 2SG.EMP 3SG.POSS car BE.AT LOC street  
 'That woman which I showed you, her car is in the street.' [dj05ae 068]

Possessed nouns are relativised like core participants. Reference is upheld due to the juxtaposition of the possessed noun and the relative clause (1699):

(1699) À tek dì stik **ìn** **kàndá** [we à si de],  
 1SG.SBJ take DEF tree 3SG.POSS bark SUB 1SG.SBJ see there

à ros=àn.

1SG.SBJ burn=3SG.OBJ

'I took the bark<sub>i</sub> of the tree<sub>j</sub> that<sub>i</sub> saw there, I burnt it<sub>i</sub>.' [bo05n 001]

### 12.7.5 Free relatives and indirect questions

Free relative clauses do not feature an overt head noun and are introduced by a question word. In free relative constructions featuring question words, the relative clause is formally identical with the corresponding content question (cf. 8.3.2). The subordinator *we* 'SUB' is not employed to introduce free relative clauses. Free relative clauses often function as objects of verbs of cognition, perception, asking or speaking.

In example (1700) below we find a free subject relative clause, which is introduced by the question word *wetin* 'what':

- (1700) À dən tel yu [wetin pas nà nɛt], dan nɛt.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF tell 2SG.EMP what pass LOC night that night  
 'I've already told you what happened in the night, that night.' [ab03ab 043]

Free relatives introduced by the question words *udat* 'who', *us=man* 'who' and *us=pəsin* 'who' question human referents. The following two examples are free object relative clauses:

- (1701) Dɛn no no [udat hərbɔg=ən].  
 3PL NEG know who bother=3SG.OBJ  
 'They don't know who disturbed her.' [dj05ce 127]

- (1702) Mi no sàbí [us=man dɛn kil], à nɔba hia  
 1SG.EMP NEG know Q=man 3PL kill 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF hear  
 dan tòrí sɛf.  
 that story EMP  
 'I don't know which man they killed, I haven't even heard that story.' [ro05de 049]

The corresponding question words also introduce the free variants of relative clauses with generic head nouns like *tɛn* 'time' and *səy* 'side' which function as adverbial clauses of time and place. Compare (1703).

- (1703) È nɛa tel mi [us=tɛn è gò rich de].  
 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF tell 1SG.EMP Q=time 3SG.SBJ POT arrive there  
 'He hasn't told me when he is going to arrive there.'

The question word *haw* 'how' introduces free relatives and indirect questions that question a property (1704), quantity or degree – the latter two in the collocation *haw məch* 'how much' (1705):

- (1704) Bət mi want sàbí [haw dan tin de].  
 but 1SG.EMP want know how that thing BE.AT  
 'But I wanted to know how that thing is.' [ed03sb 147]

- (1705) Mi no aks=àn [haw mōch è wənt].  
 1SG.EMP NEG ask=3SG.OBJ how much 3SG.SBJ want  
 ‘I [EMP] didn’t ask him how much he wants.’ [lo07fn 068]

Indirect yes-no question clauses may be introduced by the clause linker *ɛf(ɛ)/if* ‘if’ which then functions as a complementiser in combination with sentence-final question intonation. Alternatively, such question clauses may be introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ if phrased as a question in the type of direct speech that characterises the use of quotative *se* ‘QUOT’ in many contexts:

- (1706) Se yù want sàbí ɛf ren dè fəl, nɔ?  
 QUOT 2SG want know if rain IPFV fall INTJ  
 ‘(that) you want to know if the rain is falling, right?’ [dj07ae 236]

- (1707) Mi sɛf, ɔl pəsin dèn kìn aks mi se  
 1SG.EMP EMP all person 3PL HAB ask 1SG.EMP QUOT  
 yù dən bən?  
 2SG PRF give.birth  
 ‘Even me, everybody usually asks me “have you given birth?”’ [fr03ft 144]

## 12.8 Adverbial relations

The clause linkers *wɛ* ‘SUB’ and *se* ‘QUOT’ together have the potential to participate in the expression of most types of adverbial relations that we find in Pichi. Additionally, Pichi features an array of adverbial clause linkers with more specific meanings. These are summarised in Table 12.4 below. The following sections provide an overview of adverbial clause formation in Pichi. Purpose clauses are covered in 12.8.6.

The first column in Table 12.4 above provides an overview of the types of adverbial clauses attested. The second column contains the linkers that introduce these types of clauses in Pichi. Alternative means of formation are given in the remaining three columns: The third column indicates whether a clause introduced by *wɛ* ‘SUB’ or *se* ‘QUOT’ can be used instead of the linker in the second column in order to express the same adverbial relation.

The fourth column provides other alternatives for expressing the corresponding adverbial relation. Independent sentences may also be linked through adverbials. These are contained in the last column on the right. A blank space indicates that the corresponding means is not available.



Table 12.4 Adverbial relations

| Clause type | Clause linkers  | Linkage with <i>we</i> or <i>se</i> alone? | Other means of linkage?              | Linkage by adverbial?   |
|-------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| Time        | <i>bifó</i> 'before',<br><i>lèk haw</i> 'as soon as'  | <i>we</i> 'SUB'                            | <i>dì ten we</i> 'the time that'     | <i>afta</i> 'then', <i>dan ten</i> 'that time', <i>nà in/nà de</i> 'then' |
| Manner      | <i>lèk haw</i> 'the way that'   |  | <i>dì stayl we</i> 'the manner that' | <i>nà so</i> 'that's how',<br><i>sò</i> 'so'                              |
| Locative    |   |  | <i>dì say we</i> 'the place that'    |   |
| Cause       | <i>bikòs/porque</i> 'because',<br><i>as/como</i> 'since',<br><i>fòseka</i> 'due to'           | <i>se</i> 'QUOT'                           |                                      | <i>nà in (mek)</i> 'that's why'   |
| Purpose     | <i>mek</i> 'SBJV', <i>fò</i> 'ASS'  | <i>se</i> 'QUOT'                           |                                      |   |
| Extent      | <i>soté</i> 'until'   |  |                                      |   |
| Limit       | <i>dasòl (se) /onli (se)</i> 'only that'  |  |                                      |   |
| Source      | <i>fràn we/sins (we)</i> 'since'  |  |                                      |   |
| Conditional | <i>èf/ if</i> 'if',<br><i>lèk (se)</i> 'like'   | <i>we</i> 'SUB',<br><i>se</i> 'QUOT'       | Juxtaposition                        |   |
| Concessive  | <i>èf/ if – sef</i> 'even if',<br><i>aunque</i> 'although',<br><i>adànké - wans</i> 'even if' | <i>we</i> 'SUB',<br><i>se</i> 'QUOT'       |                                      | <i>bət</i> 'but'  |

### 12.8.1 *we* 'SUB'

The subordinator *we* 'SUB' may introduce adverbial clauses of time, condition and concession. Although *we* is most commonly used to express temporal relations the other uses are frequent as well.

A *we*-clause may precede (1708) or follow (cf. (1714) below) its main clause and is often set off from preceding and following material by a prosodic break (cf. also 12.7.1). In this function, *we* is best translated as 'when'. The expression of time relations by means of *we*-clauses can barely be divorced from the function of *we* 'SUB' to introduce sequences of coordinate clauses. Compare the time clause in (1708) with the multiple occurrences of *we* in (1709):

- (1708) **We** à gò finis skul, à gò tɔn dɔkta.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ POT finish school 1SG.SBJ POT turn doctor  
 ‘When I finish school, I’ll become a doctor.’ [ro05ee 023]

- (1709) Pero **we** à kan mit dis man, **we** wì bigín bɔn  
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ PFV meet this man SUB 1PL begin beget  
 ìn yon pìkín dèn.  
 3SG.POSS own child PL  
 ‘But then/when I met this man, and then we began to have his  
 own children.’ [ab03ab 214]

Time clauses introduced by *we* are interpreted as being in a relation of temporal overlap with the main clause if both clauses contain imperfective readings (1710) or are unspecified with respect to aspect like the two clauses in (1708) above containing the potential mood marker *gò* ‘POT’:

- (1710) **We** è kìn kòmót wok à kìn mek=àn so,  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB come.out work 1SG.SBJ HAB make=3SG.OBJ like.that  
 lèk haw mun finis.  
 like how month finish  
 ‘When he leaves work, I do to him like this [stretches out hand in a gesture  
 that indicates that her husband’s salary should be handed over to her],  
 as soon as the month is over.’ [ro05rt 042]

The relation between a main clause and a dependent clause introduced by *we* can also be one of temporal succession rather than overlap. The interpretation of the temporal relation between the clauses depends on the lexical aspect class of the verbs involved as well as on aspect-marking.

For example, in (1711) perfective marking with the dynamic verbs *rich* ‘reach’ and *se* ‘say; QUOT’ implies succession, however brief the interval:

- (1711) **We** à rich nà hos de, à se  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ reach LOC house there 1SG.SBJ QUOT  
 ‘yù gò tɛl mi dì say we ùnu kìn go mitɔp.’  
 2SG POT tell 1SG.EMP DEF side SUB 2PL HAB go meet  
 ‘When I reached the house, I said “you’re going to tell me where  
 you usually meet.” [ro05rt 018]

Temporal succession can be rendered more explicit through the use of the perfect marker *dɔn* ‘PRF’ in the main or dependent clause. Hence, the main clause in (1712) is posterior to the time clause introduced by *we* ‘SUB’:

CLAUSE LINKAGE

- (1712) À gò firma **we** à gò **dən** chəp.  
 1SG.SBJ POT sign SUB 1SG.SBJ POT PRF eat  
 ‘I will sign when I have finished eating.’ [ye03cd 038]

The boundary is fuzzy between temporal and other adverbial meanings of clauses introduced by *we*. In (1713), the temporal sense of the *we*-clause shades off into a manner or circumstance sense. Context may also give rise to a concessive meaning of the subordinate clause (1714):

- (1713) Dèn pul dì mòtó nà garaje **we dèn dè pus=àn**.  
 3PL remove DEF car LOC workshop SUB 3PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.’ [ro05ee 052]

- (1714) Naw fò mek dèn fit get wan amiga nàdó **we yù**  
 now ASS SBJV 3PL can get one girlfriend outside SUB 2SG  
**sista dèn sàbí,** in gò had.  
 sister 3PL know 3SG.EMP POT be.hard  
 ‘Now for them to be able to have a girl-friend outside while/although  
 your sisters know, that will be difficult.’ [ro05rt 034]

The relation between the first clause in (1715)(a) and the clause introduced by *we* is best interpreted as adversative. This is illustrated by the follow-up clause in (1715)(b):

- (1715) a. Yù no bìn de nà makit, **we** à tɛl yu se  
 2SG NEG PST BE.AT LOC market SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP QUOT  
 mek yù bring mi wàtá?  
 SBJV 2SG bring 1SG.EMP water  
 ‘Weren’t you at the market although I had told you to bring me water?’ [ye0503e? 069]
- b. Wetin yù kan sin wàtá?  
 what 2SG come without water  
 ‘Why did you come without water?’ [ye0503e? 070]

Finally, in (1716)(b), we find two wholly independent clauses separated by an intonation break, with the second one being introduced by *we*. The *we*-clause is contrasted with the implicitly understood concessive proposition in squared brackets. Clause (1716)(b) may be interpreted as being in a causal relationship to clause (a):

- (1716) a. Sòn mà má dèn, dèn bad.  
 some mother PL 3PL bad  
 ‘Some mothers, they are bad.’ [ab03ay 109]
- b. **We** yù pikín, yù no aconseja in fròn doce años.  
 SUB 2SG child 2SG NEG advise 3SG.EMP from twelve years

'Because as for your child, you didn't advise her from twelve years on.'  
[although you know about the dangers of early pregnancy].' [ab03ay 109]

The linker *we* 'SUB' is also encountered in the temporal source clause introducers *frɛn we* and *sins we*, both of which mean 'since' (cf 12.8.10).

### 12.8.2 *se* 'QUOT'

The quotative marker *se* 'QUOT' may provide adverbial modifications of purpose and result, cause, manner and circumstance, time and condition. The answer to (1717)(a) in (b) can be interpreted as a cause clause. The *se*-clause in this example once more vividly illustrates the diversity of meanings of *se*, particularly in contexts like this one, where it straddles the boundary between quotation proper and other, related functions:

- (1717) a. Wetin yù dè wet?  
what 2SG IPFV wait  
'What [why] are you waiting?' [fr03wt 048]
- b. **Se** ìn mà má gò drayb=àn fɛs.  
QUOT 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first  
'(He) says/because his mother will chase him away at first.' [dj03wt 049]

The code-mixed example (1718) features a *se*-clause that permits a temporal or conditional interpretation. These interpretations are favoured due to the sentence-initial position of the *se*-clause. The sentence is also instructive because the speaker uses the Spanish temporal conjunction *cuando* 'when' in order to render Pichi *se* 'QUOT' when reiterating the clause in Spanish:

- (1718) 'Yù hol wan mòtó', yù dè drayb=àn, pero **se** yù gɛt,  
2SG holdone car 2SG IPFV drive=3SG.OBJ but QUOT 2SG get  
**cuando** tienes, 'à gɛt wan mòtó'.  
when you.get 1SG.SBJ get one car  
"Yù hol wan mòtó" (means) you're driving it, but if you possess it,  
when you have it "à gɛt wan mòtó." [dj05ae 223]

A *se*-clause that follows a main clause and is marked for temporal overlap with the main clause by means of imperfective aspect may function as a modification of manner or circumstance in the same way as a *we*-clause. Compare (1719) with (1713) above:

- (1719) Dèn pul dì mòtó nà garaje **se** dèn dè pus=àn.  
3PL remove DEF car LOC workshop QUOT 3PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ  
'They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.' [pa05fn 024]

Such clauses also lend themselves to a concessive interpretation if suggested so by pragmatic context. Compare the concessive *we*-clause in (1714) with the following *se*-clause in (1720):

- (1720) È du dì exercicio se è taya.  
 3SG.SBJ do DEF exercise QUOT 3SG.SBJ be.tired  
 ‘She did the exercise while/although she was tired.’ [ra07ve 021]

Finally, *se* is optionally attested with the adverbial clause linkers *bikòs (se)* ‘because’, *fàseko se* ‘due to, because’ and *lèk se* ‘as if’ (1721):

- (1721) ‘À hol wan mòtó’ nà lèk se yù dè drayb  
 1SG.SBJ hold one car FOC like QUOT 2SG IPFV drive  
 we yù dè wok.  
 SUB 2SG IPFV work  
 ‘“À hol wan mòtó” is like you drive (a car temporarily) while you work.’ [dj05ae 225]

### 12.8.3 Time clauses

I have shown that temporal relations between clauses may be established in various ways through the polyfunctional linker *we* ‘SUB’. The following clause linkers express adverbial relations of time with more specific meanings.

Relative clauses featuring the generic head nouns *awa* ‘time, hour’ (1722), *tèn* ‘time’ (1723) and *de* ‘day’ (1724) function as time clauses with a temporal relation of simultaneity:

- (1722) Dì human kan nà hos dì awa [we à dè kuk].  
 DEF woman come LOC house DEF hour SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook  
 ‘The woman came to the house when I was cooking.’ [ro05de 022]

- (1723) Dì tèn [we dèn bìn dè kan hia wèt kènú], (...)  
 DEF time SUB 3PL PST IPFV come here with canoe  
 ‘(The time) when they were coming here by canoe (...)’ [ed03sb 189]

- (1724) Dì de [we à no want gi yu quinientos]  
 DEF day SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG want give 2SG.EMP fifteen  
 à dè gi yu tres cientos para tu cigarillo.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give 2SG.EMP three hundred for your cigarette  
 ‘(The day) when I don’t want to give you five hundred, I give you three hundred for your cigarette.’ [ro05rt 045]

The clause-linker and collocation *lèk haw* ‘as soon as’ introduces time clauses. Time clauses introduced by *lèk haw* precede their main clauses and establish a relation of anteriority with the main clause. This linker may also introduce adverbial manner clauses (cf. 12.8.4 below):

- (1725) Tumoro, **lèk haw** yù tək wèt Buèhú, yù kəl mi, (...)
   
tomorrow like how 2SG talk with NAME 2SG call 1SG.EMP
   
'Tomorrow, as soon as you've talked to Buehu, you call me, (...)' [fr03cd 111]

The linker *bifó* 'before' introduces time clauses that are in a relation of posteriority to the main clause. *Bifó*-clauses are preferably sentence-initial (1726), though they are also found in sentence-final position in after-thought apposition as in (1727):

- (1726) **Bifó** à kìn grap, à dè si big big faya.
   
before 1SG.SBJ HAB get.up 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire
   
'Before I could get up, I saw a huge fire.' [ab03ay 067]
- (1727) (...) we dèn sayn yù bigín baja mə, **bifó** yù enta.
   
SUB 3PL sign 2SG begin go.down more before 2SG enter
   
'(...) when they have signed, you begin to go down once more before
   
you enter.' [f203fp 004]

It is interesting that the corpus contains no instance of an after-relation expressed by via *afta* 'after' in analogy with *bifó* in (1726) and (1727) above. Apparently, *afta* may only serve as an 'and then' clausal connective and does not mean relational 'after'. Hence, after-relations must be constructed as iconic 'and then' relations with the proadverbial *afta* as in (1728):

- (1728) Lɛf=àn, à gò chɔp, **afta** à gò dring.
   
leave=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ POT eat then 1SG.SBJ POT drink
   
'Leave it, I will eat, then I will drink.' [ye03cd 079]

Alternatively, the after-relation can be expressed by an initial *we*-clause accompanied by perfect marking as in (1729):

- (1729) Sifta, we à dòn sifta in, è dè lɛf wèt dì wàtá.
   
sift SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF sift 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ IPFV leave with DEF water
   
'Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it'll be left with the water.' [dj03do 007]

#### 12.8.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses may be expressed through a relative construction featuring the generic head noun *stɔyl* 'style, manner' (1730):

- (1730) À bìn chɔp dì plàntí dì **stɔyl** [we pəsin dèn
   
1SG.SBJ PST eat DEF plantain DEF style SUB person PL
   
fɔ Malabo dèn dè chɔp=àn]
   
ASS Malabo 3PL IPFV food=3SG.OBJ
   
'I ate the plantain the way Malabo in people eat it.' [dj05ae 069]

Manner clauses may also be formed by way of adverbial clauses introduced by the collocation *lèk haw* ‘like how’ = ‘the way that’. Compare the near-identical sentences (1730) above with (1731) below. Also compare (1732):

(1731) Mi chɔp dì plàntí **lèk haw** Malàbo-pìpul dèn dè chɔp=àn.  
 1SG.EMP eat DEF plantain like how Malabo.CPD-people PL IPFV eat=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I [EMP] ate the plantain the way Malabo people eat it.’ [ro05de 019]

(1732) À no sàbí us=tin dèn no gò restaura in  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing 3PL NEG POT restore 3SG.EMP  
**lèk haw** è bìn de jamás.  
 like how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.AT ever  
 ‘I don’t know why they won’t restore it the way it was back then.’ [hi03cb 038]

Manner clauses introduced by *lèk haw* are also often employed to denote the perceived situation of a main clause verb of sensory perception like *hia* ‘hear’ (1733), *si* ‘see’, *luk* ‘look’, *smel* ‘smell’ (1734) and *fil* ‘feel’. Such clauses vacillate between readings denoting manner and temporal overlap:

(1733) A dè hia in **lèk haw** è dè nak dì gita.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear3SG.EMP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit DEF guitar  
 ‘I hear him playing the guitar.’ OR ‘I hear (him) how he’s playing the guitar.’ [dj05ae 053]

(1734) À dè smel dì sent **ɸ lèk haw** è dè kuk plàntí.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV smell DEF scent ASS like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook plantain  
 ‘I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.’ [dj05ae 025]

The collocation *lèk haw* also forms part of the idiomatic phrase *lèk haw yù (dè) si X* (where X is a person) which means something like ‘when looking at X you should also know’. Compare the following example:

(1735) Mi, **lèk haw yù dè si mi** à don si plente tin.  
 1SG.EMP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ PRF see plenty thing  
 ‘(As for) me, when you looking at me you should also know that I have seen many things [in life].’ [ab03ab 023]

Manner clauses introduced by *lèk haw* may shade off into a temporal readings and vice-versa. Manner clauses generally follow their main clauses as in the preceding examples. In contrast time clause introduced by *lèk haw* normally precede their main clauses (cf. (1725) above in the previous section).

However, we also sometimes find manner clauses introduced by *lèk haw* in a sentence-initial, topical position. When such a clause is marked for an imperfective reading, it is likely to be interpreted as a manner clause. *Lèk haw* then means ‘the way that’ (1736):

- (1736) **Lèk haw** è **dè waka**, è bùtú, è no ben.  
 like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk 3SG.SBJ stoop 3SG.SBJ NEG bend  
 'The way he's walking (now), he's stooped over, he's not bent over.' [au07se 082]

On the other hand, if a sentence-initial clause introduced by *lèk haw* is marked for a perfective reading, it is very likely to be interpreted as a time clause. *Lèk haw* then translates as 'as soon as'. In (1737), the subordinate clause contains the factative marked (hence perfective) dynamic verb *put* 'put'. Compare the temporal interpretation of this sentence with the manner reading of (1736) above. Also compare the temporal interpretation of the factative-marked verb *put* 'put' in the previous section in (1725) above:

- (1737) **Lèk haw** è **put** dan m̀nì nà mì han, no wet m̀.  
 like how 3SG.SBJ put that money LOC 1SG.POSS hand NEG wait more  
 'As soon as he has put that money into my hand, no time to waste!' [ro05rt 043]

If a manner interpretation is nevertheless desired for a clause featuring a situation marked for a perfective reading, a relative construction featuring the head noun *stayl* 'style, manner' is chosen. In (1738), the manner relation is expressed via a relative construction. This option is chosen because the subordinate dynamic verb *nak* 'hit' is marked for factative TMA, hence it is perfective and bounded:

- (1738) È nak dì tebul àn **dì stayl** [we è **nak** dì tebul  
 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table and DEF style SUB 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table  
 str̀n], è kan sek dì plet, àn dì plet kan brok.  
 be.strong 3SG.SBJ PFV shake DEF plate and DEF plate PFV break  
 'He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way, he shook the plate, and the plate broke.' [au07se 014]

Other means of providing manner modification by clauses are adverbial SVCs and the use of adverbial clauses introduced by *we* 'SUB' and *se* 'QUOT'. Note that equative clauses – manner clauses which serve as the standard in a comparison – are also introduced by the collocation *lèk haw* (cf. (663)-(664)).

### 12.8.5 Locative clauses

The formation of locative clauses involves the relativisation of the generic head nouns *say* 'place' (1739), and less frequently *ples* 'place'. Locative adverbial relations can only be expressed via such relative constructions because the linker *we* 'SUB' does not introduce headless locative relative clauses:



- (1739) Naw è dòn want bigín dè fet wèt  
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF want begin IPFV fight with  
 dì chia, dì say [we dèn sìdón].  
 DEF chair DEF side SUB 3PL sit  
 ‘Now he already wanted to begin fighting with the chair,  
 where they were sitting.’ [ab03ab 132]

- (1740) Yù no no dì ples [we à sìdón]?  
 2SG NEG know DEF PLACE SUB 1SG.SBJ stay  
 ‘You don’t know where I stay?’ [he07fn 307]

### 12.8.6 Purpose and result clauses

The clause linkers *fɛ* ‘ASS’ and *se* ‘QUOT’, as well as the subjunctive marker *mek* are employed to introduce purpose and result clauses. A purpose relation typically involves a willful and animate subject that intentionally performs a main clause action aimed at the completion of the situation in the subordinate clause. There are no semantic restrictions on the type of main verb that purpose clauses may modify in Pichi. Neither is there any formal difference between “realised” (i.e. that the purpose is achieved) and “unrealised” purpose clauses (cf. Bickerton 1981: 59).

Thus below, we find purpose clauses modifying main clauses with verbs as diverse as *ol* ‘be old’ (1741) or *wet* ‘wait’ (1742):

- (1741) À dòn tu ol fɛ mared.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF too old ASS marry  
 ‘I’m too old to marry.’ [fr03ab 206]
- (1742) À gò firma, wet fɛ mek à chəp, à beg.  
 1SG.SBJ POT sign wait ASS SBJV 1SG.SBJ eat 1SG.SBJ beg  
 ‘I’ll sign, wait for me to eat/have eaten, please.’ [ye03cd 043]

The motion verbs *go* ‘go’ (1743) and *kan* ‘come’ ((1744) below) may optionally reinforce the purposive sense of the subordinate clause:

- (1743) Dèn kan ker mi nà Madrid fɛ mek dèn go opera mi.  
 3PL PFV carry 1SG.EMP LOC PLACE ASS SBJV 3PL go operate 1SG.EMP  
 ‘They took me to Madrid in order to operate on me.’ [fr03ft 026]

When the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, the purpose clause may be introduced by the non-finite clause linker *fɛ* ‘ASS’ alone (1744):

- (1744) Mì pàpá bìn **kan** ya **fɛ** **kan** wok.  
 1SG.POSS father PST come here ASS come work  
 ‘My father came here in order to work.’ [fr03ft 063]

When the main and subordinate clauses have different subjects, the purpose clause is expressed as a ‘more’ finite subjunctive clause. Such purpose clauses are marked in the same way as other types of different-subject subordinate clauses that involve a form of deontic modality. Similarly, the subjunctive marker may optionally be preceded by *fɛ* ‘ASS’ as in (1745):

- (1745) Làyk haw dèn gò put yu nà tebul **yù** don dè rətin,  
 like how 3PL POT put 2SG.EMP LOC table 2SG PRF IPFV rot  
**fɛ mek dèn** go bər yu kwik.  
 ASS SBJV 3PL go bury 2SG.EMP quickly  
 ‘As soon as they put you on the table you are already rotting away  
 for you to be buried quickly.’ [ed03sb 101]

However, a very frequent alternative is for both different (1746) and same subject (1747) purpose clauses to be introduced by the subjunctive marker alone:

- (1746) Nà in **dèn** tay=àn **mek** è no kòmót.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3PL tie=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG go.out  
 ‘That’s why they tied it [the dog] so that it wouldn’t leave.’ [ma03hm 005]
- (1747) **À** gò go luk=àn fɛ wan vecino **mek** à  
 1SG.SBJ POT go look=3SG.OBJ ASS one neighbour SBJV 1SG.SBJ  
 luk las damas.  
 look the.PL ladies  
 ‘I’ll watch it at a neighbour’s in order to look at the (first) ladies.’ [ma03hm 074]

Negation of the subordinate situation also triggers the use of subjunctive purpose clauses, even where the subjects of the main and subordinate clause are identical as in (1748):

- (1748) **À** dring dì mérésin **fɛ mek** à **no** sik.  
 1SG.SBJ drink DEF medicine ASS SBJV 1SG.SBJ NEG be.sick  
 ‘I drank the medicine, in order not to fall sick.’ [ro05de 021]

However, when a purpose clause is fronted for emphasis, it is not usually introduced by *mek* alone. Instead, the purpose clause is normally introduced by *fɛ* ‘ASS’ or *se* ‘QUOT’ and then followed by *mek* ‘SBJV’. This is probably so because a sentence-initial *mek* ‘SBJV’ signals the presence of a subjunctive-marked directive main clause.:

CLAUSE LINKAGE

- (1749) **Fò mek** yù fit enta yù gət fò bisin nà wan pòsin  
 ASS SBJV 2SG can enter 2SG get ASS be.busy LOC one person  
 fò dì fambul (...)  
 ASS DEF family  
 ‘In order to be able to enter, you have to be involved with a person  
 of the family (...)’ [ed03sb 077]

Different subject purpose clauses may also additionally feature the quotative marker *se* ‘QUOT’ like any other subjunctive subordinate clause. In such cases, the purpose clause is also usually marked for subjunctive mood. Compare the sentence below; it contains a purpose clause introduced by *se mek* as well as one introduced by *mek* alone (1750):

- (1750) À bìn las go à dè fən big big mà má dèn, **se mek**  
 1SG.SBJ PST end.up go 1SG.SBJ IPFV look.for big REP mother PL QUOT SBJV  
 dèn bi mì gelfrən, **mek** dèn dè gi mi chəp.  
 3PL BE 1SG.POSS girlfriend SBJV 3PL IPFV give 1SG.EMP food  
 ‘I finally went to look for mature women for them to be my girlfriends,  
 for them to give me food.’ [ed03sp 079]

The following two sentences featuring clauses introduced by the quotative marker *se* can be interpreted as purposive although they are not followed by subjunctive clauses. These sentences are further evidence for the polyfunctionality of the quotative marker. Here the expression of speaker intention through inner speech rendered in a quotative construction acquires a purposive reading.

This is the case in the 1<sup>st</sup> person statement of intention in direct speech in (1751), in which *se* functions more like a clause linker as well as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person indirect speech, in which *se* behaves like a lexical verb (1752):

- (1751) À waka wèt=àn **se** ‘tì dé à gò go vive in.’  
 1SG.SBJ walk with=3SG.OBJ QUOT today 1SG.SBJ POT go live 3SG.EMP  
 ‘I went with him so that today I would witness it.’ [ed03sb 007]
- (1752) So è gò nà bus è **se** è dè go kil bif.  
 so 3SG.SBJ POT LOC forest 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go kill wild.animal  
 ‘So he went to the forest in order to/he said he’d go kill a wild animal.’ [ma03sh 004]

Finally, a *se*-clause may acquire a result reading when it features non-modal TMA marking or when a modal complementiser is absent. Compare the following example:

- (1753) (...) è **sut=àn se** è **dən wənt** go tek=àn,  
 3SG.SBJ shoot=3SG.OBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF want go take=3SG.OBJ

è si dì tin dòn dè tòn pòsin.  
 3SG.SBJ see DEF thing PRF IPFV turn person

‘(...) he shot it [the animal] and was about to go take it, (when) he saw the thing turning into a human-being.’ [ma03sh 005]

### 12.8.7 Cause clauses

Cause relations may be expressed through *se*-clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by the linkers *bikàs* (*se*) ‘because’, *foseka* ‘due to, for the sake of’, and *as* ‘as’. Speakers also employ the Spanish-origin linkers *porque* ‘because’ and *como* ‘as’, which have been borrowed into Pichi and form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage (cf. 14.2.3 for a more detailed treatment in the context of code-mixing). Compare *bikàs* (*se*) in (1754):

(1754) À dreb mì man **bikàs se** à no want=àn mǝ.  
 1SG.SBJ drive 1SG.POSS man because QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG want=3SG.OBJ more  
 ‘I drove my husband away because I didn’t want him anymore.’ [ro05de 015]

Cause clauses introduced by *bikàs* may appear at the beginning of the sentence (1755). When this is so, the cause clause is focused with *nà* ‘FOC’ and reiterated by means of one of the resumptive expressions *nà in* ‘FOC 3SG.EMP’ and *nà dì tin* ‘FOC DEF thing’, both of which mean ‘that’s why’ in this particular context:

(1755) **Nà bikàs** è bòn pikín, **nà dì tin**  
 FOC because 3SG.SBJ give.birth child FOC DEF thing  
 mek è day.  
 make 3SG.SBJ die  
 ‘It is because she gave birth (to a child), that’s why she died.’ [dj05be 051]

Cause clauses introduced by *as* ‘as’ (1756) and *como* ‘since’ (1757) precede their main clauses:

(1756) **As** dèn nǝba bìn si plàntí, dèn bìn chǝp=àn rǝn-wan.  
 as 3PL NEG.PRF PST see plantain 3PL PST eat=3SG.OBJ wrong-ADV  
 ‘As they hadn’t yet seen plantain, they ate it in the wrong way.’ [ro05ee 062]

(1757) **Como** è sàbí se dan tin de na mì hat (...)  
 since 3SG.SBJ know QUOT that thing BE.AT LOC 1SG.POSS heart  
 ‘Since she knows that that thing [matter] is in my heart (...)’

The linkers *bikàs* ‘because’ and *porque* ‘because’ may be found in the initial position in sentences (i.e. in prosodically independent utterances) with a weak causal link with preceding sentences. In such instances, these linkers function as discourse markers that introduce elaborations to preceding material. Compare the use of *porque* in (1758):

CLAUSE LINKAGE

- (1758) a. È        bìn fò de        fayn.  
           3SG.SBJ PST ASS BE.AT    fine  
           ‘That would be fine.’ [fr03ft 172]
- b. **Porque** mi        sef, fòs tən à        bìn dè sidón  
       because 1SG.EMP EMP first time 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV stay  
       dasəl wèt        human dèn.  
       only    with        woman PL  
       ‘Because me, at first I was staying only with women.’ [fr03ft 173]

The preposition *fəseka* (and its occasional free variant *fəseko*) ‘due to, for the sake of’ takes nominal not clausal complements (cf. eg. (1304)). However, when *fəseka* is followed by the quotative marker and complementiser *se* ‘QUOT’ the resulting collocation may introduce a cause clause like the other linkers treated in this section (1759):

- (1759) Mi        du=àn        **foseko se**        à        bìn want    help=àn.  
           1SG.EMP do=3SG.OBJ due.to QUOT 1SG.SBJ PST want    help=3SG.OBJ  
           ‘I [EMP] did it because I wanted to help her.’ [ro05ee 069]

### 12.8.8 Extent and result clauses

Speakers make use of the linker *soté* ‘until’ in order to express a relation of temporal extent (1760). Such clauses may also be interpreted as result clauses in the appropriate context (1761). *Soté* ‘until’ is a multifunctional word that is also used as a preposition (cf. 11.1.3), as degree adverbial (cf. 8.7.3) and in the expression of spatial extent (cf. e.g. (1144)):

- (1760) Mek        è        wet        **soté**        mun    dən,        we wì    ɣet dì    məní,  
           SBJV    3SG.SBJ wait    until    month finish    SUB 1PL get DEF money  
           gò bay dì chəp.  
           POT buy DEF food  
           ‘Let him wait until the month is over, when we have the money, (then we)  
           go buy the food.’ [hi03cb 214]

- (1761) À        chəp    frijoles **soté**        à        taya.  
           1SG.SBJ eat    beans until 1SG.SBJ be.tired  
           ‘I ate beans until I was tired (of it).’ [ed03sp 121]

Sometimes, extent clauses introduced by *soté* appear with subjunctive marking when the speaker expresses an anticipated outcome as in (1762). This usage may be due to interference from Spanish. The equivalent Spanish conjunction *hasta que* ‘until (that)’ is also used with the subjunctive mood. Compare the subjunctive marked illeque ‘arrive’ in (1763).

- (1762) Tòn=àn      tòn=àn,      mekyù no para      **soté**      **mek**      è      tik  
 turn=3SG.OBJ    turn=3SG.OBJ    SBJV 2SG    NEG    stop      until      SBJV      3SG.SBJ    be.thick  
 lèk haw      è      bìn de      so.  
 like how      3SG.SBJ    PST    BE.AT    like.that  
 ‘Stir it, stir it, don’t stop until it is as thick as it was right now!’ [dj03do 058]

- (1763) Haga    cola      **hasta que**      **llegue**      el    cajero!  
 do      line      until that      arrive:SBJV    the    teller  
 ‘Wait in line until the teller arrives!’

However, the appearance of subjunctive marking in a clause like (1762) above, even if not conventionalised, also harmonises with deontic notions like preference and desire that also underly the use of subjunctive in similar clause types like purpose clauses:

### 12.8.9 Limit clauses

Limit clauses are formed by using the quantifying adverb *dasəl* ‘only’ before the appropriate adverbial clause linker. In (1764), *dasəl* collocates with *fə* ‘ASS’, which in turn, introduces a non-finite purpose clause:

- (1764) À      bìn mek=àn      **dasəl**      fə    help.  
 1SG.SBJ    PST    make=3SG.OBJ    only      ASS    help  
 ‘I did it only in order to help.’ [dj05be 129]

Example (1765) illustrates the use of *dasəl* followed by *se* ‘QUOT’, which introduces a finite complement clause:

- (1765) Wì dè si      **dasəl**      **se**      dì    pisis      don heng.  
 1PL    IPFV    see    only      QUOT      DEF    piece.of.cloth      PRF    hang  
 ‘We only see that the piece of cloth is already hanging.’ [li07pe 059]

The quantifying adverb *onli* ‘only’ may be employed in the same way as *dasəl* and occurs equally often in limit clauses. In this sentence, *onli* precedes a cause clause introduced by *bikəs* ‘because’:

- (1766) **Onli**      **bikəs**      yù dè tək so,      yù dè sàlút      so,  
 only      because    2SG    IPFV    talk    like.that    2SG    IPFV    greet      like.that  
 yù dè ansa      so.  
 2SG    IPFV    answer    like.that  
 ‘Only because you talk like that, you greet like that, you respond like that.’ [au07se 158]

**12.8.10 Source clauses**

Temporal source clauses may be introduced by the collocations *fròn we* ‘from SUB’ = ‘since’ and *sins we* ‘since SUB’ = ‘since’. Both collocations require the subordinator because they involve prepositions that take nominal complements. Compare the following examples:

- (1767) **Fròn** **we** dan belps dè wok, chico, è dòn chench.  
 from SUB that babe IPFV work boy 3SG.SBJ PRF change  
 ‘(Ever) since that babe has been working, man, she has changed.’ [dj07ae 173]
- (1768) **Fròn** **we** à bi pikín à bìn want kòmót  
 from SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ PST want go.away  
 nà dis kòntri.  
 LOC this country  
 ‘(Ever) since I was a child, I wanted to leave this country.’ [ro05ee 027]

The preposition *sins* ‘since’ is one of two temporal prepositions of Pichi (the other one being *apás* ‘after’, cf. 10.2.2) and may introduce source clauses in combination with the subordinator *we* ‘SUB’. Compare (1768) above with (1769) below:

- (1769) **Sins** **we** à bi pikín, à dè mèmba fð  
 since SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ IPFV think.of ASS  
 kòmót nà di kòntri.  
 go.out LOC this country  
 ‘Since I was a child, I think about leaving this country.’ [li07fn 303]

**12.8.11 Conditional clauses**

Table 12.5 summarises the most common ways of expressing conditional relations in Pichi. It features the three functionally identical IF-clause introducers *èf*, *èfè* and *if*, all of which mean ‘if’ as well the various types of TMA marking attested in the IF- and THEN-clauses. I comment on the relative frequency of the different constructions below:

Table 12.5 Conditional relations

| Type           | Introducer                 | IF-clause  | THEN-clause                       |
|----------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Reality        | <i>èf</i> ; <i>if</i> ‘if’ | Non-modal tense & aspect                         | Non-modal tense & aspect          |
| Potential      | <i>èf</i> ; <i>if</i> ‘if’ | Factative TMA; <i>gò</i> ‘POT’; <i>dè</i> ‘IPFV’ | <i>gò</i> ‘POT’; <i>dè</i> ‘IPFV’ |
| Counterfactual | <i>èf</i> ; <i>if</i> ‘if’ | <i>bìn</i> ‘PST’                                 | <i>(bìn) fð</i> ‘(PST) ASS’       |

For one part, a conditional relation can be expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses and a prosodic break at the margin of the first clause (indicated by commas). In such sentences, the order of clauses is iconic; the IF-clause(s) come(s) first, as in (1770):

- (1770) Yù kòmót dən, yù want enta mə, yù get fɔ̄ go pe  
 2SG go.out down 2SG want enter more 2SG get ASS go pay  
 ɔda quiñentos.  
 other fifteen  
 ‘(If) you come out from below and you want to enter again, you have to go pay pay fifteen (thousand) again.’ [f203fp 005]

Secondly, a conditional relation may be signalled overtly through the use of the equative preposition and clause linker *lèk* (*se*) ‘like QUOT’ ‘as if, supposing that’ (1771). The use of *lèk* (*se*) is not attested with counterfactuals:

- (1771) **Lèk se** yù dè dring nə, dan pəsin we de yàndá,  
 like QUOT 2SG IPFV drink INTJ that person SUB BE.AT yonder  
 è dè kan sube wi wèt glas, nà dì tin  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV come go.up 1PL.EMP with glas FOC DEF thing  
 we mek mek yù no dring no natin wèt glas.  
 SUB make SBJV 2SG NEG drink NEG nothing with glas  
 ‘Supposing that you were (out) drinking, right, (and) that person who is over there comes up to us with a glas, that’s what would make you not drink anything from a glas.’ [ed03sb 097]

The linker *lèk* may also introduce the THEN-clauses of conditional sentences. In the few cases attested, the IF-clause is then always explicitly marked by the conditional clause introducer *èf* or *if*. This constellation renders a form of bipartite and discontinuous conditional clause marking. Compare the following sentence:

- (1772) **Èf** yù bìn bìgín las wik, **lèk** yù dən finis dì wok.  
 if 2SG PST begin last week like 2SG PRF finish DEF work  
 ‘If you had begun last week, you would have finished the work.’ [ro05de 029]

The third way of expressing a conditional relation is the most frequent one in the data and involves one of the conditional clause linkers *èf*, *èfɛ* or *if* ‘if’. These forms are equivalent in meaning and occur in free variation, however, *èf* is the most frequent form. Any of these linkers may introduce the IF-clause of reality, potential and counterfactual conditionals. Sentence (1773) is a reality conditional:



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- (1773) Pero **ɛf** nà human nà big human yù man  
 but if FOC woman FOC big woman 2SG man  
 no dè tòn big man.  
 NEG IPFV turnbig man  
 ‘But if it’s the wife who’s an influential woman, your [her] husband  
 doesn’t [automatically] turn into an influential man.’ [ma03hm 079]

Sentence (1774) features a potential conditional relation. The most common type of potential conditional features factative TMA in the IF-clause while the THEN-clause features the potential marker *gò*. Sometimes, the imperfective marker *dè* ‘IPFV’ comes to mark conditional modality in the THEN-clause instead of *gò* ‘POT’ (cf. e.g. (1778))

- (1774) **ɛf** yù **chɔp** ɔl dis chɔp we è no dòn,  
 if 2SG eat all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done  
 tumɔro yù **gò** sik.  
 tomorrow 2SG POT sick  
 ‘If you eat/ate all this food that is not done, you’ll/d be  
 sick tomorrow.’ [ro05ee 045]

The markers *gò* ‘POT’ (1775) and *dè* ‘IPFV’ (1776) are also found to mark conditional modality in hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions. The two following sentences are not preceded by an overt IF-clause. The ‘condition’ is deduced from context:

- (1775) Mi no **gò** tɛl=àn no natin.  
 1SG.EMP NEG POT tell=3SG.OBJ NEG nothing  
 ‘I [EMP] wouldn’t tell him anything.’ [bo03cb 138]
- (1776) Noto mi à **dè** enta insay dan hos ò.  
 NEG.FOC 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV enter inside that house SP  
 ‘It’s not me who would enter that [haunted] house.’ [ne05fn 031]

Although the verb in the IF-clause of potential conditionals usually appears with factative TMA, a minority of conditionals also feature *gò* ‘POT’ or *dè* ‘IPFV’ in the IF-clause and in the THEN-clause as in (1777) and (1778). I interpret this use as instances of modal harmony between the two hypothetical situations:

- (1777) **ɛf** dèn **gò** go bɛr yu, dèn sen **gò** go nà dan bɛrin.  
 if 3PL POT go bury 2SG.EMP 3PL EMP POT go LOC that burial  
 ‘If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.’ [ed03sb 102]
- (1778) (...) **if** yù no **dè** gi mi yù fəs man  
 if 2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.EMP 2SG first man

we nà in gi yu di bèle, yù dè gi  
 SUB FOC 3SG.EMP give 2SG.EMP this belly 2SG IPFV give  
 mi dì pìkín we dè kòmót.  
 1SG.EMP DEF child SUB IPFV come.out

*Lit.* 'But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don't give me your first man who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that will come out.' [ed03sb 020]

Counterfactual conditionals feature the past marker *bìn* in the IF-clause. In the THEN-clause, we either find the marker sequence *bìn fɔ̃* 'PST ASS' (1779) or only *fɔ̃* 'ASS' (1780) – irrespective of past or present tense reference of the situation. Also note the occurrence of potential marking in the complement clause introduced by *se* 'QUOT' in (1780):

(1779) **ɛf** à **bìn** si=àn yéstdé à **bìn**  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST see=3SG.OBJ yesterday 1SG.SBJ PST  
**fɔ̃** gi=àn dì m̀nì.  
 ASS give=3SG.OBJ DEF money  
 'If I had seen her yesterday, I would have given her the money.' [ro05de 028]

(1780) **ɛf** à **bìn** no se è no **gò** fəl  
 if 1SG.SBJ PST know QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG POT rain  
 à **fɔ̃** bring ɔ̀da sus.  
 1SG.SBJ ASS bring other shoe  
 'If I had known that it wouldn't rain, I would have worn other shoes.' [ma03hm 025]

The marker(s) (*bìn*) *fɔ̃* are also encountered in counterfactual statements contingent upon inferred conditions (1781). Sentence (1782) illustrates that *fɔ̃* may fulfil the latter function by itself, without explicit tense marking by *bìn*, if a past tense temporal frame has been set by prior discourse:

(1781) È **bìn** **fɔ̃** de fayn.  
 3SG.SBJ PST ASS BE.AT fine  
 'It would have been nice.' [fr03ft 172]

(1782) Yù **fɔ̃** gət hemorragia soté blɔd finis naw.  
 2SG ASS get hemorrhage until blood finish now  
 'You would have hemorrhaged until your blood would have finished.' [ab03ay 094]

In the vast majority of cases, the IF-clause precedes the THEN-clause in Pichi conditionals. Nevertheless, the corpus contains a few instances of initial THEN-clauses (1783). These types of conditionals are pragmatically marked and usually involve focus of the proposed THEN-

clause. This example is also of interest because it reflects some of the residual obligation meaning that the preposition *cum* modal particle *ɸ* ‘ASS’ may have in counterfactual conditionals (cf. also 7.7.3.2):

- (1783) À            **bìn ɸ** mared a los veinte uno **ɛf** Maura  
 1SG.SBJ PST ASS marry at DEF twenty one if NAME  
 ìn papa no **bìn** day.  
 3SG.POSS father NEG PST die  
 ‘I should/would have married at twenty-one if Maura’s father hadn’t died.’ [ab03ab 210]

### 12.8.12 Concessive clauses

Concessive meaning may be expressed by clauses introduced by *we* ‘SUB’ (cf. e.g. (1714)) and *se* ‘QUOT’ (cf. e.g. ). Alternatively, concessive meaning may be expressed through conditional clauses in conjunction with clausal focus by means of the focus particle *sef* ‘EMP’. In (1784), the conditional relation is not signalled overtly. The presence of the focus particle *sef* ‘EMP’ alone is sufficient to signal concession:

- (1784) Yù no **sef**, yù jòs kan yù no gò sàbí,  
 2SG know EMP 2SG just come 2SG NEG POT know  
 yù no gò tók lèkè dèn.  
 2SG NEG POT talk like 3PL.EMP  
 ‘Even if you know, if you have just come, you wouldn’t know,  
 you wouldn’t talk like them.’ [ma03hm 044]

A concessive clause may also be introduced by the linkers *ɛf(ɛ)* and *if*, just like a conditional clause. TMA marking is also the same as in conditional clauses:

- (1785) **ɛf** yu nà sməl human **sef**, dèn gò kəl yu dama.  
 if 2SG.EMP FOC small woman EMP 3PL POT call 2SG.EMP lady  
 ‘Even if you [EMP] are an insignificant woman, they’ll call you lady.’ [ma03hm 076]

Concessive clauses are sometimes also introduced by the Spanish clause linker *aunque* ‘although’ (1786):

- (1786) **Aunque** nòto paludismo, if dèn giv tratamiento yù no gò day.  
 although NEG.FOC malaria if 3PL give treatment 2SG NEG POT die  
 ‘Even if it is not malaria, if they give you a treatment, you won’t die [of the treatment].’  
 [fr03wt 061]

The linker *adònké* ‘no matter if’ also introduces concessive clauses. *Adònké* is often part of a disjoint structure, namely *adònké* – *wans*, ‘even if – once’. The concessive clause is

introduced by the first, and the main clause by the second element (1787):

(1787) (...) **adònké** è no si yu wan hol de, è no bisin,  
 even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.EMP one whole day 3SG.SBJ NEG be.busy

**wans** yù bring dì pà máyn.  
 once 2SG bring DEF oil

'Even if she didn't see you the whole day, she didn't care, if only you brought the oil.' [ab03ab 036]

## 13 Multiverb constructions

I employ the term ‘multiverb constructions’ (MVCs) as a generous cover term for serial verb constructions (SVCs), secondary predication and clause chaining in Pichi. Multiverb constructions all have in common that there is some form of semantic dependence of one or more predicates with another, which is reflected in some form of reduction, restriction or merging of elements of one or several predicates. Nonetheless, some of the constructions described in this chapter exhibit varying degrees of resemblance with some of the multiclausal structures covered in chapter 12. As a consequence, the classification as ‘multiverb’ or ‘multiclausal’ is sometimes difficult to make.

### 13.1 General characteristics

Multiverb constructions form a continuum of structures involving predicates that are strung together in various ways. The area covered by MVCs stretches from tightly integrated verb strings to clause chains, i.e. structures that can barely be distinguished from a series of fully finite clauses. In the middle range of the continuum we find secondary predication, which is characterised by more flexibility than SVCs, both in the types of verbs that may enter the construction as in the ways of paraphrasing them.

SVCs are the most integrated MVCs. I use the term SVC only for asymmetrical SVCs where “[o]ne verb is from a relatively large, open, or otherwise unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class” (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). The verb from the restricted class in SVCs is henceforth referred to as the minor verb and the open class verb as the major verb (Durie 1997). The relative position of verbs in SVCs is indicated by V1, V2, Vx irrespective of their function as minor or major verbs.

SVCs are less central to clause linkage in Pichi than the variety of constructions might suggest. SVCs constitute somewhere between 10-20% of the clause linkage types in a given text. Equally, older (+50 years) speakers tend to use SVCs more frequently. Maybe increased language contact between Pichi and the non-serialising languages Spanish and Bubi has led to the reinforcement of already existing, non-serialising strategies of clause linkage in Pichi (cf. Hayek (2006) on contact-induced “deserialisation” in Tetun Dili). This observation concerns in particular motion-direction and argument-introducing SVCs, two prominent types of SVCs in other serialising languages. Equally, there is a pronounced tendency towards the lexicalisation of certain SVCs involving particular verbs. This characteristic warrants analysing at least some of these SVCs as a type of compound verbs.

## 13.2 Serial verb constructions

Table 13.1 lists all types of SVCs identified in the corpus. The functions of aspectual and modal SVCs are treated separately in 7.4 and 7.7.1 (cf. also Table 12.2). The table only lists the minor verbs of the each construction. An empty space indicates the position of the major verb.

Table 13.1 Serial verb constructions

| Type of SVC             | V1                           | V2           | Description                      |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Motion-direction        | Motion verb                  | <i>go</i>    | Motion away                      |
|                         | Motion verb                  | <i>kan</i>   | Motion towards                   |
|                         | Motion verb                  | <i>kòmót</i> | Motion outwards                  |
|                         | Motion verb                  | <i>rich</i>  | Motion up to                     |
| Motion-action           | <i>go</i> 'go'               | Dynamic verb | Motion away & purpose            |
|                         | <i>kan</i> 'come'            | Dynamic verb | Motion to & purpose              |
| Participant-introducing | <i>tek</i> 'take'            | Dynamic verb | Instrument; theme                |
|                         | <i>fala</i> 'follow'         | Motion verb  | Comitative                       |
|                         |                              | <i>pas</i>   | Comparative                      |
| Complementation         | <i>hia</i> 'hear'            |              | Immediate perception             |
|                         | <i>si</i> 'see'              |              |                                  |
| Adverbial               | <i>las</i> 'be last, end up' |              | Achievement, completion          |
|                         | <i>ste</i> 'last long'       |              | Duration                         |
| Aspectual               | <i>bìgín</i> 'begin'         |              | Ingressive                       |
|                         | <i>kòmót</i> 'go/come out'   |              | Egressive                        |
|                         | <i>fínis</i> 'finish'        |              | Completive                       |
|                         | <i>want</i> 'want'           |              | Prospective                      |
|                         | <i>sigue</i> 'continue'      |              | Continuative                     |
| Modal                   | <i>fit</i> 'can'             |              | Ability, possibility, permission |
|                         | <i>hebul</i> 'be capable'    |              | Physical ability                 |
|                         | <i>manech</i> 'manage'       |              | Physical ability                 |
|                         | <i>sàbí</i> 'know how to'    |              | Mental ability                   |
|                         | <i>want/wənt</i> 'want'      |              | Desire, intention                |
|                         | <i>(gɛt) fɛ</i> 'have to'    |              | Obligation                       |

Not included in the table above are structures involving the following words with highly grammaticalised functions: *gò* 'POT' (< *go* 'go'), *kan* 'PFV' (< *kan* 'come'), *mek* 'SBJV' (< *mek* 'make') and *se* 'QUOT' (< *se* '?say').

Verbs that participate in SVCs may not be separated by juncture markers such as declarative intonation, pauses and continuative intonation, nor adverbial clause linkers and complementisers. Equally, the V2 may not be negated separately from the V1 while the negation of V1 has scope over the entire construction. Compare the following examples involving a motion-direction SVC:

(1788) \*Yù **ker**=àn yù **no go** hospital?  
 2SG carry=3SG.OBJ 2SG NEG go hospital  
 \*'Didn't you take him to hospital?' [pa07me 006]

(1789) Yù **no ker**=àn **go** hospital?  
 2SG NEG carry=3SG.OBJ go hospital  
 'Didn't you take him to hospital?' [pa07me 005]

Further, the V2 of an SVC does not appear with TMA marking since it acquires its TMA specifications from the V1. Only the V1 is marked for tense, mood and aspect (an exception to this principle is the use of *dè* 'ipfv' as a complementiser-like marker of non-finiteness in some aspectual and modal SVCs (cf. 12.6.3)).

Hence the second translation of (1790) as a motion-direction SVC is rejected. Instead, the construction may be interpreted as involving a secondary predicate with a circumstantial meaning (cf. also 13.3.1):

(1790) Yù **dè ker**=àn **dè go** hospital.  
 2SG IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ NEG go hospital  
 'You're carrying him while going to the hospital.' [pa07me 009]  
 \*'You're taking him to the hospital.'

### 13.2.1 Motion-direction SVCs

Motion-direction SVCs involve one of the four motion verbs listed in Table 13.1 as minor verbs and V2s. These verbs contribute direction to the motion expressed by the V1. The construction is only attested with a total of eight motion verbs in the major verb, V1 position (cf. Table 10.5 for a summary of some of their semantic and syntactic characteristics). Of these verbs, four denote locomotion (i.e. *waka* 'walk', *rən* 'run', *flay* 'fly' and *fala* 'follow') while the remaining four (*tek* 'take', *ker* 'take; carry', *bring* 'bring' and *sen* 'send') include direction, manner and causation as part of their meaning. The V1 position is therefore not open to other potential candidates with the same range of meanings (e.g. *drɛb* 'drive', *enta* 'enter' or *pus* 'push') and the use of other motion verbs usually involves non-serial strategies of expressing direction. Indeed, the lexical specialisation of this SVC may justify an analysis of the construction as involving compound verbs rather than relatively open structures created by syntactic processes.

The following example presents a motion-direction SVC involving the V1 *rən* 'run' and the V2 *go* 'go', which expresses motion away from the ground. Section 10.1.5 contains

an extensive treatment of goal and source-marking in combination with motion-direction SVCs and other constructions involving spatial relations:

- (1791) È se 'mɔmi mɔmi, yù no dè si dan man we è  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT mum mum 2SG NEG IPFV see that man SUB 3SG.SBJ  
**rɔn go** abuela ìn rum?  
 run go grandmother 3SG.POSS room  
 'He said "mum, mum, don't you see that man who ran into  
 grandmother's room?" [ab03ab 053]

The goal of the motion may be expressed as an object of the V2 motion verb as in (1791) above. The goal may also be instantiated by a prepositional phrase introduced by *nà* 'LOC' (1792). Motion-direction SVCs can involve a "switch-function" (pro)noun (Aikhenvald 2006: 14ff), in which case, the object =*àn* '3SG.OBJ' of the V1 *ker* 'carry' may be analysed as the subject of the V2 *go* 'go' in the following example:

- (1792) À **ker=àn go nà** comedor.  
 1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room  
 'I carried him to the dining-room.' [ab03ab 091]

A string of two verbs may be followed by additional serial verbs. Example (1793) illustrates multiple serialisation with the verb string *ker-go-waka* 'carry-go-walk'. The construction is an overlap of a motion-direction SVC (*ker-go*) and a motion-action SVC (*go-waka*):

- (1793) Dì big wan, à bin dè **ker=àn go waka**  
 DEF big one 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ go walk  
 nà nɛt wèt Tokòbé.  
 LOC night with NAME  
 'As for the big one, I was carrying it off travelling by night with Tokòbé.' [ab03ab 006]

The V2 *kan* 'come' expresses motion towards a ground (1794). Strings involving the verb *kòmót* 'go out' as the V2 express evacuation, i.e. motion out of a ground (1795). Note the presence of the prepositions *fɔ* 'ASS' and *nà* 'LOC', which mark goal and source respectively:

- (1794) **Ker** dì mòtó yù **bring kan fɔ** ya.  
 take DEF car 2SG bring come ASS here  
 'Take the car and bring it here.' [ro05de 036]
- (1795) È kan **rɔn kòmót nà** kɔntri, (...)  
 3SG.SBJ PFV run go.out LOC hometown  
 'She fled from the [her] home town, (...)' [ed03sb 035]



The notion of ‘movement up to’ is formed with the verb *rich* ‘arrive’ in the V2 position as in (1796). This construction is, however, rare:

- (1796) À tink se è get treinta y ocho años naw  
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ get thirty and eight years now  
 we è ðɔn dè go rich cuarenta.  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV go reach forty  
 ‘I think that he’s thirty-eight years old now and is already going towards forty.’  
 [fr03ft 146]

The situation expressed by motion-direction SVCs is more often expressed in non-serial structures featuring prepositional phrases as in (1797). In these constructions, context and common sense disambiguate the potentially locative (i.e. ‘in the pharmacy’) and goal (‘to the pharmacy’) meanings of the prepositional phrase introduced by the general locative preposition *nà* ‘Loc’:

- (1797) Dèn rɔn nà farmacia, receta de mérésin.  
 3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine  
 ‘They ran to the pharmacy, (to get a) prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]

The relation between motion-direction SVCs and alternative ways of expressing the events they denote are treated extensively in section 10.1.5.

### 13.2.2 Motion-action SVCs

Motion-action SVCs involve the motion verbs *go* ‘go’ and *kan* ‘come’ as minor verbs in the V1 position. This SVC denotes movement and subsequent action. It often has an underlying purposive meaning best translated as ‘go/come in order to’. The construction is the most frequent SVC in the corpus and involves a large variety of minor verbs in the V2 position.

The construction may involve another motion verb as V2 (1798), or any other dynamic verb (1799). Motion-action SVCs are only attested with a dynamic V2:

- (1798) Dì pìkín ðɔn get seven hia, è gò want go waka,  
 DEF child PRF get seven year 3SG.SBJ POT want go walk  
 ‘he, no kòmót nà hos!’  
 INTJ NEG go.out LOC house

‘(When) the child is seven years old, she will want to go walk [roam around],  
 [then you tell her], “don’t you leave the house!”’ [ab03ay 115]

- (1799) Apás tumɔro à gò go sí mì màamá.  
 after tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT go see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘After tomorrow, I will go see my mother.’ [ro05ee 131]

Below follow motion-action SVCs involving the minor *kan* ‘come’ as the V1. Like *go*-SVCs, *kan*-SVCs are encountered with (1800) and without (1801) resumptive subject marking with the V2:

(1800) Yù **kan** yù **pul=àn**.  
 2SG come 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You came and removed it.’ [ro05ee 094]

(1801) Nà in è **dè kan pul** mi dan tòrí.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ IPFV come remove 1SG.EMP that story  
 ‘That’s when she was coming to tell me that story.’ [ab03ab 073]

SVCs involving the use of *kan* as a verb in a motion-action SVC like (1801) need to be distinguished from the use of *kan* as a narrative perfective aspect marker in a sentence like (1802) below. There are two ways of making the distinction. Firstly, (1801), the lexical verb *kan* ‘come’ may be marked by TMA markers like any other Pichi verb. On the contrary, the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ is subject to cooccurrence restrictions. For example, the TMA marker sequence \**dè kan* ‘IPFV PFV’ in (1801) above would be ungrammatical:

(1802) Nà in è **kan veks**, è **kan go**.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ PFV be.angry 3SG.SBJ PFV go  
 ‘That’s why he got angry, (and) he left.’ [fr03ft 190]

Secondly, speakers may employ resumptive subject marking with the V2 in sentences like (1800) above in order to avoid the potential ambiguity between a motion-action SVC and a clause verb marked for narrative perfective aspect (i.e. *yù kan pul=àn* ‘2SG come remove=3SG.OBJ’ = ‘(then) you removed it’). The same strategy is employed in (1803) below. In both examples, the bare lexical verb *kan* ‘come’ would be more likely to be interpreted as the narrative perfective marker *kan* ‘PFV’ if the sequence were not interrupted by the personal pronoun *yù* ‘2SG’. That said, these two uses of *kan* are often very similar and appear to be diachronically related:

(1803) Porque if yù mek, yù si dan polvo, è dè  
 because if 2SG make 2SG see that powder 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 put=àn insay, **yù kan yù dring**, (...)  
 put=3SG.OBJ inside 2SG come 2SG drink  
 ‘Because if you make, you see that powder, he’s putting it inside,  
 you come and drink (...).’ [ed03sb 099]

Motion-action SVCs frequently involve the use of resumptive *go* and *kan*. In (1804), the verb string is interrupted by the adverbial phrase *nà peluqueria* ‘to the hairdresser’s’, after which we find a resumptive *go*. Example (1805) features resumptive *kan* after the adverbial phrase *wan de* ‘one day’:

- (1804) Èf yù want baba, yù want **go** nà peluqueria **go kət** yù hia.  
 if 2SG want cut.hair 2SG want go LOC hairdresser go cut 2SG hair  
 ‘If you want to have a hair-cut, you want to go cut your hair at the hairdresser’s.  
 [ro05fe 031]

- (1805) Dan man fit **kan** wan de **kan tek** yu se  
 that man can come one day come take 2SG.EMP QUOT  
 ‘kan wì go’, (...)  
 come 1PL go  
 ‘That man can come take you one day (and) say “let’s go (...)”.’ [hi03cb 196]

A more literal motion meaning may give way to a purposive meaning. In (1806), movement to the speakers hometown has already occurred before the motion-action SVC à go bən ‘I went to give birth’ follows. There is no prosodic juncture between the two clauses:

- (1806) À **go** fə kəntri à **go bən.**  
 1SG.SBJ go ASS hometown 1SG.SBJ go give.birth  
 ‘I went to my home town in order to give birth.’

In (1808), the literal meaning of the V1 go recedes even more behind a purposive sense. In this example, we see how motion through space instantiated by *ker* ‘bring’, the motion metaphor of the purpose clause introduced by *fə* and the motion/purpose reading of *go* itself harmonise:

- (1807) Dèn kan ker mi nà Madrid **fə** mek dèn **go opera** mi.  
 3PL PFV carry 1SG.EMP LOC PLACE ASS SBJV 3PL go operate 1SG.EMP  
 ‘They took me to Madrid in order to go and operate on me.’ [fr03ft 026]

The motion-action SVC in (1808) does not involve directed motion through space either. The SVC à go à pul dì trəsis ‘I (went and) removed the trousers’ involves no motion other than removing the pair of trousers:

- (1808) À pul ìn camiseta, à put=àn pàntáp bed,  
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS singlet 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ top bed  
 à **go** à **pul** dì trəsis à hib=àn  
 1SG.SBJ go 1SG.SBJ remove DEF trousers 1SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ  
 insay dì bañera.  
 inside DEF bath.tub  
 ‘I removed his singlet, I put him on the bed, I (went and) removed his trousers,  
 I heaved him into the bath tub.’ [ab03ab 083]

Example (1808) also points towards a difference in meaning that may arise between motion-

action serialisation without resumptive subject marking (cf. e.g. (1807) above) and motion-action SVCs, in which the V2 has an overt subject pronoun (cf. e.g. (1808)). While the former type tends to extend metaphorically into the expression of purpose relations, the latter tends to focus the action designated by V2. Motion-action SVCs involving *kan* also lend themselves to less literal interpretations. Compare (1803) above, where the V1 *kan* also focuses the following V2 *dring* ‘drink’.

### 13.2.3 Participant-introducing SVCs

In participant-introducing SVCs, a noun appears as the syntactic object of the minor verb, but this object may occupy diverse semantic roles. One type of participant-introducing SVC involves the verb *tek* ‘take’. *Tek*-SVCs may in turn be divided into two types.

In the first type, the object of the V1 *tek* ‘take’ is the instrument or means used for performing V2. Compare *wan blak làpá* ‘a black cloth’ in (1809). The instrument may also be an abstract noun like *pawa* ‘power’ (1810) or *pàpá gød* ‘God’ in the idiom in (1811):

(1809) È kìn de lèk se dèn tek **wan blak làpá** dèn kòba yu.  
 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.AT like QUOT 3PL take one black cloth 3PL cover 2SG.EMP  
 ‘It is usually so that they cover you with a black cloth.’ [ed03sb 119]

(1810) Yù fit go se ‘bueno à tek **pawa** go’ (...)  
 2SG can go QUOT good 1SG.SBJ take power go  
 ‘You can go and say, “well, I leave by my own authority (...)”’ [hi03cb 194]

(1811) À tek **pàpá gød** beg=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ take father God ask=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I implored him in the name of God.’ [sa07fn 297]

In the second type, the object of the V1 *tek* ‘take’ is the theme of the V2. This type of *tek*-SVC is far more frequent than the one involving an instrument role. Equally, in this type, the theme is always reiterated by a resumptive object pronoun following V2, and very frequently it additionally involves resumptive subject marking. These two characteristics may make such *tek*-SVCs difficult to distinguish from clause chaining when the first subevent of the situation denoted by the SVC may actually involve ‘taking’ in a literal sense (cf. e.g. clause chaining in (1860)).

Compare the alternative translations of (1812) and (1813). Note the use of a resumptive object pronoun alone in the first example, and the use of both a resumptive object and subject pronoun in the second one:

(1812) À tek=**àn** put=**àn** pàntáp mì bèle.  
 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ top 1SG.POSS belly  
 ‘I (took him and) put him onto my belly.’ [ab03ab 067]

- (1813) **Yù tek dī maíz yù hol=àn.**  
 2SG take DEF maize 2SG hold=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You take the maize (and) you hold it.’ [dj03do 003]

However, a theme object of *tek* need not be an entity that can be ‘taken’ in a literal sense. The following example once more involves resumptive object and subject pronouns. With an object like *yay* ‘eye’, no literal interpretation of *tek* as ‘take’ is possible here:

- (1814) **À tɛl yu se mī man tek in yay**  
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP QUOT 1SG.POSS man take 3SG.POSS eye  
**è put=àn bōtɔn grɔn so.**  
 3SG.SBJ put3SG.OBJ bottom ground like.that  
 ‘I tell you that my husband diverted his eye [gaze] down like this.’ [ro05rt 011]

When the theme object of *tek* is human it may also receive a comitative ‘together with’ interpretation. This occurs with the object *dī gɛl* ‘the girl’ in the relative construction in (1815):

- (1815) **Porque è fiba se dī gɛl [we è bìn dè tek kòmót],**  
 because 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT DEF girl SUB 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV take go.out  
**è bìn gɛt bòkú bɔy dɛn.**  
 3SG.SBJ PST get much boy PL  
 ‘Because it seems that the girl that he was going out with, she had many boyfriends.’  
 [fr03ft 127]

Example (1815) above is also noteworthy because it shows what happens when the object of *tek* is relativised. The object *dī gɛl* ‘the girl’ is placed in the head noun position, while the relativised position may remain empty, which leads to V1 and V2 occurring next to each other. Contiguity of *tek* and the V2 is also found when the object of *tek* is fronted in content questions. Sentence (1816) features the questioned concrete noun *plenk* ‘board’ and (1817) the abstract noun *stayl* ‘manner’:

- (1816) **Us=kayn plenk dèn tek bil dī hos?**  
 Q=kind board 3PL take build DEF house  
 ‘What kind of board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]
- (1817) **Nà us=kayn stayl yù tek kan nà ya?**  
 FOC Q=kind style 2SG take come LOC here  
 ‘How did you come here.’ [ro05ee 005]

SVCs involving *tek* are less frequent than equivalent combinations of verbs and prepositions. A PP involving *wèt* ‘with’ is more commonly employed to express the semantic role of instrument (1818). Comitative *tek*-serialisations are even less common. Speakers

usually resort to a PP introduced by the preposition *wèt* ‘with’ as in (1823) further below:

- (1818) Dèn **bil**      dì strit      **wèt**      caterpillar.  
 3PL build    DEF street    with    caterpillar  
 ‘The street was built with a caterpillar.’ [dj05be 078]

The competition between the serial and prepositional strategies of participant-marking is manifest in the rather exceptional sentences (1819) and (1820) elicited from two different speakers. Here, the questioning of the instrument noun produced redundant marking of the question phrase *us=kayn tin* ‘Q=kind thing’ = ‘WHAT’ with both a preposition and a *tek*-SVC. Non-interrogative double uses of this kind were not found, however:

- (1819) **Wèt**    us=kayn tin      dèn **tek bil**      dì hos?  
 with    Q=kind thing    3PL take build    DEF house  
 ‘(With) what did they build the house with?’ [ye05ce 106]
- (1820) **Wèt**    us=kayn stik      yù bìn **tek bil**      dì hos?  
 with    Q=kind wood    2SG PST take    build    DEF house  
 ‘(With) what kind of wood did you build the house with?’ [ro05de 050]

The verb *fala* ‘follow, accompany’ participates as a V1 in the expression of a comitative role. The object of *fala* is the accompanee of the situation denoted by the V2. The object of *fala* is usually human and placed between V1 and V2:

- (1821) Yes,      Concha **fala**      Princess      go viaje.  
 yes      NAME    follow    NAME      go voyage  
 ‘Yes, Concha went on the voyage together with Princess.’ [dj05be 097]

Once more, most speakers prefer to express accompaniment through non-serial alternatives. One possibility is the use of the verb *jwɛn* ‘join’, followed by the nominalised reference verb as in (1822). The most common means involves a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by *wèt* ‘with’ (1823):

- (1822) À      **jwɛn**      Bòyé      **fɔ chop.**  
 1SG.SBJ    join      NAME    ASS eat  
 ‘I ate together with Bòyé.’ [ur05fn 045]
- (1823) È      **go wèt**      ìn      mà má?  
 3SG.SBJ    go with    3SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Did he go with his mother?’ [fr03do 033]

A final type of participant-introducing SVC is the comparative construction featuring the verb *pas* ‘(sur)pass’ (1824). The object of *pas* is the standard of comparison. Comparative SVCs are covered in detail in section 7.9.1:

- (1824) Lage dè tək Bùbɛ pas mi.  
 NAME IPFV talk Bubi pass 1SG.EMP  
 ‘Lage speaks Bubi better than me.’ [fr03ab 012]

### 13.2.4 Complementation SVCs

This type of SVC features a complement-taking verb of immediate perception as a minor verb and V1. In the corpus, this construction is attested with *si* ‘see’ and *hia* ‘hear’ as V1. The construction may feature a switch-function (pro)noun. In (1825), the object of *si* ‘see’, i.e. *sòn wayt pàmbód* ‘a white bird’, functions as the notional subject of the V2 *kan* ‘come’:

- (1825) À si sòn wayt pàmbód dè kan (...)  
 1SG.SBJ see some white bird IPFV come  
 ‘I saw a white bird coming (...)’ [ed03sb 174]

A defining feature of complementation SVCs is the relation of temporal overlap between the participating predicates. The dynamic verb *kan* ‘come’ above is marked for imperfective aspect, which signals simultaneity with the situation denoted by the factative marked V1 *si* ‘see.’ The appearance of differential aspect marking in complementation SVCs makes these constructions very similar to circumstantial secondary predicate constructions (cf. 13.3.4). The difference is, however, that complementation SVCs are syntactically more integrated; they may involve switch-function (pro)nouns while secondary predication does not.

Pichi appears to exhibit a restriction on the use of switch-function (pro)nouns since they do not usually serve as notional subjects to (inchoative-)stative V2s. Hence, in the following SVC, the inchoative-stative verb *fayn* ‘be fine’ appears with an overt subject è ‘3SG.SBJ’, which is coferential with the preceding object pronoun =àn ‘3SG.OBJ’. This structure is now in fact identical to some of the secondary predications covered in 13.3 (cf. e.g. (1858):

- (1826) If yù go fò dì mared, yù si=àn è fayn.  
 if 2SG go ASS DEF marry 2SG see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ fine  
 ‘If you go to the marriage, you see it (to be) nice.’ [Lit. ‘(...) it is nice’] [hi03cb 006]

The far more common alternative to complementation SVCs is for the perceived situation to be expressed as a complement clause introduced by *se* ‘QUOT’ as in the following example:

- (1827) Yù jəs hia se pəsin dən bìn dè tək bət yù no listin.  
 2SG just hear QUOT person PL PST IPFV talk but 2SG NEG listen  
 ‘You just heard that people were talking but you didn’t listen.’ [au07se 109]

### 13.2.5 Adverbial SVCs

Three verbs in the corpus appear as minor verbs in adverbial SVCs. In these structures the V1 provides a modification that is temporal in nature. The verb *las* ‘be the last to, end up’

enters into an adverbial SVC as a minor verb (1828). Proof for the verbal status of *las* comes from (1829): *las* may not appear in the postverbal adverbial position. In contrast, the word *fəs* ‘first’, which also expresses temporal meanings may, since it is an adverb (1830):

(1828) À        **las**        **chəp**.  
1SG.SBJ be.last eat  
‘I was the last to eat/I ended up eating.’ [eb07fn 130]

(1829) \*Nà mi        chəp        **las**.  
FOC 1SG.EMP eat last  
\*‘I ate last.’ [ra07ve 025]

(1830) À        was        **fəs**.  
1SG.SBJ wash first  
‘I washed (myself) first.’ [ra07ve 023]

The dynamic verb *ste* ‘stay’ is employed as the V1 in an SVC in order to express (excessive) duration. This SVC is frequently used in a context of current relevance, where it commonly appears together with the perfect marker *dən*:

(1831) Yù **dən ste kan?**  
2SG PRF stay come  
‘Did you come long ago?’ [ge07fn 164]

Many speakers reject this adverbial SVC as ungrammatical. Instead, they prefer to express duration through a biclausal structure with coreferential subjects (1832) or an expletive subject to *ste* (1833). The latter use is once more similar to secondary predication covered below in section 13.3:

(1832) À        **ste** we à        neva        **chəp**.  
1SG.SBJ stay SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF eat  
‘It’s been long since I haven’t eaten.’ [au07ec 081]

(1833) (...) è        no **ste**        à        **recibe** dī carta,  
3SG.SBJ NEG stay 1SG.SBJ receive DEF letter  
dī tin        we à        beg.  
DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ ask.for  
‘(...) it wasn’t long and I received the letter, the thing  
I (had) asked for.’ [ed03sb 214]



### 13.3 Secondary predication

Pichi features forms of reduced clauses that function as adjuncts to full clauses. In the following, I refer to the predicator of the former clause type as the secondary predicate, and to that of the latter type as the primary predicate (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005). Moreover, secondary predicates may range in complexity virtually fully-fledged clauses to reduced clauses consisting of the secondary predicate alone.

In formal terms, there are two types of secondary predicate in Pichi. One type features a bare verb with a stative interpretation, the other a dynamic verb marked for imperfective aspect. Both types are therefore marked for simultaneous taxis with the primary predicate - the bare (inchoative-)stative verb by default via factative TMA, and the dynamic verb via explicit aspect marking. Further, Pichi secondary predications can be differentiated according to their participant orientation. Subject-oriented predicates predicate a situation relating to the subject, object-oriented ones relate a situation to the object.

The meanings of constructions involving secondary predicates are compositional. They are determined by the degree and type of transitivity (i.e. intransitivity vs. low transitivity vs. high transitivity) of the primary predicate, as well as the type of secondary predicate (e.g. property item vs. dynamic verb). In the following, the terms primary predicate and secondary predicate are used interchangeably with V1 and V2.

#### 13.3.1 General characteristics

Secondary predicates can be distinguished from SVCs on formal grounds. First, the secondary predicate (the V2) is connected to the primary predicate (the V1) in a loose way, via adjunction. The V2 can therefore be paraphrased by fuller clauses with sometimes only slight modifications to the sentence (cf. (1838)ff.).

A second distinguishing feature is that secondary predicate constructions do not involve switch-function (pro)nouns. In the following motion-direction SVC, =àn '3SG.OBJ', the object of the V1 *ker* 'carry' simultaneously functions as the notional subject of the V2 *kan* 'come'. In fact, the overt expression of a subject pronoun with the V2 would be ungrammatical (i.e. \*à *ker*=àn è *go* nà *hos* 'I carried it, it went into the house.').

- (1834) À            **ker=àn**            **go**    nà    comedor.  
 1SG.SBJ    carry=3SG.OBJ    go    LOC    dining-room  
 'I carried him to the dining-room.' [ab03ab 091]

The following secondary predicate construction is therefore rejected. The object *mi* '1SG.EMP' of the V1 *mit* 'meet' may not simultaneously serve as the subject of the V2 *kuk* 'cook':

- (1835) \*È            mit            **mi**            dè    kuk.  
 3SG.SBJ    meet            1SG.EMP    IPFV    cook  
 \*He came across me while (I was) cooking. [pa07me 017]

The secondary predicate must rather have an explicit subject, even if the V1 object and the V2 subject are coreferential:

- (1836) È mit **mi** à dè kuk sef.  
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook EMP  
 ‘He came across me while I was actually cooking.’ [ro05de 023]

That said, the subject à ‘1SG.SBJ’ in the sentence above also participates in the motion event. Hence there is room for the view that the V2 *go* ‘go’ be interpreted as a subject-oriented reduced clause in very much the same way as a the secondary predicate in a clause like (1837) below.

This is where a third difference between the two types of MVCs becomes relevant. The V2 of an SVC acquires its TMA specification from the V1; the V2 may not be independently marked for tense, mood and aspect (cf. (1790)). In contrast, some types of secondary predicate may be specified for TMA independently of the primary predicate. Compare the imperfective-marked V2 in this example:

- (1837) Yù pikín **sìdón** dè chop dèn tu bred.  
 2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread  
 ‘Your child was sitting (there) eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

Many secondary predicates in the data do not feature overt subjects either and in that, they resemble the V2s of SVCs like (1834) above. However, contrary to the SVC in (1834), the subject of the V2 of many secondary predicate constructions may optionally be expressed. This also applies when the V2 is not dynamic. Secondary predicates may therefore be expanded into fuller clauses.

The following sequence of near-identical resultative constructions graphically shows the progression from the reduced clause typical of secondary predication to a biclausal structure involving overt clause linkage:

- (1838) À **lef** dì dòmót **opin.**  
 1SG.SBJ leave DEF door be.open  
 ‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 029]
- (1839) À **lef** dì dòmót **è** **opin.**  
 1SG.SBJ leave DEF door 3SG.SBJ be.open  
 ‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 030]
- (1840) A **lef** dì dòmót **se** **è** **opin.**  
 1SG.SBJ leave DEF door QUOT 3SG.SBJ be.open  
 ‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 031]

### 13.3.2 Depictives

Depictives predicate stative properties, hence they exclusively involve stative(ly interpreted) property items. Pichi depictives are subject- or object-oriented secondary predicates. Hence the V2 denotes the state of the subject or object of V1 while the situation denoted by V1 unfolds (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005: 4).

Transitive verbs denoting various types of use or manipulation are prone to occurring with depictive object-oriented predicates. For example, affected-agent verbs like the verbs of ingestion *dring* ‘drink’ and *chɔp* ‘eat’ appear with object-oriented secondary predicates with a depictive function:

(1841) È        **dring**    dì wàtá    **kol**.  
 3SG.SBJ drink    DEF water    be.cold  
 ‘He drank the water (and it was) cold.’ [ra07ve 004]

(1842) Dèn **chɔp**    dì banana **grin**.  
 3PL eat        DEF banana be.green  
 ‘They ate the banana green [unripe].’ [dj05be 108]

Another group that appears with object-oriented depictives are verbs of handling and manipulation (e.g. *bay* ‘buy’, *kɛr* ‘carry’, *sɛl* ‘sell’, *yus* ‘use’), The following example illustrates this usage by means of *kɛr* ‘carry’ and the secondary predicate *enti* ‘be empty’:

(1843) À        **kɛr**        dì bòkit-pan    **enti**.  
 1SG.SBJ carry    DEF bucket.CPD-pan be.empty  
 ‘I carried the bucket empty.’ [pa07me 039]

Subject-oriented depictives occur in intransitive clauses with various types of intransitive or low-transitivity primary predicates. A prominent group of primary predicates encompasses locomotion verbs like *kàmót* ‘go/come out’ as in this example:

(1844) È        **kàmót**    nà rum        **nekɛd**.  
 3SG.SBJ go.out    LOC room    be.naked  
 ‘He left the room naked.’ [ra07ve 001]

Many depictive secondary predications may alternatively be expressed through nominal depictive constructions. One strategy involves the use of a prepositional phrase introduced by the multifunctional preposition *wèt* ‘with’ (cf. also (667) and (1052)-(1053)):

(1845) È        **kàmót**    nà wok        **wèt**        **hangri**.  
 3SG.SBJ go.out    LOC work    with        hunger  
 ‘He left work hungry.’ [ra07ve 073]

### 13.3.3 Resultatives

Resultative secondary predicates express resultant states, hence they also involve stative(ly interpreted) property items. Resultative meaning arises in sentences featuring highly transitive effected-object verbs as primary predicates.

In (1846), the verb of production *pent* ‘paint’ is followed by the patient object *hos* ‘house’ and the V2 *blak* ‘black’. The V2 is an object-oriented resultative adjunct which denotes the resultant state of the event denoted by V1:

- (1846) È            **pent**      dì hos      **blak**.  
           3SG.SBJ paint    DEF house black  
           ‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Sentence (1847) features the V1 effected-object verb *mek* ‘make, prepare’. Note that the V2 features the subject pronoun è ‘3SG.SBJ’, which is coreferential with the V1 object *café* ‘coffee’. The overt subject pronoun is not necessary here because the resultative predicate is clearly object-oriented (unlike the circumstantial predicate presented in (1836) above). I assume that an explicit subject pronoun is nevertheless employed because of the presence of the preverbal degree adverb *tu* ‘too (much)’. This makes the secondary predicate more complex and motivates the use of a finite resultative clause featuring a subject as well:

- (1847) Dèn        **mek**      dì café      è        **tu swit**.  
           3PL    make    DEF coffee 3SG.SBJ too be.sweet  
           ‘They prepared the coffee (it’s) too sweet.’ [ra07ve 064]

Just like depictives, resultatives may be paraphrased by employing a nominal strategy. The resultative secondary predicate *wòwó* ‘be ugly, messed up’ in (1848) may be vaguely paraphrased via the use of the associative construction *wòwó stayl* ‘ugly manner’ (1849). The generic noun *stayl* ‘manner’ is also used in modifications of manner (cf. e.g. (1047) and in manner question words (cf. e.g. (792)), hence it is ambiguous between a participant-oriented resultative reading and an event-oriented manner reading:

- (1848) Dèn **bil**        dì rod      **wòwó**.  
           3PL build    DEF road    be.ugly  
           ‘They built the road (and it’s) shoddy.’ [ra07ve 059]
- (1849) Dèn **bil=àn**        **wòwó** **stayl**.  
           3PL build=3SG.OBJ ugly    style  
           ‘They built it (and it’s) shoddy.’ OR ‘They built it shoddily.’ [ra07ve 060]

A final important feature relating to resultative constructions is that the V2 must be an (inchoative-)stative property item. Neither (inchoative-)stative verbs from other semantic classes nor dynamic verbs are employed as resultative secondary predicates. This characteristic sets Pichi apart from its sister language Krio, which has resultative SVCs

featuring dynamic verbs as resultative adjuncts. Compare the following Krio sentence:

- (1850) Dì human **kuk** res **sel**.  
 DEF woman cook rice sell  
 ‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ [Finney 2004: 72]

Resultant states that are instantiated in change of state or dynamic verbs are therefore expressed through other means, which usually involve fully-fledged clauses. The first sentence below features the preposition *soté* ‘until’ with a resultative sense. In the second sentence, a resultative sense is expressed through a chained clause. Note the use of resumptive person-marking in the latter example:

- (1851) À viaja **soté** **taya**.  
 1SG.SBJ travel until be.tired  
 ‘I travelled until (I) was tired (of it).’ [ju07ae 531]
- (1852) Bòt wì fit dè ple, à **jam** yu yù **ɸdón**.  
 but 1PL can IPFV play 1SG.SBJ make.contact 2SG.EMP 2SG fall  
 ‘But we could be playing [football], I hit you (and) you fall.’ [au07se 178]

### 13.3.4 Circumstantials

Circumstantial secondary predicate may involve (inchoative-)stative or dynamic secondary predicates. The circumstantial secondary predicate usually also contributes manner or temporal readings. In the construction, there is thus an overlap in meaning between event-oriented, adverbial predication and participant-oriented predication.

The most common circumstantial construction in the data involves the expression of “associated posture” (Enfield 2002): The V2 denotes a situation that holds while the subject assumes a posture denoted by the V1. The V1 in these constructions is employed intransitively. Meanwhile, the V2 provides circumstantial information about the subject, which may be interpreted as participant-oriented or event-oriented. In the latter case, the V2 functions very much like a circumstantial, adverbial adjunct.

When associated posture verbs cooccur with a dynamic secondary predicate, aspect-marking is adjusted accordingly to reflect the temporal overlap between the primary and the secondary situation. In such instances, we may find differential aspect marking with the primary and secondary predicates. This is the case in (1853) where the posture verb *sìdón* ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the imperfective marked dynamic verb *chop* ‘eat’:

- (1853) Yù pikín **sìdón** **dè chop** dèn tu bred.  
 2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread  
 ‘Your child was sitting there eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

The V2 in an associated posture construction may also be another locative verb that

elaborates on the type of posture taken by the subject. In (1854), the posture verb *sìdón* ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the inchoative-stative locative verb *rawn* ‘form a circle’. Since *rawn* is not dynamic, the situation of temporal overlap is not marked by means of the imperfective aspect. However, the inchoative-stative nature of both verbs allows the usual multiple interpretations of the bare verb (cf. 7.1). The use of a coreferential subject pronoun with the V2 (the second *dèn* ‘3PL’) is common if the V2 is not dynamic:

- (1854) Dèn      **sìdón**    **dèn**      **rawn**      dì faya.  
 3PL    sit        3PL       surround    DEF fire  
 ‘They’re sitting around the fire.’ OR ‘They sat down around the fire.’ [ro05ee 115]

The following example also involves associated posture, this time featuring the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ serving as V1. The general locative meaning of the copula allows various interpretations of associated posture. The use of *de* ‘BE.AT’ together with the adverbial complement *de* ‘there’ in such a construction also conveys affective nuances like negligence or irritation with the situation denoted by the V2:

- (1855) Dì pikín    **de**      de      **dè kray**.  
 DEF child    BE.AT    there    IPFV cry  
 ‘The child is just (standing/sitting/lying) there crying.’ [pa07me 027]

A second equally common type of circumstantial secondary predicate construction features a dynamic locomotion verb in the V1 position. The secondary predicate provides circumstantial information about the subject. In the example below, both verbs are dynamic, hence imperfective marking is used to express the temporal overlap of the two predicates. Note the optional use of a resumptive subject pronoun with the V2:

- (1856) Dèn dè **fala**      dèn sef **dèn dè ròn**.  
 3PL IPFV follow    3PL self 3PL IPFV run  
 ‘They’re following each other running.’ [dj07re 005]

The primary predicate in (1857) features the locomotion verb *waka* ‘walk’ as V1 and the idiomatic reflexive construction *opin in sef* ‘(to) boast’ as V2. Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *è* ‘3SG.SBJ’ in this example as well:

- (1857) È            no get m̀nì,    wetin è            dè **waka**  
 3SG.SBJ    NEG get money    what    3SG.SBJ    IPFV walk  
  
 è            **dè opin**    in            sef so?  
 3SG.SBJ    IPFV open    3SG.POSS self like.that  
 ‘He doesn’t have money, why does he go around boasting like that?’ [ye07je 132]

There are also primary predicates with a higher transitivity than posture and locomotion verbs. In (1858), the V1 *du* ‘do’ appears with the object *mi* ‘1SG.EMP’ while cooccurring with a

second predicate, namely *à dè ste* ‘(while) I was staying’. Since the V1 has two participants, the V2 requires a subject pronoun in order to establish reference with either of these participants. This shows that this kind of circumstantial secondary predicate is actually indeterminate in its participant orientation and is in fact no more very different from a regular circumstantial adverbial clause:

- (1858) Pero dèn kan du **mi** à dè ste nà Moka,  
 but 3PL PFV do 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ IPFV stay LOC NAME  
 dèn kan du mi nà Moka.  
 3PL PFV do 1SG.EMP LOC PLACE  
 ‘But they did it to me, while I was staying in Moka, they did it to me in Moka.’ [ab03ay 071]

### 13.4 Clause chaining

Clause chaining is utilised to describe tightly-knit situations that take place in sequence. In chained clauses, speakers use one predicate after the other without pausing or placing clause linkers between them. However, chained predicates invariably feature resumptive personal pronouns; the subject is repeated with each verb in the series. Verbs that participate in clause chaining are always dynamic. Clause chaining therefore typically occurs in the foregrounded sections of narrative discourse.

TMA marking is reduced in chained clauses. Tense, aspect and mood marking may only be indicated with the first verb in the series, while subsequent verbs remain bare. Therefore, clause chaining is different from linkage involving fuller clauses in the absence of juncture marking and the reduction of TMA marking. At the same time, chained clauses differ from SVCs because they exhibit a degree of finiteness through person marking.

In (1859), the initial verb *rən* ‘run’ is marked for potential mood. The subsequent verbs *ker* ‘carry’, and *go* ‘go’ are conjoined without a pause while remaining unmarked for tense and aspect. The example also contains the motion-direction SVC *ker-go*:

- (1859) À gò **rən** à **ker=àn** go à go hospital.  
 1SG.SBJ POT run 1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go 1SG.SBJ go hospital  
 ‘I would run and take her and go to hospital.’ [hi03cb 139]

The clause chain in (1860) features the initial verbs *rèdí* ‘be/make ready’ and *mek* ‘make’, which are both fully finite and marked for potential mood. The verbs following *mek*, i.e. *tek* ‘take’, *put* ‘put’, *sen* ‘send’ and *go* ‘go’ are all left bare, without TMA marking. Instead they form part of a clause chain, in which the initial verb(s) alone provide the temporal, aspectual and modal frame of reference. Note that these bare verbs cannot be interpreted as being marked for factative TMA since the temporal and modal frame of this excerpt is provided by the potential mood:

- (1860) Dèn **gò r̀edí** yu dèn **gò mek** l̀èk haw dèn dè mek  
 3PL POT prepare 2SG.EMP 3PL POT make like how 3PL IPFV make  
 f̀d wìch, dèn **tek** yu dèn **put** yu nà aviòn  
 ASS sorcery 3PL take 2SG.EMP 3PL put 2SG.EMP LOC plane  
 dèn **sɛn** yu f̀d ɔda kɔntri ỳ gò wok m̀nì.  
 3PL send 2SG.EMP ASS other country 2SG go work money

'They would prepare you like the way it's done by sorcery, they'll take you, put you into a plane and send you to another country (and) you'll go earn (them) money.' [ed03sb 104]

The following example illustrates how the difference between clause chaining and a series of fully finite clauses may hinge on intonation when a series of dynamic verbs are marked for factative TMA.

In (1861), the verbs *tek* 'take', *pe* 'pay', *k̀m̀ót* 'go out', *rich* 'arrive' and *pe* 'pay' are iconically ordered along the time axis and describe successive events. However, they are separated by pauses. Additionally, the last constituent of each clause bears continuative intonation (indicated by a comma), which alerts the hearer to the existence of a clausal boundary. For these reasons, (1861) does not involve clause chaining:

- (1861) Luk=àn, d̀ de we dis Paquita ìn p̀p̀á bìn kan **tek**=àn,  
 look=3SG.OBJ DEF day SUB this NAME 3SG.POSS father PST come take=3SG.OBJ  
 è **pe** avioneta, k̀m̀ót Alemania, **rich** nà Douala,  
 3SG.SBJ pay small.aircraft go.out PLACE reach LOC PLACE  
**pe** avioneta, è **kan** nà ya so (...)  
 pay small.aircraft 3SG.SBJ come LOC here like.that

'Look at her, the day that Paquita's father came to take her, he paid a small plane, left Germany, got to Douala, paid a small aircraft (and) came here (...)' [ab03ay 140]



## 14 Pichi and Spanish in contact

The admixture of Spanish words, phrases and clauses is a typical feature of Pichi discourse. Contact between Pichi and Spanish manifests itself in various ways. Spanish elements belonging to different word classes and semantic fields appear in Pichi sentences, and speakers use a variety of strategies to accommodate Spanish material. These are covered in the following sections. In the following, I refer to many of the forms of language contact between Pichi and Spanish by the cover term code-mixing (Muysken 2000), while others appear to involve borrowing (e.g. the use of Spanish numerals and weekdays).

### 14.1 Patterns of contact

The integration of Spanish material into Pichi does not occur randomly. Code-mixing systematically affects different areas of Pichi grammar and lexicon and it does so with differing frequency and depth. The use of certain lexical items and structures involving Pichi and Spanish material is so conventionalised that they can be said to constitute an integral part of the grammatical system and lexicon of Pichi.

Table 14.1 summarises some of the most conventionalised patterns of Pichi-Spanish code-mixing:

Table 14.1 Patterns of Pichi-Spanish contact

| Elements              | Description   |
|-----------------------|---|
| Noun phrases          | SG and PL Spanish NPs occur with the Pichi definite article <i>dì</i> and the pluraliser <i>dèn</i> .                         |
| Verbs                 | Spanish verbs occur in a 3SG present tense 'frozen form' and may only take the suppletive object pronoun <i>in</i> '3SG.EMP'. |
| Adjectives            | All Spanish adjectives and past participles occur as complements to the locative-existential copula <i>de</i> 'BE AT'.        |
| Numerals & time units | Spanish numerals occur with rising likelihood the higher the number; after seven no Pichi                                     |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
|            | numeral is attested in the corpus, Spanish day names and other time units have been borrowed. |
| Colours    | Less basic colours like ‘green’, ‘blue’ or ‘brown’ occur almost exclusively in Spanish.       |
| Adverbials | Spanish adverbs and discourse elements are frequent at the clausal margins.                   |
| Other      | There are numerous individual structural and lexical borrowings and calques from Spanish.     |

Muysken (2000) identifies three fundamental patterns of code-mixing that accommodate cross-linguistic mixing phenomena: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation. All three of these patterns are operative in Pichi-Spanish code-mixing. But the type of back-and-forth switching characteristic of much of Pichi discourse points towards a prominent role of congruent lexicalisation: Material from either language is grafted on grammatical structures common to both languages. Consider (1862):

|        |         |         |             |          |           |         |       |          |
|--------|---------|---------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|----------|
| (1862) | À       | kòmót   | colegio     | à        | de        | fuera   | con   | mì       |
|        | 1SG.SBJ | leave   | high.school | 1SG.SBJ  | BE.AT     | outside | with  | 1SG.POSS |
|        | misis   | cuatros | años        | à        | no        | tek     | bèlé, |          |
|        | matron  | four    | years       | 1SG.SBJ  | NEG       | take    | belly |          |
|        | à       | no      | lef         | mì       | vajin.    |         |       |          |
|        | 1SG.SBJ | NEG     | leave       | 1SG.POSS | virginity |         |       |          |

‘I came out of high school, I was outside with my guardian for four years, I didn’t become pregnant, I didn’t give up my virginity.’ [ab03ay 132]

While the noun *colegio* ‘college’ looks more like an insertion into a Pichi grammatical structure (the noun is left unmarked like a Pichi noun in this position), the switch *fuera con mì* ‘outside with my’ is best understood as an instance of congruent lexicalisation. Each element could be replaced by the corresponding Pichi elements *nádó wèt mì*. In this context the possessive pronoun *mì* ‘1SG.POSS’ is of particular interest. It is a homophonous diamorph, a morpheme that is identical in form and function in both languages including its suprasegmental feature of low tonedness (in Pichi) and lack of stress (in Spanish). Besides that, *mì* functions as a possessive pronoun through juxtaposition with the possessed noun in both languages.

I subjected a smaller section of the corpus consisting of a total of 22 059 words (or tokens, i.e. occurrences of words, irrespective how many times they occur) to a thorough analysis. The subcorpus contains 1475 types (different words). The analysis reveals that the presence of Spanish types and tokens in the Pichi texts varies with word classes in the following ways:

Table 14.2 Type-token analysis of Spanish words in Pichi discourse

| Word class     | Types |         |           | Tokens |         |           |
|----------------|-------|---------|-----------|--------|---------|-----------|
|                | Pichi | Spanish | Spanish % | Pichi  | Spanish | Spanish % |
| Nouns          | 345   | 346     | 50%       | 2748   | 664     | 19%       |
| Verbs          | 246   | 94      | 28%       | 3771   | 192     | 5%        |
| Property items | 62    | 48      | 44%       | 450    | 99      | 18%       |
| Numerals       | 17    | 28      | 62%       | 166    | 146     | 47%       |
| Prepositions   | 16    | 9       | 36%       | 1107   | 54      | 5%        |
| Clause linkers | 6     | 8       | 57%       | 663    | 95      | 14%       |

With respect to types, the table shows that a total of 50% of all nouns and some 28% of all verbs that occur are Spanish. Property items (or ‘adjectives’ in Spanish) were counted separately and amounted to a total of 44% of Spanish types. For numerals, the Spanish percentage stands even higher at 62%.

However, the percentage of Spanish tokens (i.e. total instances of occurrences even if the same word occurs several times) reveals a different picture. Numerals still top the list (47%). But they are followed by a much lower percentage of Spanish nouns (19%) and adjectives (18%). This shows that the frequency with which Spanish words are used is considerably lower than the absolute number of Spanish words in Pichi discourse. With the exception of numerals, the Spanish ratio of tokens stands at roughly 20% of an average text.

## 14.2 Specific constituents

The following four sections describe the specifics of code-mixing involving noun phrases, verbs and adjectives, functional elements and other constituents.

### 14.2.1 Noun phrases

Inserted Spanish constituents belong to various word classes but the insertion of content words, and nouns in particular, prevails. Thus we find *novio* ‘fiancé’ and *pueblo* ‘village’ in (1863). Note that both Spanish nouns are objects of Pichi elements, the first of a verb, the second of a preposition:

- (1863) Mek    yù no    se    yù dòn gət **novio**    nà **pueblo**,  
 SBJV    2SG know    QUOT    2SG PRF get boyfriend    LOC village  
 nà kòntri.  
 LOC hometown  
 ‘You should know that you already have a fiancé in the village, in the hometown.’

When Spanish nouns are inserted as in (1863), they usually remain bare where Pichi nouns do so, or are accompanied by Pichi determiners and the pluraliser *dèn* ‘PL’ in the same way as Pichi nouns are. In (1864), the definite Spanish noun *paciencia* ‘patience’ is preceded by the Pichi definite article *dì*:

- (1864) Porque fəs, **dì** **paciencia**, yù no gò get=àn.  
 because first DEF patience 2SG NEG POT get=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Because first, the patience, you wouldn’t have it.’ [fr03ft 189]

When a specific Spanish plural noun is inserted, there is a strong likelihood that it will be additionally marked with the postposed Pichi pluraliser *dèn*, in accordance with the pattern that applies to Pichi count nouns (1865). Conversely, Spanish nouns exhibit a strong tendency to occur devoid of Pichi number and definiteness marking where the noun is non-specific as with *rayador* ‘grater’ in the second example::

- (1865) Afta ùna bay **dì** **bloques** **dèn** tumara.  
 then 2PL buy DEF bricks PL tomorrow  
 ‘Then you [plural] buy the bricks tomorrow.’ [fr03cd 112]
- (1866) À raya in wèt **rayador**.  
 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.EMP with grater  
 ‘I grated it with a grater.’ [dj03do 004]

The occurrence of *pruebas* ‘proofs’ in (1867) demonstrates that Spanish nouns may well be devoid of Pichi noun phrase marking, but not necessarily so of the Spanish plural morpheme {-s}:

- (1867) Yù gò get **prueba-s**.  
 2SG POT get proof-PL  
 ‘You will have proof.’ [ma03sh 013]

This is not surprising, however, since in Spanish, determiner-less plural count nouns may have non-specific reference. The semantic overlap between Spanish plural nouns and Pichi bare nouns in code-mixing can be seen in (1868). Here the Pichi bare nouns *pia* ‘avocado’ and *sàdín* ‘sardine’ are functionally equivalent to the Spanish plural noun *tomates* ‘tomatoes’:

- (1868) Mi wèt Rubi wì mek jwèn-jwèn, wì bay **pia**,  
 1SG.EMP with NAME 1PL make RED.CPD-join 1PL buy avocado  
 wì bay **sàdín**, wì bay **tomates**, wì desayuna.  
 1PL buy sardine 1PL buy tomatoes 1PL have.breakfast  
 ‘Me and Rubi, we teamed up and bought avocados, we bought sardines,  
 we bought tomatoes, we had breakfast.’ [ye03cd 152]

The insertion of larger nominal groups as opposed to single nouns is rarer. In fact, most of the Spanish adjective-noun combinations we encounter are collocations that are somewhat lexicalised in Spanish. Compare *traducción directa* ‘direct translation’ in (1869):

- (1869) Nà **traducción directa** è mek.  
 FOC translation direct 3SG.SBJ make  
 ‘It’s a direct translation that she made.’ [to03gm 042]

The order of constituents normally remains unchanged when Spanish elements are inserted into a Pichi NP. In (1870), the Pichi quantifier *las* ‘last’ is used in prenominal position with the inserted Spanish noun *semana* ‘week’. However, note that Spanish also features a quantifier + noun order in NPs (i.e. *la ultima semana* ‘(the) last week’):

- (1870) Èf yù bìn kan bìgín **las semana** yù bìn fò òn finis tìdé.  
 if 2SG PST PFV begin last week 2SG PST ASS PRF finish today  
 ‘If you had begun last week you would have been finished today.’ [dj05ae 057]

We would assume that the inverse NP constituent order (noun + adjective in the majority of cases) of Spanish NPs blocks the admixture of single Spanish attributive adjectives into Pichi NPs (cf. Sankoff & Poplack 1981). This is largely borne out by the data.

There is, however, some variation, although it is not all that frequent. In (1871), the Spanish adjective *directo* ‘direct’ occurs after the Pichi noun *ònkúl* ‘uncle’ in a Pichi NP and thereby follows the constituent order of a Spanish NP:

- (1871) Nà wan **ònkúl directo**, fò mì mà má ìn pà pá  
 FOC one uncle direct ASS 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS father  
 ìn fambul pat.  
 3SG.POSS family part  
 ‘He’s a direct uncle on the part of my mother’s father’s family.’ [fr03ft 051]

In (1872), we find the opposite situation. The Spanish adjective *especial* ‘special’ is in a prenominal position, hence in the syntactic slot of attributively used Pichi property items:

- (1872) (...) è bring fis, è kuk sòn **especial fis**  
 3SG.SBJ bring fish 3SG.SBJ cook some special fish  
 è gi mi mek à chòp.  
 3SG.SBJ give 1SG.EMP SBJV 1SG.SBJ eat  
 ‘(...) she brought (a) fish, she cooked a particular fish and gave it to me in order to eat.’ [ed03sb 015]

There are other instances of Spanish adjectives that follow Pichi nouns in Pichi NPs. But in these cases, the function of the Spanish words parallels that of some Pichi value property items that are used as adverbials in the same syntactic position. The Spanish adjective *serio*

‘serious’ in (1873) may be likened to the Pichi manner adverb *fayn* ‘well, really’ in (1874):

(1873) (...) di wan gò tòn **plaba serio**.  
 this one POT turn trouble serious  
 ‘(...) this will turn into real trouble.’ [fr03wt 015]

(1874) “Di man de tròn” no de fayn, è no get  
 this man BE.AT strong NEG BE.AT fine 3SG.SBJ NEG get  
**sentido fayn**.  
 meaning fine  
 “‘Di man de tròn’ is not fine, it doesn’t really have a meaning.’ [dj05ae 124]

### 14.2.2 Verbs and adjectives

The low ratio of Spanish verbs as opposed to nouns in the type and token count may be striking at first glance. However, this tendency may stem from the fact that a small number of high frequency Pichi verbs (e.g. *mek* ‘make’, *get* ‘get, have’, *gi* ‘give’) participate in conventionalised verb-noun collocations, in which a Pichi verb is followed by a Spanish noun (cf. 11.3.1 for an extensive treatment). Some of these are *gi permiso* ‘give permission’, *mek rabia* ‘be annoyed’, *get novio/novia* ‘have a boy/girlfriend’. The collocations also include calques from Spanish. Compare *gi wan vuelta* ‘give one round’ = ‘take a walk’ which is a one-to-one translation of Spanish *dar una vuelta*:

(1875) È dè **gi wan vuelta** kwik.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV give one round quickly  
 ‘She’s taking a walk quickly.’ [dj05be 120]

The admixture of Spanish verbs follows established rules. Spanish verbs are always inserted into Pichi clauses in a frozen form of the 3SG person of the Spanish present tense paradigm. This insertion rule is valid without exception across the three regular Spanish verb inflection classes. Examples follow with *controla* ‘control’ (< *controlar*) in (1876), *entiende* ‘understand’ (< *entender*) in (1877), and *sufre* ‘suffer’ (< *sufrir*) in (1878):

(1876) Fròn nà ya so dèn **kìn controla** dì human.  
 from LOC here like.that 3PL HAB control DEF woman  
 ‘From here they control the woman.’ [ed03sb 158]

(1877) Pəsin **gò entiende** bət è no de bien.  
 person POT understand but 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.AT good  
 ‘One would understand but it isn’t good.’ [dj05ae 043]

- (1878) È            **sufre**    we naw dèn dòn lef=àn,            è            dòn klos.  
 3SG.SBJ    suffer    SUB   now3PL   PRF   leave=3SG.OBJ   3SG.SBJ   PRF   close  
 ‘It [the building] suffered, while now they have abandoned it, it is closed.’ [hi03cb 044]

The 3SG frozen form is combined with Pichi TMA markers like any Pichi verb as can be seen by the presence of *kin* ‘HAB’ in (1876) and *gò* ‘POT’ in (1877) above. Inserted Spanish verbs may also be reduplicated by the same derivational process that applies to Pichi verbs. Compare *pìca-pìca* ‘RED.CPD-cut.up’ = ‘repeatedly cut up (into small pieces)’ in (1879):

- (1879) À            bígín    dè    **pìca-pìca**,            wì    fray patata,    wì    fray plàntí.  
 1SG.SBJ    begin    IPFV RED.CPD-cut.up    1PL   fry potato    1PL   fry plantain  
 ‘I began to (repeatedly) snip [the trimmings], we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.’ [ye03cd 172]

Pichi exhibits a phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy in the pronominal system. The lexical pitch configuration of a verb determines the choice of allomorph used for the expression of 3SG pronominal object case (cf. 3.6.4). Vowel-final verbs with a word-final low tone take the object pronoun *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ - this group includes a few Pichi verbs and all inserted Spanish verbs (1880). This is because the 3SG frozen form of the Spanish verb always features a word-final vowel and bears stress on the penultimate syllable. The final syllable is therefore interpreted as low-toned by Pichi speakers. In contrast, most Pichi verbs take the clitic object pronoun =àn ‘3SG.OBJ’ (1881).

Hence, the insertion of Spanish verbs into Pichi clauses leads to the frequent use of a relatively marginal inflectional feature of Pichi (i.e. use of the allomorph *in* ‘3SG.EMP’ as an object pronoun):

- (1880) Fiba            no    **sube**    **in**.  
 fever    NEG   go.up    3SG.EMP  
 ‘The fever hasn’t risen on him.’ [eb07fn 171]

- (1881) Nà    mi            lef            **gèt=àn**.  
 FOC   1SG.EMP   leave    get=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘It’s only me who still has it.’ [ur05fn 111]

The frozen form *sigue* (<*seguir*) ‘follow’ is highly conventionalised in its use. It is also employed as an auxiliary verb to indicate continuative aspect in an aspectual SVC:

- (1882) À            gò    **sigue**            **chòp**.  
 1SG.SBJ    POT   continue    eat  
 ‘I’ll continue eating.’ [be05 057]

In a similar vein, the verbs *sube* (< *subir*) ‘go up’ and *baja* (< *bajar*) ‘go down’ are far more frequent than their Pichi counterparts *go òp* and *go dòn* (1883):

- (1883) Bòkú mòtó dèn de ya so, à no no se  
 much car PL BE.AT here like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT  
 Pancho mek lèk se è dè **sube** bihén  
 NAME make like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind  
 wi è **baja** mɔ.  
 1PL.EMP 3SG.SBJ go.down more

‘So many cars were there, I didn’t know Pancho pretended to go up behind us (and) went down again.’ [ye03cd 178]

Spanish adjectives do not only occur as attributes to Pichi nouns. They are systematically inserted into Pichi predicate adjective clauses as complements to the locative-existential copula *de* ‘BE.AT’ (1884).

- (1884) Wan yay **de** **blanco** è no dè si.  
 one eye BE.AT white 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see  
 ‘One eye is white, it doesn’t see.’ [ye03cd 106]

Neither adjectives nor past participles usually exhibit Spanish-style gender agreement with the subject and are normally inserted in the masculine form. However, past participles always come along with the regular Spanish adjective-deriving morphology (1885):

- (1885) À want de **flipa-do** ol awa, ol awa.  
 1SG.SBJ want BE.AT turned.on-ADJ all hour all hour  
 ‘I want to be turned on all the time, all the time.’ [ye07ga 012]

I have shown that a handful of Pichi property items may be employed as adjectives and inchoative-stative verbs alike (cf. 8.6.5). When used as adjectives, these property items denote a non-time-stable body state and may appear as complements to the copula *de*. When used as inchoative-stative verbs, these property items denote a time-stable value. The property item *bad* ‘be bad’ displays this kind of behaviour. Hence, *bad* means ‘(intrinsicly) bad’ (1886) when used as an inchoative-stative verb and ‘ill’ when it appears as a complement to the copula *de* (1887):

- (1886) Sòn mà má dèn, dèn **bad**.  
 some mother PL 3PL be.bad  
 ‘Some mothers, they are bad.’ [ab03ay 109]

- (1887) ‘È **de** **bad**’ min se ‘è dè sik’.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT bad mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV be.sick  
 ‘“È de bad” means “he’s sick”.’ [ye07je 046]

Spanish also exhibits a distinction based on time-stability with respect to property items. In contrast to Pichi, the distinction may, however, be applied to almost any adjective of the



language. Examples (1888) and (1889) involve the 3SG present of the time-stable identity copula *ser* and the 2SG present of the non-time-stable locative-existential copula *estar* respectively. A comparison of the Pichi examples in (1886)-(1887) above with the two sentences below show the functional overlap of the relevant constructions in the two languages:

(1888) Es malo.  
He.is bad  
'He is bad.'

(1889) Estás mal hoy?  
You.are bad today  
'Do you feel bad today?'

Despite the similarities between the *de* + property item construction and the Spanish *estar* + adjective construction, all predicatively used Spanish adjectives always appear as complements to the Pichi locative-existential copula *de*; this regardless of whether the denoted property is non-time-stable or time-stable.

Hence the time-stable property denoted by the Spanish adjective *blanco* 'white' appears as a complement to the copula *de* in (1890) while the Pichi colour term *wayt* 'be white' can only be employed as an inchoative-stative verb as in (1891):

(1890) Wan yáy **de** blanco, è no dè si.  
one eye BE.AT white 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see  
'One eye is white, it doesn't see.' [ye03cd 106]

(1891) Dì man **wayt**.  
DEF man be.white  
'The man is white.' [ed05fn 077]

Why is the time-stability distinction not maintained with predicatively used Spanish adjectives? An explanation is that the Pichi construction involving the copula *de* and an adjectival complement is more compatible with congruent lexicalisation than the use of Spanish adjectives as (inchoative-)stative verbs. With the former pattern, the phrasal syntax of adjectival predication remains identical in both languages. This allows speakers to graft such code-mixed constructions onto a common grammatical structure (cf. Meechan & Poplack 1995 for a similar analysis of mixed Fongbe-French predicate adjective constructions). Pichi-Spanish contact in the predicate adjective construction has therefore led to the generalisation of a structure which would otherwise be specialised to a handful of Pichi property items.

Indeed, the obligatory use of a copula in these mixed collocations may also be seen as a case of structural interference from Spanish where a copula verb *must* be used in predicate adjective constructions.

### 14.2.3 Functional elements

The most frequently used Spanish functional elements are the cause clause linkers *como* ‘since’ (1892) and *porque* ‘because’ (1893). Both linkers form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage and are best seen to have been borrowed into the language:

- (1892) **Como** wi dè kɔl=àn mono nà Pànyá, in chɛk=àn  
 since 1PL.EMP IPFV call=3SG.OBJ overall LOC Spanish 3SG.EMP think=3SG.OBJ  
 se ɛf è tɔk se wan mɔ̀nkí, è gò de fayn.  
 QUOT if 3SG.SBJ talk QUOT one monkey 3SG.SBJ POT BE.AT fine  
 ‘Since we [EMP] call it “mono“ in Spanish, he [EMP] understood it such  
 that if he said “one monkey”, it would be all right.’ [to03gm 005]

- (1893) Yù nea gɛt pìkín **porque** yù nea mared.  
 2SG NEG.PRF get child because 2SG NEG.PRF marry  
 ‘You don’t yet have a child, because you aren’t yet married.’ [ab03ab 204]

The linkers *como* and *porque* are employed in the same syntactic position as the Pichi equivalents *as* ‘as’ (1894) and *bikɔs* ‘because’ (1895) respectively:

- (1894) **As** ìn sista dèn bìn dè kɔl ìn mà má se  
 as 3SG.POSS sister 3PL PST IPFV call 3SG.POSS mother QUOT  
 sista, in dè kɔl ìn mà má se sista.  
 sister 3SG.EMP IPFV call 3SG.POSS mother QUOT sister  
 ‘As her sisters would call her mother sister, she [EMP] would  
 call her mother sister.’ [ab03ay 145]

- (1895) Bèt à dɔn no wetin yù nid, **bikɔs** wì gɛt sòn  
 but 1SG.SBJ PRF NEG what 2SG need because 1PL get some  
 prɔ̀blɛm we wì dè tɔk Pichi nà Malabo.  
 problem SUB 1PL IPFV talk Pichi LOC PLACE  
 ‘But I already know what you need, because we have a problem when  
 we talk Pichi in Malabo.’ [au07se 005]

Table 14.3 shows the frequency with which the Spanish linkers *como* and *porque* occur in Pichi sentences in relation to *as* and *bikɔs*. The table indicates that in the overwhelming majority of cases (89% for *como* and 91% for *porque*) both conjunctions occur as single constituents in Pichi clauses rather than in clausal switches in which the following material is also in Spanish. The second line of Table 14.3 shows that these two Spanish function words are established loans. In 76% of all occurrences, ‘since’ is expressed as *como*, hence only 24% is expressed with the Pichi equivalent *as*. In 41% of all cases ‘because’ is expressed as *porque*, so Pichi *bikɔs* occurs as the causal conjunction in 59% of all cases.

Table 14.3 Distribution and frequency of *como* and *porque*

| Type of percentage                      | <i>como</i> | <i>porque</i> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Single constituent<br>switch over total | 89%         | 91%           |
| Spanish conjunction<br>over total       | 76%         | 41%           |

The clause linker *aunque* ‘although’ occurs so frequently that it is best seen to be fully integrated into the Pichi lexicon as well. However, its use as a Spanish-style concessive or adversative conjunction in Pichi clauses as in (1896) below is rare. Instead, *aunque* is much more commonly used as a similitive adverbial as in (1897). This usage appears to be peculiar to Pichi since it is not mirrored in Spanish:

- (1896) **Aunque** nɔto paludismo if dɛn giv yu tratamiento  
 although NEG.FOC malaria if 3PL give 2SG.EMP treatment  
 yù no gò day.  
 2SG NEG POT die  
 ‘Even if it isn’t malaria, if you are given treatment, you won’t die.’ [fr03ft 061]

- (1897) We yù dè mek=àn nà hos, jɔs tek=àn,  
 SUB 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house just take=3SG.OBJ  
 put=àn nà pɔt **aunque** wan tasa so.  
 put=3SG.OBJ LOC pot like one cup like.that  
 ‘When you make it at home, just take it (and) put it into a pot,  
 like one cup or so.’ [dj03do 010]

The Spanish time clause linker *mientras* ‘while’ occurs less systematically, but it still provides an optional resource for combining clauses:

- (1898) **Mientras** yù dè si se dɪ tin dè transforma pɔsin  
 while 2SG IPFV see QUOTDEF thing IPFV transform person  
 yù dè kɔt wan tin fɔ ìn finga.  
 2SG IPFV cut one thing ASS 3SG.POSS finger  
 ‘While you see that the thing is turning into a human-being you cut  
 off a part of the finger.’ [ma03sh 012]

The Spanish coordinator pair *ni - ni* ‘neither – nor; not even’ can express negative disjunction in Pichi utterances. Like in Spanish, *ni* can be used alone (1899) or in discontinuous negation (1900). Unlike in Spanish, however, subject disjunction in Pichi

requires the kind of negative concord characteristic of other negative clauses in Pichi (1900):

- (1899) È        no sàbí    tək **ni**        Pànyá, è        se  
 3SG.SBJ    NEG know    talk neither Spanish 3SG.SBJ    QUOT  
 è        want    muchachita de diecisiete    años.  
 3SG.SBJ    want    young.girl    of    seventeen    years  
 ‘He doesn’t even know how to speak Spanish, (and) he says he wants  
 a girl of seventeen years.’ [ye03cd 053]

- (1900) **Ni**        in        **ni**        ìn        brɔda    dèn **no** lan.  
 neither 3SG.EMP neither 3SG.POSS brother 3PL NEG learn  
 ‘Neither him nor his brother studied.’ [ro05de 145]

In (1901), we find the cardinal numeral *wan* ‘one’ in a peculiar construction with the meaning ‘around’ in combination with quantity expressions. When *wan* is employed in this way it usually modifies NPs containing numerals (1901) and time units (1902):

- (1901) Yù jɔs gət **wan**    **diecisiete**    **años**    (...)  
 2SG just get one        seventeen    years  
 ‘You’re just about seventeen years old.’ [ab03ay 105]

- (1902) Tuməro    mənin tən,    **wan las**    **siete**    so,    à        gò go de.  
 tomorrow morning time one the.PL seven like.that 1SG.SBJ POT go there  
 ‘Tomorrow in the morning, around seven or so, I will go there.’ [ye03cd 011]

I attribute this particular usage of the numeral *wan* to structural borrowing from Spanish. In Spanish, the plural indefinite articles *unos*, *unas* serve the same function (1903).

- (1903) Me faltan        **unos**    dos mil        francos.  
 Me they.lack one.PL two thousand francs  
 ‘I am short of some 2000 francs (CFA).’

#### 14.2.4 Other constituents

Spanish discourse markers and adverbs frequently occur at the beginning of a sentence. Speakers often use Spanish material that is not syntactically integrated into a Pichi clause structure. This includes the high frequency adverbs *bueno* ‘well’ (1904) *pero* ‘but’ (1905) and the interjection *chico* ‘boy, man’ (1905):

- (1904) **Bueno**, sò è        kan tɛl mi        se        nà tidé    (...)  
 well so 3SG.SBJ PFV tell 1SG.EMP QUOT FOC today  
 ‘Well, so she told me that it was today (...)’ [ed03sb 005]

- (1905) **Pero chico**, nà yù pikín ìn layf.  
 but boy FOC 2SG child 3SG.POSS life  
 'But man, it's your child's life.' [bo03cb 133]

The interjection *chico* 'boy' in (1905) above is more common than other human-denoting Pichi equivalents such as *man* 'man', *pàpá* or *màamá* 'mother'. The Spanish noun *mierda* 'shit' is very common as a deprecativ interjection (1906):

- (1906) **Mierda mierda**, us=say è pas?  
 shit shit Q=side 3SG.SBJ pass  
 'Shit, shit, which way did she go?' [ro05rt 002]

Whole adverbial phrases are also admixed in this way. Like discourse markers, these occur at the beginning or the end of a clause:

- (1907) À fit hol dan m̀nì **durante un mes entero**.  
 1SG.SBJ can holdthat money during one month entire  
 'I can keep that money during an entire month.' [ro05rt 049]

Alternation may also involve larger syntactically independent chunks of Spanish up to a clause boundary as in (1904):

- (1908) À b̀n nayntin twenti fo, **por lo tanto**  
 1SG.SBJ be.born nineteen twenty four therefore  
**ahora tengo ochenta años.**  
 now I.get eighty years  
 'I was born in 1924, therefore I am now eighty years old.' [ab03ay 007]

The Spanish focus syntagma *es que* 'it is that' may also be seen as a peripheral element which constitutes an independent syntactic unit (1909). However, *es que* is so much an integral part of the Pichi system of focus marking that it seems like a holophrastic borrowing (cf. 8.4.3 for more). Also note the interesting switch to Spanish at the clausal boundary between relative and clause:

- (1909) **Es que** human we è get b̀lé  
 It.is that woman SUB 3SG.SBJ get belly  
**siempre suele ser así.**  
 always usually be like.that  
 'It's that women who are pregnant are always like that.' [ro03rr 008]

### 14.3 Specific semantic fields

Some semantic fields are more regularly affected by code-mixing than others. Numerals and other, similarly tightly interwoven semantic fields like the expression of time or colour are characterised by the extensive use of Spanish words and structures. In many instances, the corresponding Pichi expressions are no longer used or are falling out of use. The corresponding Spanish words and structures have been borrowed into Pichi.

#### 14.3.1 Numerals, days and dates

In natural speech, the occurrence of Pichi cardinal numerals drops rapidly after *tri* ‘three’. The percentages of attributive cardinal numerals of Pichi and Spanish provenance in the corpus are presented in Table 14.4. Borrowing has a profound impact on the Pichi numeral system, where Spanish numerals have substituted all but the basic Pichi numerals below eight. Note that this table only lists the usage of *wan* ‘one’ as a cardinal numeral and does not include *wan* in its use as an indefinite determiner with the meaning ‘a’:

Table 14.4 Use of Pichi numerals

| Numeral | Pichi % |
|---------|---------|
| 1       | 89%     |
| 2       | 80%     |
| 3       | 63%     |
| 4       | 45%     |
| 5       | 30%     |
| 6       | 40%     |
| 7       | 22%     |
| 8       | 0%      |
| 9       | 0%      |

The attributive use of Spanish numerals goes along with the insertion of Spanish head nouns – there is no instance of a mixed combination of a Spanish numeral and a Pichi noun:

- (1910) Lɛf=àn      mekè      rich      **a los**      **quinze años.**  
 leave=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ reach to the.PL fifteen years  
 ‘Leave her, let her reach [the age of] fifteen years.’ [ab03ay 138]

When telling the time, Spanish lexical items are fit into a conventionalised mixed construction which does not have an exact equivalent in Spanish. In the Pichi construction, the clock time is an adverbial complement to the locative-existential copula *de* ‘cop’. The copula, in turn, takes the 1PL subject *wì* ‘1PL’ (1912). In the Spanish construction, the clock

time functions as the subject of the identity copula *ser* ‘be’ (1912):

(1911) Wì de **las** **cuatro y media**.  
 1PL BE.AT the.PL four and half  
 ‘It’s four thirty.’

(1912) Son **las** **cuatro y media**  
 They. are the.PL four and half  
 ‘It’s four thirty.’

Equally, the majority of speakers employ Spanish dates. One of the few tokens of a date featuring Pichi numerals was produced by a lady of more than 80 years of age (1914). I assume this instance and the few other, similar ones in the corpus to be holophrastic insertions. This view is supported by the fact that the date in (1914) is the speaker’s date of birth and perhaps just as significantly, she was married to a Nigerian in her youth. Other than that, this speaker’s use of numerals parallels the one outlined in Table 14.4 above:

(1913) **El diez de agosto**, bay god in pawa, à gò pas nà ya.  
 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]

(1914) Soy del veinte cuatro, à bòn **nayntin twenti fo**.  
 I am of.the twenty four 1SG.SBJ be.born nineteen twenty four  
 ‘I am of [the year] twenty-four, I was born in nineteen twenty-four.’ [ab03ay 006]

Most speakers are not familiar with Pichi day names and employ the Spanish day nomenclature (1915). Even older speakers rarely if ever use the corresponding Pichi day names *mònde* ‘Monday’, *tyusde* ‘Tuesday’, *wensde* ‘Wednesday’, *tàsde* ‘Thursday’, *frayde* ‘Friday’ *sàtide* ‘Saturday’ and *sònde* ‘Sunday’ (1916):

(1915) Di **miercoles** à dè go Luba.  
 this wednesday 1SG.SBJ IPFV go PLACE.  
 ‘This Wednesday, I am going to Luba.’ [ro05ee 119]

(1916) Lunes nà **mònde, tyusde** we nà martes.  
 monday FOC Monday tuesday SUB FOC tuesday  
 ‘“Lunes” is Monday. Tuesday that’s “martes”.’

The elicitation of Pichi day names with two speakers below 28 years was unsuccessful save *sònde* ‘sunday’, certainly because of its social importance for religious practice. A speaker above 55 years experienced considerable difficulties in retrieving Pichi day names (1917)(a)-(c). *Wensde* ‘Wednesday’ was only retrieved after an external input (b) and the elicitation of ‘Thursday’ and ‘Friday’ produced the misnomers *tyusde* ‘Tuesday’ (c) and *wensde* ‘Wednesday’ (d) respectively’:

- (1917) a. Miercoles    nà, ay [pause], pero    à    sàbí=àn.  
 wednesday    FOC INTJ                    but    1SG.SBJ    know=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Wednesday is, ah [pause], but I know it.’ [
- b. **Wensde?**  
 “Wensde?”
- c. Jueves            nà **tyusde**.  
 Thursday        FOC Tuesday  
 ‘Thursday is “tyusde”.’
- d. **Frayde**    nà miercoles.  
 friday        FOC wednesday  
 ‘Frayde’ is Wednesday.’

In contrast, Pichi designations for the seasons of the year are fully in use, as shown by the use of the compound noun *rèn-sisin* ‘rainy season’ (1918) and *amàtán* ‘harmattan’ in (1919):

- (1918) Dis de dèn **rèn-sisin**                    gò bìgín.  
 this day PL    rainy.CPD-season    POT begin  
 ‘These days, the rainy season should begin.’ [dj05ce 059]
- (1919) Wì dè kól ya            so            **amàtán**            dan,            lèke se  
 1PL IPFV call here            like.that harmattan    that            like QUOT  
 è            kìn de            lèke niebla.  
 3SG.SBJ    HAB BE.AT            like fog  
 ‘Here, we call harmattan that, like it’s usually like fog.’ [ye05ce 062]

### 14.3.2 Colours

Colour terminology was elicited with three speakers between the ages of 21 and 27 and with two speakers above the age of 55. The exercise revealed the apparent-time differences in colour terminology contained in Table 14.5. Pichi terms are in italics, variants are indicated by a semicolon. Table 14.5The table indicates that the younger speakers employ the basic Pichi colour terms *blak* ‘black and *wayt* ‘white’ consistently. The colours ‘red’ and ‘yellow’ are more frequently referred to by the Spanish terms *rojo* and *amarillo* but the Pichi terms *red* ‘red’ and *yelo* ‘yellow’ are also used. All other colours are uniquely referred to by Spanish terms. The older group consistently makes use of Pichi *red* ‘red’ in addition to the basic colours *blak* and *wayt*. Meanwhile ‘yellow’, ‘blue’ and ‘green’ are referred to by the Pichi terms *yelo*, *blu* and *grin* respectively, or by their Spanish equivalents *amarillo*, *azul* and *verde*.

At least in apparent time, the range of Pichi colour terms appears to have been reduced from the six colours *blak*, *wayt*, *red*, *yelo*, *blu* and *grin* with the older group, to the two basic colours *blak* and *wayt*, supplemented by the less frequent *red* and *yelo*:



Table 14.5 Apparent time differences in the use of colour terms

| 21-27 years            | +55 years              | Gloss    |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| <i>blak</i>            | <i>blak</i>            | 'black'  |
| <i>wayt</i>            | <i>wayt</i>            | 'white'  |
| <i>rɛd</i> ; rojo      | <i>rɛd</i>             | 'red'    |
| <i>yɛlo</i> ; amarillo | <i>yɛlo</i> ; amarillo | 'yellow' |
| azul                   | <i>blu</i> ; azul      | 'blue'   |
| verde                  | <i>grin</i> ; verde    | 'green'  |
| naranja                | naranja                | 'orange' |
| rosa                   | rosa                   | 'pink'   |
| violeta                | violeta                | 'violet' |
| marrón                 | marrón                 | 'brown'  |

Many West African languages, including basilectal Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996: 286) express colours and hues other than 'black', and 'white' through periphrasis, suprasegmentals and ideophones. We also find the expression of colours through periphrasis in Pichi, as in the following two examples:

(1920) Dì bɔy **yɛlo** lɛkɛ Chici.  
DEF boy be.yellow like NAME  
 'The guy is yellow like [the guy called] Chici.' [i.e. He has a light brown skin colour]

(1921) Dan tin **yɛlo** lɛk banana.  
that thing be.yellow like banana  
 'That thing is yellow like a banana.' [i.e. It has a bright yellow colour]

The rarity of Pichi colour terms beyond the basic ones of *blak* and *wayt* with the younger group may therefore be indicative of a departure from the West African composite system of colour denomination towards a European simplex system in which non-basic colours are also denoted by specific property items.

When Spanish colour terms are used attributively, they occur with Spanish head nouns (1922). The corpus contains no examples of mixed collocations involving a Spanish colour denoting property item and a Pichi head noun:

(1922) (...) à tink se nà **judfas blancas** ò no sé.  
1SG.SBJ think QUOT FOC beans white or NEG I.know  
 '(...) I think they're white beans or so.' [eb03sp 122]

Spanish colour terms also occur as predicate adjectives in the specific type of mixed copula clause involving Spanish adjectives covered in 14.2.2 above. In contrast, Pichi colour terms are only lexicalised as inchoative-stative verbs.

### 14.3.3 Other semantic fields

Other semantic fields characterised by a high incidence of code-mixing involve formalised, institutional domains. One of the few Pichi country names in use is *Pànyá* ‘Spain’, the designation for the former colonial power. Spanish lexemes are exclusively employed for country names like *Guinea* (*Ecuatorial*) ‘Equatorial Guinea’, *Gabón* ‘Gabon’ (1923), ethnonyms like *uropeo* ‘European’ or *cameruneses* ‘Cameroonians’ (1924) as well as terms belonging to the state domain such as *problema diplomático* ‘diplomatic problem’ (1923):

- (1923) Entonces wan **problema** **diplomático** kan de entre  
 so one problem diplomatic PFV BE.AT between  
**Guinea** wèt **Gabón**.  
 PLACE with PLACE  
 ‘So a diplomatic problem came to be between Guinea and Gabon.’ [fr03ft 007]
- (1924) **Cameruneses**, yes dèn plente ya.  
 Cameroonians yes 3PL plenty here  
 ‘Cameroonians, yes they are many here.’

Also compare the Spanish terms *registro* ‘(civil) registry’ and *registra* ‘(to) register’ in (1925):

- (1925) À bìn get fò chench ìn nem nà **registro**  
 1SG.SBJ PST get ASS change 3SG.POSS NAME LOC register  
 à **registra** in.  
 1SG.SBJ register 3SG.EMP  
 ‘I had to change her name in the register, I registered her.’ [ab03ay 162]

The Pichi lexemes *skul* ‘school’, *govna* ‘government’ (1926) and *chòch* ‘church’ (1927) designate these institutions in their general sense and are favoured over their Spanish equivalents *escuela*, *gobierno* and *iglesia*:

- (1926) È dè go fò, sòn **skul** we de fò **govna** (...)  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV go ASS some school SUB BE.AT ASS government  
 ‘She goes to a school that belongs to government (...)’ [ma03hm 028]
- (1927) È se è go **chòch** fò, fò Marieta nà Ela Nguema,  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT3SG.SBJ go church ASS ASS PLACE LOC PLACE  
 nà **catedral**.  
 LOC cathedral  
 ‘She said she went to church at Marieta’s in Ela Nguema, by the cathedral.’ [hi03cb 078]

Meanwhile, the incidence of Spanish lexemes rises with the degree of specificity of words within the semantic fields designated by these superordinates. Thus, we have *catedral* ‘cathedral’ in (1927) above, *bolí* ‘pen’ and *cuaderno* ‘exercise book’ (1928), as well as *profe(sor)*

‘teacher’ – though *ticha* ‘teacher’ is also common, however less so beyond primary school.

- (1928) We, yù want bay **cuaderno**, **bolí** ol dan tin dèn  
 SUB 2SG want buy exercise.book pen all that thing PL  
 nà wèt dólar.  
 FOC with dollar

‘While, if you want to buy exercise books, pens, all those things are with the dollar.’ [ed03sp 096]

- (1929) Dì **profesor**, nà beta **profe**.  
 DEF teacher FOC very.good teacher  
 ‘The (secondary school) teacher is a very good teacher.’ [dj05be 172]

The preponderance of Spanish lexemes in other semantic fields reflects the asymmetric power relation that holds between Pichi and Spanish in a different way. For example, the semantic fields of medical terminology that are highly differentiated in other languages of the region (for Yoruba, cf. e.g. Adegbite 1993) probably did not assert itself in Pichi due to the decline of African medical science with the advent of colonialism.

In (1930), we therefore find *placenta* ‘placenta’ and *matriz* ‘womb’ for which only the general term *bèle*’ is recorded in Pichi and *membrano* ‘membrane’, which has no equivalent:

- (1930) We dákta opin, we dèn bigín drɔ̀ dì, sòn tin we  
 SUB doctor open SUB 3PL begin draw DEF some thing SUB  
 è kìn de bihén **placenta**, nà **membrano**, sòn kan lɛf  
 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.AT behind placenta FOC membrane some PFV remain  
 bifó dì **matriz**, so dì **matriz** no kan lɔk.  
 before DEF womb so DEF womb NEG PFV lock

‘When the doctor opened (the womb), they began to draw out the, a certain thing that is usually behind the placenta, it’s a membrane, some remained in front of the womb, so the womb didn’t close.’ [ab03ay 084]

The systematic use of Spanish items also occurs semantic in fields that designate aspects of material and non-material culture of external origin. In (1931), a car mechanic explains the disadvantages of an Opel ignition cable. Note the Spanish technical terms in the sentence:

- (1931) He, à gò fala yu bıkɔs sòn **cable** de  
 INTJ 1SG.SBJ POT accompany 2SG.EMP because some cable BE.AT  
 we nà fɔ Opel, yù **intenta** bring Opel ìn yon nà  
 SUB FOC ASS NAME 2SG try bring NAME 3SG.POSS OWN.FOC  
**corriente**, Opel dè ker bókú **corriente** so è  
 electricity NAME IPFV take much electricity like.that 3SG.SBJ

no gò fit ɛnta nà dan **bujía**, yù gò wanda sef.  
 NEG POT can enter LOC that ignition.plug 2SG POT wonder EMP

'Hey, I'll accompany you because there's a cable which is an Opel (cable), (and if) you try to connect the Opel one with electricity, Opel takes a lot of electricity, so it won't be able to enter that ignition plug, (and) you'll be very surprised.' [f103fp 017]

Spanish kinship terms have also left their mark on the language (cf. also 9.5). In (1932), we find *primo* 'cousin', a kinship concept that is rarely expressed by the Pichi term *kàsín*:

(1932) À tink se dèn pàpá nà mì màamá ìn **primo**.  
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3PL father FOC 1SG.POSS mother 3SG.POSS cousin  
 'I think that their father is my mother's cousin.' [fr03ft 059]

Conversely, the incidence of Spanish words is low in semantic fields characterised by the use of autochthonous technology, such as farming and with designations for locally-grown foodstuffs and other flora. Thus, in (1933), we have *dig grən* 'dig ground' = 'plough up the ground', *plant* '(to) plant', *gadin* 'small field, garden', *jakátó* 'bitter tomato' and *kip* 'grow; rear', as well as *pàmáyn* 'oil' and *gadinéks* 'egg-plant' (1934):

(1933) À **dig grən**, à plant chəp, à go nà **gadin**,  
 1SG.SBJ dig ground 1SG.SBJ plant food 1SG.SBJ go FOC garden  
 à **kip jakátó**, verdura.  
 1SG.SBJ grow bitter.tomato vegetables

'I ploughed the ground, I planted food, I went to the garden, I grew bitter tomato, vegetables.' [ab03ay 063]

(1934) Dì de we yù gò nid=àn, yù gò se à no get  
 DEF day SUB 2SG POT need=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG get  
**pàmáyn**, yù gò kət **gadinéks**.  
 oil 2SG POT cut egg-plant

'The day when you would need it, you would say "I don't have oil", (and) you would harvest egg-plants.' [ab03ay 015]

## Texts

The following six Pichi texts represent four types of genres – narrative, routine procedure, elicitation, and for the most part, conversation. Each sentence is provided with its text codes (placed above the sentence it refers to). This may allow comparison with the analysis of the examples provided in the grammar section. In conversations speakers can be identified by the two-letter speaker code at the beginning of the text code.

### Narrative and conversation: Miguel falls sick

The main narrator in the following text is Abuela ‘grandmother’ (ab). Other discourse participants are Francisca (fr) and myself (ko). The text begins with a conversation between (ab) and (fr) on the latter’s competence in the Bubi language. From (023)-(038), the conversation gives way to a brief story by (ab), in which she relates the hardship she endured living as an adolescent away from her family with a *misis* ‘matron’. From (039)-(042) (ab) then draws a comparison between the style of upbringing back then and her grandson Miguel’s behaviour towards grown-ups today.

This leads (ab) to the main narrative from (043)-(134), in which (ab) gives an account of how her grandson Miguel came down with malaria a few nights before the recording took place, and how he was brought to hospital. The protagonists of this personal narrative are (ab) herself, her grandson Miguel, and his mother Tokòbé. The narrative is characterised by codemixing between Pichi and Spanish as well as Pichi and Bubi (Speaker (ab) speaks Spanish and Bubi with her grandson). Spanish material is transcribed where it occurs in one sentence along with Pichi material. Otherwise only a free translation is provided. Bubi material is not transcribed but its presence is indicated in squared brackets.

ab03ab 008

|      |         |         |     |        |      |       |         |        |        |
|------|---------|---------|-----|--------|------|-------|---------|--------|--------|
| Hε   | à,      | yù      | no  | dè     | tək  | Bùbe, | à       | wɔnda  | naw    |
| INTJ | 1SG.SBJ | 2SG     | NEG | IPFV   | talk | Bubi  | 1SG.SBJ | wonder | now    |
| lèk  | haw     | è       | dɔn | fɔgét  | Bùbe | we    | è       | go     | Pànyá. |
| like | how     | 3SG.SBJ | PRF | forget | Bubi | SUB   | 3SG.SBJ | go     | Spain  |

‘Hey I, you don’t speak Bubi, I wonder now how she had forgotten Bubi when she went to Spain.’

ab03ab 009

Pero èf è de ya wan mun, è gò  
 but if 3SG.SBJ BE.AT here one month 3SG.SBJ POT

tòk=àn.

talk=3SG.OBJ

'But if she were here for a month, she would speak it.'

ab03ab 010

Di wan dòn dè tók, di wan dè tók fayn pas  
 this one PRF IPFV talk this one IPFV talk fine pass

ìn sista.

3SG.POSS sister

'This one (here) already speaks it, this one talks better than her sister.'

fr03ab 011

No, nòto tru abuela.  
 NEG NEG.FOC be.true grandmother

'No, it's not true grandmother.'

fr03ab 012

Lage dè tók Bùbe pas mi.  
 name IPFV talk Bubi pass 1SG.EMP

'Lage speaks Bubi better than me.'

ab03ab 013

È dè tók Bùbe pas yu?  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV talk Bubi pass 2SG.EMP

'She speaks Bubi better than you?'

ab03ab 014

Dis wan sef, yù dòn dè tray.  
 this one FOC 2SG PRF IPFV try

'Even this one [you], you're making an effort.'

ko03ab 015

Bòt yù bìn dè tók Bùbe bìfó?  
 but 2SG PST IPFV talk Bubi before

'But you were speaking Bubi before?'

TEXTS

ab03ab 016

È            bìn      dè      tək=àn,            è            no      bìn      dè      hia  
 3SG.SBJ    PST      IPFV    talk=3SG.OBJ    3SG.SBJ    NEG    PST      IPFV    hear  
 ɔda    langwej.  
 other language

'She was speaking it, she didn't understand any other language.'

fr03ab 017

We    à            bìn      sməl,            à            bìn      dè      tək      Bùbɛ.  
 SUB    1SG.SBJ    PST      be.small    1SG.SBJ    PST      IPFV    talk      Bubi

'When I was small, I was speaking Bubi.'

ab03ab 018

We    yù      kòmót            sik            dan      sik            nà      Pànyá,            we    yù  
 SUB    2SG    come.out      be.sick      that    be.sick      LOC    Spain            SUB    2SG  
 bìn    sik,            naw yù      bìgín            tək      Pànyá.  
 PST    be.sick      now 2SG      begin            talk      Spain

'When you had just been sick in Spain, when you were sick, then you began speaking Spanish.'

ab03ab 019

Afta,    yù      de      hia,      cuantos      años      estuviste      aquí?  
 then    2SG    BE.AT here    how.many years    you.were      here

'Then, you were here, how many years were you here?'

fr03ab 020

Medio año,    seis      meses.  
 half    year    six      months

'Half a year, six months.'

ab03ab 021

Afta    ìn            pàpá            sef      kan      tek=àn.  
 then    3SG.POSS    father            self      come    take=3SG.OBJ

'Then her father himself came to take her [away from here].'

ab03ab 022

Afta    es            la      respuesta.  
 then    it.is      DEF    answer

'Then that's the answer.'

ab03ab 023

Mi, lèk haw yù dè si mi, à dòn si  
 1SG.EMP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ PRF see  
 plente tin.  
 be.plenty thing

‘As for me, as you see me, I’ve seen many things (in life).’

ab03ab 024

À no dì tɛn we yù dè smɛl pàmáyn,  
 1SG.SBJ know DEF time SUB 2SG IPFV smell oil  
 swìt-ɔyl.  
 tasty.CPD-oil

‘I know the time when you’d smell oil, sweet oil.’

ab03ab 025

Yù misis sɛn yu go nà shɔp, se go bay  
 2SG matron send 2SG.EMP go LOC shop QUOT go buy  
 mi swìt-ɔyl.  
 1SG.EMP tasty.CPD- oil

‘The matron [head (f.) of the household that speaker (ab) was staying in] of the house would send you to the shop, saying "go buy some sweet oil for me".’

ab03ab 026

Yù go yù bring sòn ɔyl.  
 2SG go 2SG bring some oil

‘You would go (and) bring some oil.’

ab03ab 027

We è luk=àn so [exclamation].  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ look=3SG.OBJ so

‘And she’d look at it like this [exclamation in Bubi].’

ab03ab 028

Dis?  
 this

‘This?’

ab03ab 029

Dis nòto Manolete.  
 this NEG.FOC name

‘This is not Manolete (oil).’



TEXTS

ab03ab 030

Go lef=àn, go lef=àn!  
 go leave=3SG.OBJ go leave=3SG.OBJ

‘Go leave it, go leave [bring it back]!’

ab03ab 031

Dì tru comedor de fò soja, Manolete, Cordobés, èn.  
 DEF be.true dining-room BE.AT ASS soya name name INTJ

‘The real dining-room has soy bean oil, Manolete, Cordobes [vegetable oil brands], right?’

ab03ab 032

Nà dì bεε bεε swit oyl, pyo pyo uvas.  
 FOC DEF very.good REP tasty oil pure REP grapes

‘That’s the very best sweet oil, (made from) purest grapes.’

ab03ab 033

Èf noto yù bay, dan human gò bit yu soté  
 if NEG.FOC 2SG buy thatwoman POT beat 2SG.EMP until

yù gò go lef=àn.  
 2SG POT go leave=3SG.OBJ

‘If it’s weren’t the case that you had bought (the right oil), that woman would beat you until you would go leave it [bring it back].’

ab03ab 034

We yù dòn go lef=àn, yù gò gi dì man  
 SUB 2SG PRF go leave=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT give DEF man

we è dè sel dì funda, è no gò  
 SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV sell DEF receptacle 3SG.SBJ NEG POT

tek=àn fò yu.  
 take=3SG.OBJ ASS 2SG.EMP

‘When you’ve gone to leave it, you would give (the oil) to the man who is selling the receptacle (with the oil) and he wouldn’t take it (back) from you.’

ab03ab 035

Yù get fò go fò yù fambul.  
 2SG get ASS go ASS 2SG family

‘You would have to go to your (own) family.’

ab03ab 036

Yu gi den dan sməl pà máyn mek dèn gi  
 2SG.EMP give 3PL.EMP that small oil SBJV 3PL give

yu m̀nń́ ỳ g̀ bay d̀ wan we ỳ misis  
 2SG.EMP money 2SG POT buy DEF one SUB 2SG matron  
 de/ ad̀nké è no si yu wan hol de,  
 there even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.EMP one whole day  
 è no bisin wans ỳ bring d̀ pà máyn.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG care once 2SG bring DEF oil

'You would give them [your family] that little bit of oil so that they gave you money (so that) you would go buy the one [the correct oil] that your matron there/ even if she didn't see you for a whole day, she wouldn't care once you brought the [correct] oil.'

ab03ab 037

Mi d̀n s̀fa.  
 1SG.EMP PRF suffer

'I have suffered.'

ab03ab 038

À d̀n si bìhén [continues in Bubi].  
 1SG.SBJ PRF see behind

'I have seen behind (...)'

ab03ab 039

Pero p̀kín t̀dé, naw ỳ s̀n=àn, di p̀kín, we  
 but child today now 2SG send=3SG.OBJ this child SUB  
 à d̀ s̀n=àn, è no d̀ go m̀.  
 1SG.SBJipfv send=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV go more

'But a child today, (if) you send it (for something) now, this child, when I'm sending him, he doesn't go anymore.'

ab03ab 040

Ay, todo el día de hoy tu me vas a mandar, vete tu misma!

'[My grandson would say] "the whole day today you're going to send me around, you go yourself!"'

ab03ab 041

Naw naw mek à s̀n=àn nà gr̀npá  
 now REP SBJV 1SG.SBJ send=3SG.OBJ LOC grandfather  
 ìn rum, è g̀ se è d̀ fiε, è no  
 3SG.POSS room 3SG.SBJ POT say 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG  
 g̀ gi mi d̀ tin we à d̀ s̀n=àn.  
 POT give 1SG.EMP DEF thingsub 1SG.SBJ IPFV send=3SG.OBJ

'Right now, let me (try) send him to grandfather's room, he [my grandson] would say that he's afraid, (that) he wouldn't give me the thing I'm sending him for.'

TEXTS

ab03ab 042

Se in no want ìn abuelo skrach=àn.  
 QUOT 3SG.EMP NEG want 3SG.POSS grandfather scratch=3SG.OBJ

'Because he [EMP] doesn't want his [deceased] grandfather to scratch him.'

ab03ab 043

À dən tɛl yu wetin pas nà net, dan net.  
 1SG.SBJ PRF tell 2SG.EMP what happen LOC night that night

'I've already told you what happened at night, that night.'

ab03ab 044

Yéstàdé.  
 yesterday

'Yesterday.'

ab03ab 045

Mi go nà mì bed, à bigín dè memba  
 1SG.EMP go LOC 1SG.POSS bed 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV remember  
 mì yon trɔbul.  
 1SG.POSS own trouble

'I [EMP] went to bed, I began thinking about my own problems.'

ab03ab 046

Dən slip dən dè ronca.  
 3PL.EMP sleep 3PL IPFV snore

'They [EMP] [the others in the house] had lied down and were snoring.'

ab03ab 047

In dè kakara, kakàra kakàra.  
 3SG.EMP IPFV IDEO REP REP

'He [Miguel] was all fidgety.'

ab03ab 048

È dè costumbre.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV habit

'He's was getting used to it.'

ab03ab 049

Dì we ìn awa nɔba rich fɔ slip, è gò  
 DEF way 3SG.POSS hour NEG.PRF arrive ASS sleep 3SG.SBJ POT

bigín dè hàla-hala mi.  
begin IPFV RED.CPD-shout 1SG.EMP

'Since his time for sleeping hadn't come yet, he was going to begin shouting for me.'

ab03ab 050

Smòlten slip kech=àn.  
shortly.after sleep catch=3SG.OBJ

'Shortly after, he became sleepy.'

ab03ab 051

È se 'ay' à hia dì hala.  
3SG.SBJ say INTJ 1SG.SBJ hear DEF shout

'He said "ay", I heard the shout.'

ab03ab 052

Ìn mà má se wetin pas, wetin pas?  
3SG.POSS mother say what happen what happen

'His mother said what happened, what happened?'

ab03ab 053

È se mòmí mòmí yù no dè si dan man we  
3SG.SBJ say mum mum 2SG NEG IPFV see that man SUB  
è ròn go abuela ìn rum?  
3SG.SBJ run go grandmother 3SG.POSS room

'He said mum, mum don't you see that man who ran into grandmother's room?'

ab03ab 054

È dòn pas, è dòn pas, è dòn pas.  
3SG.SBJ PRF pass 3SG.SBJ PRF pass 3SG.SBJ PRF pass

'He has just passed by, he has just passed by, he has just passed by.'

ab03ab 055

È bigín dè trimbul.  
3SG.SBJ begin IPFV tremble

'He began to tremble.'

ab03ab 056

Naw è se/ ìn mà má tɛl=àn se  
now 3SG.SBJ say 3SG.POSS mother tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT  
nə, abuela fue a la cocina a beber agua.

'Now he said/ his mother told him that "no, grandmother went to the kitchen to drink water".'

TEXTS

ab03ab 057

È se pero es un hombre.  
3SG.SBJ say but it.is DEF man

'He said "but its a man".'

ab03ab 058

È no kan slip mɔ ò.  
3SG.SBJ NEG PFV sleep more SP

'He actually didn't sleep again.'

ab03ab 059

Sòn kayn fiba kan kech=àn, Tokòbé no kan sàbí.  
some kind fever PFV catch=3SG.OBJ name NEG PFV know

'He got a serious fever (and) Tokòbé didn't get to know (about it).'

ab03ab 060

Mɔnin tɛn è grap è se  
morning time 3SG.SBJ get.up 3SG.SBJ say

Miguel vete hacer pipi y vete a  
bañarte, hay clase.

'In the morning she got up (and) she said "Miguel go do a wee-wee and go take a bath, you have classes".'

ab03ab 061

È kan, è se "abuela, llevame al hospital".  
3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother bring.me to hospital

'He came, he said "grandmother take me to hospital".'

ab03ab 062

È se "no puedo parar".  
3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG I.can stand

'He said "I can't (even) stand".'

ab03ab 063

È de nà grɔn.  
3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC ground

'He was (lying) on the ground.'

ab03ab 064

Nà so è dè swɛt.  
 FOC SO 3SG.SBJ IPFV sweat

'He was sweating just like that.'

ab03ab 065

We à kìn mek so, à no dè fil hot.  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB makeso 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV feel hot

'When I would do like this [places her hand on her forehead], I wasn't feeling heat.'

ab03ab 066

Pero we à kìn toch ìn fut, ìn han  
 but SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB touch 3SG.POSS leg 3SG.POSS arm  
 de, nà so dɛ̀n kol [ko:l].  
 there FOC SO 3PL be.cold

'But when I would touch his leg (and) his arm there, there were so incredibly cold.'

ab03ab 067

À tek=àn put=àn pàntáp mì bèlé.  
 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ on 1SG.POSS belly

'I put him onto my stomach.'

ab03ab 068

Nà so à dè wayp=àn, à dè sopla in  
 FOC SO 1SG.SBJ IPFV wipe=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ IPFV blow 3SG.EMP  
 fwífwíwí.  
 IDEO

'I was wiping him, I was fanning him just like that.'

ab03ab 069

À luk=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ look=3SG.OBJ

'I looked at him.'

ab03ab 070

Nà so ìn hat mek kutùku kutùku kutùku  
 FOC SO 3SG.POSS heart make IDEO REP REP

'His heart was racing just like that.'

TEXTS

ab03ab 071

À kɔl Tokòbé à se "mɔmi, à se kan".  
 1SG.SBJ call name 1SG.SBJ QUOT mum 1SG.SBJ QUOT come

'I called Tokòbé, I said mother, I said come.'

ab03ab 072

À bɛg, luk dis pìkín, di pìkín no de gud.  
 1SG.SBJ ask.for look this child this child NEG BE.AT good

'Please, look at this child, this child is not well.'

ab03ab 073

Nà in è dè kan pul mi dan tòrí.  
 FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJipfv come remove 1SG.EMP that story

'That's when she comes to tell me that story.'

ab03ab 074

È se "nà net", è se "nà sò yù bìn hia  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT LOC night 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC so 2SG PST hear  
 in hala."  
 3SG.EMP shout

'She said "at night", she said "that's how you heard him shout."'

ab03ab 075

È se fròn dan hala dì pìkín no slip mɔ.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT from that shout DEF child NEG sleep more

'She said "since that shout the child didn't sleep again."'

ab03ab 076

È kan get fiba.  
 3SG.SBJ PFV get fever

'He got a fever.'

ab03ab 077

[A sentence in Bubi].

ab03ab 078

"Vete, a bañar."

'"Off you go, go have a bath".'

ab03ab 079

È pul=àn nà pàntáp dì bed.  
 3SG.SBJ remove=3SG.OBJ LOC on DEF bed

'She pulled him from the bed.'

ab03ab 080

Nà so è dè swet.  
 FOC SO 3SG.SBJ IPFV sweat

'He was sweating just like that.'

ab03ab 081

À pul ìn klos, à hib=àn  
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS clothing 1SG.SBJ heave=3SG.OBJ  
 pàntáp dì bed.  
 on DEF bed

'I removed his clothes, I heaved him onto the bed.'

ab03ab 082

Se "pàpá gòd, us=kayn tròbul dis?"  
 QUOT INTJ Q=kind trouble this

'(I) said (to myself) "oh God, what kind of trouble is this?"'

ab03ab 083

À pul ìn camiseta, à put=àn  
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS singlet 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ  
 pàntáp bed à go à pul dì tròsís à  
 on bed 1SG.SBJ go 1SG.SBJ remove DEF trousers 1SG.SBJ  
 hib=àn insay dì bañera.  
 heave=3SG.OBJ inside DEF bathtub

'I removed his singlet, I put him on the bed (and) I removed the trousers (and) I heaved him inside the bathtub.'

ab03ab 084

À tek wan kòp wàtá, à tek=àn à  
 1SG.SBJ take one cup water 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ  
 mek bwà bwà bwà bwà.  
 make IDEO REP REP REP

'I took a cup of water, I took him (and) splashed him all over with water.'



TEXTS

ab03ab 085

À se [continues in Bubi].  
1SG.SBJ QUOT

'I said (...)'

ab03ab 086

Smòlten è mek [imitates exhalation]  
shortly.after 3SG.SBJ make

'Shortly he made [imitates exhalation].'

ab03ab 087

À se "como sientes?"  
1SG.SBJ QUOT

'I said "how do you feel?"'

ab03ab 088

È se "abuela ya siento bien."  
3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother here I.feel good

'He said "grandmother, I already feel fine."'

ab03ab 089

È kòmót nà bañera, in sef kan go.  
3SG.SBJ come.out LOC bathtub 3SG.EMP self PFV go

'He came out of the bathtub, he himself went.'

ab03ab 090

À gi=àn dì hàf-tawel.  
1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ DEF half.CPD-towel

'I gave him the [his] little towel.'

ab03ab 091

À ker=àn go nà comedor.  
1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room

'I carried him to the dining-room.'

ab03ab 092

Se Tokòbé, ker dì pikín nà ospitul.  
QUOT name carry DEF child LOC hospital

'(I) said Tokòbé, bring this child to hospital.'

ab03ab 093

Mi no se dì pìkín [continues in Bubi].  
 1SG.EMP NEG QUOT DEF child

'I know that the child (...)'

ab03ab 094

À want tek solwàtá mek à gi=àn,  
 1SG.SBJ want take saltwater SBJV 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ  
 à se 'chip' nò.  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT SKT NEG

'I wanted to take saltwater and give it to him, I said [SKT] no.'

ab03ab 095

È se nà hangri.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC hunger

'He said "it's hunger" [that's worrying me].'

ab03ab 096

Dan banana, à gi=àn sòn.  
 that banana 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ some

'That banana [points to a stalk lying in the corner], I gave him one.'

ab03ab 097

È se "abuela, è no ker."  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother 3SG.SBJ NEG carry

'He said "grandmother, it wasn't enough."'

ab03ab 098

Mi se [continues in Bubi].  
 1SG.EMP QUOT

'I [EMP] QUOT (...)'

ab03ab 099

À se no gi=àn leche, gi=àn wòtál  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT NEG give=3SG.OBJ milk give=3SG.OBJ water

'I said "don't give him milk, give him water!"'

ab03ab 100

À gi=àn.  
 1SG.SBJ give=3SG.OBJ

'I gave him (the milk).'

TEXTS

ab03ab 101

È se è no ker.  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG carry

'He said it wasn't enough.'

ab03ab 102

Lèk haw Tokòbé pul dì/ è naba pul dì  
 like how name remove DEF 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF remove DEF  
 glas è want mɔ.  
 glas 3SG.SBJ want more

'As soon as Tokòbé removed the/ she hadn't yet removed the glas (and) he wanted more.'

ab03ab 103

Mi go dɔn.  
 1SG.EMP go down

'I went down(stairs).'

ab03ab 104

We à kàmót dɔn, à go sìdón bìfór=àn,  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ come.out down 1SG.SBJ go sit before=3SG.OBJ  
 à se "como sientes?"  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT how feel

'When I came back from downstairs, I went to sit before him (and) I said "how do you feel?"'

ab03ab 105

È se "abueta, siento mal, quiero ir al  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT grandmother I.feel bad I.want go to  
 hospital."  
 hospital

'He said "grandmother, I feel bad, I want to go to the hospital."'

ab03ab 106

È se "cuando una persona esta enferma  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT

los demas no deben estar con ella sentada."

'He said "when a person is sick, the other are not supposed to be sit with him."'

ab03ab 107

Porque cuando se va a vomitar, se va a mojar con vomito.

"Because when he vomits they will get wet with vomit."

ab03ab 108

À se "has vomitado?"  
1SG.SBJ QUOT

'I said "did you vomit?'"

ab03ab 109

È se "sí, abuela yo siento a vomitar."  
3SG.SBJ QUOT yes grandmother I I.feel to

'He said "yes, grandmother I feel like vomiting."

ab03ab 110

À se "Tokòbé kan ò!"  
1SG.SBJ QUOT name come SP

'I said Tokòbé come, please!'

ab03ab 111

Tokòbé dòn wèr klos gbogbògbo "no fḁ  
name PRF wear clothing IDEO NEG ASS  
fɛn cuaderno".  
look.for exercise.book

'Tokòbé had already worn her clothes in a rush, "no we have to look for the patient's logbook.'

ab03ab 112

È mit wan ol ol cuaderno, dì tɛn fḁ  
3SG.SBJ meet one old REP exercise.book DEF time ASS  
Niumbe, nà in è bìn ròn wèt=àn ospitul.  
name FOC 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ PST run with=3SG.OBJ hospital

'She found a very old patient's book, from the time of Niumbe, that's what she ran to the hospital with.'

ab03ab 113

Dèn go nà ospitul.  
3PL go LOC hospital

'They went to the hospital.'

ab03ab 114

Se nò bífó dì dákta dè kan we à dè kan  
QUOT NEG before DEF doctor IPFV come SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV come  
fḁs.  
first

TEXTS

‘Then before the doctor was coming I was already coming first [had come to the hospital from home as well].’

ab03ab 115

Dèn go se análisis.  
3PL go QUOT analysis

‘They went for an analysis.’

ab03ab 116

Dèn ròn go mek análisis.  
3PL run go make analysis

‘The rushed off to make an analysis.’

ab03ab 117

Lèk haw è dè bring dì análisis, wì si dì  
like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV bring DEF analysis 1PL see DEF

dokta dòn dè kan, ya era la una y algo.  
doctor PRF IPFV come here was DEF one and something

‘As soon she [Tokòbé] brought the analysis, we saw the doctor coming (when) it was already past one o’clock.’

ab03ab 118

Paciente dèn de nà sala, yu dokta la una yù  
patient PL BE.AT LOC hall 2SG.EMP doctor DEF one 2SG

dè kan?  
IPFV come

‘Patients are in the waiting room, (and) you doctor, you’re [only] coming at one o’clock?’

ab03ab 119

Dokta dèn no de nà dis kòntri nà mek pipul dèn  
doctor PL NEG coploc this country FOC make people PL

dè day plente.  
IPFV die plenty

‘There are no doctors in this country, that’s what’s making people die a lot.’

ab03ab 120

Wanten we è luk dì pikín, è luk dì  
at.once SUB 3SG.SBJ look DEF child 3SG.SBJ look DEF

análisis, "tiene paludismo de una cruz we kìn kil  
analysis he.has malaria of one cross SUB HAB kill

pikín sɛf."  
child FOC

'At once, when he looked at the child, he looked at the analysis, "he has malaria of one cross [degree of intensity] that can even kill a child.'

ab03ab 121

Yù dè mɛmba se è dè slip.  
2SG IPFV remember QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV sleep

'You would think that he [the boy] was sleeping.'

ab03ab 122

Dèn gi=àn mérèsin.  
3PL give=3SG.OBJ medicine

'He was given medicine.'

ab03ab 123

Dèn ròn nà farmacia, receta de mérèsin.  
3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine

'They rushed to the pharmacy [to get a] prescription.'

ab03ab 124

Dèn bìn gi=àn dì receta fò kan bay=àn.  
3PL PST give=3SG.OBJ DEF prescription ASS come buy=3SG.OBJ

'They had given her [Tokòbé] the prescription in order to come buy it.'

ab03ab 125

Se mami, è se "siento hambre."  
QUOT mum 3SG.SBJ QUOT I.feel hunger

'(He) said, I feel hungry.'

ab03ab 126

Mami, go bay tu bocadillo!  
mum go buy two bun

[I told his mum] 'Mum, go buy two buns!'

ab03ab 127

Tu brɛd.  
two bread

'Two (loaves) of bread.'

ab03ab 128

Yù pìkín sɪdón dè chɔp dèn tu brɛd.  
2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread

'Your child [directed at the listener [fr]] was sitting (there) eating those two (loaves of) bread.'

TEXTS

ab03ab 129

È se "à want Fanta."  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ want NAME

'He said "I want Fanta."'

ab03ab 130

Dis sməl bətul dèn Fanta, we è get Coca-Cola,  
 this small bottle PL NAME SUB 3SG.SBJ get NAME  
 è get Fanta, è get limón, è bay=àn  
 3SG.SBJ get NAME 3SG.SBJ get lemon 3SG.SBJ buy=3SG.OBJ

wan.  
 one

'These small bottles of Fanta, of which there is (also) Coca-Cola, there is Fanta, there is lemon, she bought one for him.'

ab03ab 131

È nak=àn.  
 3SG.SBJ gulp.down=3SG.OBJ

'He gulped it down.'

ab03ab 132

Naw è dən want bígín dè fet wèt dì chia, dì  
 now 3SG.SBJ PRF want begin IPFV fight with DEF chair DEF  
 QUOT we dèn sìdón.  
 side SUB 3PL sit

'Now he wanted to begin fighting with the chair, where they were sitting [due to his delirium].'

ab03ab 133

Se "nə, dəkta wì dən fit go?"  
 QUOT NEG doctor 1PL PRF can go

'(We) said "doctor, can we go now?"'

ab03ab 134

È se "ùna dən fit go."  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 2PL PRF can go

'He said "you can go now."'

## Narrative and conversation: Annobón sorcery

The following text begins with a conversation between Francisca (fr), Rubi (ru) and Djunais (dj) in which (fr) tries to persuade (ru) to give an account of how he was bewitched. Speaker (fr) manages to coax (ru) into telling the story by jokingly threatening to report to the police (015) and to bring the matter into the equatoguinean reality TV show ‘Vivencias’ (016)-(017). Speaker (ru) then relates in (018)-(044) how he was bewitched by a fling of his from the island of Annobón, which has caused him to fall sick with fever. The protagonists are (ru), (dj) and (ru)’s fling ‘the girl from Annobón’. In the remainder of the text (057ff.), (fr) tries to convince (ru) and (dj) of the importance of malaria prevention.

ru03wt 001

Wan Annobón gɛl wɪch mi man.  
one place girl bewitch 1SG.EMP INTJ

‘A girl from Annobón bewitched me, man.’

fr03wt 002

Nà wan Annobón gɛl wɪch yu?  
FOC one place girl bewitch 2SG.EMP

‘It’s a girl from Annobón that bewitched you?’

fr03wt 003

Nà fò dan tin mek yù go dɔkta.  
LOC ASS that thing SBJV 2SG go doctor

‘That’s why you should go to the doctor.’

fr03wt 004

Udat tɛl yu se è wɪch yu?  
who tell 2SG.EMP QUOT 3SG.SBJ bewitch 2SG.EMP

‘Who told you that she bewitched you?’

fr03wt 005

Nà tòrí à dè hia ò!  
LOC story 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear SP

‘I’m hearing the story [come on let’s hear the story]!’

fr03wt 006

Yù sàbí us=kayn tin nà wɪch nɔ?  
2SG know Q=kind thing LOC bewitch NEG

‘You know what sorcery is, right?’



TEXTS

fr03wt 007

Annobón?

PLACE

‘(And) Annobón?’

fr03wt 008

Yù sàbí us=tin nà Annobón sef.

2SG know Q=thing FOC PLACE FOC

‘You even know what Annobón is.’

ko03ft 009

Yù fògét se à dòn go de.

2SG forget QUOT 1SG.SBJ PRF go there

‘You forgot that I had already gone there.’

fr03wt 010

È bin de nà Annobón yéstàdé.

3SG.SBJ PST there LOC PLACE yesterday

‘He was in Annobón yesterday.’

fr03wt 011

Djunais, nà in mek se mek dèn wich=àn.

NAME FOC 3SG.EMP make QUOT SBJV 3PL bewitch=3SG.OBJ

‘(It’s) Djunais, it’s him who made them bewitch him.’

dj03wt 012

No mete mi insay di tək à beg!

NEG put 1SG.EMP inside this talk 1SG.SBJ ask.for

‘Don’t involve me in this matter, please!’

ru03wt 013

Nà yu mek=àn.

FOC 2SG.EMP make=3SG.OBJ

‘It’s you who made it [laughter].’

fr03wt 014

Us=kayn tin è mek?

Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ make

‘What did he do?’

fr03wt 015

If mi ker dis plaba naw, èn, nà comisaría,  
 if 1SG.EMP carry this trouble now INTJ LOC police.station  
 ùna sàbí se dèn no lek dis tin, no natin fò  
 2PL know QUOT 3PL NEG like this thing NEG nothing ASS  
 wich, di wan gò tòn plaba serio.  
 bewitch this one POT turn trouble serious

'If I take this matter, right, to the police-station, you [PL] know that they don't like this thing, nothing concerning sorcery, this would turn into serious trouble.'

fr03wt 016

Afta dèn gò ker ùna, nà Vivencias fò, us=wan  
 then 3PL POT carry 2PL LOC NAME ASS Q=one  
 nà ìn nem?  
 FOC 3SG.POSS name

'Then they'd take you [PL] to "Vivencias" to, what's his name?'

fr03wt 017

Fò Olinga, we è gò go cham ìn Pànyá de.  
 ASS NAME SUB 3SG.SBJ POT go chew 3SG.POSS Spanish BE.AT

'To Olinga and he would go speak his bad Spanish there.'

fr03wt 018

Ùna pul dì tòrí!  
 2PL remove DEF story

'Tell [PL] the story!'

ru03wt 019

È de se dan gel è bìn dè kan ya.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT QUOT that girl 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV come here

'It's that that girl used to come here.'

ru03wt 020

Mi no bìn dè luk=àn ò.  
 1SG.EMP NEG PST IPFV look=3SG.OBJ SP

'Mind you, I [EMP] wasn't looking at [paying attention to] her.'

ru03wt 021

Djunais tək se, nò Rubi di gel lek yu, di  
 NAME talk QUOT NEG NAME this girl like 2SG.EMP this

TEXTS

gɛl lɛk yu, naw bɪgɪn mek=àn so.  
 girl like 2SG.EMP now begin make=3SG.OBJ like.that

'Djunais said, no Rubi, this girl likes you, this girl likes you, now begin doing it like this.'

ru03wt 022

No laf!  
 NEG laugh

'Don't laugh!'

fr03wt 023

Djunais, no laf!  
 NAME NEG laugh

'Djunais, don't laugh!'

ru03wt 024

Dan tɛn à de fayn.  
 that time 1SG.SBJ BE.AT fine

'That time I was fine.'

ru03wt 025

À go, à luk dɪ gɛl, wɪ bɪgɪn tɔk, wɪ bɪgɪn  
 1SG.SBJ go 1SG.SBJ look DEF girl 1PL begin talk 1PL begin  
 tɔk, wɪ bɪgɪn tɔk tal tal.  
 talk 1PL begin talk so so

'I went, I had a look at the girl, we began to talk and talk and talk, and so on.'

ru03wt 026

Tumoro dɪ gɛl want se mek wɪ slip.  
 tomorrow DEF girl want QUOT SBJV 1PL sleep

'The next day the girl wanted us to sleep (with each other).'

ru03wt 027

È insiste sotá [click].  
 3SG.SBJ insist until

'She insisted until [clicks with his fingers].'

fr03wt 028

Ùna slip?  
 2PL sleep

'You slept (with each other)?'

ru03wt 029

Ye, à kan tel=àn se "chica, mi no lek  
 yes 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.EMP NEG like  
 yu bət wì fit de lèk kàmpin."  
 2SG.EMP but 1PL can BE.AT like friend

‘Yeah, I eventually told her "girl, I [EMP] don’t love you but we can be like friends.’

ru03wt 030

"À wənt mek yù du mi sòn febə, mek yù  
 1SG.SBJ want SBJV 2SG do 1SG.EMP some favour SBJV 2SG  
 was mi sòn klos dèn."  
 wash 1SG.EMP some clothing PL

‘I want you to do me a favour and wash some clothes for me.’

fr03wt 031

ɔl dan ten Djunais dè giv=àn dì acción,  
 all that time NAME IPFV give=3SG.OBJ DEF action  
 è dè put calór.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV put heat

‘All that time Djunais was causing commotion, he was fanning the flames.’

fr03wt 032

Djunais yù bàdhát èn.  
 NAME 2SG be.mean INTJ

‘Djunais, you’re mean, you know.’

ru03wt 033

È go, è was dì klos dèn.  
 3SG.SBJ go 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL

‘She went (and) she washed the clothes.’

ru03wt 034

È was dì klos dèn, è dray den, nə, nà  
 3SG.SBJ wash DEF clothing PL 3SG.SBJ dry 3PL.EMP NEG FOC  
 mi dray den.  
 1SG.EMP dry 3PL.EMP

‘She washed the clothes, she dried them, no, it was me who dried them.’

ru03wt 035

Pero dì klos dèn slip nà dən ò.  
 but DEF clothing PL lie LOC down SP

TEXTS

'But the clothes came to lie down [on the ground].'

ru03wt 036

Mənin tən we à kan luk à dè si sən  
 morning time SUB 1SG.SBJ PFV look 1SG.SBJ IPFV see some  
 klos dən, à no dè si mi yon dən.  
 clothing PL 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see 1SG.POSS own PL

'In the morning, when I came to look, I saw some clothes (but) I didn't see mine.'

ru03wt 037

Afta à dè mit=àn nia di klos dən di  
 then 1SG.SBJ IPFV meet=3SG.OBJ near DEF clothing PL DEF  
 mənin mənin tən.  
 morning REP time

'Then I find her next to the clothes early in the morning.'

ru03wt 038

À aks=àn se "us=say di klos dən de?"  
 1SG.SBJ ask=3SG.OBJ QUOT Q=side DEF clothing PL BE.AT

'I asked her "where are the clothes?"'

ru03wt 039

È se "no, à dè si lək se dən dən tif  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT NEG 1SG.SBJ IPFV see like QUOT 3PL PRF steal  
 sən."  
 some

'She said "no, it seems to me like some have been stolen."'

ru03wt 040

Us=say mi klos dən de, di ivin tən,  
 Q=side 1SG.POSS clothing PL BE.AT DEF evening time  
 [click] fiba, fiba soté à kəl=àn.  
 fever fever until 1SG.SBJ call=3SG.OBJ

'Where were my clothes, in the evening [clicks with his fingers], fever, fever until finally I called her.'

ru03wt 041

È de è no dè ansa mi mə, è  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV answer 1SG.EMP more 3SG.SBJ  
 dè pas so lək se è no no mi mə.  
 IPFV pass so like QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG know 1SG.EMP more

'She was there and wasn't responding to me anymore, she was passing by as if she didn't know me anymore.'

ru03wt 042

À            tɛl=àn            se    chica,    soté    yù    dè    kan    nà  
 1SG.SBJ    tell=3SG.OBJ    QUOT   girl    until    2SG   IPFV   come   LOC  
 mì            drim    dɛ̀n            èn,            nà    so    so    tin    yù    mek  
 1SG.POSS   dream   PL            INTJ    FOC   so   REP   thing   2SG   make  
 mi,            tray    reduce   in.  
 1SG.EMP   try    reduce   3SG.EMP

'I told her "girl, you even come into my dreams, you know, it's this and that you did to me, try to reduce that".'

ru03wt 043

"Tu piensas    eso    de    mí?"

'[She replied] You think that of me?'

ru03wt 044

À            dɔ̀n    explica    Bòyé            dɛ̀n,            se    nà    so    mi            dè  
 1SG.SBJ    PRF    explain    NAME            PL            QUOT   FOC   so   1SG.EMP   IPFV  
 mɛmba,    ɔl            tin.  
 remember   all            thing

'I've already explained to Bòyé and the others, that's how I remember everything.'

fr03wt 045

Yù    dɔ̀n    go    si    yù    mà má?  
 2SG   PRF   go   see   2SG   mother

'Have already gone to see your mother?'

ru03wt 046

No.

NEG

'No.'

fr03wt 047

Wetin    yù    dè    wet?  
 what    2SG   IPFV   wait

'What are you waiting (for)?'

dj03wt 048

Se    ìn            mà má            gò    drayb=àn            fɔs.  
 QUOT   3SG.POSS   mother    POT   drive=3SG.OBJ    first

TEXTS

'Because his mother would chase him away first.'

fr03wt 049

Ìn màmá gò drayb=àn fòs pero ìn  
 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first but 3SG.POSS  
 màmá nà dì onli pòsin we è fit go waka  
 mother FOC DEF only person SUB 3SG.SBJ can go walk  
 wèt=àn, mi no sàbí waka.  
 with=3SG.OBJ 1SG.EMP NEG know walk

'His mother could chase him away first but his mother is the only person that could go walk with him [do the necessary protection rites], I don't know how to walk.'

ru03wt 050

Annobón méré̀sin no dè tòn mì hed.  
 PLACE sorcery NEG IPFV turn 1SG.POSS head

'Annobón sorcery doesn't turn my head [have an effect on me].'

dj03wt 051

Annobón méré̀sin, è no dè go bihén.  
 PLACE sorcery 3SG.SBJneg IPFV go behind

'As for Annobón sorcery, it doesn't go behind [have a profound effect].'

fr03wt 052

No obstante, à beg go si dākta fòs, hia?  
 nonetheless 1SG.SBJ ask.for go see doctor first hear

'Nonetheless, please go see the doctor first, (you) hear?'

fr03wt 053

Nà fò dan tin yù no dè go dākta porque yù  
 FOC ASS thatthing 2SG NEG IPFV go doctor because 2SG  
 dè chek se nà wich?  
 IPFV think QUOT FOC bewitch

'Is that why you're not going to the doctor because you think it's witchcraft?'

fr03wt 054

Go dākta fòs, we dì dākta gò gi yù sòn tin  
 go doctor first SUB DEF doctor POT give 2SG some thing  
 mek yù fil smòl fayn, yù bigín mek dì òda tin  
 SBJV 2SG feel a.bit fine 2SG begin make DEF other thing  
 dèn.  
 PL

'Go to the doctor first, when the doctor will give you something for you to feel a fine a bit, you begin to do the other things.'

fr03wt 055

Yu        dè    hia?  
2SG.EMP   IPFV   hear

'Do you hear?'

ru03wt 056

À        hia.  
1SG.SBJ   hear

'I hear.'

fr03wt 057

È        fit   bì   se   nà   paludismo.  
3SG.SBJ   can   BE   QUOT   FOC   malaria

'It could be that it's malaria.'

fr03wt 058

Us=tèn   ùna   las   impregna   ùna   mosquiteros   dèn?  
Q=time   2PL   last   impregnate   2PL   mosquito.nets   PL

'When did you [PL] last impregnate your [PL] mosquito nets?'

fr03wt 059

È        dòn   ste,   à        tink   se   è        dòn   ste   we  
3SG.SBJ   PRF   last   1SG.SBJ   think   QUOT   3SG.SBJ   PRF   last   SUB

ùna   bìn   get   insecticida   ya.  
2PL   PST   get   insecticide   here

'It's been a long time, I think that it's been a long time that you had insecticide here.'

fr03wt 060

Dan   big   big   mosquito   dèn   we   dèn   fiba   aviones   dèn.  
that   big   REP   mosquito   PL   SUB   3PL   resemble   planes   PL

'Those huge mosquitos that resemble airplanes.'

fr03wt 061

Aunque   nòto   paludismo,   if   dèn   giv   yu  
even.if   NEG.FOC   malaria   if   3PL   give   2SG.EMP

tratamiento   yù   no   gò   day.  
treatment   2SG   NEG   POT   die

'Even if it's not malaria, if they give you a treatment you won't die.'



## Conversation: Dinner for four

The text that follows is an extensive conversation involving four people: Bòyé (ye), Djunais (dj), Francisca (fr) and sporadically myself (ko). The conversation was recorded during a dinner hosted by (fr). A relaxed and cheerful atmosphere reigns during the conversation and the discourse participants, who are members of the same extended family, joke and tease each other on numerous occasions (e.g. in (015)-(019), (091)-(94) and the entire section from (130)-(143)). The conversation also contains many instances of Pichi-Spanish code-mixing (e.g. (001)-(008)).

The text features three themes between which the speakers switch to and fro. The main theme is the ongoing construction of a family house commissioned by (fr) and overseen by (ye). This discussion is contained in sections (001)-(038), (99)-(120), (154)-(164) and (173)-(178) and is chiefly concerned with problems in a cement delivery ordered from two protagonists named Buehu and Gabriel. The sections on the construction works are driven by (fr), who repeatedly brings the conversation topic back to this issue of great importance to her.

A second theme revolves around eating. In (080)-(097), (dj) and (ye) comment on each other's cooking abilities, in (121)-(127) an exchange ensues about the effect of the pepper in the food and in (132)-(143) (ye) teases (dj) because the latter has just drunk tap water (which is not without risk in Malabo). In (144)-(153) and (164)-(172) both (dj) and (ye) complain about the eating habits of Pancho (pa) who is not present at the table. Both (dj) and (ye) live in one place with (pa) and the account of (ye) in (173)-(178) shows that (pa) was also supposed to run an errand for (fr) as part of the building activities. A third theme is the interlude from (051)-(078) in which (fr) and (ye) scoff at Olinga, the TV presenter of 'Vivencias', a popular Equatoguinean TV reality show.

ye03cd 001

Pues hemos estado ahí, à tink se wan las  
so we.have been there 1SG.SBJ think QUOT one the  
cuatro we dì chef kòmót è no aparece yet.  
four SUB DEF boss go.out 3SG.SBJ NEG appear yet

'So we were there, I think around four o'clock that the boss went out (and) he hadn't appeared yet.'

ye03cd 002

Dì òda man tɛl mi se dɛn dɔn bay veinte  
DEF other man tell 1SG.EMP QUOT 3PL PRF buy twenty  
sacos.  
bags

'The other man told me that they had bought twenty bags.'

ye03cd 003

È lɛf doce.  
3SG.SBJ remain twelve

‘Twelve remain.’

ye03cd 004

È falta mɔ̀ní fò pul saco dèn de fò  
3SG.SBJ lack money ASS remove sack PL there ASS  
kɛr=àn nà hos.  
carry=3SG.OBJ LOC house

‘The money is lacking to remove the bags there in order to bring them to the house.’

fr03cd 005

Me van a tocar los cojones porque mi gi  
me they.will to touch the.PL testicles because 1SG.EMP give  
dèn diez mil fò transporte.  
3PL.EMP ten thousand ASS transport

‘They’re going to get me really annoyed because I gave them ten thousand for transport.’

ye03cd 006

Nà so in dè tɛl mi.  
FOC SO 3SG.EMP IPFV tell 1SG.EMP

‘That’s what he [EMP] told me.’

fr03cd 007

Mek dèn transporta dì cemento nà Ela Nguema  
SBJV 3PL transport DEF cement LOC PLACE  
porque no estaba dicho que dèn gò go lɛf dì  
because NEG was said that 3PL POT go leave DEF  
cemento.  
cement

‘Let them transport the cement to Ela Nguema because it hadn’t been agreed that they would go leave the cement [lying there].’

fr03cd 008

Dì cemento, estaba dicho que nà fò kɛr=àn  
DEF cement was said that FOC ASS carry=3SG.OBJ  
directamente nà Ela Nguema.  
directly LOC PLACE

‘The cement, it had been agreed that it is to be taken directly to Ela Nguema.’

TEXTS

fr03cd 009

Dat min se Buehu no kan è no gi no  
 that mean QUOT NAME NEG come 3SG.SBJ NEG give NEG  
 m̀nì no natin.  
 money NEG nothing

'That means that Buehu didn't come (and) he didn't give (them) any money at all.'

ye03cd 010

No natin.  
 NEG nothing

'Nothing at all.'

ye03cd 011

Tum̀ro m̀nin t̀n, wan las siete so à g̀ go  
 tomorrow morning time one DEF seven so 1SG.SBJ POT go  
 de.  
 there

'Tomorrow morning, around seven o'clock or so I'll go there.'

ye03cd 012

Ǿ b̀kú man d̀n bin d̀ f̀n/  
 or much man PL PST IPFV look.for

'Or many people were looking for/'

ye03cd 013

Que vas escribiendo así?  
 what you.go writing so

'What are you writing like that?'

ye03cd 014

Ǿl di compromiso d̀n f̀ escribiendo dan b̀y  
 all this agreement PL ASS writing that b̀y  
 ìn apellido, wetin mek ỳ rayt m̀ nem?  
 3SG.POSS surname what make 2SG write 1SG.POSS name

'All these agreements writing that guy's surname, how come you've written my name?'

ye03cd 015

Mek no m̀ caligrafía go nà dan pepa!  
 SBJV NEG 1SG.POSS handwriting go LOC that paper

'None of my handwriting should go on that paper!'

fr03cd 016

Dat min se yù no gò hɛp mi?  
 that mean QUOT 2SG NEG POT help 1SG.EMP

'That means you're not going to help me?'

ye03cd 017

Nà fò us=kayn tin, explica mi!  
 FOC ASS Q=kind thing explain 1SG.EMP

'It's for what, explain to me!'

fr03cd 018

À nid wan lista de participantes.  
 1SG.SBJ need one list of participants

'I need a list of participants.'

ye03cd 019

Nà compromiso dat ò.  
 FOC agreement that SP

'That's actually an agreement.'

ye03cd 020

Dan ficción, Bàta-man gò tòn=àn ròn-say.  
 that fiction PLACE - man POT turn=3SG.OBJ wrong.CPD-side

'That fiction [fictitious agreement], the Fang [the person delivering the cement] will turn it upside down.'

ye03cd 021

È se ɔl tidé è bìn dè kəl yu yù  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 2SG.EMP 2SG

no tek teléfono.  
 NEG take telephone

'He said the whole of today, he was calling you (and) you didn't pick the phone.'

fr03cd 022

"ɔl tidé è bìn dè kəl mi," è kəl  
 all today 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV call 1SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ call

mi wan ten dasəl.  
 1SG.EMP one time only

'"All of today he was calling me, " he called me only once.'

TEXTS

fr03cd 023

Bueno, à bɛg tumoro, go recupera di mɔní  
 alright 1SG.SBJ ask.for tomorrow go recover DEF money  
 we yù lɛf.  
 SUB 2SG leave

‘Alright, please tomorrow, go recover the money that you left.’

fr03cd 024

Naw so à gɛt fɔ pe mɔní mɔ fɔ go kɛr  
 now so 1SG.SBJ get ASS pay money more ASS go carry  
 di cemento nà hos.  
 DEF cement LOC house

‘Now I have to pay money again in order to bring the cement to the house.’

fr03cd 025

Nɔ, yù sàbí di tin we yù gò tɛl=àn?  
 NEG 2SG know DEF thing SUB 2SG POT tell=3SG.OBJ

‘No, you know what you’re going to tell him?’

fr03cd 026

Yù gò tɛl=àn se wì no dè tɛk di  
 2SG POT tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT 1PL NEG IPFV take DEF  
 cemento, mek è bak yu di mɔní we  
 cement SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.EMP DEF money SUB  
 è gɛt, èn?  
 3SG.SBJ get INTJ

‘You’ll tell him that we’re not taking the cement (and) that he should give you back the money that he has, right?’

fr03cd 027

Mek è bak yu di mɔní we è gɛt.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.EMP DEF money SUB 3SG.SBJ get

‘Let him give you back the money that he has.’

ye03cd 028

Dì wan we è dɔn sobra in.  
 DEF one SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF remain 3SG.EMP

‘The one [amount] that has remained with him.’

fr03cd 029

Dì wan we è dòn sobra in.  
 DEF one SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF remain 3SG.EMP

'The one that has remained with him.'

fr03cd 030

Afta, como in nid cemento, mek è go  
 then because 3SG.EMP need cement SBJV 3SG.SBJ go  
 gi yu dì m̀nì, ǹto tum̀ro è g̀ gi dì  
 give2SG.EMP DEF money NEG.FOC tomorrow 3SG.SBJ POT give DEF  
 m̀nì.  
 money

'Then, since he [EMP] needs cement [as well], let him go give you the money, it won't be tomorrow that he'll give (you) the money.'

fr03cd 031

Pero dì tən we in g̀ g̀t f̀ bay cemento,  
 but DEF time SUB 3SG.EMP POT get ASS buy cement  
 mek è tek dan cemento de.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ take that cement there

'But when he himself has to buy cement, let him take that cement (there).'

fr03cd 032

Afta, bueno, təl=àn se mek è bak  
 then alright tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back  
 yu dì m̀nì, mi g̀ t̀k ẁt=àn.  
 2SG.EMP DEF money 1SG.EMP POT talk with=3SG.OBJ

'Then, alright, tell him to give you back the money, I myself will talk to him.'

fr03cd 033

Mek è tek dan cemento.  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ take that cement

'Let him take that cement.'

fr03cd 034

Afta, è g̀ tek dì cemento.  
 then 3SG.SBJ POT take DEF cement

'Then he'll take the cement.'

TEXTS

fr03cd 035

Afta, como è gò get fò pe dan òda man  
 then because 3SG.SBJ POT get ASS pay that other man  
 sef transporte, dan tɛn è gò devuelve mi  
 FOC transport that time 3SG.SBJ POT give.back 1SG.EMP  
 dì mòní fò transporte.  
 DEF money ASS transport

'Then, since he'll have to pay transport for the other man, too, at that time he'll give me back the money for transport.'

fr03cd 036

Porque yo no estoy para esas cosas.

'Because I'm not into these (kind of) things.'

fr03cd 037

Que barbaridad.  
 what enormity

'What an enormity.'

ye03cd 038

À gò firma we à gò don chəp.  
 1SG.SBJ POT sign SUB 1SG.SBJ POT PRF eat

'I'll sign when I'll have eaten.'

fr03cd 039

A firmar antes, que no firme, que no come.  
 to sign before that NEG sign that NEG eat

'First sign, you don't sign, you don't eat [laughter].'

ye03cd 040

À no dè ɛnta/  
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV enter

'I don't enter/.'

fr03cd 041

Así que no firma, que no come.  
 so that NEG sign that NEG eat

'So you don't sign, you don't eat.'

fr03cd 042

À bɛg gi mi dan pepa yù gi mi  
 1SG.SBJ ask.for give 1SG.EMP that paper 2SG give 1SG.EMP  
 wan bolí.  
 one pen

'Please, give me that paper (and) give me a pen.'

ye03cd 043

À gò firma, wet fɔ̃ mek à chɔp, à  
 1SG.SBJ POT sign wait ASS SBJV 1SG.SBJ eat 1SG.SBJ  
 bɛg.  
 ask.for

'I'll sign, wait for me to eat, please.'

fr03cd 044

No, no, no, à no de insay dan stayl.  
 NEG NEG NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG there inside that style

'No, no, no, I'm not going for that (kind of) style.'

ye03cd 045

Lef mek à/, Djunais!  
 leave SBJV 1SG.SBJ NAME

'Let me/, Djunais!'

fr03cd 046

Yù chench caligrafía [the conversation is drowned by loud music for two minutes].  
 2SG change handwriting

'You changed (your) handwriting.'

ye03cd 047

Udat?  
 who

'Who?'

ye03cd 048

In senwe dè tɔk=àn de.  
 3SG.EMP FOC IPFV talk=3SG.OBJ there

'He [EMP] himself says it.'



TEXTS

fr03cd 049

Udat tif, tel mi di nem!  
 who steal tell 1SG.EMP DEF name

'Who stole, tell me the name!'

ye03cd 050

Fiba gò sube yu mɔ.  
 fever POT go.up 2SG.EMP more

'Fever will rise on you again.'

ye03cd 051

Dèn gò so=àn nà Vivencias, nà di tin dèn  
 3PL POT show=3SG.OBJ LOC NAME LOC DEF thing 3PL

dè tək de.  
 IPFV talk there

'They'll show it on Vivencias [a TV show], that's the (kind of) thing they talk (about) there.'

ye03cd 052

Wan man we è no get mòní, è don get  
 one man SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG get money 3SG.SBJ PRF get

sesenta años.  
 sixty years

'[In Vivencias there was] a man who doesn't have money, he's already sixty years old.'

ye03cd 053

È no sàbí tək ni Pànyá, è se è  
 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk even Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ

want muchachita de diecisiete años.  
 want young.girl of seventeen years

'He didn't even know how to speak Spanish, he said he wants a young girl of seventeen years.'

ye03cd 054

È se "yo quiero una muchachita de diecisiete  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT I I.want one young.girl of seventeen

años."  
 years

'He said "I want a young girl of seventeen years."'

ye03cd 055

È no want ni treinta ni cuarenta, mm  
 3SG.SBJ NEG want neither thirty neither forty no

mm, diecisiete años.  
no seventeen years

'He neither wanted thirty nor forty years, no no, seventeen years.'

ye03cd 056

Nà Vivencias dèn dè so dan tin.  
LOC NAME 3PL IPFV show that thing

'In Vivencias they show that (kind of) thing.'

ye03cd 057

Us=tin dèn kìn dè go fèn man dèn we no  
Q=thing 3PL HAB IPFV go look.for man PL SUB NEG

sàbí tók Pànyá?  
know talk Spanish

'Why do they always go look for people who don't know how to talk Spanish?'

ye03cd 058

Di Olinga.  
this NAME

'This Olinga.'

fr03cd 059

À no sàbí lèk haw è de ìn wok, bòt  
1SG.SBJ NEG know like how 3SG.SBJ BE.AT 3SG.POSS work but

è no sàbí tók Pànyá.  
3SG.SBJ NEG know talk Spanish

'I don't know how he is at his work, but he doesn't know how to speak Spanish.'

ko03cd 060

Udat?  
who

'Who?'

fr03cd 061

Olinga nà wan presentador fò wan programa.  
NAME FOC one presentor ASS one programme

'Olinga is a presenter of a programme.'

fr03cd 062

Nà reportero, el programa más popular de este  
FOC reporter the programme most popular of this

TEXTS

país, in nem nà Vivencias.  
country 3SG.POSS name FOC NAME

'He's a reporter, the most popular programme of this country, its name is Vivencias.'

fr03cd 063

Dì man è no sàbí tək Pànyá.  
DEF man 3SG.SBJ NEG know talk Spain

'The man doesn't know how to speak Spanish.'

fr03cd 064

È dè cher wan kayn cher min se è dè  
3SG.SBJ IPFV tear one kind tear mean QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
mek fallos dèn, faltas.  
make errors PL mistakes

'He "tears one kind of Spanish" means that he makes errors, mistakes.'

fr03cd 065

È dè cher wan kayn cher we mi yon  
3SG.SBJ IPFV tear one kind tear SUB 1SG.EMP own

Pànyá/.

Spanish

'He makes such serious mistakes where my own Spanish/.'

ye03cd 066

È tək se in nà poeta.  
3SG.SBJ talk QUOT 3SG.EMP LOC poet

'He said he's a poet.'

ye03cd 067

È kìn dè hib sòn poesia dèn, chico nɔ.  
3SG.SBJ HAB IPFV throw some poetry PL INTJ NEG

'He kicks some poetry, man really.'

ye03cd 068

Olinga kàmót fròn bə̀tón.  
NAME come.out from bottom

'Olinga comes from the bottom [has very modest origins].'

ko03cd 069

Bət nà in we pipul layk=àn nɔ.  
but FOC 3SG.EMP SUB people like=3SG.OBJ NEG

'But that's why people like him, right.'

fr03cd 070

Afta primera dama bay=àn wan mòtó, wan  
 then first lady buy=3SG.OBJ one car one  
 todo tereno, wan cuatro por cuatro, mek è  
 cross-country.vehicle one four-wheel.drive SBJV 3SG.SBJ  
 fit dè rich ɔl say soté nà Riaba.  
 can IPFV arrive all side until LOC PLACE

'Then the first lady bought him a car, a cross-country vehicle, a four-wheel drive so that he could reach all places even up to Riaba.'

fr03cd 071

Wan de wan pìkín bìn dè sik.  
 one day one child PST IPFV be.sick

'One day a child was sick.'

fr03cd 072

À no sàbí us=kayn tin bìn pas.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=kind thing PST happen

'I don't know what had happened.'

fr03cd 073

No, nà wan man, èhé wan accidente fò mòtó  
 NEG FOC one man exactly one accident ASS car  
 bìn de.  
 PST BE.AT

'No, it was a man, oh yes, there had been a car accident.'

fr03cd 074

À no sàbí us=tin bìn kan pas afta è go  
 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing PST PFV happen then 3SG.SBJ go  
 nà hospital.  
 LOC hospital

'I don't know what had happened for him to arrive at the hospital.'

fr03cd 075

Dì bɔy de de è don dè day.  
 DEF bɔy BE.AT there 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV die

'The guy [a casualty] was already dying.'

TEXTS

fr03cd 076

È put micrófono así, è se "los ultimos  
 3SG.SBJ put microfone so 3SG.SBJ QUOT the.PL last  
 suspiros, de un momento al otro se va a morir."  
 sighs of one moment to other self go to die

'He put the microfone like this his, he said "the last sighs, from one moment to another he'll die.'

fr03cd 077

Esto nà wan òda kòntri dèn gò pul yu  
 this LOC one other country 3PL POT remove 2SG.EMP  
 inmediatamente, dèn dè pul yu wok.  
 immediately 3PL IPFV remove 2SG.EMP work

'This is in another country, they would remove you immediately, they would remove you from work.'

ye03cd 078

Man dòn diaboliza.  
 man PRF diabolise

'People have diabolised (him/it).'

fr03cd 079

Chico, yù no bring mi glas?  
 INTJ 2SG NEG bring 1SG.EMP glas

'Man, you haven't brought me a glass?'

fr03cd 080

Lef=àn, à gò chòp, afta à gò drink.  
 leave=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ POT eat then 1SG.SBJ POT drink

'Leave it, I'll eat, then I'll drink.'

ye03cd 081

Yù no sàbí nà mi kuk?  
 2SG NEG know FOC 1SG.EMP cook

'You don't know it's me who cooked?'

fr03cd 082

Bòyé sàbí kuk?  
 NAME know cook

'Bòyé knows how to cook?'

fr03cd 083

Us=kayn tin è kuk?  
 Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ cook

‘What did he cook?’

fr03cd 084

È kìn tray naw?  
 3SG.SBJ HAB try now

‘So he’s making an effort now?’

fr03cd 085

Us=kayn tin è kuk, frày-res?  
 Q=kind thing 3SG.SBJ cook fry.CPD-rice

‘What did he cook, fried rice?’

dj03cd 086

È kìn kuk sup.  
 3SG.SBJ HAB cook soup

‘He cooks soups.’

fr03cd 087

Us=kayn sup?  
 Q=kind soup

‘Which kind of soups?’

dj03cd 088

Maluka.  
 maluka

‘Maluka’

fr03cd 089

Maluka è no bìn tu drə, pàntáp diez,  
 maluka 3SG.SBJ NEG PST too draw on ten

us=kayn nota yù gò gi=àn?  
 Q=kind mark 2SG POT give=3SG.OBJ

‘The maluka, wasn’t it too sticky, out of ten which mark would you give him?’

dj03cd 090

Cuatro con cinco.  
 four with five

‘Four out of five.’

TEXTS

ye03cd 091

In tɛl yu se pàntóp cinco ò pàntóp diez,  
 3SG.EMP tell 2SG.EMP QUOT on five or on ten  
 yù dè gi mi cuatro con cinco.  
 2SG IPFV give 1SG.EMP four with five

'Did she tell you out of five or out of ten, (and) you're giving me four over five.'

fr03cd 092

Èhé, dan wan min se us=wan nà dī escala?  
 exactly that one mean QUOT Q=one LOC DEF scale

'Exactly, that means which one [of the two] is the scale?'

ye03cd 093

Dī tɔp, dī nota máxima nà diez, entonces yù dè  
 DEF top DEF mark highest FOC ten so 2SG IPFV  
 gi mi cuatro con cinco.  
 give 1SG.EMP four with five

'The top, the highest mark is ten, and you give me four over five.'

ye03cd 094

No wì dè conversa, no veks Djunais.  
 NEG 1PL IPFV converse NEG be.angry NAME

'No, we're conversing, don't be angry Djunais.'

dj03cd 095

À nɔ dè veks.  
 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV be.angry

'I'm not angry.'

ye03cd 096

Wì dè conversa nà tebul.  
 1PL IPFV converse LOC table

'We're conversing at the table.'

ye03cd 097

À no fit keri yu restaurante bikɔs se yù  
 1SG.SBJ NEG can carry 2SG.EMP restaurant because QUOT 2SG  
 gò fet wèt sòn pɔsin de.  
 POT fight with some person there

'I can't take you to a restaurant because you would fight with somebody there.'

fr03cd 098

Wetin yù dè tɔk/  
 what 2SG IPFV talk

'What are you talking/ [music from below drowns the recording for a few minutes].

ye03cd 099

Gabriel è gɛt jege.  
 NAME 3SG.SBJ get ?

'Gabriel has a "jege".'

fr03cd 100

Us=kayn tin nà jege?  
 Q=kind thing FOC ?

'What's a "jege"?'

ye03cd 101

È gɛt sɔ̀n, sɔ̀n smɔ̀l jege insay ìn yay so.  
 3SG.SBJ get some some small ? inside 3SG.POSS eye so

'He has a, a small "jege" inside his eye like that.'

fr03cd 102

Us=kayn tin nà jege?  
 Q= kind thing LOC ?

'What's "jege"?'

dj03cd 103

Dan wayt tin we è de nà ìn yay.  
 that white thing SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC 3SG.POSS eye

'That white thing that's in his eye.'

ye03cd 104

Sɔ̀n tin dè tapa ìn retina.  
 some thing IPFV cover 3SG.POSS retina

'Something covers his retina.'

dj03cd 105

Nɔ̀, wan accidente we è bìn gɛt.  
 NEG one accident SUB 3SG.SBJ PST get

'No, it's an accident that he had.'



TEXTS

ye03cd 106

Wan yay de blanco, è no dè si.  
 one eye BE.AT white 3SG.SBJ NEG IPFV see

'One eye is white, it doesn't see.'

fr03cd 107

Mí no fija in.  
 1SG.EMP NEG notice 3SG.EMP

'I didn't notice it.'

ye03cd 108

Yù get fò fija in.  
 2SG get ASS notice 3SG.EMP

'One has to notice it.'

ye03cd 109

È dè para nà dan in yay bòkú bad.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV stand LOC that 3SG.EMP eye much extremely

'It sits there in his eye real bad.'

ye03cd 110

Èhé, us=tin wì gò tók fò Gabriel?  
 exactly Q=thing 1PL POT talk ASS NAME

'Exactly, what are we going to say to Gabriel?'

fr03cd 111

Tumoro, lèk haw yù tók wèt Buehu, yù kòl mi,  
 tomorrow like how 2SG talk with NAME 2SG call 1SG.EMP  
 if yù tók wèt=àn ò yù no tók wèt=àn.  
 if 2SG talk with=3SG.OBJ or 2SG NEG talk with=3SG.OBJ

'Tomorrow, as soon as you've talked to Buehu, you call me, whether you talk to him or you don't talk to him.'

fr03cd 112

If yù no tók wèt=àn, yù kòl mi, dan ten  
 if 2SG NEG talk with=3SG.OBJ 2SG call 1SG.EMP that time  
 yù gò get fò kan nà wok, mek à gi  
 2SG POT get ASS comeloc work SBJV 1SG.SBJ give  
 yu wan cheque, mek yù go tek mòní fò bay  
 2SG.EMP one cheque SBJV 2SG go take money ASS buy

dì bloques dèn we dèn ləf.  
 DEF bricks PL SUB 3PL remain

'If you don't talk to him, you call me, then you'll have to come to work, so that I give you a cheque, in order for you to go get money to buy the remaining bricks.'

fr03cd 113

Afta yù fò pe dən.  
 then 2SG ASS pay 3PL.EMP

'Then you have to pay them.'

fr03cd 114

Sòn bloques dèn ləf we dèn ɣət fò monta nɔ?  
 some bricks PL remain SUB 3PL get ASS mount NEG

'Some bricks remain that have to built up, right?'

fr03cd 115

Pero è bìn təl mi se mek à bay  
 but 3SG.SBJ PST tell 1SG.EMP QUOT SBJV 1SG.SBJ buy

cuarenta bloques.  
 forty bricks

'But he told me to buy forty bricks.'

ye03cd 116

Yes cuarenta.  
 yes forty

'Yes forty.'

fr03cd 117

Entonces fò monta ɔl dì bəf-rum, è  
 so ASS mount all DEF bathe.CPD-ROOM 3SG.SBJ  
 bìn təl mi se nà cuarenta mil fò dì wok  
 PST tell 1SG.EMP QUOT FOC forty thousand ASS DEF work  
 wèt dì bloques dèn we dèn ləf.  
 with DEF bricks PL SUB 3PL remain

'So in order to build up the whole bathroom, he had told me that it's forty thousand for the work with the remaining bricks.'

fr03cd 118

Dan ten tumɔro, èf yù no kan si dan man, mek  
 that time tomorrow if 2SG NEG PFV see that man SBJV

TEXTS

à kan mek à gi yu di m̀nı́.  
 1SG.SBJ come SBJV 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.EMP DEF money

'By that time tomorrow, if you don't see that man, let me come and give you the money.'

ye03cd 119

Mek à gi yu di cheque mek yu go  
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ give 2SG.EMP DEF cheque SBJV 2SG.EMP go

nà banco yù go cobra.  
 LOC bank 2SG go receive

'Let me give you the cheque so that you go to the bank and receive (the money).'

ye03cd 120

Afta ùna bay di bloques d̀en tuməro.  
 then 2PL buy DEF bricks PL tomorrow

'Then you [PL] buy the bricks tomorrow.'

dj03cd 121

Nà ìn fes, nà ìn hed, si=àn!  
 LOC 3SG.POSS face LOC 3SG.POSS head see=3SG.OBJ

[Comments on the effects of the pepper (ye) has just tried] 'In his face, in his head, look at him!'

ye03cd 122

Tək bifó di/  
 talk before DEF

[unintelligible].

'Talk in front of/ (...)

ye03cd 123

Sı o no?  
 yes or NEG

'Yes or no?'

ye03cd 124

Yù no hia we à tɛl Pancho se quiero cocinar?  
 2SG NEG hear SUB 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT I.want cook

'Didn't you hear when I told Pancho that I wanted to cook?'

ye03cd 125

Djunais tək tru!  
 NAME talk true

'Djunais tell the truth!'

ye03cd 126

Soté à tɛl Djunais se put mi wèt Pancho,  
 until 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT put 1SG.EMP with NAME  
 wì gò chɔp wan say.  
 1PL POT eat one side

'I even told Djunais to put [dish the food] for me and Pancho, we'll eat in one place.'

ye03cd 127

Porque à chek se/  
 because 1SG.SBJ think QUOT

'Because I thought that/.'

fr03cd 128

Porque ɛni tɛn we mi dè kɔl/ è no get  
 because every time SUB 1SG.EMP IPFV call 3SG.SBJ NEG get  
 móvil mɔ?  
 mobile more

'Because anytime that I call/ doesn't he have a mobile-phone anymore?'

ye03cd 129

Us=nɔmba yù get fɔ dan móvil?  
 Q=number 2SG get ASS that mobile

'Which number do you have in that [your] mobile?'

ye03cd 130

Yù no si dan gal dè chench, è dè  
 2SG NEG see that girl IPFV change 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 chench-chench dan nɔmba dɛn lèk terrorista we è  
 RED.CPD-change that number PL like terrorist SUB 3SG.SBJ  
 no want mek dɛn kech=àn.  
 NEG want SBJV 3PL catch=3SG.OBJ

'Don't you see that girl [referring to speaker (fr)] changes, she constantly changes those numbers like a terrorist who doesn't want to be caught.'

ye03cd 131

Wetin yù dè chench-chench nɔmba dɛn so?  
 what 2SG IPFV RED.CPD-change number PL so

'Why are you constantly changing numbers like that?'

TEXTS

ye03cd 132

No drink wàtá, no drink wàtá, yù gò siente  
 NEG drink water NEG drink water 2SG POT feel  
 in bad, à tɛl yu.  
 3SG.EMP extremely 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP

[Addresses speaker (dj) who is drinking tap water] ‘Don’t drink water, don’t drink water, you’ll feel it real bad, I tell you.’

ye03cd 133

À dè tɛl yu, yù gò si naw yù no gò  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV tell 2SG.EMP 2SG POT see now 2SG NEG POT  
 finis dan wàtá.  
 finish that water

‘I’m telling you, you’ll see now you won’t finish that water.’

ye03cd 134

À bìn want intenta drink wàtá.  
 1SG.SBJ PST want intend drink water

‘I had wanted to try to drink water.’

dj03cd 135

Mi nɔto yu.  
 1SG.EMP NEG.FOC 2SG.EMP

‘I’m not you.’

ye03cd 136

Si, si, è fiba vɔmit, yù dè si?  
 see see 3SG.SBJ resemble vomit 2SG IPFV see

‘See, see, it [the water] seems like vomit, you see?’

ye03cd 137

À dè tɛl yu, è fiba vɔmit insay  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV tell 2SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ resemble vomit inside  
 ìn mɔt naw.  
 3SG.POSS mouth now

‘I’m telling you, it seems like vomit inside his mouth now.’

dj03cd 138

Yù de bad èn.  
 2SG BE.AT bad INTJ

‘You’re sick, really,’

ye03cd 139

È de lèke se yù dè drink ácido.  
 3SG.SBJ BE.AT like QUOT 2SG IPFV drink acid

'It's as if you're drinking acid.'

ye03cd 140

Haw yù siente dan wàtá?  
 how 2SG feel that water

'How does that water feel to you?'

dj03cd 141

È kìn tayt mì bèlé naw so, chàkrá dan  
 3SG.SBJ HAB be.tight 1SG.POSS belly now so destroy that  
 pasta sməl, yù no gò win mi.  
 paste a.bit 2SG NEG POT win 1SG.EMP

'It tightens my stomach like this, shakes up that pap [which is being served for dinner] a bit, you won't defeat me.'

dj03cd 142

Yù no fit.  
 2SG NEG can

'You can't.'

ye03cd 143

Ho, dan man gò du vomit tìdé, è no gò slip.  
 INTJ thatman POT do vomit today 3SG.SBJneg POT sleep

'Ho, that man (dj) will vomit today, he won't sleep.'

ye03cd 144

À gò tɛl Pancho se wì dè mek banquete.  
 1SG.SBJ POT tell NAME QUOT 1PL IPFV make banquet

'I'll tell Pancho [who's not present] that we were having a banquet.'

ye03cd 145

Dan kayn tin, yù cuenta Pancho dan kayn tin/.  
 that kind thing 2SG narrate NAME that kind thing

'That kind of thing, if you tell Pancho that kind of thing/.'

dj03cd 146

È kìn vɛks bad.  
 3SG.SBJ HAB be.angry extremely

TEXTS

'He gets really angry [for being left out of the dinner].'

ye03cd 147

Tidé è kan è se, "à tink se à gò  
 today 3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 1SG.SBJ POT  
 finis ol dì reste."  
 finish all DEF rest

'Today he came and said "I think I'm going to finish all the rest [of the food]."'

dj03cd 148

È dè fògét se Rubi nòba chòp.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV forget QUOT NAME NEG.PRF eat

'He was forgetting that Rubi hadn't eaten yet.'

ye03cd 149

È tɛl=àn se "pàpá mi nea chòp  
 3SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT father 1SG.EMP NEG.PRF eat  
 mi senwe."  
 1SG.EMP FOC

'He [Rubi] told him [Pancho] "please, I myself haven't eaten yet."'

ye03cd 150

Se "chico, dì tin no gò du mi."  
 QUOT INTJ DEF thingneg POT do 1SG.EMP

'[Pancho] said "man, this won't do for me.'

ye03cd 151

À tɛl Pancho se "yù no lɛk yù sɛf."  
 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT 2SG NEG like 2SG self

'I said to Pancho "you don't like yourself [should be ashamed of yourself]."'

ye03cd 152

"Mi wèt Rubi wì mek jwèn-jwèn, wì bay  
 1SG.EMP with NAME 1PL make RED.CPD-join 1PL buy  
 pia, wì bay sàdín, wì bay tomates, wì  
 avocado 1PL buy sardine 1PL buy tomatoes 1PL  
 desayuno."  
 breakfast

"Me and Rubi, we teamed up, we bought avocados, we bought sardine, we bought tomatoes (and) we had breakfast."

ye03cd 153

Pancho dè luk mi so.  
 NAME IPFV look 1SG.EMP so

'Pancho was looking at me like this.'

fr03cd 154

Mòní no de dòn mǎ?  
 money NEG BE.AT down more

'Is there no money left down (there) [for your daily expenses]?'

ye03cd 155

È no de mǎ.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG BE.AT more

'None is left.'

fr03cd 156

Veinte mil we bìn dòn finis?  
 twenty thousand SUB PST PRF finish

'Twenty thousand (that) have already finished?'

ju03cd 157

Dèn ǎl finis.  
 3PL all finish

'They've already finished.'

fr03cd 158

Pero a penas dos semanas we yù bìn tɛl mi  
 but barely two weeks SUB 2SG PST tell 1SG.EMP  
 se yù nid à put veinte mil dòn.  
 QUOT 2SG need 1SG.SBJ put twenty thousand down

'But (it's) barely two weeks (ago) that you told me that you needed me to put twenty thousand down for you.'

ye03cd 159

Nà yu bìn tɛl mi.  
 FOC 2SG.EMP PST tell 1SG.EMP

'It was you who told me.'

ye03cd 160

Bueno, ùna bring mi dì pepa.  
 alright 2PL bring 1SG.EMP DEF paper



TEXTS

'Alright bring me the paper.'

ye03cd 161

Porque en dos semanas mek veinte mil finis.  
because in two weeks make twenty thousand finish

'Because to make twenty thousand finish in two weeks.'

fr03cd 162

Haw mōch ùna dè tek por día?  
how much 2PL IPFV take by day

'How much do you take [spend] per day?'

dj03cd 163

À gò bring dì pepa.  
1SG.SBJ POT bring DEF paper

'I'll bring the paper.'

ye03cd 164

"Mek yù tɛl dɛn se fɔ̃ mi, ɛni de ɛf yù  
SBJV 2SG tell 3PL.EMP QUOT ASS 1SG.EMP every day if 2SG  
dè tek un kilo, è du."  
IPFV take one kilo 3SG.SBJ do

[Continues quoting Pancho] "Tell them that for me, every day, if you take one kilo, it's enough."

dj03cd 165

"Dì de we yù si beta chɔp yù dè chɔp fayn."  
DEF day SUB 2SG see very.good food 2SG IPFV food fine

[Quotes his inner speech to Pancho] "The day [when] you find good food, you eat well.'

dj03cd 166

Dì de we pɛpɛ no de insay pɔt "à no dè  
DEF day SUB pepper NEG BE.AT inside POT 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV  
chɔp di porcería!"  
food this mess

[Continues quoting his inner speech to Pancho] "The day [when] there is no pepper in the pot (you say) "I won't eat this mess."

ye03cd 167

À tɛl yu se ùna dè pik pɛpɛ aunque nà  
1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.EMP QUOT 2PL IPFV pick pepper even LOC  
bus, è gò chɔp əl kayn tin ɛf è get pɛpɛ  
forest 3SG.SBJ POT eat all kind thing if 3SG.SBJ get pepper

'I tell you, you could pick pepper like in the forest, he would any kind of thing if it has pepper.'

ye03cd 168

Yéstàdé            à           kuk mi           senwe, al final à           go chòp.  
yesterday           1SG.SBJ   cook 1SG.EMP FOC           finally 1SG.SBJ go eat

'Yesterday I cooked myself (and) finally I ate.'

ye03cd 169

Nà Pancho dèn      bìn      dè      combate in           de  
FOC NAME PL       PST      IPFV fight 3SG.EMP there

mōnin tēn.  
morning time

'It's Pancho they were having an argument with there in the morning.'

ye03cd 170

Si, nà so mi       sef kìn de we à           kìn kuk.  
see FOC SO 1SG.EMP FOC HAB BE.AT SUB 1SG.SBJ HAB cook

'(You) see that's how I am, too, when I cook.'

ye03cd 171

Bòt we pōsin dè kuk in       senwe 'chip'.  
but SUB person IPFV cook 3SG.EMP FOC SKT

'But when somebody cooks himself, "chip".'

ye03cd 172

À bigín           dè pìca-pica,           wì fray patata, wì  
1SG.SBJ begin       IPFV RED.CPD-cut.up 1PL fry potato 1PL

fray plàntí.  
fry plantain

'I began to cut up (the trimmings), we fried potatoes, we fried plantain.'

fr03cd 173

Ùna bìn tāk wèt Pancho?  
2PL PST talk with NAME

'Did you talk to Pancho?'

ye03cd 174

Wì dōn tāk wèt=àn.  
1PL PRF talk with=3SG.OBJ

'We've talked to him.'

TEXTS

fr03cd 175

Bòt wetin à bìn gi yu dan fax?  
 but what 1SG.SBJ PST give 2SG.EMP that fax

'But (then) what did I give you that fax for?'

ye03cd 176

Dan de à bit Pancho, à bit=àn à  
 that day 1SG.SBJ beat NAME 1SG.SBJ beat=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ  
 tɛl=àn se/ soté à tɛl=àn se "ɛf yù  
 tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT until 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT if 2SG  
 want, à dè alquila yu tàksí, yù  
 want 1SG.SBJ IPFV rent 2SG.EMP taxi 2SG  
 sube ɔp, è saful."  
 go.up up 3SG.SBJ go.smoothly

'That day I beat Pancho, I beat him and told him that/ I even told him that "if you want I'll rent you a taxi, you drive up, (and) it's cool (like that).'

ye03cd 177

"À dè gi yu quinientos," à tɛl dì  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV give 2SG.EMP fifteen 1SG.SBJ tell DEF  
 tàksi-man se "arriba a mì casa."  
 taxi.CPD-man QUOT up to 1SG.POSS house

[I told Pancho] "I'll give you five hundred," I told the taxi driver "up to my house."

ye03cd 178

Bòkú mòtó dèn de ya so, à no no se  
 much car PL BE.AT here so 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT  
 Pancho mek lèke se è dè sube bìhén we  
 NAME make like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind SUB  
 è baja mɔ.  
 3SG.SBJ go.down more

'(Because) there were many cars there, I didn't know that Pancho pretended to go up behind and then went down again.'

## Conversation: On sun glasses

The text below is the transcription of a brief conversation captured on video. It features the discourse participants Bòyé (ye), Nenuko (ne) and Lage (ge). The style is informal and jovial. It involves peer-to-peer communication and is decidedly male in its orientation. The text opens with an anecdote by (ye) from his secondary school time (001)-(005). Having heard from a classmate that the President of Equatorial Guinea (Obiang Nguema) could supposedly see people naked through the pair of dark sunglasses that he wore in public (002), (ye) decides to ask his mother to get him such a pair on one of her trips abroad (003).

In what follows, (ne) and (ye) carry the idea further. Of course, the implicit idea is that it would allow them to see the opposite sex naked in the streets. The ensuing conversation is of particular interest because it contains a number of linguistic forms that serve to express emphatic, emotionally involved speech in Pichi. It involves the generous use of emphatic prosodic features such as extra-high pitch, indicated by double acute accents in the text (*blāk* ‘really dark’ (001); *slīp* ‘sleep’ (010), *pēn* ‘pain’ (015) and the entire sentence (012)), vowel lengthening (*eyé* ‘INTJ’ (008), *ɔl* ‘all’ (012)) and increased volume (sentences (009)-(010), (015), (017)-(018)).

At the segmental level, we find additional defining elements of emphatic speech like interjections (*por Dios* ‘by God’ (003), *eyé* ‘good gracious’ (008), the term of address and interjection *cuñado* ‘brother(-in-law)’ (010), the sentence particle *ò* ‘SP’ (010)). Further, the conversation features two cognate objects (*swit* ‘be tasty’ (006) and *day* ‘die’ (016)). The emphatic style of the text also transpires in the use of irrealis modality marking signalled by *gò* ‘POT’ in (009), (011) and (015); *dè* ‘IPFV’ in (010) and factative marking in (012) and (016)-(017). The hypothetical frame provides a backdrop to the boastful self-expression that characterises the conversation from (007) onwards.

The video recording also reveals specific kinetic events that are characteristic for emphatic and self-expressive peer-to-peer communication in Pichi speech culture. For example, (ye) accompanies his interjection in (008) by a movement of the head and torso away from the speaker (ne). Equally, (ne) underlines his comment in (009) by getting up, walking briefly past (ye) and returning to sit on his stool, while laughing intensely. Both motion events are variations of what I assume to be an areal West African kinetic figure employed in certain genres of informal, interactional communication. In this figure, a person abruptly turns away from the group during a communicative peak (i.e. after the punch line of a joke or an anecdote), describes a circular movement away from the group and joins it again after a brief moment, usually accompanied by laughing.

ye07ga 001

|         |         |      |          |        |                |         |      |      |
|---------|---------|------|----------|--------|----------------|---------|------|------|
| À       | se,     | wan  | mì       | kɔmpin | nɔ,            | è       | bìn  | dè   |
| 1SG.SBJ | QUOT    | one  | 1SG.POSS | friend | NEG            | 3SG.SBJ | PST  | IPFV |
| tɛl     | mi      | se/  | yù       | si     | Obiang Nguema, | dan     | tɛn  |      |
| tell    | 1SG.EMP | QUOT | 2SG      | see    | NAME..... NAME | that    | time |      |

TEXTS

è dè wɛr sòn gafas dèn we dèn blák.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV wear some glasses 3PL SUB 3PL be.black

'I say one of my friends, right, he was telling me that/ you see Obiang Nguema, that time he was wearing some glasses that were really dark.'

ye07ga 002

È se "dèn bìn tɛl mi se, we è kìn de  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3PL PST tell 1SG.EMP QUOT SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.AT  
 nà estadio so, yù de nà estadio, dèn dè mek  
 LOC stadion like.that 2SG BE.AT LOC stadion 3PL IPFV make  
 Copa de su Excelencia, dèn se dan gafa, è  
 President's.Cup 3PL QUOT that glasses 3SG.SBJ  
 dè si ɔl man nekɛd."  
 IPFV see all man be.naked

'He [my friend] said when he's in the stadion like that," (when) you're in the stadion (and) they're doing the President's Cup , they say (with) those glasses, he sees everybody naked.'

ye07ga 003

Nà in wan de à bìn tɛl wan grand frère  
 FOC 3SG.EMP one day 1SG.SBJ PST tell one big brother  
 nà, nà m̀i colegio de, à tɛl=àn se  
 LOC LOC 1SG.POSS college there 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT  
 "m̀i mà má dè viaja bòkú, à gò tray mek  
 1SG.POSS mother IPFV travel much 1SG.SBJ POT try SBJV  
 è bay mi dan kayn gafas por Dios."  
 3SG.SBJ buy 1SG.EMP that kind glasses by God

'That's why one day, I told one of my seniors in, in my secondary school there, I told him "my mother travels a lot, I'll try to have her buy that kind of glasses for me by God".'

ye07ga 004

À want dè si ɔl man nekɛd.  
 1SG.SBJ want IPFV see all man be.naked

'I want to be seeing everybody naked.' [laughter]

ye07ga 005

À want de lèk Obiang Nguema.  
 1SG.SBJ want BE.AT like NAME

'I want to be like Obiang Nguema.'

ye07ga 006

Dan tòrí bìn dè swit mi wan swit.  
 that story PST IPFV be.tasty 1SG.EMP one be.tasty

'I was really enjoying that story.'

ne07ga 007

À fit se if yù consigue gafas we/ yù gò  
 1SG.SBJ can QUOT if 2SG obtain glasses SUB 2SG POT  
 wək nà rod.  
 walk LOC road

'I can tell you if you obtained glasses which/ you would walk on the road.'

ye07ga 008

Eyé [éjé:].

INTJ

'Good gracious.'

ne07ga 009

Dan gafa yù gò slíp wèt=àn.  
 that glasses 2SG POT sleep with=3SG.OBJ

'Those glasses, you would sleep with them.'

ye07ga 010

À dè slip wèt=àn cuñado.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV sleep with=3SG.OBJ brother-in-law

'I would sleep with them brother.' [laughter]

ye07ga 011

À gò pul=àn nà mì yay se wetin?  
 1SG.SBJ POT remove=3SG.OBJ LOC 1SG.POSS eye QUOT what

'I would remove them from my eyes for what?'

ye07ga 012

À wánt de flipado ɔl awa, ɔl [ɔ:l] awa.  
 1SG.SBJ want BE.AT turned.on all hour all hour

'I would want to be turned on all the time, all the time.'

ye07ga 013

ɔl awa.  
 all hour

'All the time.'

ne07ga 014

À se, nà fò tək fò dan/.  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT FOC ASS talk ASS that

TEXTS

'I say, one has to talk about that/.

ne07ga 015

Yù gò las si sòn nekəd we nà in gò  
2SG POT end.up seesome be.naked SUB FOC 3SG.EMP POT  
mek mek yù yai pěn ò.  
make SBJV 2SG eye pain SP

'You'll end up seeing some (kind of) nakedness that will really make your eyes pain.'

ne07ga 016

Ey, dan kayn spétikul à day day.  
INTJ that kind glasses 1SG.SBJ die death

'That kind of glasses, I would really die.'

ne07ga 017

We yù tɛl human, "luk ði wan, yù want tək wèt  
SUB 2SG tell woman look DEF one 2SG want talk with  
mi?"  
1SG.EMP

'And you would say to a women, "look at this one, you (actually) want to talk to me [now I have seen all of you]?'

ye07ga 018

Yu, yu?  
2SG.EMP 2SG.EMP

You, you?' [laughter]

ne07ga 019

Kòmót!  
go.out  
'get lost!'

ye07ga 020

Àa, kòmót de!  
INTJ go.out BE.AT

'Just get lost there!'

ye07ga 021

Fuera!  
outside  
'Out!'

la07ga 022

Te van a matar.  
you they.will to kill

'They [the women] will kill you.'



## Routine procedure: Preparing corn-porridge

Below follows a procedural text in which Djunais (dj) explains to me (ko) and Lage (ge) how to prepare *ogi* ‘corn porridge’. The text features the type of TMA marking characteristic for this narrative genre. Procedural texts may exhibit more than other genres, the regular use of factative TMA marking (bare verbs) in order to describe routine procedures and when giving instructions (e.g. (001)-(005)). Likewise the text contains many instances of bare, non-initial verbs typical of clause chaining (e.g. *tròwé=àn* ‘pour=3SG.OBJ’ (040) *bìgín* (043) and *put=àn* ‘put=3SG.OBJ’ (051)).

A second way of expressing (hypothetical) routines appears in (018)-(020). Here the potential mood marker *gò* ‘POT’ is used when (dj) briefly digresses to compare the preparation of *ogi* with that of rice porridge. The text also contains a few instances of unexpressed subjects (*sifta* ‘sift’ (007), *fit* ‘can’ (008)) as well as a brief conversation (021)-(034) after which (dj) quickly turns back to describing the cooking:

ko03do 001

Djunais    à            bɛg        explica    mi.  
NAME     1SG.SBJ   ask.for   explain   1SG.EMP

‘Djunais, please explain to me [how to prepare maize porridge].’

dj03do 002

À            raya   dì,        dì,        dì        maíz/.  
1SG.SBJ   grate   DEF     DEF     DEF     corn

‘I grate(d) the, the corn/.’

ge03do 003

Yù   tek   dì   maíz   yù   hol=àn.  
2SG  take   DEF   corn   2SG   hold=3SG.OBJ

‘You take the corn and hold it.’

dj03do 004

À            raya   in        wèt        rayador.  
1SG.SBJ   grate   3SG.EMP   with     grater

‘I grate it with a a grater.’

dj03do 005

We   à            raya   in,        à        sifta   in.  
SUB   1SG.SBJ   grate   3SG.EMP   1SG.SBJ   sift   3SG.EMP

‘When I have grated it, I sift it.’

dj03do 006

ɔl dan wàtá dèn à no dè put dɛn insay.  
 all that water PL 1SG.SBJ NEG IPFV put 3PL.EMP inside

'All that water, I don't put it inside.'

dj03do 007

Sifta, we à dɔn sifta in, è dè lɛf  
 sift SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF sift 3SG.EMP 3SG.SBJ IPFV remain  
 wèt dì wàtá.  
 with DEF water

'Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it remains with the water.'

dj03do 008

Fit sifta in soté tu tɛn mek mek dan  
 can sift 3SG.EMP until two time make SBJV that  
 smɔl smɔl wàtá dèn no lɛf.  
 small REP water PL NEG remain

'(You) can sift it up to two times to make that little bit of water not remain.'

dj03do 009

Sòn de yet sɛf we à no mek, entonces dan  
 some BE.AT yet FOC SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG make so that  
 wan we lɛf, ùna fit kɛr=àn go aunque insay  
 one SUB remain 2PL can carry=3SG.OBJ go like inside  
 wan botul fɔ wan mineral ùna put=àn, nà  
 one bottle ASS one mineral 2PL put=3SG.OBJ LOC

congelador.  
 fridge

'Some still remains that I didn't make, so that one that remains, you [PL] can put it inside a mineral (water) bottle and put it into the fridge.'

dj03do 010

We yù dè mek=àn nà hos, jɔs tek=àn  
 SUB 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC house just take=3SG.OBJ  
 put=àn nà pɔt aunque wan tasa so.  
 put=3SG.OBJ LOC POT like one cup like.that

'When you make it at home, just (take it and put it into a pot, approximately one cup or so.'

dj03do 011

If yù dè mek=àn so è gò bòkú pero  
 if 2SG IPFV make=3SG.OBJ so 3SG.SBJ POT become.much but

TEXTS

nà so è get fò de.  
 foc like.that 3SG.SBJ get ASS BE.AT

'If you do it like that it will be(come) much but that's how it has to be.'

dj03do 012

We à raya in, à mek=àn, put dì pòt  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ grate 3SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ make=3SG.OBJ put DEF pot  
 nà faya wèt smòl wàtà, à bìgín dè put dan  
 LOC fire with small water 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV put that  
 mezcla de soté è de so senwe.  
 mixture there until 3SG.SBJ BE.AT like.that FOC

'When I grated it, I make it, (I) put the POT on the fire with a bit of water, I begin to put that mixture in there until it is just like this.'

dj03do 013

Igual sef wèt dì wan fò rəs.  
 equal FOC with DEF one ASS rice

'The same with the one (made) with rice.'

ko03do 014

So wan de fò rəs sef?  
 so one BE.AT ASS rice FOC

'So there's one made with rice, too?'

ko03do 015

Nà dì sen fasin fò du=àn?  
 FOC DEF same manner ASS do=3SG.OBJ

'Is it done the same way?'

dj03do 016

Yù/ rəs, yù dè bit=àn.  
 2SG rice 2SG IPFV beat=3SG.OBJ

'You/ as for rice, you beat it.'

dj03do 017

Bit=àn yù mek=àn so sef.  
 beat=3SG.OBJ 2SG make=3SG.OBJ like.that FOC

'(You) beat it (and) make just like this.'

ko03do 018

So yù gò bit dì rəs?  
 so 2SG POT beat DEF rice

‘So you beat the rice?’

dj03do 019

Yù gò moja dì rəs nà wàtá, fò tìdé, tu de,  
 2SG POT soak DEF rice LOC water ASS today two day

lèk haw yù want nɔ, dì de yù dè calcula se  
 like how 2SG want NEG DEF day 2SG IPFV calculate QUOT

yù want chɔp=àn.  
 2SG want eat=3SG.OBJ

‘You soak it in water, for today [one day], two days, as you want, right, the (number of) days you calculate that you want to eat it.’

dj03do 020

Yù want chɔp=àn tu de afta, yù gò  
 2SG want eat=3SG.OBJ two day then 2SG POT

mek=àn mek è de nà wàtá.  
 make=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.AT LOC water

‘(If) you want to eat it two days afterwards, you make it be in the water [for that time].’

ko03do 021

Us=say yù lan fò kuk?  
 Q=side 2SG learn ASS cook

‘Where did you learn to cook?’

dj03do 022

À go skul.  
 1SG.SBJ go school

‘I went to school.’

dj03do 023

À go skul pero əl dì sməl tin dèn  
 1SG.SBJ go school but all DEF small thing PL

ya so nà tin dèn we mi dè mek=àn nà  
 here like.that LOC thing PL SUB 1SG.EMP IPFV make=3SG.OBJ LOC

hos.

house

‘I went to school but all the small things here are things that I make at home.’

dj03do 024

Pero, sita bìn de nɔ, mà má.  
 but mother PST BE.AT NEG mother

TEXTS

'But "sita" was (still) around [alive], right, mother.'

dj03do 025

Porque nà mi mi dè prepara ol tin.  
 because FOC 1SG.EMP 1SG.EMP IPFV prepare all thing

'Because it's me, I prepare everything.'

ko03do 026

Yù human gò gladin.  
 2SG woman POT be.glad

'Your wife will be happy.'

ko03do 027

Nà Djunais gò kuk fò ìn fambul.  
 FOC NAME POT cookass 3SG.POSS family

'It's Djunais who'll cook for his family.'

ko03do 028

Rubi go Lùbá?  
 NAME go PLACE

'Did Rubi go to Lùbá?'

dj03do 029

Yéstàdé.  
 yesterday

'Yesterday.'

ge03do 030

Udat, Rubi?  
 who NAME

'Who, Rubi?'

ko03do 031

Us=de è gò tòn bak?  
 Q=day 3SG.SBJ POT turn back

'When will he return?'

dj03do 032

È fit kan tumara.  
 3SG.SBJ can come tomorrow

'He might come tomorrow.'

ge03do 033

È go wèt ìn màamá?  
 3SG.SBJ go with 3SG.POSS mother

'Did he go with his mother.'

dj03do 034

Wèt ìn sməl brōda.  
 with 3SG.POSS small brother

'With his little brother.'

dj03do 035

À se dis tin ya so, èf dì kɔn bìn bòkú  
 1SG.SBJ QUOT this thing here like.that if DEF corn PST be.much  
 lèk, dì wàtá naw so, dì wàtá/  
 like DEF water now like that DEF water

'I say this thing right here, if the corn was a lot like, the water now, the water/'

ge03do 036

Dan tin nà dì pasta.  
 that thing FOC DEF paste

'That is the paste.'

dj03do 037

Dì pasta yes.  
 DEF paste yes

'The paste, yes.'

dj03do 038

Nà dì tin, nà in à nid fò mek dì pasta  
 FOC DEF thing FOC 3SG.EMP 1SG.SBJ need ASS make DEF paste  
 porque dèn dè sɛl=àn simple so.  
 because 3PL IPFV sell=3SG.OBJ simple like.that

'That's it, that's what I need to make the paste because it [the flour] is sold simple like that.'

dj03do 039

Yù fò tròwé dì wàtá ya so, nà haw so dì tin  
 2SG ASS pour DEF water here like.that FOC how like.that DEF thing  
 bìn fò lɛf bətón.  
 PST ASS remain bottom

'You have to pour this water here away, that's how the thing should have remained at the bottom.'

TEXTS

dj03do 040

Pero è bìn fò lɛf b̀̀kú se de tal forma  
 but 3SG.SBJ PST ASS remain much QUOT of so form  
 que sí, à fit tek dì ẁ̀tá à tr̀̀wé=àn,  
 that yes 1SG.SBJ can take DEF water 1SG.SBJ pour=3SG.OBJ  
 lɛf dì pan nà san, è dray è lɛf l̀̀kɛ  
 leave DEF pan LOC sun 3SG.SBJ be.dry 3SG.SBJ remain like  
 g̀̀rì naw.  
 gari now

‘But enough should have remained in such way that, yes, I can take the water and pour it away, leave the pan in the sun, (and then) it dries and remains like gari now.’

ko03do 041

Nà so à s̀̀bí=àn sɛf.  
 FOC so 1SG.SBJ know=3SG.OBJ FOC

‘That’s how I know it, too.’

dj03do 042

L̀̀k haw d̀̀n d̀̀ mek=àn ỳ̀ d̀̀ si nà  
 like how 3PL IPFV make=3SG.OBJ 2SG IPFV see LOC  
 k̀̀sta ǹ̀, wan k̀̀sta, s̀̀ntén nà so d̀̀n d̀̀ mek  
 custard NEG one custard perhaps FOC so 3PL IPFV make  
 ò d̀̀n d̀̀ put dan colorante insay we è d̀̀  
 or 3PL IPFV put that colourant inside SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV  
 chench.  
 change

‘The way it’s done, you see it’s a custard, a (kind of) custard, it may be done like that or that colourant that changes (the colour) is put inside.’

dj03do 043

È t̀̀n arena, dan água de à fit tek wan  
 3SG.SBJ turn sand that water BE.AT 1SG.SBJ can take one  
 spun, à b̀̀gín d̀̀ mek=àn normal.  
 spoon 1SG.SBJ begin IPFV make=3SG.OBJ as.normal

‘(When) it turns into sand [farina], that water over there, I can take a spoon (of it) and begin to make normally.’

dj03do 044

Pero como dì arena tu lili-li, k̀̀n tu sm̀̀l  
 but because DEF sand too little-REP corn too be.small

naw, à mezcla in ol.  
 now 1SG.SBJ mix 3SG.EMP all

'But since the sand [farina] is too little, the corn is too little now, I mixed all of it [in making the porridge].'

dj03do 045

Wen à gò kliar=àn, sòn, bõtón mō, è  
 SUB 1SG.SBJ POT clear=3SG.OBJ some bottom more 3SG.SBJ  
 gò kan get di tin.  
 POT come get this thing

'When I clear it, some, at the bottom again, it will come to have this thing.'

dj03do 046

Pero di wàtá, ùna no tròwé=àn lo que sí, ùna  
 but this water 2PL NEG pour=3SG.OBJ DEF that yes 2PL  
 si se è dòn slip è dòn slip fayn, di  
 see QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF sleep 3SG.SBJ PRF sleep fine this  
 wàtá dòn baja.  
 water PRF go.down

'But the water, you [PL] don't pour it away, rather, you [PL] see that it has settled, it has settled nicely, the water has gone down.'

dj03do 047

Di tin dòn baja, we di wàtá ùna dòn dè  
 this thing PRF go.down SUB DEF water 2PL PRF IPFV  
 sí=àn əp lèkɛ se nà wàtá normal.  
 see=3SG.OBJ up like QUOT FOC water normal

'The thing [farina] has gone down, and as for the water, you [PL] see it above as if it were normal water.'

dj03do 048

Èf yù tek dan wàtá de, yù tròwé=àn, yù  
 if 2SG take that water there 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG  
 tròwé=àn pero mek è/ yù fit tek dan wàtá  
 pour=3SG.OBJ but SBJV 3SG.SBJ 2SG can take that water  
 yù tròwé=àn yù put òda nyu wan insay, dan  
 2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG put other new one inside that  
 wan se mek è no smɛl.  
 one QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG smell

'If you take that water, you pour it away, but let it/ you can take that water and you pour it away and you pout another new one [water] inside, that is in order for it not to smell.'



TEXTS

dj03do 049

Porque è dè sigue wan bad smel.  
 because 3SG.SBJ IPFV followone bad smell

'Because (otherwise) a bad smell follows.'

ge03do 050

Afta haw fò mek dì ogi?  
 then how ASS make DEF corn.porridge

'Then how do you make the corn porridge?'

dj03do 051

Yù fit tek naw, wan, wan smøl kəp nə, yù  
 2SG can take now one one small cup NEG 2SG  
 put=àn nà faya, insay dì pət.  
 put=3SG.OBJ LOC fire inside DEF pot

'Now you can take, a, a small cup, right, you put it on the fire, inside the pot.'

dj03do 052

Dasøl, wan smøl, wan glas, yù fuləp=àn.  
 only one small one glas 2SG fill=3SG.OBJ

'Only, one small, one glass, you fill it up.'

ge03do 053

Wan glas wàtá.  
 one glas water

'A glas of water.'

dj03do 054

Èhé, wan glas wàtá a parte, yù put=àn insay,  
 exactly one glas water apart 2SG put=3SG.OBJ inside

dan wan de yù fit tek medio fò dan sen glas,  
 that one there 2SG can take half ASS that same glas

fò di tin ya.  
 ASS this thing here

'Exactly, a glas of water apart, you put it inside, as for that one you can take half in that very glass, in this thing here.'

dj03do 055

Yù dè tən=àn, yù no fit, yù no para así,  
 2SG IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ 2SG NEG can 2SG NEG stop like.this

mek yù tòn=àn            porque bòtón            gò ros.  
 make 2SG turn=3SG.OBJ    because bottom            POT burn

'You turn it, you can't, you don't stop like that, turn it because the bottom might burn.'

dj03do 056

È            gò ros è            gò lɛf lèkɛ            pàn-kek.  
 3SG.SBJ POT burn 3SG.SBJ POT remain like            pan.CPD-cake

'It might burn and become like pancake.'

dj03do 057

Yù get fò            dè tòn=àn.  
 2SG get ASS IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ

'You have to be turning it.'

dj03do 058

Tòn=àn            tòn=àn,            mek yù no para soté mek  
 turn=3SG.OBJ    turn=3SG.OBJ    SBJV 2SG NEG stop until    SBJV  
 è tik            lèk haw è            bìn de so.  
 3SG.SBJ be.thick like how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.AT SO

'Turn it, turn it, don't stop until it is thick, just the way it was (here).'

dj03do 059

Pero èf            dì tin kan bòkú            mɔ pas dì wàtá,  
 but if            DEF thing PFV be.much more pass DEF water  
 è gò lɛf wan pasta, è gò lɛf lèkɛ,  
 3SG.SBJ POT remain one paste 3SG.SBJ POT remain like  
 pàn-kek wan tin so, è gò tu tik.  
 pan.CPD-cake one thing like.that 3SG.SBJ POT too become.thick

'But if the thing has become more than the water, a paste will remain, it will become like a kind of pancake, it will become too thick.'

## Elicitation: Caused positions

The text below results from the elicitation of “caused positions” with the help of the correspondent set of video clips that form part of the “Manual for the field season 2001” of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. Like most elicitations in the corpus, this one was conducted with two (or more) speakers – Lindo (li) and Djunais (dj) – simultaneously. The elicitation shows in an exemplary way the use of the intransitive/inchoative-stative vs. transitive/dynamic variants of Pichi locative verbs. It features numerous other verbs with a spatial meaning component as well (e.g. *put* ‘put’ and *de* ‘BE.AT’).

li07pe 001

È put wan pisis pàntáp tebul.  
3SG.SBJ put one piece.of.cloth on table

‘She put a cloth on the table.’

li07pe 002

Nà rop dat.  
FOC rope that

‘That’s a rope.’

li07pe 003

If à se dèn dè hib sòn tin nà dan stik.  
if 1SG.SBJ QUOT 3PL IPFV throw some thing LOC that tree

‘If I said they’re throwing something at that stick.’

li07pe 004

Pero udat dè hib=àn?  
but who IPFV throw=3SG.OBJ

‘But who is throwing it?’

li07pe 005

Afta dì rop sef wì no si no man we è  
then DEF rope FOC 1PL NEG see NEG man SUB 3SG.SBJ

hib=àn.

throw=3SG.OBJ

‘Then, even the rope, we didn’t see anybody who threw it.’

li07pe 006

Wetin è heng de?  
 what 3SG.SBJ hang there

'What's hanging there?'

li07pe 007

Nà bris sek=àn?  
 FOC air shake=3SG.OBJ

'Is it the air that shook it?'

dj07pe 008

Si dì rop ɔp de?  
 see DEF rope up there

'(Do you) see the rope up there?'

li07pe 009

Dèn jɔs dè hib=àn, afta è heng.  
 3PL just IPFV throw=3SG.OBJ then 3SG.SBJ hang

'It's just being thrown, then it hangs.'

li07pe 010

No natin no de nà dì tebul.  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.AT LOC DEF table

'Nothing is on the table.'

li07pe 011

No natin no de pàntáp=àn.  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.AT ON=3SG.OBJ

'Nothing is on it.'

li07pe 012

Naw sòn tin dòn de pàn dì tebul we nà ariko dèn.  
 now some thing PRF BE.AT ON DEF table SUB FOC beans PL

'Now something is on the table that's beans.'

li07pe 013

Dì human, è bring dì tu bəl dèn pàn dì tebul.  
 DEF woman 3SG.SBJ bring DEF two ball PL on DEF table

'The woman, she brought the two balls onto the table.'

TEXTS

li07pe 014

È kan mek dì sen tin nò.  
3SG.SBJ come make DEF same thing NEG

'She did the same thing, right?'

dj07pe 015

Fəs è fiba se dèn bìn dòn dòn.  
first 3SG.SBJ resemble QUOT 3PL PST PRF be.done

'First, it seemed that they [the beans] were done [cooked].'

dj07pe 016

Naw so dèn no dòn, yù si?  
now so 3PL NEG be.done 2SG see

'Right now they aren't done, you see?'

dj07pe 017

Naw fəs ariko dèn bìn dòn kuk.  
now first beans PL PST PRF cook

'Now first, the beans were cooked.'

li07pe 018

À no tink.  
1SG.SBJ NEG think

'I don't think (so).'

li07pe 019

Nà dì sen tin.  
FOC DEF same thing

'It's the same thing [in both video clips]

li07pe 020

È bring ariko nà han, è ləf dən pàn dì  
3SG.SBJ bring beans LOC hand 3SG.SBJ leave 3PL.EMP on DEF

tebul.

table

'She brought beans in her hand (and) she left them on the table

li07pe 021

Dì rop de pàntáp dì tebul.  
DEF rope BE.AT ON DEF table

'The rope is on the table.'

li07pe 022

Dì rop no fit slip.  
 DEF rope NEG can sleep

'The rope can't lie.'

li07pe 023

Nà pòsin dè slip.  
 FOC person IPFV sleep

'It's a person that lies down.'

ko07pe 024

È le pàntáp dì tebul?  
 3SG.SBJ lie on DEF table

'[So can I say] it's lying on the table?'

li07pe 025

No, è de pàntáp dì tebul.  
 NEG 3SG.SBJ BE.AT ON DEF table

'No, it's on the table.'

li07pe 026

Èf è le nà lèk se è dè slip.  
 if 3SG.SBJ lie FOC like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV lie

'If it's lying it's like it's lying.'

li07pe 027

Nà pòsin dè le.  
 FOC person IPFV lie

'It's a person that lies.'

li07pe 028

Nà kasara.  
 FOC cassava

'That's cassava.'

li07pe 029

È bring dì kasara nà ìn han.  
 3SG.SBJ bring DEF cassava LOC 3SG.POSS hand

'She brought the cassava in her hand.'

TEXTS

li07pe 030

Dì cartón de pàntáp dì tebul.  
 DEF carton BE.AT ON DEF table

'The carton is on the table.'

li07pe 031

È put dì kasara insay dì cartón we de pàntáp  
 3SG.SBJ put DEF cassava inside DEF carton SUB BE.AT ON  
 dì tebul.  
 DEF table

'She put the cassava into the carton that is on the table.'

li07pe 032

Yù no=àn èn?  
 2SG know=3SG.OBJ INTJ

'You know her, right?'

li07pe 033

Yù no no?  
 2SG NEG know

'You don't know (her)?'

li07pe 034

È heng=àn mindul tu stik dèn.  
 3SG.SBJ hang=3SG.OBJ middle two tree PL

'He hung it up between two branches.'

li07pe 035

Heng=àn nà colgar.  
 hang=3SG.OBJ FOC hang

'"Heng=àn" is "colgar" [in Spanish].'

li07pe 036

Èf è kwis=àn, è gò spwɛl.  
 if 3SG.SBJ squeeze=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ POT spoil

'If he squeezes it, it will spoil.'

li07pe 037

Nà kàndá fɔ̀ kokònát.  
 FOC skin ASS coconut

'That's the shell of a coconut.'

dj07pe 038

Nà so senwe.  
 FOC like.that FOC

'That's exactly how it is.'

li07pe 039

È bring tu bɔtul enti.  
 3SG.SBJ bring two bottle empty

'He brought two bottles empty.'

li07pe 040

È put dɛn pàn dɪ tebul.  
 3SG.SBJ put 3PL.EMP ON DEF table

'He put them on the table.'

dj07pe 041

Tu difrɛn bɔtul dɛn fɔ vino.  
 two different bottle PL ASS wine

'Two different bottles of wine.'

dj07pe 042

Dɪ tu bɔtul dɛn fit slip pàntáp tebul sɛf.  
 DEF two bottle PL can lie on table FOC

'The two bottles can (actually) even lie on the table.'

li07pe 043

È finis bɛn dɪ pisis fayn.  
 3SG.SBJ finish bend DEF piece.of.cloth fine

'He has finished folding the piece of cloth nicely.'

li07pe 044

È put wan smɔl stik nia dɪ stik we è para.  
 3SG.SBJ put one small tree near DEF tree SUB 3SG.SBJ stand

'She put a small stick next to the tree that's standing.'

li07pe 045

È apoya wan haf stik fɔ wan stik.  
 3SG.SBJ lean one half tree ASS one tree

'She leaned a branch on a tree.'



TEXTS

dj07pe 046

Porque di wan nà stik we è para.  
 because thisone FOC tree SUB 3SG.SBJ stand

'Because this one is a tree that's standing.'

dj07pe 047

Yù fit tək se yù ling yù sɛf de.  
 2SG can talk QUOT 2SG lean 2SG self there

'You can say you're abutting yourself there.'

dj07pe 048

Yù fit tək se chico, à want ling mì sɛf  
 2SG can talk QUOT INTJ 1SG.SBJ want lean 1SG.POSS self

fɔ̃ dis butaca.  
 ASS this armchair

'You can say, man, I want to lounge in this armchair.'

dj07pe 049

È ling wan haf stik nia wan big big stik.  
 3SG.SBJ lean one half tree near one big REP tree

'She leaned a branch against a tree.'

li07pe 050

È jam=àn nia wan stik we è  
 3SG.SBJ make.contact=3SG.OBJ near one tree SUB 3SG.SBJ

tinap.  
 stand

'She placed it [the branch] in contact with the tree that's standing.'

li07pe 051

Yù fit tek wan stik we è kət haf, yù apoya  
 2SG can take one tree SUB 3SG.SBJ cut half 2SG lean

in.  
 3SG.EMP

'You can take a branch that's cut in half (and) abut it.'

li07pe 052

Wan stik we dèn kət=àn, big big wan.  
 one tree SUB 3PL cut=3SG.OBJ big REP one

'A branch that's been cut, a really big one.'

li07pe 053

Uf, Pichi es una basura, èn.  
 INTJ Pichi it.is a rubbish INTJ

'Phew, Pichi is real rubbish, right.'

li07pe 054

È ling dì bɔtul nia dì stik.  
 3SG.SBJ lean DEF bottle near DEF tree

'He leaned the bottle against the tree.'

li07pe 055

È dè kwis dì bɔl fɔ mek dì bɔl fit hɛng fayn.  
 3SG.SBJ IPFV squeeze DEF ball ASS SBJV DEF ball can hang fine

'He's squeezing the ball in order for the ball to be able to be suspended just right.'

dj07pe 056

È put dì bɔtul pàntáp dì tebul pero dì mɔt  
 3SG.SBJ put DEF bottle on DEF table but DEF mouth

de dɔn.

BE.AT down

'He put the bottle on the table but with the mouth down.'

li07pe 057

È put dì bɔtul pàn dì tebul wèt dì mɔt dɔn  
 3SG.SBJ put DEF bottle on DEF table with DEF mouth down

ð rɔn-say.

or wrong.CPD-side

'He put the bottle on the table with the mouth down or upside-down.'

li07pe 058

Dì pisis hɛng nà dì stik, bɪkɔs no man no  
 DEF piece.of.cloth hang LOC DEF tree because NEG man NEG

put=àn.

put=3SG.OBJ

'The piece of cloth is hanging from the tree, because nobody has put it (there).'

li07pe 059

Wi dè si dasɔl se dì pisis dɔn hɛng.  
 1PL.EMP IPFV see only QUOT DEF piece.of.cloth PRF hang

'We only see that the piece of cloth is now hanging.'

TEXTS

li07pe 060

È            dòn    cuelga    nà    dì    stik.  
3SG.SBJ    PRF    hang    LOC    DEF    tree

'It's hanging from the tree.'

li07pe 061

Dis    wan    de    se    à            mit    wan    botul    we    è            de  
this    one    BE.AT QUOT    1SG.SBJ    meet    one    bottle    SUB    3SG.SBJ    BE.AT  
mindul    tu            stik    dèn.  
middle    two            tree    PL

'This one [still image] is like I've come across a bottle that's between two trees.'

li07pe 062

È            bring    dì    kasara    è            put=àn            nia    dì    stik.  
3SG.SBJ    bring    DEF    cassava    3SG.SBJ    put=3SG.OBJ    near    DEF    tree

'She brought the cassava (and) she put it next to the tree.'

li07pe 063

È            ling=àn            de.  
3SG.SBJ    lean=3SG.OBJ    there

'She abutted it there.'

li07pe 064

Dan    human    lòn            bad.  
that    woman    be.long    extremely

'That woman is really tall.'

li07pe 065

Chico,    Dios            mio.  
INTJ    my    God

'Wow, my God.'

dj07pe 066

È            bring    escalera,    è            ling=àn            nia    dì    stik.  
3SG.SBJ    bring    ladder    3SG.SBJ    lean=3SG.OBJ    near    DEF    tree

'She brought a ladder, she leaned it against the tree.'

dj07pe 067

È            bring    tri    kasara,    è            le    dèn    pàntáp    dì    tebul.  
3SG.SBJ    bring    three    cassava    3SG.SBJ    lay    3PL.EMP    on            DEF    table

'She brought three cassavas, she laid them on the table.'

dj07pe 068

È le=àn pàntáp dì tebul.  
 3SG.SBJ lay=3SG.OBJ on DEF table

‘She laid them on the table.’

li07pe 069

È fiks den fayn.  
 3SG.SBJ fix 3PL.EMP fine

‘She arranged them nicely.’

li07pe 070

Dì cartón, è mit=àn ya?  
 this carton 3SG.SBJ meet=3SG.OBJ here

‘The carton, did she find it [lying] here.’

li07pe 071

È put dì rop insay dì cartón we è de  
 3SG.SBJ put DEF rope inside DEF carton SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT  
 pàntáp dì tebul.  
 on DEF table

‘She put the rope inside the carton that’s on the table.’

li07pe 072

È slip dì bōtul pàntáp dì tebul.  
 3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle on DEF table

‘She laid the bottle down on the table.’

li07pe 073

Dì bōtul le naw pàntáp dì tebul.  
 DEF bottle lie now on DEF table

‘The bottle is now lying on the table.’

li07pe 074

È le dì bōtul pàntáp dì tebul, è slip dì  
 3SG.SBJ lay DEF bottle on DEF table 3SG.SBJ lay DEF  
 bōtul pàntáp dì tebul.  
 bottle on DEF table

‘She laid [*le*] the bottle on the table, she laid [*slip*] the bottle on the table.’

TEXTS

li07pe 075

Dì bətul slip pàntáp dì tebul bìkəs dì bətul le de.  
 DEF bottle lie on DEF table because DEF bottle lie there

'The bottle is lying [*slip*] on the table because the bottle is lying [*le*] there.'

li07pe 076

Naw è tek rop, è heng dì rop nà dì stik  
 now 3SG.SBJ take rope 3SG.SBJ hang DEF rope LOC DEF tree  
 wèt kasara.  
 with cassava

'Now he took a rope, he hung the rope from the tree with a cassava.'

li07pe 077

Noto so, à tək=àn bad, Djunais?  
 NEG.FOC SO 1SG.SBJ talk=3SG.OBJ bad NAME

'Isn't it so, did I say that wrong, Djunais?'

dj07pe 078

È tay dì kasara wèt rop afta è heng=àn.  
 3SG.SBJ tie DEF cassava with rope then 3SG.SBJ hang=3SG.OBJ

'He tied the cassava with a rope, then he hung it up.'

li07pe 079

Dì stik, è slip pàn dì tebul.  
 this tree 3SG.SBJ lie on DEF table

'This stick, it's lying on the table.'

dj07pe 080

Dì kasara le mindul tu stik.  
 DEF cassava lie middle two tree

'The cassava is lying between two trees.'

li07pe 081

Dì kasara tinap mindul tu stik.  
 DEF cassava stand middle two tree

'The cassava is standing between two trees.'

li07pe 082

È tinap dì kasara mindul tu stik.  
 3SG.SBJ stand DEF cassava middle two tree

'He stood up the cassava between two trees.'

li07pe 083

È tinap=àn [dì tu kasara] mindul tu stik.  
 3SG.SBJ stand=3SG.OBJ DEF two cassava middle two tree

‘He stood up the cassavas between two sticks.’

dj07pe 084

Go tek mi dan teléfono we tanap pàntáp dì  
 go take 1SG.EMP that telephone SUB stand on DEF  
 tebul.  
 table

‘Go take that telephone for me that’s standing on the table.’

dj07pe 085

À gò kan à gò luk, èf nà di wan dasəl  
 1SG.SBJ POT PFV 1SG.SBJ POT look if FOC this one only  
 de à gò tək se à no si.  
 BE.AT 1SG.SBJ POT talk QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG see

‘I would come (and) I would look, if it’s only this one that’s there, I would say I didn’t find (it).’

dj07pe 086

À gò tək se à no si teléfono we è  
 1SG.SBJ POT talk QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG see telephone SUB 3SG.SBJ  
 slip pàntáp dì tebul.  
 lie on DEF table

‘I would say I haven’t seen a telephone that’s lying on the table.’

li07pe 087

È no kəba in.  
 3SG.SBJ NEG COVER 3SG.EMP

‘She hasn’t covered it [the pot].’

li07pe 088

Dì pət kan sin kəba.  
 DEF pot come without cover

‘The pot came without a cover.’

li07pe 089

Dèn put=àn mət dən fə dì tebul.  
 3PL put=3SG.OBJ mouth down ASS DEF table

‘It was put mouth down [upside-down] on the table.’

TEXTS

li07pe 090

dè kan fòdón soté ya.  
3SG.SBJ IPFV come fall until here

'It's coming and extending until here.'

li07pe 091

Afta di wan we è de yàndá, è big.  
then this one SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.AT yonder 3SG.SBJ be.big

'Then, that one that's over there, it's big.'

dj07pe 092

È pin dì stik nà gròn.  
3SG.SBJ stick DEF tree LOC ground

'She stuck the stick into the ground.'

dj07pe 093

Naw è tinap nà gròn.  
now 3SG.SBJ stand LOC ground

'Now it's standing (upright) in the ground.'

dj07pe 094

Dì pot naw so è slip pàn dì tebul.  
DEF pot now so 3SG.SBJ lie on DEF table

'Right now, the pot is lying on the table.'

dj07pe 095

È slip dì escalera nà gròn.  
3SG.SBJ lay DEF ladder LOC ground

'She laid the ladder on the ground.'

# Vocabulary

The following two sections contain a Pichi-English-Pichi vocabulary and feature a total of around 1000 Pichi roots. The vocabulary includes words of Spanish French, Bubi and Fang origin that occur with a high frequency in the corpus. The English-Pichi section is useful for cross-reference to the Pichi-English section. The latter section contains additional information on variation, usage, morphological structure and the source language of the entry where applicable.

Property items with an entry like *blak* '(be) black' occur as verbs and as attributive adjectives, i.e. *blak mòtó* 'black car'. Property items with an entry like *sik* 'be sick' are normally only employed as verbs, i.e. *è dè sik* 's/he is sick' (?*sik pəsin* 'sick person'). The following abbreviations are used in addition to those listed on page xxiv:

## Abbreviations used in the Pichi-English-Pichi vocabulary sections

|              |                                  |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>adj</i>   | adjective                        |
| <i>adv</i>   | adverb                           |
| <i>aff</i>   | affix                            |
| <i>aux</i>   | auxiliary                        |
| <i>det</i>   | determiner                       |
| <i>ideo</i>  | ideophone                        |
| <i>inter</i> | interrogative word               |
| <i>intj</i>  | interjection                     |
| <i>link</i>  | clause linker                    |
| <i>loc</i>   | locative noun                    |
| <i>morph</i> | morphological structure of entry |
| <i>n</i>     | noun                             |
| <i>part</i>  | particle                         |
| <i>pn</i>    | proper noun                      |
| <i>prep</i>  | preposition                      |
| <i>prom</i>  | pronominal                       |
| <i>pron</i>  | personal pronoun                 |
| <i>quant</i> | quantifier                       |
| <i>TMA</i>   | tense-mood-aspect particle       |
| <i>v</i>     | verb                             |



## Pichi-English

### A - a

- à** *pron.* 1sg subject dependent pronoun.  
**àa<sub>1</sub>** *intj.* expression of insight.  
**àa<sub>2</sub>** *intj.* expression of impatience.  
**abuela** *n.* grandmother; term of address. *See: grànmá.* *From: Spanish.*  
**abuelo** *n.* grandfather; term of address. *See: grànpá.* *From: Spanish.*  
**aburre** *v.* be bored. *From: Spanish.*  
**accidente** *n.* accident. *From: Spanish.*  
**adopta** *v.* adopt, act as a guardian to a child. *From: Spanish.*  
**adònké** *link.* even if, no matter if.  
**àdváys** *v.* advise.  
**aeropuerto** *n.* airport. *From: Spanish.*  
**affaire** *n.* affair. *From: French.*  
**africana** *pn; adj.* African f. *From: Spanish.*  
**africano** *pn; adj.* African m. *From: Spanish.*  
**Áfrìka** *n.* Africa.  
**afta** *adv.* then; afterwards.  
**áfètènun** *n.* afternoon.  
**aguantá** *v.* bear, persevere. *From: Spanish.*  
**ajáàjá** *n.* trickery.  
**aks<sub>1</sub>** *n.* axe. *Variant: haks.*  
**aks<sub>2</sub>** *v.* ask. *Variant: haks.*  
**almacén** *n.* store. *From: Spanish.*  
**alquila** *v.* rent (a taxi, house). *From: Spanish.*  
**altar** *n.* altar. *From: Spanish.*  
**amátán** *n.* harmattan.  
**ambiente** *v.* party, live it up, have fun. *Usage: informal. See: pàchá.* *From: Spanish.*  
**àn<sub>1</sub>** *link.* and.  
**=àn<sub>2</sub>** *pron.* 3sg enclitic object pronoun.  
**animal** *n.* animal. *From: Spanish.*  
**Annobón** *pn.* the island of Annobón. *From: Spanish.*  
**ansa** *v.* answer. *Variant: hansa.*  
**àntí** *n.* aunt; term of address.  
**apás** *prep.* after (temporal).  
**apellido** *n.* surname. *From: Spanish.*  
**arata** *n.* rat.  
**arawn** *adv.* around.  
**arena** *n.* sand. *See: sànsán.* *From: Spanish.*  
**as** *link.* as, because. *See: como.*  
**aunque** *link.* even if, although.  
— *adv.* approximately, like; even. *From: Spanish.*  
**avión** *n.* plane. *From: Spanish.*  
**awa** *n.* hour, time.  
**ay<sub>2</sub>** *intj.* expression of pain or pleasure.  
**ayen** *v.* iron. *Variant: hayen.*  
— *n.* iron.

### B - b

- baba** *v.* have a hair cut, shave beard.  
**bad** *v.* (be) bad.  
— *adj.* ill, sick.  
— *adv.* extremely.  
**bàdhát** *v.* be mean. *Morph: bád-hat.*  
**badten** *adv.* unfortunately. *Morph: bad-tèn.*  
**bañera** *n.* bathtub. *From: Spanish.*  
**baf** *v.* bathe.  
**bag** *n.* bag.  
**baja** *v.* go down, take down. *See: go dòn.* *From: Spanish.*  
**bak** *n.* back (body part).  
— *v.* give back.  
**bàmbáy** *adv.* gradually.  
**bàmbú** *n.* bamboo.  
**banana** *n.* banana.  
**banco** *n.* bank. *From: Spanish.*  
**bànfá** *v.* spoil a child.

- bàngá** *n.* palm tree, palm kernel.  
**bàptáys** *v.* baptise.  
**bat** *adv.* but. *See:* **bet**; **bot**.  
**Bàta**<sub>1</sub> *pn.* 1) capital of the continental part of Equatorial Guinea, second largest city of the country; the continental part of Equatorial Guinea. 2) a Fang person, the Fang language; any person or language from the continental part of Equatorial Guinea.  
**bàta**<sub>2</sub> *n.* buttocks. *From:* Bube.  
**bautiza** *v.* baptise. *See:* **bàptáys**. *From:* Spanish.  
**bay** *v.* buy.  
**bày** *prep.* by. *Usage:* rare.  
**bèbí** *n.* 1) baby. 2) sweetheart, babe.  
**bed** *n.* bed.  
**beg** *v.* ask for, implore.  
**belch** *v.* belch.  
**bèlé** *n.* belly, womb; pregnancy.  
     — *v.* impregnate.  
**bèle-human** *n.* pregnant woman.  
**get bèlé** *be* pregnant.  
**gi bèlé** *impregnate*.  
**pul bèlé** *abort*.  
**bèlful** *v.* be satiated, full. *Variant:* **belèful**.  
**belps** *n.* sweetheart, babe. *Usage:* informal.  
**belt** *n.* belt, strap.  
**ben** *v.* bend (over); fold.  
**ber** *v.* bury.  
**berin** *n.* burial.  
**bet**<sub>1</sub> *v.* bite.  
**bet**<sub>2</sub> *adv.* but.  
**beta** *v.* (be) very good, excellent. *Variant:* **bete**.  
**bi** *v.* identity copula.  
**bia**<sub>1</sub> *n.* beer.  
**bia**<sub>2</sub> *v.* bear.  
**bich** *n.* beach.  
**bif** *n.* wild animal, meat.  
**bifó** *loc.* (in) front (of), before.  
     — *link.* before (temporal).  
**big** *v.* (be) big.  
**bigdé** *n.* festivity, party; public holiday.  
     *Morph:* **big-de**.  
**bigín** *v.* begin.  
     — *aux.* ingressive aspect auxiliary.  
**bihén** *loc.* rear, behind, after; after (also temporal).  
**bikəs** *link.* because. *Variant:* **bikós**.  
**bil** *v.* build.  
**bilíf** *v.* believe.  
**bin** *TMA.* past tense marker.  
**bió** *intj.* expression of pleasant surprise.  
**bis** *v.* repeat. *From:* Spanish.  
**bisin** *v.* bother (about); be busy (with).  
**bisnes** *n.* business.  
**bit** *v.* beat.  
**blak** *v.* (be) black, of dark colour.  
**blant** *v.* reside.  
**blay** *n.* bag, basket.  
**blo**<sub>1</sub> *v.* blow (air).  
**blo**<sub>2</sub> *v.* relax, rest.  
**blo**<sub>3</sub> *n.* blow.  
     — *v.* give a blow.  
**blo win** (to) fart.  
**bloque** *n.* brick. *From:* Spanish.  
**bləd** *n.* blood.  
**blàkós** *n.* male genitals.  
**blu** *v.* (be) blue.  
**bocadillo** *n.* bun. *From:* Spanish.  
**boíte** *n.* discotheque. *From:* French.  
**bokit** *n.* bucket.  
**bolí** *n.* pen. *From:* Spanish.  
**bon** *n.* bone.  
**bòbí** *n.* breast.  
**bòdi** *n;* *prom.* body.  
**bòks** *n.* box.  
**bòkú** *v;* *quant.* (be) much.  
**bəl** *n.* ball.  
**bən** *v.* 1) give birth; be born.  
**bəs** *v.* burst (open).  
**bət**<sub>1</sub> *adv.* but.  
**bət**<sub>2</sub> *v.* hit with the head; (cause to) rebound.  
**bətón** *loc.* bottom, under(neath).  
**bətul** *n.* bottle.  
**bəy** *n.* boy.  
**braket** *v.* coincide, be on par with.  
**brayt** *v.* be bright, radiant.

VOCABULARY

- brek** v. dawn.  
**brəd** n. bread.  
**bring** v. bring.  
**bris** n. air.  
**brok** v. break, be broken.  
**brōda** n. brother; term of address.  
**brōdàlò** n. brother-in-law. *Morph: brōda-lo.*  
*Variant: bràlò.*  
**Bùbe** *pn.* Bube person, the Bube language.  
**bueno** *adv.* alright. *From: Spanish.*

- buk** n. book.  
**bus** n. forest.  
**butaca** n. armchair. *From: Spanish.*  
**bùtú** v. stoop over.  
**bwà** *ideo.* sound of gushing water.  
**bwel** v. boil.  
**bya** *ideo.* sound of coughing.  
**byàbyá** n. beard.

C - c

- cacao** n. cocoa. *From: Spanish.*  
**café** n. coffee. *From: Spanish.*  
**Camerún** *pn.* Cameroon. *From: Spanish.*  
**camión** n. lorry. *From: Spanish.*  
**camiseta** n. singlet. *From: Spanish.*  
**cemento** n. cement. *From: Spanish.*  
**cielo** n. sky. *From: Spanish.*  
**clase** n. class. *From: Spanish.*  
**cobra** v. charge, receive.  
**cobra m̀nɪ́** receive money, salary. *From: Spanish.*  
**colegio** n. college. *From: Spanish.*  
**comisaría** n. police station. *From: Spanish.*  
**como** *link.* because, since. *See: as. From: Spanish.*

- Spanish.*  
*— adv. like.*  
**congelador** n. fridge. *From: Spanish.*  
**Corisco** *pn.* island off the coast of mainland Equatorial Guinea.  
**cruz** n. cross. *From: Spanish.*  
**cuñada** n. sister-in-law; term of address.  
**cuaderno** n. exercise book. *From: Spanish.*  
**cuñado** n. brother-in-law, term of address. *From: Spanish.*  
**cuenta** v. narrate. *See: pul tòrí; tɛl. From: Spanish.*

Ch - ch

- chak** v. be drunk.  
**chàk-man** n. drunkard.  
**chàkrá** v. scatter, ruin, destroy; fall out with each other.  
**chàkrá mared** ruin a marriage.  
**chàkrá hos** demolish a house.  
**cham** v. chew.  
**cham Pànyá** speak bad Spanish.  
**chap** v. chop, cut off.  
**chapa** n. corrugated iron sheet employed for roofing. *From: Spanish.*  
**chapea** v. weed. *From: Spanish.*  
**chay** *intj.* expression of exasperation. *Variant: che.*

- chèkó** n. lower chest.  
**chench** v. change.  
**chek** v. think; check (out).  
**cher** v. tear.  
**ches** n. chest.  
**chia** n. chair.  
**chico** n. boy.  
*— intj.* expression of surprise, amazement, admiration. *From: Spanish.*  
**chif** n. chief, boss; term of address.  
**chik** v. insult; provoke.  
**chikilís** v. tickle.  
**'chip'** *intj.* 'suck teeth', marker of negative affect.

**choch** *n.* church.  
**chop** *v.* eat.  
 — *n.* food.  
**chuk** *v.* pierce, stab, sting.

**chuk nef** stab with a knife.  
**chùkchúk** *n.* thorn. *Morph:* **chuk-chuk**.  
**chupete** *n.* nipple. *From:* Spanish.

## D - d

**dak** *v.* be dark.  
**dan** *det.* that (distal demonstrative modifier). *See:* **dat**. *Variant:* **da**.  
**dans** *v;* *n.* dance.  
**das** *v.* give as a present, for free.  
**dasəl** *adv.* then.  
 — *quant.* only. *See:* **onli**.  
**dat** *det;* *prom.* that (distal demonstrative modifier and pronominal).  
**day** *v.* die; death.  
**dày-man, dáy-pəsin** *n.* corpse.  
**de<sub>1</sub>** *adv.* there.  
**de<sub>2</sub>** *v.* locative-existential copula.  
**de<sub>3</sub>** *n.* day; weather.  
**dè** *TMA.* imperfective aspect marker.  
 — *link.* complementiser-like function with a small number of main verbs.  
**desayuna** *v.* have breakfast. *From:* Spanish.  
**debul** *n.* devil.  
 — *v.* be devilish.  
**den** *pron.* 3pl independent pronoun.  
**dèn** *pron.* 3pl dependent pronoun; postnominal plural marker.  
**di** *det.* this (proximal demonstrative modifier). *Variant:* **dis**.  
**dì** *det.* definite article.  
**dia<sub>1</sub>** *n.* deer.  
**dia<sub>2</sub>** *v.* be expensive.  
**difren** *v.* (be) different.  
**dig** *v.* dig.

**dínáy** *v.* deny, refuse.  
**dios mio** *intj.* my God. *From:* Spanish.  
**dip** *v.* be deep.  
**dis** *det;* *prom.* this (proximal demonstrative modifier and pronominal). *Variant:* **di**.  
**discoteca** *n.* discotheque. *From:* Spanish.  
**disfruta** *v.* enjoy (oneself). *From:* Spanish.  
**dogo** *n.* fool.  
**domínó** *n.* domino.  
**dòmót** *n.* door.  
**dote** *n.* dowry. *From:* Spanish.  
**dɔg** *n.* dog.  
**dɔkta** *n.* doctor.  
**dɔn<sub>1</sub>** *TMA.* perfect tense-aspect marker.  
**dɔn<sub>2</sub>** *loc.* lowerside, down.  
**dɔn<sub>3</sub>** *v.* be done, finished.  
**dɔtáló** *n.* daughter-in-law. *Morph:* **dɔta-lo**.  
**dòtí** *v.* be dirty.  
**dray** *v.* be dry; be haggard, thin.  
**drayva** *n.* driver.  
**dreb** *v.* drive (a vehicle); chase away.  
*Variant:* **drayb**.  
**dring** *v.* drink.  
**dro** *v.* 1) draw, remove; be sticky (of an okro soup). 2) draw (a drawing).  
**drongo** *v.* be dead drunk.  
**du** *v.* do, make; be enough.  
**duya** *intj.* please.

## E - e

**e** *intj.* expression of dismay, empathy.  
**è** *pron.* 3sg dependent subject pronoun.  
**ech** *n.* age, age group.  
**ékíé** *intj.* counterexpectation, amazement.

*From:* Fang.  
**eks** *v.* bounce.  
**Ela Nguema** *pn.* popular quarter in the western part of Malabo.

- estrella** *n.* star. *From: Spanish.*  
**et** *quant.* eight.  
**evi** *v.* 1) be heavy. 2) be impressive. *Variant: (h)ebi.*  
**exactamente** *adv.* exactly. *From: Spanish.*  
**extranjero** *n.* foreigner. *From: Spanish.*  
**ey** *intj.* attention getter. *See: ε.*

## Ε - ε

- ε** *intj.* attention getter. *See: ey.*  
**èf** *link.* if, whether. *See: if. Variant: èfe.*  
**èhé** *intj.* yes (strong agreement).  
**eks** *n.* egg.  
**gadinéks** 'garden-eggs' = eggplant.  
**èn** *intj.* channel check.  
**eni** *quant.* every.  
**enta** *v.* enter.  
**enti** *v.* be empty.  
**èskyús** *v.* excuse.  
**èsplén** *v.* explain.

## F - f

- fa** *v.* be far.  
**fadáló** *n.* father-in-law. *Morph: fada-lo.*  
**fala** *v.* accompany, follow.  
**fam** *n.* farm.  
**mek fam** (to) farm.  
**fambul** *n.* (extended) family, family member.  
**Fang** *pn.* Fang person, the Fang language.  
**fasin** *n.* manner, habit.  
**bad fasin** bad manners, habits.  
**gud fasin** good manners, habits.  
**fat<sub>1</sub>** *v.* (be) fat.  
**fat<sub>2</sub>** *v.* fart.  
**fawe** *v.* (be) far. *See: fa.*  
**faya** *n.* fire.  
**fayf** *quant.* five.  
**fayn** *adj.* (be) fine, beautiful.  
**fes** *n.* face.  
**fevo** *n.* favour. *Variant: febo.*  
**fedá** *n.* feather.  
**fén** *v.* look for.  
**fét** *v.* fight.  
**fia** *v.* fear. *Variant: fie.*  
**fiba<sub>1</sub>** *v.* resemble; seem.  
**fiba<sub>2</sub>** *n.* fever.  
**fija** *v.* notice, remark, pay attention. *From: Spanish.*  
**fiks** *v.* fix, arrange; repair.  
**fil<sub>1</sub>** *v.* feel.  
**fil hangri** feel hungry.  
**fil tósti** feel thirsty.  
**fil slip** feel sleepy.  
**fil<sub>2</sub>** *n.* field.  
**fin de semana** *n.* weekend. *From: Spanish.*  
**finga** *n.* finger.  
**finga-nel** *n.* finger nail, claw.  
**finis** *v.* finish.  
 — *aux.* completive aspect auxiliary.  
**fis** *n.* fish. *See: fisin.*  
**fisin** *v.* fish. *See: fis.*  
**fisin-man** fisherman.  
**Fiston Nòmbe-Wan** *pn.* Pichi-speaking village close to Malabo.  
**fit** *v.* can, be able.  
**fityáy** *v.* cheek, offend.  
**flay** 1) *v.* fly. 2) rush (to a place).  
**fling** *v.* fling, throw with force.  
**fo** *quant.* four.  
**fòtó** *n.* photo.  
**fò** *prep.* for; due to; by; in order to; at; in; to; from; general associative preposition (expresses Beneficiary, Cause, Manner, Purpose, Location, Source, Goal roles).  
 — *link.* non-finite complementiser, purpose clause introducer.  
 — TMA.

**fàdón** v. fall.  
**fàgét** v. forget.  
**fòk** v. fuck. *Usage:* informal.  
**fòl<sub>1</sub>** v. rain.  
**fòl<sub>2</sub>** n. fowl.  
     **man fòl** n. cock.  
     **human fòl** n. hen.  
**fòreva** adv. (for) ever. *Variant:* **fòreba**.  
**fòs<sub>1</sub>** quant; adv. first.  
     **fòs tèn** formerly.  
**fòs<sub>2</sub>** v. force.  
**fòseka** link. due to. *Variant:* **fòseko**.  
**frase** n. sentence. *From:* Spanish.  
**fray** v. fry.  
     **frày-res** n. fried rice.  
**frayde** n. friday.  
**fren** n. friend. *Usage:* rare. *See:* **kompin**.  
**fres** v. (be) fresh.

**frèskól** n. mucus. *Morph:* **fres-kol**.  
**fri** v; adj. be free.  
**fritambo** n. antelope.  
**fròn** prep. since.  
     **fròn bòkú tèn** since long.  
     **fròn - soté** prep. from - until.  
**frut** n. fruit.  
**fruta** n. fruit. *From:* Spanish.  
**fùfú** n. fufu.  
     **bìt-fùfú** n. pounded fufu.  
**ful** v. be foolish.  
     — n. fool.  
**fulis** v. (be) foolish.  
**fulòp** v. fill, be full.  
**fut** n. foot, leg.  
     **kobòfút** n. bowlegs, bowlegged person.  
**fwífwífwí** *ideo.* sound of wind blowing.

## G - g

**Gabón** pn. Gabon. *From:* Spanish.  
**gadin** n. garden, small farming plot.  
**gafas** n. glasses. *From:* Spanish.  
**gal** n. girl. *See:* **gals**. *Variant:* **gyal; gel, gyel**.  
**gals** n. girl-pl. *See:* **gal**.  
**gàrí** n. gari.  
**gasolina** n. petrol. *From:* Spanish.  
**gel** n. girl. *See:* **gal**.  
**gelfren** n. girlfriend.  
**get** v. get, acquire, have, be in permanent possession; existential verb.  
**gi** v. give. *Variant:* **giv**.  
**gítá** n. guitar.  
**gladin** v. be happy.  
**glas** n. glas.  
**go** v. go, leave.  
     **go dòn** v. go down.  
     **go òp** v. go up.  
**gò** TMA. potential mood marker.  
**god** n. God.  
**gòn** n. gun.  
**govna** n. governor; government. *Variant:* **gòbna**.  
**graba** v. record. *From:* Spanish.

**gràn-** adj. grand (only used in collocations).  
     **grànmá** n. grandmother.  
     **grànpá** n. grandfather.  
     **granpikín** n. grandchild.  
     **grànmòda** n. grandmother.  
**grànat** n. groundnut.  
**grand frère** n. big brother. *From:* French.  
**grap** v. get up.  
**gras** n. grass.  
**gren** n. grain.  
     **wàn-gren pikín** single child.  
**grèví** n. gravy.  
**gri** v. agree, allow.  
**gridi** v. be greedy, stingy. *Variant:* **gridin**.  
**grin** v. (be) green.  
**gris** n. fat.  
**gro** v. grow.  
**gròn** n. ground; plot.  
     **bay gròn** buy land.  
     **bèrin-gròn** n. burial-ground.  
**gud** v; adj. (be) good.  
**Guinea** pn. Equatorial Guinea. *Variant:* **Guinea Ecuatorial**. *From:* Spanish.  
**guineana** pn. Equatoguinean f.

**guineano** *pn.* Equatoguinean m.

## Gb - gb

**gbin** *ideo.* sound of a hard and sudden blow.

**gbogbògbo** *ideo.* in haste.

## H - h

**had** *v.* be hard.

**haf** *quant.* half.

**haf awa** half an hour.

**hala** *v.* shout.

**hama** *v.* hammer.

— *n.* hammer.

**hàmbóg** *v.* bother.

**han** *n.* hand, arm.

**hangri** *v.* be hungry. *Variant:* **hangrin**.

**haricot** *n.* beans. *From:* French.

**hasis** *n.* ashes.

**hat**<sub>1</sub> *n.* heart.

**haw** *inter.* how.

**haw mōch** *inter.* how much.

**hayd** *v.* hide.

**hàydháyd** *adv.* secretly.

**hebul** *v.* be capable, able.

**hed** *n.* head.

**hes** *v.* lift.

**hɛ** *intj.* expresses warning, rebuke.

**help** *v.* help. *Variant:* **hep**.

**heng** *v.* hang (onto).

**hia**<sub>1</sub> *adv.* here. *See:* **ya**. *Variant:* **hie**.

**hia**<sub>2</sub> *n.* hair.

**hia**<sub>3</sub> *n.* year. *Variant:* **ya**.

**làs-hia** *n.* last year.

**nɛks hia** next year.

**hia**<sub>4</sub> *v.* hear, understand. *Variant:* **hie**, **yer**.

**hib** *v.* heave; throw.

**hil** *n.* mountain, hill.

**ho** *intj.* expression of mockery and ridicule.

**hol**<sub>1</sub> *v.* hold; keep, be in temporary possession of.

**hol**<sub>2</sub> *n.* hole.

**hol**<sub>3</sub> *quant.* whole.

**hom** *n.* home.

**hom trenin** *n.* good upbringing.

**hos** *n.* house, building; home. *See:* **hom**.

**hospital** *n.* hospital. *From:* Spanish.

**hólidé** *n.* holiday. *Variant:* **hòlidé**.

**hɔn** *n.* horn.

**honti** *v.* hunt. *Variant:* **hontin**.

**honti-man** *n.* hunter.

**hɔri** *v.* hurry, rush. *Variant:* **hɔrin**.

**hɔt**<sub>1</sub> *v.* be hot, warm.

**huk** *v.* hook, hook arms.

— *n.* hook.

**human** *n.* woman. *Variant:* **wuman**.

## I - i

**if** *link.* if, whether. *See:* **ɛf**.

**in** *pron.* 3sg independent and object pronoun.

**ìn** *pron.* 3sg possessive pronoun.

**Inglis** *pn.* English(-speaking) person, the English language.

**insay** *loc.* inside, amongst; in (temporal).

**intenta** *v.* intend, try. *From:* Spanish.

**isi** *v.* (be) easy. *Variant:* **isin**.

**isla** *n.* island. *From:* Spanish.

**ivin** *n.* evening. *Variant:* **ibin**.

**ivin tɛn** *n.* evening.

## J - j

|                   |   |                  |                   |
|-------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|
| <b>jakátó</b>     | <i>n.</i> bitter tomato.  | <b>job</b>       | <i>n.</i> job.    |
| <b>jam</b>        | <i>v.</i> make contact, be in contact.                                  | <b>joch</b>      | <i>v.</i> judge.  |
| <b>jel</b>        | <i>n.</i> jail.   | <b>jòmba</b>     | <i>n.</i> affair. |
| <b>jelos</b>      | <i>v.</i> envy, be jealous.   | <b>mek jòmba</b> | have an affair.   |
| <b>jentri</b>     | <i>n.</i> riches.   | <b>jump</b>      | <i>v.</i> jump.   |
| <b>jèntri-man</b> | rich man, rich person.  | <b>jwen</b>      | <i>v.</i> join.   |
| <b>jis</b>        | <i>aux; adv.</i> just; egressive aspect auxiliary. <i>Variant: jòs.</i> |                  |                   |

## K - k

|                 |   |                |   |
|-----------------|---|----------------|---|
| <b>kago</b>     | <i>n.</i> goods.  |                | mood marker (marginal).   |
| <b>kàkà</b>     | <i>v.</i> defecate.<br>— <i>n.</i> faeces.  | <b>kip</b>     | <i>v.</i> keep.   |
| <b>kakàra</b>   | <i>ideo.</i> be restless.   | <b>kip</b>     | <i>ideo.</i> sound of a dull thud.  |
| <b>kamúkàmú</b> | <i>ideo.</i> countermovement of buttocks when walking.                                      | <b>klem</b>    | <i>v.</i> climb.  |
| <b>kan</b>      | <i>v.</i> 1) come. 2) narrative perfective aspect marker.                                   | <b>kleva</b>   | <i>v.</i> be clever.  |
| <b>kàndá</b>    | <i>n.</i> skin, bark, outer layer.  | <b>klia</b>    | <i>v.</i> be clear.   |
| <b>kap</b>      | <i>n.</i> cap. <i>Variant: kyap.</i>  | <b>klin</b>    | <i>v.</i> be clean.   |
| <b>kápinta</b>  | <i>n.</i> carpenter.  | <b>klos</b>    | <i>n.</i> clothing.   |
| <b>kàpú</b>     | <i>v.</i> fight over; seize.  | <b>kòkó</b>    | <i>n.</i> cocoa yam.  |
| <b>kasara</b>   | <i>n.</i> cassava.  | <b>kokònat</b> | <i>n.</i> coconut. <i>Morph: koko-natt.</i>   |
| <b>katakátá</b> | <i>ideo.</i> (be) (hyper-) active, hectic.<br><b>katakátá man</b> hyper-active, hectic man. | <b>kol</b>     | <i>v.</i> be cold.  |
| <b>kayn</b>     | <i>prom.</i> kind.  | <b>kola</b>    | <i>n.</i> kola nut.   |
| <b>kech</b>     | <i>v.</i> catch.  | <b>Kombe</b>   | <i>pn.</i> Kombe person, the Kombe language.  |
| <b>kechòp</b>   | <i>v.</i> realise.  | <b>kot</b>     | <i>n.</i> coat.   |
| <b>kek</b>      | <i>n.</i> cake.<br><b>pàn-kek</b> <i>n.</i> pancake.  | <b>kòba</b>    | <i>v.</i> cover.<br>— <i>n.</i> cover.  |
| <b>kènú</b>     | <i>n.</i> canoe.  | <b>kòf</b>     | <i>v.</i> cough.  |
| <b>kes</b>      | <i>n.</i> matter.   | <b>kòff</b>    | <i>n.</i> coffee.   |
| <b>ker</b>      | <i>v.</i> carry; take; last. <i>Variant: ker(i); kyer(i); kari.</i>                         | <b>kòl</b>     | <i>v.</i> call.   |
| <b>ki</b>       | <i>n.</i> key.  | <b>kòla</b>    | <i>n.</i> colour.   |
| <b>kichin</b>   | <i>n.</i> kitchen.  | <b>kòlech</b>  | <i>n.</i> college.  |
| <b>kik</b>      | <i>v.</i> kick.   | <b>kòmót</b>   | <i>v.</i> 1) go out, come out. 2) turn out, become. <i>Variant: komót.</i><br>— <i>aux.</i> egressive aspect auxiliary. |
| <b>kil</b>      | <i>v.</i> kill.   | <b>kómpàni</b> | (commercial) company.   |
| <b>kilo</b>     | <i>n.</i> kilo. <i>From: Spanish.</i>   | <b>kòmpin</b>  | <i>n.</i> friend.   |
| <b>kìnn</b>     | <i>TMA.</i> habitual aspect marker; abilitive   | <b>kòmplít</b> | <i>v.</i> be complete.  |
|                 |   | <b>kòn</b>     | <i>n.</i> corn.   |
|                 |   | <b>kòna</b>    | <i>n.</i> corner.   |



- *prep.* next to.  
**kànfyús** *v.* confuse.  
**kóngkóngkóng** *ideo; intj.* sound of knocking, employed to seek permission to enter.  
**kònk** *n.* snail.  
**kònt** *v.* count.  
**kòntri** *n.* country, village, hometown.  
**kòp** *n.* cup.  
**kàrét** *v.* be correct; correct, discipline.  
**kòs<sub>1</sub>** *v.* cost.  
**kòs<sub>2</sub>** *v.* insult, offend.  
**kòsín** *n.* cousin.  
**kòsta** *n.* custard.  
**kòstòn** *v.* be used to, be accustomed to.  
**kòt** *v.* cut; have sex.  
     — *n.* cut, gash, (open) wound.  
**kòtlas** *n.* cutlass.  
**kras** *v.* crash.  
**kray** *v.* cry.  
**kres** *v.* be crazy, mad.  
**krès-man** *n.* madman.  
**krès-human** *n.* mad woman.
- Krìó** *pn.* Krio (Fernandino) person, the Krio language (i.e. Pichi as spoken by Fernandinos).  
**Krìó màmá, màmá Krìó** *n.* elderly woman of the Fernandino community.  
**kròb** *v.* scrub; have sex. *Usage:* informal.  
**kròs** *v.* cross.  
     — *n.* cross.  
**kuk** *v.* cook.  
**kusé** *intj.* expresses encouragement and empathy to person working or for good work done.  
**kutùku** *ideo.* sound of the heart beating.  
**kwaráng** *ideo.* sound of round and hard object(s) falling into a receptacle.  
**kwari** *n.* quarry.  
**kwata** *n.* quarter (of a town).  
**kwench** *v.* die (off).  
**kwesòn** *n.* question. *Variant:* **kwesyòn**.  
**kwik** *adv.* quickly.

## Kp - kp

- kpù** *ideo.* sound of impact on a soft matter.

## L - l

- laf** *v.* laugh.  
**lamp** *n.* lamp; electricity. **lamp no de** 'lamp neg cop' = 'there's a power-cut'  
**lan** *v.* learn, teach.  
**langwech** *n.* language, one's native language.  
**làpá** *n.* cloth.  
**las** *v.* be last; end up; endure.  
     — *quant.* last.  
**lata** *n.* can. *From:* Spanish.  
**làtrín** *n.* latrine; any place of defecating.  
**lay** *v.* lie.  
**layf** *n.* life.  
**de layf** be alive.  
**làyk** *adv.* See: **lèk**.
- layn** *n.* line.  
**layt** *v.* 1) light, be lit. 2) be tipsy.  
     — *n.* light.  
**le** *v.* lie, lay.  
**lesi** *v.* be lazy. *Variant:* **lesin**.  
**let** *v.* be late; late (deceased).  
**lèf<sub>1</sub>** *v.* 1) remain; leave (tr.), stop; resultative copula. 2) allow (causative-permissive verb).  
**lèf<sub>2</sub>** *n.* left (side).  
**lèf-han** *n.* left-hand (side).  
**lèk** *adv.* like, as (standard marker in equative constructions). *Variant:* **lèke, làyk**.

**lèk haw** *link.* as soon as; the way that.  
**lèk se** as if.  
**leta** *n.* letter.  
**liba** *n.* liver.  
**get liba** have guts.  
**lif** *n.* leaf.  
**lif** *v.* live; reside. *See: layf.*  
**lika** *n.* alcohol.  
**lif** *v.* (be) little, tiny.  
**lflibit** *adv.* a (little) bit. *Morph: lfli-bit. See: lfli.*  
**ling** *v.* lean against, be reclined; lounge.  
**lonson** *v.* be lonely, miss (a person).  
**lok** *v.* close; lock.

— *n.* lock.  
**lok** *n.* luck. *See: loki.*  
**bàd-lok** bad luck.  
**loki** *v.* be lucky. *Variant: lokin.*  
**lon** *v.* (be) long, tall.  
**lon ten** long time ago, since long.  
**los** *n.* louse.  
**Lùbá** *pn.* second largest town of Bioko. *From: Bube.*  
**Lùbá rod** the road to Luba.  
**luk** *v.* look.

## M - m

**ma** *n.* 1) mother; term of address. 2) madam; term of address. *See: màamá, màámí, mōmi.*  
**mak** *v; n.* mark.  
**pas mak** pass the limit (expresses superlative degree).  
**makit** *n.* market.  
**Malabo** *pn.* capital of Equatorial Guinea, largest town on Bioko island. *From: Bube.*  
**malanga** *n.* malanga. *From: Spanish.*  
**malerya** *n.* malaria.  
**sik malerya** be sick with malaria.  
**màamá** *n.* mother; term of address. *See: màámí, mōmi, ma.*  
— *intj.* expression of surprise or shock.  
**màámí** *n.* mother; term of address. *See: màamá, mōmi, ma.*  
**man** *n.* man; person, human-being.  
— *intj.* expression of surprise or amazement.  
**manech** *v.* manage.  
**mared** *v.* marry.  
**mas** *v.* mash; tread on.  
**masa** *n.* boss, master; term of address.  
**masta** *n.* boss, master; term of address. *See: masa, chif.*  
**matapenso** *n.* pestle. *From: Spanish.*  
**mayn** *v.* mind, care for. *Variant: men.*

**mek<sub>1</sub>** *v.* make, do; causative verb.  
**mek<sub>2</sub>** *link.* subjunctive mood marker, modal complementiser; in order to.  
**mekes** *v.* hurry.  
**melk** *n.* milk.  
**menyemenyé** *ideo.* whine, nag in a childlike fashion.  
**membra** *v.* remember, remind; think of, think about.  
**men** *v.* 1) care for, mind. 2) cure. *Variant: mayn.*  
**mérèsin** *n.* medicine, sorcery.  
**mi** *pron.* 1sg.emp.  
**mì** *pron.* 1sg.poss.  
**mierda** *n; intj.* shit. *From: Spanish.*  
**miks** *v.* mix.  
**min** *v.* mean (to), intend.  
**miná** *n.* penis.  
**mindul** *loc.* (in the) middle (of), amongst. *See: insay.*  
**ministerio** *n.* ministry. *From: Spanish.*  
**misis** *n.* Mrs; head of the household (f.), matron; term of address.  
**mit** *v.* meet; find.  
**mitop** *v.* meet.  
**Moka** *pn.* village in the interior of Bioko. *From: Bube.*  
**mosquitero** *n.* mosquito.net. *From: Spanish.*  
**mosquito** *n.* mosquito. *From: Spanish.*

- mòtó** *n.* car, vehicle. *Variant: moto.*  
**móvil** *n.* mobile phone. *From: Spanish.*  
**mò** *adv.* more (comparative particle); again.  
 — *v.* be more.  
**mòch** *adv.* much.  
**tu mòch** *adv.* too much. *See: tu.*  
**mò-èn-mò** *adv.* more and more.  
**mòmi** *n.* mother; term of address. *See: màamá, mòmí, ma.*  
**mònde** *n.* monday.  
**mòní** *n.* money.  
**mònin** *n.* morning.  
**gud mònin** good morning.  
**mònin tèn** *n.* morning.  
**mònkí** *n.* monkey.  
**mòs** *TMA.* must (obligative mood marker).  
**mòt** *n.* mouth.  
**muf** *v.* move.  
**mulata** *n.* African European f. *From: Spanish.*  
**mulato** *n.* African European m. *From: Spanish.*  
**mun** *n.* moon, month.

## N - n

- nà<sub>1</sub>** *part.* focus marker; identity copula (affirmative).  
**nà<sub>2</sub>** *prep.* general locative preposition.  
**nàdó** *loc.* outside.  
**nak** *v.* hit; make love to; gulp down a drink.  
**natin** *prom.* nothing.  
**naw** *adv.* now.  
**naw so** *adv.* right now.  
**nàwá** *intj.* expression of exasperation and (self) pity.  
**nayn** *quant.* nine.  
**nays** *v.* (be) nice.  
**nekəd** *v.* be naked.  
**nel** *n.* nail.  
**nem** *n.* name.  
**nesən** *n.* nation(ality), (a) people. *Variant: nesyon.*  
**netif** *v.* (be) customary.  
**nea** *TMA.* negative perfect tense-aspect marker. *Morph: neva. Variant: neba, nōba.*  
**nef** *n.* knife.  
**nek** *n.* neck.  
**neks** *quant.* next.  
**net** *n.* night.  
**nà net** at night, in the night.  
**ni<sub>1</sub>** *n.* knee.  
**ni<sub>2</sub>** *link.* neither.  
 — *adv.* even. *From: Spanish.*  
**nia** *loc.* near, next to.  
**nid** *v.* need.  
**nidul** *n.* needle.  
**Nigeria** *pn.* Nigeria. *From: Spanish.*  
**nit** *n.* nit.  
**no<sub>1</sub>** *part.* negative particle.  
**no<sub>2</sub>** *v.* know.  
**normal** *adj.* normal. *From: Spanish.*  
**nos** *n.* nose.  
**novia** *n.* girlfriend. *From: Spanish.*  
**novio** *n.* boyfriend. *From: Spanish.*  
**nō** *part.* negative particle; question tag. *See: no.*  
**nōba** *TMA.* negative perfect tense-aspect marker. *See: nea.*  
**nōmba** *n.* number.  
**nōto** *part.* focus marker; identity copula (negative).  
**nōys** *n.* noise.  
**nube** *n.* cloud. *From: Spanish.*  
**nyàngá** *v.* put on airs, coquet.  
**nyóní** *n.* ant.  
**nyu** *v.* (be) new.  
**Nyumbili** *pn.* most populous and densely-populated quarter of Malabo.  
**nyus** *n.* news.

## O - o

|             |   |                |  |
|-------------|---|----------------|--|
| <b>o</b>    | <i>link. or. See: ò. From: Spanish.</i> | <b>opinyáy</b> | <i>v. be enlightened, cultivated. Morph: opin-yay.</i>                             |
| <b>ò</b>    | <i>intj. sp.</i>                        | <b>òpó</b>     | <i>n. vagina.</i>  |
| <b>ogi</b>  | <i>n. corn porridge.</i>                | <b>ova</b>     | <i>adv. over, excessively. Variant: oba.</i><br>— <i>v. be over; be excessive.</i> |
| <b>ol</b>   | <i>v. (be) old.</i>                     | <b>òva-hòt</b> | <i>v. be overhot, overheated.</i>  |
| <b>onli</b> | <i>quant. only. See: dasòl.</i>         |                |  |
| <b>óòó</b>  | <i>intj. response to a call.</i>        |                |  |
| <b>opin</b> | <i>v. be open. Variant: hopin.</i>      |                |  |

## O - o

|                 |                                   |                |                                 |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>ò</b>        | <i>link. or.</i>                  | <b>òntóp</b>   | <i>loc. top, on.</i>            |
| <b>òda</b>      | <i>quant. other.</i>              | <b>òp</b>      | <i>loc. up(perside), above.</i> |
| <b>òf</b>       | <i>prep. of. Usage: rare.</i>     | <b>òrayt</b>   | <i>adv. alright.</i>            |
| <b>òfis</b>     | <i>n. office.</i>                 | <b>òspitul</b> | <i>n. hospital.</i>             |
| <b>ol</b>       | <i>quant. all, every.</i>         | <b>òt</b>      | <i>v. extinguish.</i>           |
| <b>òndàstán</b> | <i>v. understand.</i>             | <b>òyl</b>     | <i>n. oil.</i>                  |
| <b>ònkúl</b>    | <i>n. uncle; term of address.</i> |                |                                 |

## P - p

|                  |  |                        |  |
|------------------|--|------------------------|--|
| <b>pa</b>        | <i>n. father; term of address for man of one's father's generation. See: pàpá.</i>               | <b>pàpá gòd</b>        | <i>n. father God.</i><br>— <i>intj. expression of exasperation, self pity, address of God.</i> |
| <b>paciente</b>  | <i>n. patient. From: Spanish.</i>  | <b>pàpí</b>            | <i>n. father; term of address. See: pàpá.</i>  |
| <b>pàchá</b>     | <i>v. party, live it up, have fun. Usage: informal. See: ambiente. From: Spanish.</i>            | <b>paráláys</b>        | <i>n. paralise.</i>  |
| <b>Pagálú</b>    | <i>pn. Annobón island, person from Annobón, the language of Annobón.</i>                         | <b>pareja</b>          | <i>n. couple. From: Spanish.</i>   |
| <b>pak</b>       | <i>v. pack; fill, be full.</i>   | <b>pas</b>             | <i>v. 1) pass (by); standard marker in comparative constructions. 2) happen.</i>               |
| <b>pala</b>      | <i>n. parlour; sitting room.</i>   | <b>pat</b>             | <i>n. part; place.</i>   |
| <b>paludismo</b> | <i>n. malaria. From: Spanish.</i>  | <b>patata</b>          | <i>n. potato. From: Spanish.</i>   |
| <b>pàmáyn</b>    | <i>n. oil.</i>   | <b>pawa</b>            | <i>n. power, strength; potency.</i>  |
| <b>pàmbóòd</b>   | <i>n. bird.</i>  | <b>pawda</b>           | <i>n. powder.</i>  |
| <b>pan</b>       | <i>n. pan.</i>   | <b>pe</b>              | <i>v. pay.</i>   |
| <b>dòtí pan</b>  | <i>rubbish bin.</i>  | <b>peluqueria</b>      | <i>n. hairdresser. From: Spanish.</i>  |
| <b>pàn</b>       | <i>prep. on.</i>   | <b>pen</b>             | <i>v. pain.</i>  |
| <b>pàntáp</b>    | <i>loc. top; on. Variant: pàntóp.</i>  | <b>pent</b>            | <i>v. paint.</i>   |
| <b>Pànyá</b>     | <i>pn. Spain, Spaniard, the Spanish language.</i>  | <b>pepa</b>            | <i>n. paper.</i>   |
| <b>papa</b>      | <i>n. potato. From: Spanish.</i>   | <b>petróleo</b>        | <i>n. oil (crude ~). From: Spanish.</i>  |
| <b>pàpá</b>      | <i>n. father; term of address. See: papi.</i><br>— <i>intj. expression of surprise or shock.</i> | <b>pepe</b>            | <i>n. pepper.</i>  |
|                  |  | <b>pia<sub>1</sub></b> | <i>n. avocado.</i>   |
|                  |  | <b>pia<sub>2</sub></b> | <i>n. pair.</i>  |

- pia sus** *n.* pair of shoes.
- Pichi** *pn.* the Pichi language. *Variant:* **Pichinglis**.
- pik** *v.* pick (up).
- pikín** *n.* child; member of a specified group.
- Guinea pikín** *n.* person of Equatoguinean stock; typically Equatoguinean person.
- pil** *v.* peel.
- pin** *v.* stick in(to).
- pinch** *v.* pinch. *Variant:* **spinch**.
- pipí** *v.* urinate.  
— *n.* urine.
- pipul** *n.* people.
- pisís** *n.* piece of cloth, rag.
- pisó** *n.* storey. *From:* Spanish.
- pisul** *n.* pistol.
- plaba** *n.* trouble, problem, matter.
- plant** *v.* 1) plant. 2) plait (hair).
- plàntí** *n.* plantain.  
**bwèl-plàntí** *n.* boiled plantain.  
**frày-plàntí** *n.* fried plantain.  
**grín-plàntí** *n.* green, unripe plantain.
- plastik** *n.* plastic.
- plataforma** *n.* oil rig. *From:* Spanish.
- plaza** *n.* square. *From:* Spanish.
- ple** *v.* play.  
— *n.* game.
- ples** *n.* place.
- plet** *n.* plate.
- plenk** *n.* board, plank.
- plente** *v; quant.* (be) plenty, a lot.
- plis** *intj.* please.
- po** *v.* (be) poor.
- policía** *n.* police. *From:* Spanish.
- pòlís** *n.* police.
- por Dios** *intj.* by God. *From:* Spanish.
- porcería** *n.* mess. *From:* Spanish.
- porque** *link.* because. *See:* **bìkos**. *From:* Spanish.
- pømp** *v; n.* pump.
- pønís** *v.* punish.
- pøsin** *n.* person, human-being. *Variant:* **pesin**.
- pøt** *n.* pot.
- pøtøpøtó** *n; ideo.* mud; any sticky substance.
- prawd** *v.* (be) boastful, proud.
- prik** *n.* penis. *See:* **mìná**.
- prima** *n.* cousin f. *From:* Spanish.
- primo** *n.* cousin m. *From:* Spanish.
- pring** *ideo.* sound of ringing.
- problema** *n.* problem. *From:* Spanish.
- profesor** *n.* teacher. *Variant:* **profe**. *From:* Spanish.
- problèm** *n.* problem.
- promís** *v.* promise.
- propàtí** *n.* property.
- pruf** *v.* prove; disclose.
- pueblo** *n.* village. *From:* Spanish.
- puerto** *n.* harbour. *From:* Spanish.
- pues** *link.* so. *From:* Spanish.
- pul** *v.* pull, remove.  
**pul bèlé** abort.  
**pul bris** breathe, inhale.  
**pul fòtó** take a picture.  
**pul tòrí** tell a story, converse.
- pus** *v.* push.
- put** *v.* put.
- pyo** *v.* (be) pure.

## R - r

- ras** *n.* arse. *Usage:* informal.
- kàka-ras** *n.* arse (also used as an insult).
- rawn** *v.* surround.
- raya** *v.* grate. *From:* Spanish.
- rayt<sub>1</sub>** *v.* write.
- rayt<sub>2</sub>** *n.*  
**get rayt** be right. *n.*  
**ràyt-han** *n.* right hand (side).
- Rebola** *pn.* town on the east coast of Bioko.  
*From:* Bube.
- rèfyús** *v.* refuse.
- relámpago** *n.* lightning. *From:* Spanish.
- ren** *n.* rain.
- restaurante** *n.* restaurant. *From:* Spanish.
- reunión** *n.* meeting. *From:* Spanish.
- red** *v.* (be) red, orange.

- rèdí** v. prepare.  
**rep** v. be ripe.  
**res<sub>1</sub>** v. rest.  
**res<sub>2</sub>** n. rice.  
**rèspét** v. respect, admire.  
**Riaba** *pn.* town on the east coast of Bioko.  
*From: Bube.*  
**rich** v. arrive; reach; (to) equal.  
**ring** n. ring.  
**riva** n. river. *Variant: riba.*  
**rod** n. road.  
**rop** n. rope.
- ros** v. roast, burn.  
**rob** v. rub.  
**ròn<sub>1</sub>** v. (be) wrong.  
**ròn-say** n. reverse, upside down, inside out.  
**ròn<sub>2</sub>** v. run.  
**rotin** v. rot.  
**rubio** *adj.* light. *From: Spanish.*  
**rum** n. room.  
**báf-rum** n. bath-room.

## S - s

- sa** n. sir; term of address.  
**sàbí** v. know; know how to.  
**saco** n. sack. *From: Spanish.*  
**sàdín** n. sardine.  
**saf** v. (be) soft.  
**saful** v. be careful; slow; smooth, cool.  
**sala** n. hall. *From: Spanish.*  
**saldo** n. units (mobile phone ~). *From: Spanish.*  
**get saldo** have units (on the mobile phone).  
**sàlút** v. greet.  
**san** n. sun.  
**san tən** n. (after)noon.  
**sànsán** n. sand, soil.  
**sastre** n. tailor. *From: Spanish.*  
**sátide** n. saturday.  
**sawa** v. shower.  
**say** n. side; place.  
**sayn** v. sign.  
**se** v. say.  
— *link.* quotative marker and clause linker with a large range of functions.  
**seb** v. share, divide. *Variant: syeb.*  
**sek** v. shake; dance. *Variant: syek.*  
**sem** v. be ashamed; put to shame. *Variant: syem.*  
**sen** *prom.* same. *Variant: syen.*  
**senwe** *part.* focus marker; also, too, even. *Morph: sen-we. Variant: syenwe.*
- serie** n. series, soap opera. *From: Spanish.*  
**sef** *prom.* self.  
— *part.* focus marker; even, too, also.  
**sèkón** *quant.* second. *Variant: sekón.*  
**sel** v. sell.  
**sen** v. send, throw with aim.  
**sens** n. brain, mind.  
**get sens** be intelligent.  
**sent** n. scent.  
**seven** *quant.* seven. *Variant: seben.*  
**si** v. see; find.  
**sid** n. seed.  
**sidón** v. sit (down); reside. *Variant: sidón.*  
**sifta** v. sift.  
— n. sieve.  
**sigá** n. cigarette.  
**sigue** v. continue, follow. *From: Spanish.*  
— *aux.* continuative aspect auxiliary.  
**sik** v. be sick.  
— n. sickness.  
**sikrit** n. secret.  
**siks** *quant.* six.  
**sin** *prep.* without. *See: witáwt. From: Spanish.*  
**sing** v. sing.  
— n. song.  
**sinímá** n. movie; cinema.  
**sins** *prep.* since (temporal).  
**siryos** v. (be) serious.  
**sisin** n. season.

- rèn-sisin** *n.* rainy season.  
**drày-sisin** *n.* dry season.  
**sisos** *n.* scissors.  
**sista** *n.* sister; term of address.  
**sistàló** *n.* sister-in-law. *Morph: sista-lo. Variant: sistèlól.*  
**skia** *v.* be scared, scare.  
**skin** *n.* body.  
**smòlskín** *v.* be thin, emaciated.  
**skrach** *v.* scratch. *Variant: krach.*  
**skul** *n.* school.  
**gi skul** give classes.  
**go skul** go to school.  
**skwis** *v.* squeeze. *Variant: kwis.*  
**slak** *v.* be loose, loosen.  
**slap** *v.* slap.  
**slim** *v.* (be) slim.  
**slip** *v.* lie, lay; sleep; have sex.  
**slipás** *n.* slipper.  
**slo** *adj.* (be) slow.  
**smat** *v.* (be) fast.  
**smel** *v.* smell.  
 — *n.* smell.  
**smok** *v; n.* smoke.  
**smòl** *v.* (be) small.  
 — *quant.* a bit, few.  
**smòlten** *adv.* shortly after; nearly.  
**snek** *n.* snake.  
**so<sub>1</sub>** *v.* show.  
**so<sub>2</sub>** *adv.* like that, like this.  
**so<sub>3</sub>** *v.* sew.  
**sò** *adv.* so, thus, hence.  
**sobrina** *n.* niece. *From: Spanish.*  
**sobрино** *n.* nephew. *From: Spanish.*  
**sok** *v.* be wet.  
**soldado** *n.* soldier. *From: Spanish.*  
**solwàtá** *n.* the sea, saltwater. *Morph: sòl-wàtá.*  
**solya** *n.* soldier.  
**sonido** *n.* sound. *From: Spanish.*  
**sosayti** *n.* association, confraternity.  
**sosó** *quant.* only; abundant.  
**soté** *prep.* until (temporal, locative).  
 — *adv.* for a long time; even, extremely.  
**səfa** *v.* suffer.  
**sòfút** *n.* wound, injury. *Morph: sò-fut.*  
**sòl** *n.* salt.  
**sòn** *quant.* some; indefinite determiner.  
**sònde** *n.* sunday.  
**sonilól** *n.* son-in-law.  
**sòntén** *adv.* perhaps, maybe.  
**sòp** *n.* shop. *Variant: syòp.*  
**sòri** *v.* feel sorry. *Variant: sòrin.*  
**sot<sub>1</sub>** *v.* (be) short. *Variant: syòt.*  
**sot<sub>2</sub>** *n.* shirt. *Variant: syòt.*  
**spen** *v.* spend.  
**spétikul** *n.* glasses.  
**spia** *v.* spy on, tail somebody.  
**spirit** *n.* spirit.  
**spit** *v.* spit.  
 — *n.* spit.  
**spot** *v.* be stylish, dressed up; exhibit the self-confident demeanor of a well-dressed person.  
**spotìnbóy** *n.* well dressed, stylish guy.  
**spun** *n.* spoon.  
**spwel** *v.* spoil; use up.  
**sta** *n.* star. *Usage: rare. See: estrella.*  
**stat** *v.* start.  
**stawt** *v.* (be) corpulent.  
**stayl** *n.* style, manner.  
**us=stayl** *inter.* how.  
**ste** *v.* stay; last (a long time).  
**stik** *n.* tree, branch, stick, wood. *Variant: tik.*  
**stil** *adv.* still.  
 — *aux.* continuative aspect auxiliary.  
**stima** *n.* ship.  
**ston** *n.* 1) stone. 2) testicle.  
 — *v.* throw stones at. *Variant: ton.*  
**stòp** *v.* stop.  
**stret** *v.* (be) straight; respectable; sincere. *Variant: tret.*  
**strit** *n.* street. *Variant: trit.*  
**stròn** *v.* (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult; (be) profound. *See: tranga. Variant: tròn.*  
**styu** *n.* stew.  
**sub** *v.* shove, push.  
**sube** *v.* go up, take up. *See: go òp. From:*

Spanish.  
**suga** *n.* sugar.  
**súkútúpàmpa** *ideo.* in a cheap and mean fashion.  
**sup** *n.* soup.  
**bàngá sup** *n.* palm nut soup.  
**gránát sup** *n.* groundnut sup.  
**sus** *n.* shoe.

**sut** *v.* shoot.  
**swela** *v.* swallow.  
**swet** *v.* sweat.  
 — *n.* sweat.  
**swin** *v.* swim. *Variant:* **swim**.  
**swit** *v.* 1) (be) tasty. 2) be sweet.

## T - t

**tàksi** *n.* taxi.  
**tal** *adv.* so. *From:* Spanish.  
**tamatis** *n.* tomato.  
**tan** *adv.* as. *From:* Spanish.  
**tanap** *v.* stand (up). *See:* **tinap**. *Variant:* **stanap**.  
**tarjeta** *n.* card. *From:* Spanish.  
**tawel** *n.* towel.  
**tay** *v.* tie.  
**taya** *v.* be tired.  
**tayt** *v.* be tight, tighten.  
**tebul** *n.* table.  
**tek** *v.* take. *See:* **kyer**.  
**teléfono** *n.* telephone. *From:* Spanish.  
**televisión** *n.* television. *From:* Spanish.  
**tél** *v.* tell, narrate.  
**ten** *n.* time.  
**tenki** *intj.* thanks.  
**tia** *n.* aunt; term of address. *See:* **àntí**. *From:* Spanish.  
**tich** *v.* teach.  
**ticha** *n.* teacher.  
**tidé** *n.* today. *Variant:* **tùdé**.  
**tif** *v.* steal.  
**tif-man** *n.* thief.  
**tifoidea** *n.* typhoid fever. *From:* Spanish.  
**sik tifoidea** be sick with typhoid fever.  
**tik** *v.* (be) thick.  
**tik** *ideo.* cracking sound.  
**tin** *n.* thing.  
**tinada** *n.* thunderstorm.  
**tinap** *v.* stand (up), put into an upright position. *See:* **tanap**. *Variant:* **stinap**.  
**tink** *v.* think.  
**tio** *n.* uncle; term of address. *See:* **ònkúl**.

*From:* Spanish.  
**tit** *n.* tooth.  
**títí** *n.* girl.  
**tò** *prep.* to (locative preposition and complementiser). *Usage:* rare.  
**tomate** *n.* tomato. *From:* Spanish.  
**tòpé** *n.* palm-wine. *From:* Bube.  
**tòrí** *n.* story.  
**tot** *v.* carry.  
**tòtó** *n.* vagina. *See:* **òpó**.  
**toch** *v.* touch.  
**tòk** *v.* talk.  
 — *n.* word, speech, language.  
**kòntri-tòk** *n.* the language of one's home town, native language.  
**tòn<sub>1</sub>** *n.* town.  
**tòn<sub>2</sub>** *v.* 1) turn. 2) become.  
**tòn bak** *v.* return, come back.  
**tong** *n.* tongue; language.  
**Bàta tòng** *n.* any language of Bata or the entire continental part of Equatorial Guinea.  
**top** *n.* top.  
**tosti** *v.* be thirsty. *Variant:* **tòstin**.  
**tradicional** *adj.* traditional. *From:* Spanish.  
**tranga** *v.* (be) strong; (be) hard; (be) difficult. *See:* **stròn**.  
**transporte** *n.* transport. *From:* Spanish.  
**travul** *v.* travel.  
**tray** *v.* try; make an effort.  
**tren** *v.* train; educate, bring up. *See:* **trenin**.  
**trenin** *n.* training; upbringing. *See:* **tren**.  
**tri** *quant.* three.  
**trimbul** *v.* tremble. *Variant:* **strimbul**.



VOCABULARY

**tripas** *n.* intestines. *From:* Spanish.  
**trot** *n.* throat.  
**tròwé** *v.* 1) throw (away). 2) pour.  
**tròbul** *n.* trouble, hardship.  
**tròsís** *n.* trousers.  
**tru** *v.* (be) true.  
**tu<sub>1</sub>** *quant.* two.  
**tu<sub>2</sub>** *adv.* too (much).

**tùdé** *n.* *See:* **tidé**.  
**tumara** *n.* tomorrow, the next day. *Variant:*  
**tumoro**.  
**tùmbú** *n.* worm.  
**tumoro** *n.* *See:* **tumara**.  
**tun** *v.* 1) tune. 2) persuade, chat up.  
**tyusde** *n.* tuesday.

U - u

**udat** *inter.* who.  
**ùna** *pron.* 2pl pronoun (emphatic and non-emphatic). *Variant:* **ùnu**.  
**us=** *inter.* which; clitic interrogative particle in wh- question words.  
**us=awa** *inter.* what time, when.  
**us=kayn** *inter.* which (kind of).  
**us=pòsin** *inter.* who.  
**us=say** *inter.* where.  
**us=stayl** *inter.* how.  
**us=tèn** *inter.* when.  
**us=tin** *inter.* what.

V - v

**vajin** *n.* virgin(ity). *Variant:* **bajin**.  
**vecina** *n.* neighbour f. *From:* Spanish.  
**vecino** *n.* neighbour m. *From:* Spanish.  
**verdura** *n.* vegetables. *From:* Spanish.  
**veks** *v.* be angry.  
**viaja** *v.* travel. *From:* Spanish.  
**vilech** *n.* village.  
**vino** *n.* wine. *From:* Spanish.  
**visít** *v.* visit.  
**vòmít** *v.* vomit.  
**vuelta** *n.* round. *From:* Spanish.  
**gi wan vuelta** take a walk.

W - w

**wach** *v.* watch.  
**waka** *v.* walk. *Variant:* **wòk**.  
**wan** *quant.* 1) one; a (indefinite determiner). 2) only, alone, single-handedly. 3) approximately.  
— *prom.* one (noun substitute).  
**wan tèn** *adv.* (at) once, suddenly.  
**-wan** *aff.* adverbialising suffix.  
**wanda** *v.* wonder. *Variant:* **wònda**.  
**wan-èn-haf** *quant.* one and a half.  
**wans** *link.* once.  
**want** *v.* want.  
— *aux.* prospective aspect auxiliary.  
*Variant:* **wònt**.  
**wantèn** *adv.* suddenly; at once.  
**was** *v.* wash.  
**wàtá** *n.* water. *Variant:* **wòtá**.  
**hòt-wàtá** *n.* hot, warm water.  
**kòl-wàtá** *n.* cold, cool water.  
**wayf** *n.* wife.  
**wàyó** *n.* cunning.  
— *v.* be cunning, trick.  
**wayp** *v.* wipe.  
**wayt** *v.* (be) white, light, clear.  
**we<sub>1</sub>** *link.* introduces relative clauses; coordinate clauses; time clauses;

- complement clauses (marginal).  
*Variant: wɛn.*
- we**<sub>2</sub> *n.* way.
- wɛk** *v.* wake (up).
- wɛkɔp** *v.* wake (up).
- wɛs** *n.* buttocks, genital area; bottom part of an entity.
- wɛt** *v.* wait.
- wɛ̀t** *prep.* with (expresses comitative, instrument, cause, manner, circumstance roles); and.
- wɛtin** *inter.* what.
- wɛwɛ́** *ideo.* sound of crying and wailing.
- wɛl** *v.* be well.
- wɛlkɔm** *intj.* welcome.
- wɛnsde** *n.* wednesday.
- wɛr** *v.* wear; dress up.
- wi** *pron.* 1pl independent pronoun.
- wì** *pron.* 1pl dependent pronoun.
- wich**<sub>1</sub> *inter.* which.
- wich**<sub>2</sub> *v.* bewitch.
- *n.* witch, sorcerer; sorcery.
- wik** *n.* week.
- wikɛd** *v.* (be) wicked.
- win** *v.* win; defeat.
- winda** *n.* window. *Variant: windo.*
- witáwt** *prep.* without. *Usage: rare. See: sin.*
- wok** *v; n.* work.
- wos** *v.* be very bad.
- wowó** *ideo.* of crying.
- wɔd** *n.* word.
- wɔk** *v.* walk. *Usage: rare. See: waka.*
- wɔl** *n.* world.
- wɔri** *v.* worry. *Variant: wɔrin.*
- wòtá** *n.* water. *Variant: wàtá.*
- wòwó** *ideo; v.* (be) ugly; (be) messy, in disorder.
- wud** *n.* wood.
- fàya-wud** *n.* fire wood.
- wuruwurú** *ideo; n.* deceit.

## Y - y

- ya** *adv.* here.
- ya so** *adv.* right here.
- yábás** *n.* onion.
- yàndá** *adv.* yonder, over there. *Variant: nyàndá.*
- yay** *n.* eye.
- ye** *intj.* response to a call.
- yes** *n.* ear.
- yet** *adv.* yet, still.
- yer** *v.* hear, understand. *See: hia.*
- yes** *intj.* yes. *Variant: ye.*
- yéstàdé** *n.* yesterday.
- yon** *prom.* own, noun substitute.
- yu** *pron.* 2sg independent pronoun.
- yù** *pron.* 2sg dependent pronoun.
- yun** *v.* (be) young. *Variant: nyun.*
- yus** *v.* use. *Variant: nyus.*

## English–Pichi

### A - a

|                        |   |                 |   |
|------------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| a                      | <i>quant.</i> <b>sòn</b> ;<br><i>quant.</i> <b>wan</b> (1).                       | alone           | <i>quant.</i> <b>wan</b> (2).   |
| abilitive mood marker  | <i>TMA.</i> <b>kìn</b> .  | alright         | <i>adv.</i> <b>bueno</b> ;<br><i>adv.</i> <b>orayt</b> .  |
| able                   | <i>v.</i> <b>fit</b> .  | also            | <i>part.</i> <b>sef</b> .   |
| abort                  | — <b>pul bèlé</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>pul</b> .                                      | altar           | <i>n.</i> <b>altar</b> .  |
| above                  | <i>loc.</i> <b>əp</b> .   | although        | <i>link.</i> <b>aunque</b> .  |
| abundant               | <i>quant.</i> <b>sosó</b> .   | amongst         | <i>loc.</i> <b>insay</b> ;<br><i>loc.</i> <b>mindul</b> .   |
| accident               | <i>n.</i> <b>accidente</b> .  | and             | <i>link.</i> <b>àn</b> <sub>1</sub> ;<br><i>link.</i> <b>we</b> <sub>1</sub> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>wèt</b> . |
| accompany              | <i>v.</i> <b>fala</b> .   | angry           | <i>v.</i> <b>veks</b> .   |
| acquire                | <i>v.</i> <b>get</b> .  | animal          | <i>n.</i> <b>animal</b> .   |
| active (hyper~)        | <i>ideo.</i> <b>katakata</b> .  | animal (wild ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>bif</b> .  |
| admire                 | <i>v.</i> <b>rèspét</b> .   | answer          | <i>v.</i> <b>ansa</b> .   |
| adopt                  | <i>v.</i> <b>adopta</b> .   | ant             | <i>n.</i> <b>nyoní</b> .  |
| advise                 | <i>v.</i> <b>àdváys</b> .   | antelope        | <i>n.</i> <b>fritambo</b> .   |
| affair                 | <i>n.</i> <b>affaire</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>jòmba</b> .                            | approximately   | <i>adv.</i> <b>aunque</b> ;<br><i>quant.</i> <b>wan</b> (3).  |
| affix (adverbialising) | <i>aff.</i> <b>-wan</b> .   | arm             | <i>n.</i> <b>han</b> .  |
| Africa                 | <i>n.</i> <b>Áfrika</b> .   | around          | <i>adv.</i> <b>arawn</b> .  |
| African European f.    | <i>n.</i> <b>mulata</b> .   | arrange         | <i>v.</i> <b>fiks</b> .   |
| African European m.    | <i>n.</i> <b>mulato</b> .   | arrive          | <i>v.</i> <b>rich</b> .   |
| African f.             | <i>pn; adj.</i> <b>africana</b> .   | arrogant        | <i>v.</i> <b>prawd</b> .  |
| African m.             | <i>pn; adj.</i> <b>africano</b> .   | arse            | <i>n.</i> <b>ras</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>kàka-ras</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>ras</b> .                              |
| after                  | <i>loc.</i> <b>bihén</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>apás</b> .                          | as              | <i>adv.</i> <b>lèk</b> ;<br><i>link.</i> <b>as</b> .  |
| afternoon              | <i>n.</i> <b>áftènun</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>san ten</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>san</b> . | as if           | — <b>lèk se</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>lèk</b> .  |
| afterwards             | <i>adv.</i> <b>afta</b> .   | as (much)       | <i>adv.</i> <b>tan</b> .  |
| again                  | <i>adv.</i> <b>mò</b> .   | as soon as      | <i>link.</i> <b>lèk haw</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>lèk</b> .  |
| age                    | <i>n.</i> <b>ech</b> .  | ashamed         | <i>v.</i> <b>sem</b> .  |
| agree                  | <i>v.</i> <b>gri</b> .  | ashes           | <i>n.</i> <b>hasis</b> .  |
| air                    | <i>n.</i> <b>bris</b> .   | ask             | <i>v.</i> <b>aks</b> <sub>2</sub> .   |
| airport                | <i>n.</i> <b>aeropuerto</b> .   | ask for         | <i>v.</i> <b>beg</b> .  |
| airs (put on ~)        | <i>v.</i> <b>nyàngá</b> .   | association     | <i>n.</i> <b>sosayti</b> .  |
| alcohol                | <i>n.</i> <b>lika</b> .   | at              | <i>prep.</i> <b>fð</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>nà</b> <sub>2</sub> .   |
| alive (be ~)           | — <b>de layf</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>layf</b> .                                      |                 |   |
| all                    | <i>quant.</i> <b>ol</b> .   |                 |   |
| allow                  | <i>v.</i> <b>gri</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>lef</b> <sub>1</sub> (1).                  |                 |   |

|                                   |                                     |  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| at night                          | — <b>nà net</b> , see: <b>net</b> . | auxiliary (egressive aspect ~) <i>aux.</i> <b>kòmót</b> ;  |
| at once                           | <i>adv.</i> <b>wanten</b> .         | <i>aux;</i> <i>adv.</i> <b>jis</b> .                       |
| aunt                              | <i>n.</i> <b>àntf</b> ;             | auxiliary (ingressive aspect ~) <i>aux.</i> <b>bìgn</b> .  |
|                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>tia</b> .              | auxiliary (prospective aspect ~) <i>aux.</i> <b>want</b> . |
| auxiliary (completive aspect ~)   | <i>aux.</i> <b>finis</b> .          | avocado  |
| auxiliary (continuative aspect ~) | <i>aux.</i> <b>sigue</b> ;          | <i>n.</i> <b>pia</b> <sub>1</sub> .                        |
|                                   | <i>aux.</i> <b>stil</b> .           | axe  |
|                                   |                                     | <i>n.</i> <b>aks</b> <sub>1</sub> .                        |

## B - b

|                  |                                       |                   |  |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| babe             | <i>n.</i> <b>bèbí</b> (2);            | become            | <i>v.</i> <b>kòmót</b> (2);            |
|                  | <i>n.</i> <b>bèlps</b> .              |                   | <i>v.</i> <b>tòn</b> <sub>2</sub> (1). |
| baby             | <i>n.</i> <b>bèbí</b> (1).            | bed               | <i>n.</i> <b>bed</b> .                 |
| back (body part) | <i>n.</i> <b>bak</b> .                | beer              | <i>n.</i> <b>bia</b> <sub>1</sub> .    |
| bad              | <i>v.</i> <b>bad</b> .                | before (temporal) | <i>link.</i> <b>bifó</b> .             |
| bad (very ~)     | <i>v.</i> <b>wos</b> .                | begin             | <i>v.</i> <b>bìgn</b> .                |
| bag              | <i>n.</i> <b>bag</b> ;                | behind            | <i>loc.</i> <b>bihén</b> .             |
|                  | <i>n.</i> <b>blay</b> .               | belch             | <i>v.</i> <b>belch</b> .               |
| ball             | <i>n.</i> <b>bol</b> .                | believe           | <i>v.</i> <b>bilíf</b> .               |
| bamboo           | <i>n.</i> <b>bàmbú</b> .              | belly             | <i>n.</i> <b>bèlé</b> .                |
| banana           | <i>n.</i> <b>banana</b> .             | belt              | <i>n.</i> <b>belt</b> .                |
| bank             | <i>n.</i> <b>banco</b> .              | bend (over)       | <i>v.</i> <b>bèn</b> .                 |
| baptise          | <i>v.</i> <b>bàptáys</b> ;            | between           | <i>loc.</i> <b>mindul</b> .            |
|                  | <i>v.</i> <b>bautiza</b> .            | bewitch           | <i>v.</i> <b>wich</b> <sub>2</sub> .   |
| bark             | <i>n.</i> <b>kàndá</b> .              | big               | <i>v.</i> <b>big</b> .                 |
| basket           | <i>n.</i> <b>blay</b> .               | bird              | <i>n.</i> <b>pàmbód</b> .              |
| bathe            | <i>v.</i> <b>baf</b> .                | bit (a ~)         | <i>adv.</i> <b>lflibit</b> ;           |
| bathtub          | <i>n.</i> <b>bañera</b> .             |                   | <i>quant.</i> <b>smol</b> .            |
| be               | <i>part.</i> <b>nà</b> <sub>1</sub> ; | bite              | <i>v.</i> <b>bet</b> <sub>1</sub> .    |
|                  | <i>part.</i> <b>nòto</b> ;            | bitter tomato     | <i>n.</i> <b>jakátó</b> .              |
|                  | <i>v.</i> <b>bi</b> .                 | black             | <i>v.</i> <b>blak</b> .                |
| be at            | <i>v.</i> <b>de</b> <sub>2</sub> .    | blood             | <i>n.</i> <b>blod</b> .                |
| beach            | <i>n.</i> <b>bich</b> .               | blow              | <i>n.</i> <b>blo</b> <sub>3</sub> .    |
| beans            | <i>n.</i> <b>haricot</b> .            | blow (air)        | <i>v.</i> <b>blo</b> <sub>1</sub> .    |
| bear             | <i>v.</i> <b>aguanta</b> ;            | blue              | <i>v.</i> <b>blu</b> .                 |
|                  | <i>v.</i> <b>bia</b> <sub>2</sub> .   | board             | <i>n.</i> <b>plenk</b> .               |
| beard            | <i>n.</i> <b>byàbyá</b> .             | boastful          | <i>v.</i> <b>prawd</b> .               |
| beat             | <i>v.</i> <b>bit</b> .                | body              | <i>n.</i> <b>skin</b> ;                |
| beautiful        | <i>adj.</i> <b>fayn</b> ;             |                   | <i>n;</i> <i>prom.</i> <b>bodi</b> .   |
|                  | <i>v.</i> <b>brayt</b> ;              | boil              | <i>v.</i> <b>bwel</b> .                |
|                  | <i>v.</i> <b>fres</b> .               | bone              | <i>n.</i> <b>bon</b> .                 |
| because          | <i>link.</i> <b>as</b> ;              | book              | <i>n.</i> <b>buk</b> .                 |
|                  | <i>link.</i> <b>bikos</b> ;           | bored             | <i>v.</i> <b>aburre</b> .              |
|                  | <i>link.</i> <b>como</b> ;            | born, be ~        | <i>v.</i> <b>bøn</b> (1).              |
|                  | <i>link.</i> <b>porque</b> .          | boss              | <i>n.</i> <b>chif</b> ;                |

VOCABULARY

|                |                              |                |                                  |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
|                | <i>n. masa;</i>              |                |                                  |
|                | <i>n. masta.</i>             |                |                                  |
| bother         | <i>v. hàmbóg.</i>            | brother-in-law | <i>n. bròdàló;</i>               |
| bother (about) | <i>v. bisin.</i>             |                | <i>n. cuñado.</i>                |
| bottle         | <i>n. bòtul.</i>             | Bube           | <i>pn. Bùbe.</i>                 |
| bottom         | <i>loc. bòtón.</i>           | bucket         | <i>n. bokit.</i>                 |
| bottom part    | <i>n. wes.</i>               | build          | <i>v. bil.</i>                   |
| bounce         | <i>v. eks.</i>               | building       | <i>n. hos.</i>                   |
| bowlegs        | <i>n. kobòfút, see: fut.</i> | bun            | <i>n. bocadillo.</i>             |
| box            | <i>n. bòks.</i>              | burial         | <i>n. berin.</i>                 |
| boy            | <i>n. bøy;</i>               | burial-ground  | <i>n. bèrin-grøn, see: grøn.</i> |
|                | <i>n. chico.</i>             | burn           | <i>v. ros.</i>                   |
| boyfriend      | <i>n. novio.</i>             | burst (open)   | <i>v. bøs.</i>                   |
| brain          | <i>n. sens.</i>              | bury           | <i>v. ber.</i>                   |
| branch         | <i>n. stik.</i>              | business       | <i>n. bisnes.</i>                |
| bread          | <i>n. bred.</i>              | busy (with)    | <i>v. bisin.</i>                 |
| break          | <i>v. brok.</i>              | but            | <i>adv. bat;</i>                 |
| breakfast      | <i>v. desayuna.</i>          |                | <i>adv. bet<sub>2</sub>;</i>     |
| breast         | <i>n. bòbí.</i>              |                | <i>adv. bòt<sub>1</sub>.</i>     |
| breathe        | — <i>pul bris, see: pul.</i> | buttocks       | <i>n. bàta<sub>2</sub>;</i>      |
| brick          | <i>n. bloque.</i>            |                | <i>n. wes.</i>                   |
| bright         | <i>v. brayt.</i>             | buy            | <i>v. bay.</i>                   |
| bring          | <i>v. bring.</i>             | by             | <i>prep. bày;</i>                |
| bring up       | <i>v. tren.</i>              |                | <i>prep. fð;</i>                 |
| brother        | <i>n. bròda.</i>             |                | <i>prep. nà<sub>2</sub>;</i>     |
| brother, big ~ | <i>n. grand frère.</i>       |                | <i>prep. wèt.</i>                |

C - c

|                |                    |               |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| cake           | <i>n. kek.</i>     | catch         | <i>v. kech.</i>    |
| call           | <i>v. kol.</i>     | cement        | <i>n. cemento.</i> |
| can            | <i>n. lata;</i>    | chair         | <i>n. chia.</i>    |
|                | <i>v. fit.</i>     | chair, (arm~) | <i>n. butaca.</i>  |
| canoe          | <i>n. kènú.</i>    | change        | <i>v. chench.</i>  |
| cap            | <i>n. kap.</i>     | charge        | <i>v. cobra.</i>   |
| capable        | <i>v. hebul.</i>   | chase away    | <i>v. dreb.</i>    |
| car            | <i>n. mòtó.</i>    | chat up       | <i>v. tun (2).</i> |
| card           | <i>n. tarjeta.</i> | check         | <i>v. chek.</i>    |
| care for       | <i>v. mayn;</i>    | cheek         | <i>v. fityáy.</i>  |
|                | <i>v. men (1).</i> | chest         | <i>n. ches.</i>    |
| careful (be ~) | <i>v. saful.</i>   | chew          | <i>v. cham.</i>    |
| carpenter      | <i>n. kápinta.</i> | chief         | <i>n. chif.</i>    |
| carry          | <i>v. ker;</i>     | child         | <i>n. pikín.</i>   |
|                | <i>v. tot.</i>     | chop          | <i>v. chap.</i>    |
| cassava        | <i>n. kasara.</i>  | church        | <i>n. chòch.</i>   |

|                               |  |                                 |  |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--|
| cigarette                     | <i>n.</i> <b>sigá.</b>   | converse                        | — <b>pul tòrí</b> , <i>see: pul.</i>                                       |
| cinema                        | <i>n.</i> <b>sinimá.</b>   | cook                            | <i>v.</i> <b>kuk.</b>  |
| class                         | <i>n.</i> <b>clase.</b>  | copula (affirmative identity ~) | <i>part.</i> <b>na<sub>1</sub>.</b>  |
| claw                          | <i>n.</i> <b>finga-nel</b> , <i>see: finga.</i>  | copula (existential ~)          | <i>v.</i> <b>de<sub>2</sub>.</b>   |
| clean                         | <i>v.</i> <b>klin.</b>   | copula (identity ~)             | <i>v.</i> <b>bi.</b>   |
| clear                         | <i>v.</i> <b>kliá.</b>   | copula (locative ~)             | <i>v.</i> <b>de<sub>2</sub>.</b>   |
| clever                        | <i>v.</i> <b>kleva.</b>  | copula (negative identity ~)    | <i>part.</i> <b>noto.</b>  |
| climb                         | <i>v.</i> <b>klem.</b>   | copula (resultative ~)          | <i>v.</i> <b>lef<sub>1</sub> (1).</b>                                      |
| close                         | <i>v.</i> <b>lok.</b>  | coquet                          | <i>v.</i> <b>nyàngá.</b>   |
| cloth                         | <i>n.</i> <b>làpá.</b>   | corn                            | <i>n.</i> <b>køn.</b>  |
| cloth (piece of ~)            | <i>n.</i> <b>pisis.</b>  | corn porridge                   | <i>n.</i> <b>ogi.</b>  |
| clothing                      | <i>n.</i> <b>klos.</b>   | corner                          | <i>n.</i> <b>køna.</b>   |
| cloud                         | <i>n.</i> <b>nube.</b>   | corpse                          | <i>n.</i> <b>dày-man, dáy-pøsin</b> , <i>see: day.</i>                     |
| coat                          | <i>n.</i> <b>kot.</b>  | corpulent                       | <i>v.</i> <b>stawt.</b>  |
| cock                          | <i>n.</i> <b>man føl</b> , <i>see: føl<sub>2</sub>.</i>  | correct                         | <i>v.</i> <b>kòrét.</b>  |
| cocoa                         | <i>n.</i> <b>cacao.</b>  | cost                            | <i>v.</i> <b>køs<sub>1</sub>.</b>  |
| cocoa yam                     | <i>n.</i> <b>kòkó.</b>   | cough                           | <i>v.</i> <b>køf.</b>  |
| coconut                       | <i>n.</i> <b>kokònat.</b>  | count                           | <i>v.</i> <b>kønt.</b>   |
| coffee                        | <i>n.</i> <b>café;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>køff.</b>   | country                         | <i>n.</i> <b>køntri.</b>   |
| cold                          | <i>v.</i> <b>kol.</b>  | couple                          | <i>n.</i> <b>pareja.</b>   |
| college                       | <i>n.</i> <b>kølech.</b>   | cousin                          | <i>n.</i> <b>køsfñ.</b>  |
| colour                        | <i>n.</i> <b>køla.</b>   | cousin f.                       | <i>n.</i> <b>prima.</b>  |
| come                          | <i>v.</i> <b>kan (1).</b>  | cousin m.                       | <i>n.</i> <b>primo.</b>  |
| come across                   | <i>v.</i> <b>mit.</b>  | cover                           | <i>n.</i> <b>køba;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>køba.</b>                           |
| come back                     | <i>v.</i> <b>tøn bak</b> , <i>see: tøn<sub>2</sub>.</i>  | crash                           | <i>v.</i> <b>kras.</b>   |
| come out                      | <i>v.</i> <b>kòmót (1).</b>  | crazy                           | <i>v.</i> <b>kres.</b>   |
| company (commercial ~)        | — <b>kòmpani.</b>  | cross                           | <i>n.</i> <b>cruz;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>krøs;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>krøs.</b> |
| comparative particle          | <i>adv.</i> <b>mø.</b>   | cry                             | <i>v.</i> <b>kray.</b>   |
| complementiser                | <i>link.</i> <b>dè;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>fñ;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>mek<sub>2</sub>;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>se;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>we<sub>1</sub>.</b> | cunning                         | <i>n.</i> <b>wàyó.</b>   |
| complete                      | <i>v.</i> <b>kòmplít.</b>  | cunning (be~)                   | <i>v.</i> <b>wàyó.</b>   |
| completive aspect auxiliary   | <i>aux.</i> <b>finis.</b>  | cup                             | <i>n.</i> <b>køp.</b>  |
| conditional mood marker       | <i>TMA.</i> <b>fñ.</b>   | custard                         | <i>n.</i> <b>køsta.</b>  |
| confuse                       | <i>v.</i> <b>kønfyús.</b>  | customary                       | <i>v.</i> <b>netif.</b>  |
| contact (make, be in ~)       | <i>v.</i> <b>jam.</b>  | cut                             | <i>n.</i> <b>køt;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>køt.</b>                             |
| continuative aspect auxiliary | <i>aux.</i> <b>sigue;</b><br><i>aux.</i> <b>stil.</b>  | cut (hair, beard)               | <i>v.</i> <b>baba.</b>   |
| continue                      | <i>v.</i> <b>sigue.</b>  | cutlass                         | <i>n.</i> <b>køtlas.</b>   |

## D - d

|                          |   |                   |   |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| dance                    | v. <b>sek</b> ;<br>v; n. <b>dans</b> .  | die (off)         | v. <b>kwench</b> .  |
| dark                     | v. <b>blak</b> ;<br>v. <b>dak</b> .   | different         | v. <b>difren</b> .  |
| daughter-in-law          | n. <b>dotàlò</b> .  | dig               | v. <b>dig</b> .   |
| dawn                     | v. <b>brek</b> .  | dirty             | v. <b>dòtí</b> .  |
| day                      | n. <b>de<sub>3</sub></b> .  | discipline        | v. <b>kòrét</b> .   |
| deceased                 | v. <b>let</b> .   | disclose          | v. <b>pruf</b> .  |
| deceit                   | <i>ideo</i> ; n. <b>wuruwuru</b> .  | discotheque       | n. <b>boíte</b> ;<br>n. <b>discoteca</b> .  |
| deep                     | <i>loc.</i> <b>dòn<sub>2</sub></b> ;<br>v. <b>dip</b> .   | do                | v. <b>du</b> ;<br>v. <b>mek<sub>1</sub></b> .   |
| deer                     | n. <b>dia<sub>1</sub></b> .   | doctor            | n. <b>dòkta</b> .   |
| defeat                   | v. <b>win</b> .   | dog               | n. <b>dòg</b> .   |
| defecate                 | v. <b>kàkà</b> .  | domino            | n. <b>dominó</b> .  |
| demonstrative modifier   | <i>det.</i> <b>dan</b> ;<br><i>det.</i> <b>di</b> ;<br><i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dat</b> ;<br><i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dis</b> . | done              | v. <b>dòn<sub>3</sub></b> .   |
| demonstrative pronominal | <i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dat</b> ;<br><i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dis</b> .  | door              | n. <b>dòmót</b> .   |
| deny                     | v. <b>dínáy</b> .   | down              | <i>loc.</i> <b>dòn<sub>2</sub></b> .  |
| destroy                  | v. <b>chàkrá</b> .  | dowry             | n. <b>dote</b> .  |
| determiner               | <i>det.</i> <b>dan</b> ;<br><i>det.</i> <b>di</b> ;<br><i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dis</b> .   | draw              | v. <b>drò</b> (1).  |
| determiner (definite)    | <i>det.</i> <b>dì</b> .   | dress up          | v. <b>wér</b> .   |
| determiner (indefinite)  | <i>quant.</i> <b>sòn</b> ;<br><i>quant.</i> <b>wan</b> (1).   | drink             | v. <b>dring</b> .   |
| devil                    | n. <b>debul</b> .   | drive (a vehicle) | v. <b>drèb</b> .  |
| devilish (be~)           | v. <b>debul</b> .   | driver            | n. <b>drayva</b> .  |
| die; death               | v. <b>day</b> .   | drunk (be, get ~) | v. <b>dròngo</b> .<br>v. <b>chak</b> .  |
|                          |   | dry               | v. <b>dray</b> .  |
|                          |   | dry season        | n. <b>drày-sisin</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>sisin</b> .                                    |
|                          |   | due to            | <i>link.</i> <b>fòseka</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>fò</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>wèt</b> . |

## E - e

|                            |   |                 |                            |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|----------------------------|
| ear                        | n. <b>yes</b> .   | eight           | <i>quant.</i> <b>et</b> .  |
| easy                       | v. <b>isi</b> .   | electricity     | n. <b>lamp</b> .           |
| eat                        | v. <b>chop</b> .  | empty           | v. <b>enti</b> .           |
| egg                        | n. <b>eks</b> .   | end up          | v. <b>las</b> .            |
| eggplant                   | — <b>gadinéks</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>eks</b> .                       | endure          | v. <b>las</b> .            |
| egressive aspect auxiliary | <i>aux.</i> <b>kòmót</b> ;<br><i>aux</i> ; <i>adv.</i> <b>jis</b> . | English         | <i>pn.</i> <b>Inglis</b> . |
|                            |   | enjoy (oneself) | v. <b>disfruta</b> .       |

|                    |   |                  |  |
|--------------------|---|------------------|--|
| enlightened (be ~) | v. <b>opinyáy.</b>  |                  |  |
| enough (be ~)      | v. <b>du;</b><br>v. <b>rich.</b>  | every            | n. <b>ivin ten</b> , see: <b>ivin</b> .<br>quant. <b>eni;</b><br>quant. <b>ol.</b> |
| enter              | v. <b>enta.</b>   | exactly          | adv. <b>exactamente.</b>   |
| envy               | v. <b>jelos.</b>  | excessive (be ~) | v. <b>ova.</b>   |
| equal (to ~)       | v. <b>rich.</b>   | excessively      | — <b>pas mak</b> , see: <b>mak</b> ;<br>adv. <b>ova.</b>                           |
| Equatoguinean f.   | pn. <b>guineana</b> , see: <b>Guinea.</b>   | excuse           | v. <b>èskyús.</b>  |
| Equatoguinean m.   | pn. <b>guineano</b> , see: <b>Guinea.</b>   | exercise book    | n. <b>cuaderno.</b>  |
| even               | adv. <b>aunque;</b><br>adv. <b>ni<sub>2</sub>;</b><br>adv. <b>soté;</b><br>part. <b>senwe;</b><br>part. <b>sef.</b> | expensive        | v. <b>dia<sub>2</sub>.</b>   |
| even if            | link. <b>adònké;</b><br>link. <b>aunque.</b>  | explain          | v. <b>èsplén.</b>  |
| evening            | n. <b>ivin;</b>   | extinguish       | v. <b>ot.</b>  |
|                    |   | extremely        | adv. <b>bad;</b><br>adv. <b>soté.</b>  |
|                    |   | eye              | n. <b>yay.</b>   |

## F - f

|                         |   |                    |   |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| face                    | n. <b>fes.</b>  | few                | quant. <b>smol.</b>                             |
| faeces                  | n. <b>kàkà.</b>   | field              | n. <b>fil<sub>2</sub>.</b>                      |
| fall                    | v. <b>fàdón.</b>  | fight              | v. <b>fet.</b>                                  |
| family                  | n. <b>fambul.</b>   | fight over         | v. <b>kàpú.</b>                                 |
| family member           | n. <b>fambul.</b>   | fill               | v. <b>fulop;</b><br>v. <b>pak.</b>              |
| Fang                    | pn. <b>Fang.</b>  | find               | v. <b>mit;</b><br>v. <b>si.</b>                 |
| Fang (person, language) | pn. <b>Bàta<sub>1</sub> (2).</b>  | fine               | adj. <b>fayn.</b>                               |
| far                     | v. <b>fa;</b><br>v. <b>fawe.</b>  | finger             | n. <b>finga.</b>                                |
| farm                    | n. <b>fam.</b>  | finger nail        | n. <b>finga-nel</b> , see: <b>finga.</b>        |
| farm                    | — <b>blo win</b> , see: <b>blo<sub>3</sub>;</b><br>v. <b>fat<sub>2</sub>.</b> | finish             | v. <b>finis.</b>                                |
| fast                    | v. <b>smat.</b>   | finished           | v. <b>dòn<sub>3</sub>.</b>                      |
| fat                     | n. <b>gris;</b><br>v. <b>fat<sub>1</sub>.</b>                                 | fire               | n. <b>faya.</b>                                 |
| father                  | n. <b>pa;</b><br>n. <b>pàpá;</b><br>n. <b>pàpí.</b>                           | fire wood          | n. <b>faya-wud</b> , see: <b>wud.</b>           |
| father-in-law           | n. <b>fadáló.</b>   | first              | quant; adv. <b>fòs<sub>1</sub>.</b>             |
| favour                  | n. <b>fevò.</b>   | first time (the ~) | — <b>fòs ten</b> , see: <b>fòs<sub>1</sub>.</b> |
| fear                    | v. <b>fia.</b>  | fish               | n. <b>fis;</b><br>v. <b>fisin.</b>              |
| feather                 | n. <b>fedá.</b>   | fisherman          | — <b>fisin-man</b> , see: <b>fisin.</b>         |
| feel                    | v. <b>fil<sub>1</sub>.</b>  | five               | quant. <b>fayf.</b>                             |
| festivity               | n. <b>bìgdé.</b>  | fix                | v. <b>fiks.</b>                                 |
| fever                   | n. <b>fiba<sub>2</sub>.</b>   | fling              | v. <b>fling.</b>                                |
| fever (typhoid ~)       | n. <b>tifoidea.</b>   | fly                | v. <b>flay.</b>                                 |
|                         |   | focus marker       | part. <b>nà;</b><br>part. <b>noto;</b>          |



VOCABULARY

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
|               | <i>part.</i> <b>senwe</b> ;                               |
|               | <i>part.</i> <b>sef</b> .                                 |
| fold          | <i>v.</i> <b>ben</b> .                                    |
| follow        | <i>v.</i> <b>fala</b> ;                                   |
|               | <i>v.</i> <b>sigue</b> .                                  |
| food          | <i>n.</i> <b>chəp</b> .                                   |
| fool          | <i>n.</i> <b>dogo</b> ;                                   |
|               | <i>n.</i> <b>ful</b> .                                    |
| foolish       | <i>v.</i> <b>fulis</b> .                                  |
| foolish (be~) | <i>v.</i> <b>ful</b> .                                    |
| foot          | <i>n.</i> <b>fut</b> .                                    |
| for           | <i>prep.</i> <b>fə</b> .                                  |
| (for) ever    | <i>adv.</i> <b>fəreva</b> .                               |
| force         | <i>v.</i> <b>fəs</b> <sub>2</sub> .                       |
| foreigner     | <i>n.</i> <b>extranjero</b> .                             |
| forest        | <i>n.</i> <b>bus</b> .                                    |
| forget        | <i>v.</i> <b>fəgét</b> .                                  |
| formerly      | — <b>fəs ten</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>fəs</b> <sub>1</sub> . |
| four          | <i>quant.</i> <b>fo</b> .                                 |
| fowl          | <i>n.</i> <b>fəl</b> <sub>2</sub> .                       |

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| free         | <i>v</i> ; <i>adj.</i> <b>fri</b> .                          |
| fresh        | <i>v.</i> <b>fres</b> .                                      |
| friday       | <i>n.</i> <b>frayde</b> .                                    |
| fridge       | <i>n.</i> <b>congelador</b> .                                |
| friend       | <i>n.</i> <b>frən</b> ;                                      |
|              | <i>n.</i> <b>kəmpin</b> .                                    |
| from         | <i>prep.</i> <b>fə</b> ;                                     |
|              | <i>prep.</i> <b>frən</b> .                                   |
| from - until | <i>prep.</i> <b>frən - soté</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>frən</b> . |
| front        | <i>loc.</i> <b>bifó</b> .                                    |
| fruit        | <i>n.</i> <b>frut</b> ;                                      |
|              | <i>n.</i> <b>fruta</b> .                                     |
| fry          | <i>v.</i> <b>fray</b> .                                      |
| fuck         | <i>v.</i> <b>fək</b> .                                       |
| fufu         | <i>n.</i> <b>fufú</b> .                                      |
| full         | <i>v.</i> <b>bèlfúl</b> ;                                    |
|              | <i>v.</i> <b>fuləp</b> ;                                     |
|              | <i>v.</i> <b>pak</b> .                                       |

G - g

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Gabon             | <i>pn.</i> <b>Gabón</b> .                     |
| game              | <i>n.</i> <b>ple</b> .                        |
| garden            | <i>n.</i> <b>gadin</b> .                      |
| gari              | <i>n.</i> <b>gàrf</b> .                       |
| gash              | <i>n.</i> <b>kot</b> .                        |
| genital area      | <i>n.</i> <b>wes</b> .                        |
| genitals (male ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>blàkós</b> .                     |
| get               | <i>v.</i> <b>get</b> .                        |
| get up            | <i>v.</i> <b>grap</b> .                       |
| girl              | <i>n.</i> <b>gal</b> ;                        |
|                   | <i>n.</i> <b>gel</b> ;                        |
|                   | <i>n.</i> <b>tití</b> .                       |
| girlfriend        | <i>n.</i> <b>gelfrən</b> ;                    |
|                   | <i>n.</i> <b>novia</b> .                      |
| girls             | <i>n.</i> <b>gals</b> .                       |
| give              | <i>v.</i> <b>gi</b> .                         |
| give a blow       | <i>v.</i> <b>blo</b> <sub>3</sub> .           |
| give as a present | <i>v.</i> <b>das</b> .                        |
| give back         | <i>v.</i> <b>bak</b> .                        |
| give birth        | <i>v.</i> <b>bən</b> (1).                     |
| give classes      | — <b>gi skul</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>skul</b> . |
| glad              | <i>v.</i> <b>gladin</b> .                     |

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| glas           | <i>n.</i> <b>glas</b> .                            |
| glasses        | <i>n.</i> <b>gafas</b> ;                           |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>spétikul</b> .                        |
| go             | <i>v.</i> <b>go</b> .                              |
| go down        | <i>v.</i> <b>baja</b> ;                            |
|                | <i>v.</i> <b>go dən</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>go</b> . |
| go out         | <i>v.</i> <b>kòmót</b> (1).                        |
| go smoothly    | <i>v.</i> <b>saful</b> .                           |
| go to school   | — <b>go skul</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>skul</b> .      |
| go up          | <i>v.</i> <b>go əp</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>go</b> ;  |
|                | <i>v.</i> <b>sube</b> .                            |
| God            | <i>n.</i> <b>gəd</b> .                             |
| God (father ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>pàpá gəd</b> .                        |
| God (my ~)     | <i>intj.</i> <b>dios mio</b> .                     |
| good           | <i>v</i> ; <i>adj.</i> <b>gud</b> .                |
| good evening   | — <b>gud ivin</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>ivin</b> .     |
| good morning   | — <b>gud mənin</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>mənin</b> .   |
| good (very ~)  | <i>v.</i> <b>beta</b> .                            |
| goods          | <i>n.</i> <b>kago</b> .                            |
| government     | <i>n.</i> <b>gəvna</b> .                           |
| governor       | <i>n.</i> <b>gəvna</b> .                           |
| gradually      | <i>adv.</i> <b>bàmbáy</b> .                        |

|             |   |                |   |
|-------------|---|----------------|---|
| grain       | <i>n.</i> <b>gren.</b>                                  | green          | <i>v.</i> <b>grin.</b>                                |
| grand       | <i>adj.</i> <b>gràn-</b> .                              | greet          | <i>v.</i> <b>sàlút.</b>                               |
| grandchild  | <i>n.</i> <b>granpikín</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>gràn-</b> . | ground         | <i>n.</i> <b>grøn.</b>                                |
| grandfather | <i>n.</i> <b>abuelo</b> ;                               | groundnut      | <i>n.</i> <b>grànát.</b>                              |
|             | <i>n.</i> <b>grànpá</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>gràn-</b> .    | groundnut soup | <i>n.</i> <b>grànát sup</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>sup.</b> |
| grandmother | <i>n.</i> <b>abueta</b> ;                               | grow           | <i>v.</i> <b>gro.</b>                                 |
|             | <i>n.</i> <b>grànmá</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>gràn-</b> ;    | guitar         | <i>n.</i> <b>gítá.</b>                                |
|             | <i>n.</i> <b>grànmòda</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>gràn-</b> .  | gulp down      | <i>v.</i> <b>nak.</b>                                 |
| grass       | <i>n.</i> <b>gras.</b>                                  | gun            | <i>n.</i> <b>gøn.</b>                                 |
| grate       | <i>v.</i> <b>raya.</b>                                  | guts (have ~)  | — <b>get liba</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>liba.</b>          |
| gravy       | <i>n.</i> <b>grèví.</b>                                 |                |   |
| greedy      | <i>v.</i> <b>gridi.</b>                                 |                |   |

## H - h

|                        |  |                   |   |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|---|
| habit                  | <i>n.</i> <b>fasin.</b>                        | head              | <i>n.</i> <b>hed.</b>   |
| habitual aspect marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>kìn.</b>                        | hear              | <i>v.</i> <b>hia<sub>4</sub></b> ;                                |
| haggard                | <i>v.</i> <b>dray.</b>                         |                   | <i>v.</i> <b>yer.</b>   |
| hair                   | <i>n.</i> <b>hia<sub>2</sub></b> .             | heart             | <i>n.</i> <b>hat<sub>1</sub></b> .                                |
| hairdresser            | <i>n.</i> <b>peluqueria.</b>                   | heave             | <i>v.</i> <b>hib.</b>   |
| half                   | <i>quant.</i> <b>haf.</b>                      | heavy             | <i>v.</i> <b>evi</b> (1).   |
| half an hour           | — <b>haf awa</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>haf.</b>     | hectic            | <i>ideo.</i> <b>katakátá.</b>                                     |
| half (one and a ~)     | <i>quant.</i> <b>wan-èn-haf.</b>               | help              | <i>v.</i> <b>help.</b>  |
| hall                   | <i>n.</i> <b>sala.</b>                         | hen               | <i>n.</i> <b>human fòl</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>fòl<sub>2</sub></b> . |
| hammer                 | <i>n.</i> <b>hama</b> ;                        | her               | <i>pron.</i> <b>=àn<sub>2</sub></b> ;                             |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>hama.</b>                         |                   | <i>pron.</i> <b>in</b> ;  |
| hand                   | <i>n.</i> <b>han.</b>                          |                   | <i>pron.</i> <b>ìn.</b>   |
| hang                   | <i>v.</i> <b>heng.</b>                         | here              | <i>adv.</i> <b>hia<sub>1</sub></b> ;                              |
| happen                 | <i>v.</i> <b>pas</b> (2).                      |                   | <i>adv.</i> <b>ya.</b>  |
| happy                  | <i>v.</i> <b>gladin.</b>                       | here (right ~)    | <i>adv.</i> <b>ya so</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>ya.</b>                 |
| harbour                | <i>n.</i> <b>puerto.</b>                       | hide              | <i>v.</i> <b>hayd.</b>  |
| hard                   | <i>v.</i> <b>had</b> ;                         | hill              | <i>n.</i> <b>hil.</b>   |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>strøn</b> ;                       | him               | <i>pron.</i> <b>=àn<sub>2</sub></b> ;                             |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>tranga.</b>                       |                   | <i>pron.</i> <b>in.</b>   |
| hardship               | <i>n.</i> <b>tròbul.</b>                       | his               | <i>pron.</i> <b>ìn.</b>   |
| harmattan              | <i>n.</i> <b>amátán.</b>                       | hit               | <i>v.</i> <b>nak.</b>   |
| have                   | <i>v.</i> <b>get</b> ;                         | hit with the head | <i>v.</i> <b>bòt<sub>2</sub></b> .                                |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>hol<sub>1</sub></b> .             | hold              | <i>v.</i> <b>hol<sub>1</sub></b> .                                |
| have sex               | <i>v.</i> <b>fòk</b> ;                         | hole              | <i>n.</i> <b>hol<sub>2</sub></b> .                                |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>kòt</b> ;                         | holiday           | <i>n.</i> <b>hólidé.</b>  |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>kròb</b> ;                        | home              | <i>n.</i> <b>hom.</b>   |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>nak</b> ;                         | hometown          | <i>n.</i> <b>kòntri.</b>  |
|                        | <i>v.</i> <b>slip.</b>                         | hook              | <i>n.</i> <b>huk</b> ;  |
| have units             | — <b>get saldo</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>saldo.</b> |                   | <i>v.</i> <b>huk.</b>   |
| he                     | <i>pron.</i> <b>è.</b>                         | horn              | <i>n.</i> <b>høn.</b>   |

VOCABULARY

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| hospital | <i>n.</i> <b>hospital</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>ɔspitul</b> .  |
| hot      | <i>v.</i> <b>hɔt</b> <sub>1</sub> .  |
| hour     | <i>n.</i> <b>awa</b> .   |
| house    | <i>n.</i> <b>hos</b> .   |
| how      | <i>inter.</i> <b>haw</b> ;<br><i>inter.</i> <b>us=stayl</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>stayl</b> ;<br><i>inter.</i> <b>us=stayl</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> . |
| how much | <i>inter.</i> <b>haw mɔch</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>haw</b> .   |

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| human-being | <i>n.</i> <b>man</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>pɔsin</b> .      |
| hungry      | <i>v.</i> <b>hangri</b> .                               |
| hunt        | <i>v.</i> <b>hɔnti</b> .                                |
| hunter      | <i>n.</i> <b>hɔnti-man</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>hɔnti</b> . |
| hurry       | <i>v.</i> <b>hɔri</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>mekes</b> .     |
| hurt        | <i>v.</i> <b>pen</b> .                                  |

I - i

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| I                          | <i>pron.</i> <b>à</b> .   |
| ideophone                  | <i>ideo.</i> <b>bwà</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>bya</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>fwifwifwí</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>gbin</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>gbogbògbo</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kakàra</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kamúkàmú</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>katakátá</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kíp</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kutùku</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kwaráng</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>kpù</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>menyemenyé</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>pring</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>súkútúpàmpa</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>tik</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>wewé</b> ;<br><i>ideo.</i> <b>wowó</b> ;<br><i>ideo; intj.</i> <b>kóngkòngkóng</b> ;<br><i>ideo; n.</i> <b>wuruwurú</b> ;<br><i>ideo; v.</i> <b>wòwó</b> ;<br><i>n; ideo.</i> <b>pòtòpòtó</b> . |
| if                         | <i>link.</i> <b>ɛf</b> ;<br><i>link.</i> <b>if</b> .  |
| ill                        | <i>adj.</i> <b>bad</b> .  |
| imperfective aspect marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>dè</b> .   |
| implore                    | <i>v.</i> <b>beg</b> .  |
| impregnate                 | <i>v.</i> <b>bèlé</b> .   |
| impressive                 | <i>v.</i> <b>evi</b> (2).   |
| in                         | <i>prep.</i> <b>fɔ</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>nà</b> <sub>2</sub> .   |
| in front of                | <i>loc.</i> <b>bífó</b> .   |

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| in order to                 | <i>link.</i> <b>mek</b> <sub>2</sub> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>fɔ</b> .  |
| in (temporal)               | <i>loc.</i> <b>insay</b> .  |
| ingressive aspect auxiliary | <i>aux.</i> <b>bìgín</b> .  |
| injury                      | <i>n.</i> <b>sòfút</b> .  |
| inside                      | <i>loc.</i> <b>insay</b> .  |
| inside out                  | <i>n.</i> <b>ròn-say</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>ròn</b> <sub>1</sub> .  |
| insult                      | <i>v.</i> <b>chik</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>kɔs</b> <sub>2</sub> .  |
| intelligent                 | — <b>get sens</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>sens</b> .   |
| intend                      | <i>v.</i> <b>intenta</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>min</b> .  |
| interjection                | <i>ideo; intj.</i> <b>kóngkòngkóng</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>àa</b> <sub>1</sub> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>àa</b> <sub>2</sub> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>ay</b> <sub>2</sub> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>bìó</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>chay</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>chico</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> 'chip';<br><i>intj.</i> <b>dios mio</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>duya</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>e</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>ékié</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>ey</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>ɛ</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>èhé</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>èn</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>he</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>ho</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>kusé</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>mámá</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>man</b> ; |

|                        |                                 |                         |   |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>nàwá</b> ;      | iron                    | <i>n.</i> <b>ayen</b> ;                 |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>ò</b> ;         |                         | <i>v.</i> <b>ayen</b> .                 |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>òdó</b> ;       | iron, corrugated        | <i>n.</i> <b>chapa</b> .                |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>pàpá</b> ;      | island                  | <i>n.</i> <b>isla</b> .                 |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>pàpá gòd</b> ;  | it                      | <i>pron.</i> = <b>àn</b> <sub>2</sub> ; |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>plis</b> ;      |                         | <i>pron.</i> <b>è</b> ;                 |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>por Dios</b> ;  |                         | <i>pron.</i> <b>in</b> .                |
|                        | <i>intj.</i> <b>ye</b> ;        | iterative aspect marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>kìn</b> .                |
|                        | <i>n; intj.</i> <b>mierda</b> . | its                     | <i>pron.</i> <b>ìn</b> .                |
| interrogative particle | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=</b> .      |                         |   |
| intestines             | <i>n.</i> <b>tripas</b> .       |                         |   |

## J - j

|         |                          |       |                               |
|---------|--------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| jail    | <i>n.</i> <b>jel</b> .   | judge | <i>v.</i> <b>joch</b> .       |
| jealous | <i>v.</i> <b>jelos</b> . | jump  | <i>v.</i> <b>jump</b> .       |
| job     | <i>n.</i> <b>job</b> .   | just  | <i>aux; adv.</i> <b>jis</b> . |
| join    | <i>v.</i> <b>jwen</b> .  |       |                               |

## K - k

|         |                                    |             |                                    |
|---------|------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| keep    | <i>v.</i> <b>kip</b> .             | knife       | <i>n.</i> <b>nef</b> .             |
| key     | <i>n.</i> <b>ki</b> .              | know        | <i>v.</i> <b>no</b> <sub>2</sub> ; |
| kick    | <i>v.</i> <b>kik</b> .             |             | <i>v.</i> <b>sàbí</b> .            |
| kill    | <i>v.</i> <b>kil</b> .             | know how to | <i>v.</i> <b>sàbí</b> .            |
| kilo    | <i>n.</i> <b>kilo</b> .            | kola nut    | <i>n.</i> <b>kola</b> .            |
| kind    | <i>prom.</i> <b>kayn</b> .         | Kombe       | <i>pn.</i> <b>Kombe</b> .          |
| kitchen | <i>n.</i> <b>kichin</b> .          | Krio        | <i>pn.</i> <b>Krió</b> .           |
| knee    | <i>n.</i> <b>ni</b> <sub>1</sub> . |             |                                    |

## L - l

|                     |   |              |   |
|---------------------|---|--------------|---|
| lamp                | <i>n.</i> <b>lamp</b> .                         | laugh        | <i>v.</i> <b>laf</b> .                                  |
| language            | <i>n.</i> <b>langwech</b> ;                     | lay          | <i>v.</i> <b>le</b> ;                                   |
|                     | <i>n.</i> <b>tòk</b> ;                          |              | <i>v.</i> <b>slip</b> .                                 |
|                     | <i>n.</i> <b>tòng</b> .                         | lazy         | <i>v.</i> <b>lesi</b> .                                 |
| language (native ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>langwech</b> ;                     | leaf         | <i>n.</i> <b>lif</b> .                                  |
|                     | <i>n.</i> <b>kòntri-tòk</b> , <i>see: tòk</i> . | lean against | <i>v.</i> <b>ling</b> .                                 |
| last                | <i>quant.</i> <b>las</b> ;                      | learn        | <i>v.</i> <b>lan</b> .                                  |
|                     | <i>v.</i> <b>ker</b> ;                          | leave        | <i>v.</i> <b>go</b> ;                                   |
|                     | <i>v.</i> <b>las</b> ;                          |              | <i>v.</i> <b>lef</b> <sub>1</sub> (1).                  |
|                     | <i>v.</i> <b>ste</b> .                          | left         | <i>n.</i> <b>lef</b> <sub>2</sub> ;                     |
| late                | <i>v.</i> <b>let</b> .                          |              | <i>n.</i> <b>lef-han</b> , <i>see: lef<sub>2</sub>.</i> |
| latrine             | <i>n.</i> <b>làtrín</b> .                       | leg          | <i>n.</i> <b>fut</b> .                                  |

VOCABULARY

|                   |  |                 |  |
|-------------------|--|-----------------|--|
| letter            | <i>n.</i> <b>leta.</b>   |                 |  |
| lie               | <i>v.</i> <b>lay;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>le;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>slip.</b>  |                 | <i>loc.</i> <b>mindul;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>nàdó;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>nia;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>èntóp;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>əp;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>pàntáp.</b> |
| life              | <i>n.</i> <b>layf.</b>   |                 |  |
| lift              | <i>v.</i> <b>hes.</b>  |                 |  |
| light             | <i>n.</i> <b>layt;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>layt</b> (1).   | lock            | <i>n.</i> <b>lək;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>lək.</b>   |
| light (in colour) | <i>adj.</i> <b>rubio;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>wayt.</b>  | lonely          | <i>v.</i> <b>lonson.</b>   |
| lightning         | <i>n.</i> <b>relámpago.</b>  | long            | <i>v.</i> <b>lən.</b>  |
| like              | <i>adv.</i> <b>como;</b><br><i>adv.</i> <b>lèk.</b>  | long (temporal) | <i>adv.</i> <b>soté.</b>   |
| like that         | <i>adv.</i> <b>so<sub>2</sub>.</b>   | long time ago   | — <b>lən ten</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>lən.</b>   |
| line              | <i>n.</i> <b>layn.</b>   | look            | <i>v.</i> <b>luk.</b>  |
| little            | <i>v.</i> <b>lif.</b>  | look for        | <i>v.</i> <b>fen.</b>  |
| live              | <i>v.</i> <b>lif.</b>  | loose           | <i>v.</i> <b>slak.</b>   |
| live it up        | <i>v.</i> <b>ambiente;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>pàchá.</b>  | loosen          | <i>v.</i> <b>slak.</b>   |
| liver             | <i>n.</i> <b>liba.</b>   | lorry           | <i>n.</i> <b>camión.</b>   |
| locative noun     | <i>loc.</i> <b>bifó;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>bihén;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>bòtón;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>dən<sub>2</sub>;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>insay;</b> | lounge          | <i>v.</i> <b>ling.</b>   |
|                   |  | louse           | <i>n.</i> <b>ləs.</b>  |
|                   |  | low             | <i>loc.</i> <b>dən<sub>2</sub>.</b>  |
|                   |  | lower chest     | <i>n.</i> <b>chèkó.</b>  |
|                   |  | luck            | <i>n.</i> <b>lək.</b>  |
|                   |  | lucky           | <i>v.</i> <b>ləki.</b>   |

M - m

|                |   |           |  |
|----------------|---|-----------|--|
| madam          | <i>n.</i> <b>ma</b> (2).                                  | matron    | <i>n.</i> <b>masta.</b>                          |
| madman         | <i>n.</i> <b>krès-man</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>kres.</b>      | matter    | <i>n.</i> <b>misis.</b>                          |
| make           | <i>v.</i> <b>du;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>mek<sub>1</sub>.</b> |           | <i>n.</i> <b>kes;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>plaba.</b> |
| make an effort | <i>v.</i> <b>tray.</b>                                    | maybe     | <i>adv.</i> <b>səntén.</b>                       |
| malanga        | <i>n.</i> <b>malanga.</b>                                 | me        | <i>pron.</i> <b>mi.</b>                          |
| malaria        | <i>n.</i> <b>malerya;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>paludismo.</b>  | mean      | <i>v.</i> <b>bàdhát.</b>                         |
| man            | <i>n.</i> <b>man.</b>                                     | mean (to) | <i>v.</i> <b>min.</b>                            |
| manage         | <i>v.</i> <b>manech.</b>                                  | meat      | <i>n.</i> <b>bif.</b>                            |
| manner         | <i>n.</i> <b>fasin;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>stayl.</b>        | medicine  | <i>n.</i> <b>mérèsin.</b>                        |
| mark           | <i>v;</i> <i>n.</i> <b>mak.</b>                           | meet      | <i>v.</i> <b>mit;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>mitəp.</b> |
| market         | <i>n.</i> <b>makit.</b>                                   | meeting   | <i>n.</i> <b>reunión.</b>                        |
| marry          | <i>v.</i> <b>mared.</b>                                   | mess      | <i>n.</i> <b>porcería.</b>                       |
| mash           | <i>v.</i> <b>mas.</b>                                     | messy     | <i>ideo;</i> <i>v.</i> <b>wòwó.</b>              |
| master         | <i>n.</i> <b>masa;</b>                                    | middle    | <i>loc.</i> <b>mindul.</b>                       |
|                |   | milk      | <i>n.</i> <b>melk.</b>                           |

|                 |   |          |   |
|-----------------|---|----------|---|
| mind            | <i>n.</i> <b>sens</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>mayn</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>men</b> (1). | mother   | <i>n.</i> <b>ma</b> (1);<br><i>n.</i> <b>mámá</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>mámí</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>məmi</b> .       |
| ministry        | <i>n.</i> <b>ministerio</b> .   | mountain | <i>n.</i> <b>hil</b> .  |
| miss (a person) | <i>v.</i> <b>lonson</b> .   | mouth    | <i>n.</i> <b>mət</b> .  |
| mix             | <i>v.</i> <b>miks</b> .   | move     | <i>v.</i> <b>muf</b> .  |
| monday          | <i>n.</i> <b>mənde</b> .  | movie    | <i>n.</i> <b>sinimá</b> .   |
| money           | <i>n.</i> <b>məní</b> .   | much     | <i>adv.</i> <b>məçh</b> ;<br><i>v</i> ; <i>quant.</i> <b>bəkú</b> ;<br><i>v</i> ; <i>quant.</i> <b>plente</b> . |
| monkey          | <i>n.</i> <b>mənkí</b> .  | mucus    | <i>n.</i> <b>frèskól</b> .  |
| month           | <i>n.</i> <b>mun</b> .  | mud      | <i>n</i> ; <i>ideo.</i> <b>pətəpətó</b> .   |
| moon            | <i>n.</i> <b>mun</b> .  | must     | <i>TMA.</i> <b>məs</b> .  |
| more            | <i>adv.</i> <b>mə</b> .   | my       | <i>pron.</i> <b>mì</b> .  |
| more and more   | <i>adv.</i> <b>mə-èn-mə</b> .   |          |   |
| more (be ~)     | <i>v.</i> <b>mə</b> .   |          |   |
| morning         | <i>n.</i> <b>mənin</b> .  |          |   |
| mosquito        | <i>n.</i> <b>mosquito</b> .   |          |   |
| mosquito.net    | <i>n.</i> <b>mosquitero</b> .   |          |   |

## N - n

|                   |   |               |   |
|-------------------|---|---------------|---|
| nail              | <i>n.</i> <b>nel</b> .  | next to       | <i>loc.</i> <b>nia</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>kəna</b> .            |
| naked             | <i>v.</i> <b>nekəd</b> .  | nice          | <i>v.</i> <b>nays</b> .   |
| name              | <i>n.</i> <b>nem</b> .  | niece         | <i>n.</i> <b>sobrina</b> .  |
| narrate           | <i>v.</i> <b>cuenta</b> .   | night         | <i>n.</i> <b>net</b> .  |
| nation            | <i>n.</i> <b>nesən</b> .  | nine          | <i>quant.</i> <b>nayn</b> .                                       |
| near              | <i>loc.</i> <b>nia</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>kəna</b> .            | nipple        | <i>n.</i> <b>chupete</b> .  |
| nearly            | <i>adv.</i> <b>sməltən</b> .                                      | nit           | <i>n.</i> <b>nit</b> .  |
| neck              | <i>n.</i> <b>nek</b> .  | no            | <i>part.</i> <b>no</b> <sub>1</sub> ;<br><i>part.</i> <b>nə</b> . |
| need              | <i>v.</i> <b>nid</b> .  | noise         | <i>n.</i> <b>nəys</b> .   |
| needle            | <i>n.</i> <b>nidul</b> .  | noon          | <i>n.</i> <b>san tən</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>san</b> .              |
| negative particle | <i>part.</i> <b>no</b> <sub>1</sub> ;<br><i>part.</i> <b>nə</b> . | normal        | <i>adj.</i> <b>normal</b> .                                       |
| neighbour f.      | <i>n.</i> <b>vecina</b> .   | nose          | <i>n.</i> <b>nos</b> .  |
| neighbour m.      | <i>n.</i> <b>vecino</b> .   | nothing       | <i>prom.</i> <b>natin</b> .                                       |
| neither           | <i>link.</i> <b>ni</b> <sub>2</sub> .                             | notice        | <i>v.</i> <b>fija</b> .   |
| nephew            | <i>n.</i> <b>sobрино</b> .  | now           | <i>adv.</i> <b>naw</b> .  |
| new               | <i>v.</i> <b>nyu</b> .  | now (right ~) | <i>adv.</i> <b>naw so</b> , <i>see</i> : <b>naw</b> .             |
| news              | <i>n.</i> <b>nyus</b> .   | number        | <i>n.</i> <b>nəmba</b> .  |
| next              | <i>quant.</i> <b>neks</b> .                                       |               |   |

## O - o

|                        |                          |    |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| obligative mood marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>məs</b> . | of | <i>prep.</i> <b>əf</b> ; |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|

VOCABULARY

|               |  |                |  |
|---------------|--|----------------|--|
|               | <i>prep.</i> <b>wèt.</b>   | one and a half | <i>quant.</i> <b>wan-èn-haf.</b>   |
| offend        | <i>v.</i> <b>fiťyáy;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>kəs<sub>2</sub>.</b>  | onion          | <i>n.</i> <b>yàbás.</b>  |
| office        | <i>n.</i> <b>əfis.</b>   | only           | <i>quant.</i> <b>dasəl;</b><br><i>quant.</i> <b>onli;</b><br><i>quant.</i> <b>sosó;</b><br><i>quant.</i> <b>wan (2).</b> |
| oil           | <i>n.</i> <b>əyl;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>pà máyn.</b>   | open           | <i>v.</i> <b>opin.</b>   |
| oil (crude ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>petróleo.</b>   | or             | <i>link.</i> <b>o;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>ə.</b>   |
| oil rig       | <i>n.</i> <b>plataforma.</b>   | orange         | <i>v.</i> <b>red.</b>  |
| old           | <i>v.</i> <b>ol.</b>   | other          | <i>quant.</i> <b>əda.</b>  |
| on            | <i>loc.</i> <b>əntóp;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>pàntáp;</b><br><i>prep.</i> <b>nà<sub>2</sub>;</b><br><i>prep.</i> <b>pàn.</b> | outer layer    | <i>n.</i> <b>kàndá.</b>  |
| on par (be ~) | <i>v.</i> <b>braket.</b>   | outside        | <i>loc.</i> <b>nàdó.</b>   |
| once          | <i>link.</i> <b>wans.</b>  | over           | <i>adv.</i> <b>ova.</b>  |
| once (at~)    | <i>adv.</i> <b>wan tən, see: wan.</b>  | over (be~)     | <i>v.</i> <b>ova.</b>  |
| one           | <i>prom.</i> <b>wan;</b><br><i>quant.</i> <b>wan (1).</b>  | overheat       | <i>v.</i> <b>əva-hot, see: ova.</b>  |
|               |  | own            | <i>prom.</i> <b>yon.</b>   |

P - p

|                   |  |  |   |
|-------------------|--|--|---|
| pack              | <i>v.</i> <b>pak.</b>  | penis                                    | <i>n.</i> <b>miná;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>prik.</b>    |
| pain              | <i>v.</i> <b>pen.</b>  | people                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>nesən;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>pipul.</b>  |
| paint             | <i>v.</i> <b>pent.</b>   | pepper                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>pepe.</b>                              |
| pair              | <i>n.</i> <b>piá<sub>2</sub>.</b>  | perfect tense-aspect marker              | <i>TMA.</i> <b>dən<sub>1</sub>.</b>                 |
| pair of shoes     | <i>n.</i> <b>piá sus, see: piá<sub>2</sub>.</b>                                  | perfect tense-aspect marker (negative ~) | <i>TMA.</i> <b>neá;</b><br><i>TMA.</i> <b>nəba.</b> |
| palm kernel       | <i>n.</i> <b>bàngá.</b>  | perfective aspect marker (narrative ~)   | <i>v.</i> <b>kan (2).</b>                           |
| palm nut soup     | <i>n.</i> <b>bàngá sup, see: sup.</b>  | perhaps                                  | <i>adv.</i> <b>səntén.</b>                          |
| palm tree         | <i>n.</i> <b>bàngá.</b>  | persevere                                | <i>v.</i> <b>aguanta.</b>                           |
| palm-wine         | <i>n.</i> <b>tòpé.</b>   | person                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>man;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>pəsin.</b>    |
| pan               | <i>n.</i> <b>pan.</b>  | persuade                                 | <i>v.</i> <b>tun (2).</b>                           |
| pancake           | <i>n.</i> <b>pàn-kek, see: kek.</b>  | pestle                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>matapenso.</b>                         |
| paper             | <i>n.</i> <b>pepa.</b>   | petrol                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>gasolina.</b>                          |
| paralise          | <i>n.</i> <b>paráláys.</b>   | photo                                    | <i>n.</i> <b>fòtó.</b>                              |
| parlour           | <i>n.</i> <b>pala.</b>   | Pichi                                    | <i>pn.</i> <b>Pichi.</b>                            |
| part              | <i>n.</i> <b>pat.</b>  | pick (up)                                | <i>v.</i> <b>pik.</b>                               |
| party             | <i>n.</i> <b>bìgdé;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>ambiente;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>pàchá.</b> | pierce                                   | <i>v.</i> <b>chuk.</b>                              |
| pass              | <i>v.</i> <b>pas (1).</b>  | pinch                                    | <i>v.</i> <b>pinch.</b>                             |
| past tense marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>bin.</b>  | pistol                                   | <i>n.</i> <b>pisul.</b>                             |
| patient           | <i>n.</i> <b>paciente.</b>   |  |   |
| pay               | <i>v.</i> <b>pe.</b>   |  |   |
| peel              | <i>v.</i> <b>pil.</b>  |  |   |
| pen               | <i>n.</i> <b>bolí.</b>   |  |   |

|                       |  |                              |  |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|--|
| place                 | <i>n.</i> <b>pat</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>ples</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>say</b> ;<br><i>pn.</i> <b>Guinea</b> .  |                              |  |
| plait                 | <i>v.</i> <b>plant</b> (2).  |                              |  |
| plane                 | <i>n.</i> <b>avión</b> .   |                              |  |
| plank                 | <i>n.</i> <b>plenk</b> .   | problem                      | <i>n.</i> <b>plaba</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>problema</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>problem</b> .  |
| plant                 | <i>v.</i> <b>plant</b> (1).  | profound                     | <i>v.</i> <b>strøn</b> .   |
| plantain              | <i>n.</i> <b>plàntf</b> .  | promise                      | <i>v.</i> <b>prømis</b> .  |
| plastic               | <i>n.</i> <b>plastik</b> .   | pronoun                      | <i>pron.</i> <b>à</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>=àn<sub>2</sub></b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>døn</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>dèn</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>è</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>in</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>ìn</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>mi</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>mì</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>ùna</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>wi</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>wì</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>yu</b> ;<br><i>pron.</i> <b>yù</b> . |
| plate                 | <i>n.</i> <b>plet</b> .  |                              |  |
| play                  | <i>v.</i> <b>ple</b> .   |                              |  |
| please                | <i>intj.</i> <b>duya</b> ;<br><i>intj.</i> <b>plis</b> .   |                              |  |
| plenty                | <i>v</i> ; <i>quant.</i> <b>plente</b> .   |                              |  |
| plot                  | <i>n.</i> <b>grøn</b> .  |                              |  |
| plural marker         | <i>pron.</i> <b>dèn</b> .  |                              |  |
| police                | <i>n.</i> <b>policía</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>pòlís</b> .   |                              |  |
| police station        | <i>n.</i> <b>comisaría</b> .   |                              |  |
| poor                  | <i>v.</i> <b>po</b> .  |                              |  |
| pot                   | <i>n.</i> <b>põt</b> .   |                              |  |
| potato                | <i>n.</i> <b>papa</b> ;<br><i>n.</i> <b>patata</b> .   |                              |  |
| potency               | <i>n.</i> <b>pawa</b> .  |                              |  |
| potential mood marker | <i>TMA.</i> <b>gò</b> .  | property                     | <i>n.</i> <b>propàtf</b> .   |
| pour                  | <i>v.</i> <b>tròwé</b> (2).  | prospective aspect auxiliary | <i>aux.</i> <b>want</b> .  |
| powder                | <i>n.</i> <b>pawda</b> .   | proud                        | <i>v.</i> <b>prawd</b> .   |
| power                 | <i>n.</i> <b>pawa</b> .  | prove                        | <i>v.</i> <b>pruf</b> .  |
| pregnancy             | <i>n.</i> <b>bèlé</b> .  | provoke                      | <i>v.</i> <b>chik</b> .  |
| pregnant              | — <b>get bèlé</b> , <i>see: bèlé</i> .   | public holiday               | <i>n.</i> <b>bìgdé</b> .   |
| pregnant woman        | <i>n.</i> <b>bèle-human</b> , <i>see: bèlé</i> .   | pull                         | <i>v.</i> <b>pul</b> .   |
| prepare               | <i>v.</i> <b>rèdí</b> .  | pump                         | <i>v</i> ; <i>n.</i> <b>pømp</b> .   |
| preposition           | <i>prep.</i> <b>apás</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>bày</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>fǝ</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>frøn</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>køna</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>nà<sub>2</sub></b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>ðf</b> ;<br><i>prep.</i> <b>pàn</b> ; | punish                       | <i>v.</i> <b>pønís</b> .   |
|                       |  | pure                         | <i>v.</i> <b>pyo</b> .   |
|                       |  | purpose clause introducer    | <i>link.</i> <b>fǝ</b> ;<br><i>link.</i> <b>mek<sub>2</sub></b> .  |
|                       |  | push                         | <i>v.</i> <b>pus</b> ;<br><i>v.</i> <b>sub</b> .   |
|                       |  | put                          | <i>v.</i> <b>put</b> .   |

## Q - q

|         |                           |        |                          |
|---------|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| quarrel | <i>v.</i> <b>chàkrá</b> . | quarry | <i>n.</i> <b>kwari</b> . |
|---------|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------|



VOCABULARY

quarter (of a town) *n.* **kwata.**  
 question *n.* **kwəson.**  
 quickly *adv.* **kwik.**

quotative marker *link.* **se.**

**R - r**

radiant *v.* **brayt.**  
 rag *n.* **pisis.**  
 rain *n.* **ren;**  
*v.* **fəl<sub>1</sub>.**  
 rainy season *n.* **rən-sisin, see: sisin.**  
 rat *n.* **arata.**  
 reach *v.* **rich.**  
 realise *v.* **kechəp.**  
 rear *loc.* **bihén.**  
 rebound *v.* **bot<sub>2</sub>.**  
 receive *v.* **cobra.**  
 record *v.* **graba.**  
 red *v.* **red.**  
 refuse *v.* **dínáy;**  
*v.* **rəfyús.**  
 relax *v.* **blo<sub>2</sub>.**  
 remain *v.* **ləf<sub>1</sub> (1).**  
 remember *v.* **membra.**  
 remind *v.* **membra.**  
 remove *v.* **drə (1);**  
*v.* **pul.**  
 rent *v.* **alquila.**  
 repair *v.* **fiks.**  
 repeat *v.* **bis.**  
 resemble *v.* **fiba<sub>1</sub>.**  
 reside *v.* **blant;**  
*v.* **lif;**  
*v.* **sidón.**

respect *v.* **rèspét.**  
 respectable *v.* **stret.**  
 rest *v.* **blo<sub>2</sub>;**  
*v.* **res<sub>1</sub>.**  
 restaurant *n.* **restaurante.**  
 restless (be~) *ideo.* **kakàra.**  
 reverse *n.* **ròn-say, see: ròn<sub>1</sub>.**  
 rice *n.* **res<sub>2</sub>.**  
 rich person — **jèntri-man, see: jèntri.**  
 riches *n.* **jèntri.**  
 right *n.* **rayt<sub>2</sub>.**  
 right (be~) — **get rayt, see: rayt<sub>2</sub>.**  
 right (side) *n.* **ràyt-han, see: rayt<sub>2</sub>.**  
 ring *n.* **ring.**  
 ripe *v.* **rep.**  
 river *n.* **riva.**  
 road *n.* **rod.**  
 roast *v.* **ros.**  
 room *n.* **rum.**  
 rope *n.* **rop.**  
 rot *v.* **rotin.**  
 round *n.* **vuelta.**  
 rub *v.* **rəb.**  
 run *v.* **ròn<sub>2</sub>.**  
 rush *v.* **həri.**  
 rush (to a place) *v.* **flay (2).**

**S - s**

sack *n.* **saco.**  
 salt *n.* **səl.**  
 saltwater *n.* **solwàtá.**  
 same *prom.* **sen.**  
 sand *n.* **arena;**  
*n.* **sànsán.**  
 sardine *n.* **sàdín.**

satiated *v.* **bèlfúl.**  
 saturday *n.* **sátide.**  
 say *v.* **se.**  
 scared *v.* **skia.**  
 scent *n.* **sent.**  
 school *n.* **skul.**  
 school (secondary ~) *n.* **colegio.**

|               |   |                  |  |
|---------------|---|------------------|--|
| scissors      | <i>n.</i> <b>sisos.</b>   | since (temporal) | <i>prep.</i> <b>sins.</b>  |
| scratch       | <i>v.</i> <b>skrach.</b>  | sincere          | <i>v.</i> <b>stret.</b>  |
| scrub         | <i>v.</i> <b>kròb.</b>  | sing             | <i>v.</i> <b>sing.</b>   |
| sea           | <i>n.</i> <b>solwàtá.</b>   | singlet          | <i>n.</i> <b>camiseta.</b>   |
| season        | <i>n.</i> <b>sisin.</b>   | sir              | <i>n.</i> <b>sa.</b>   |
| second        | <i>quant.</i> <b>sèkón.</b>   | sister           | <i>n.</i> <b>sista.</b>  |
| secret        | <i>n.</i> <b>sikrit.</b>  | sister-in-law    | <i>n.</i> <b>cuñada;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>sistàlò.</b>                          |
| secretely     | <i>adv.</i> <b>hàydháyd,</b> <i>see:</i> <b>hayd.</b>   | sit              | <i>v.</i> <b>sidón.</b>  |
| see           | <i>v.</i> <b>si.</b>  | six              | <i>quant.</i> <b>siks.</b>   |
| seed          | <i>n.</i> <b>sid.</b>   | skin             | <i>n.</i> <b>kàndá.</b>  |
| seem          | <i>v.</i> <b>fiba<sub>1</sub>.</b>  | sky              | <i>n.</i> <b>cielo.</b>  |
| seize         | <i>v.</i> <b>kàpú.</b>  | slap             | <i>v.</i> <b>slap.</b>   |
| self          | <i>prom.</i> <b>sef.</b>  | sleep            | <i>v.</i> <b>slip.</b>   |
| sell          | <i>v.</i> <b>sel.</b>   | sleepy           | — <i>fil</i> <b>slip,</b> <i>see:</i> <b>fil<sub>1</sub>.</b>                  |
| send          | <i>v.</i> <b>sen.</b>   | slim             | <i>v.</i> <b>slim.</b>   |
| sentence      | <i>n.</i> <b>frase.</b>   | slipper          | <i>n.</i> <b>slipás.</b>   |
| series        | <i>n.</i> <b>serie.</b>   | slow             | <i>adj.</i> <b>slo.</b>  |
| serious       | <i>v.</i> <b>siryos.</b>  | slow (be ~)      | <i>v.</i> <b>saful.</b>  |
| seven         | <i>quant.</i> <b>seven.</b>   | small            | <i>v.</i> <b>smòl.</b>   |
| sew           | <i>v.</i> <b>so<sub>3</sub>.</b>  | smell            | <i>n.</i> <b>smel;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>smel.</b>                               |
| shake         | <i>v.</i> <b>sek.</b>   | smoke            | <i>v;</i> <i>n.</i> <b>smok.</b>   |
| share         | <i>v.</i> <b>seb.</b>   | snail            | <i>n.</i> <b>kònk.</b>   |
| she           | <i>pron.</i> <b>è.</b>  | snake            | <i>n.</i> <b>snek.</b>   |
| ship          | <i>n.</i> <b>stima.</b>   | so               | <i>adv.</i> <b>sò;</b><br><i>adv.</i> <b>tal;</b><br><i>link.</i> <b>pues.</b> |
| shirt         | <i>n.</i> <b>sòt<sub>2</sub>.</b>   | soap opera       | <i>n.</i> <b>serie.</b>  |
| shit          | <i>n;</i> <i>intj.</i> <b>mierda.</b>   | soft             | <i>v.</i> <b>saf.</b>  |
| shoe          | <i>n.</i> <b>sus.</b>   | soil             | <i>n.</i> <b>sànsán.</b>   |
| shoot         | <i>v.</i> <b>sut.</b>   | soldier          | <i>n.</i> <b>soldado;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>solya.</b>                           |
| shop          | <i>n.</i> <b>sop.</b>   | some             | <i>quant.</i> <b>sòn.</b>  |
| short         | <i>v.</i> <b>sòt<sub>1</sub>.</b>   | song             | <i>n.</i> <b>sing.</b>   |
| shortly after | <i>adv.</i> <b>smòltèn.</b>   | son-in-law       | <i>n.</i> <b>sonilò.</b>   |
| shout         | <i>v.</i> <b>hala.</b>  | sorcerer         | <i>n.</i> <b>wich<sub>2</sub>.</b>   |
| shove         | <i>v.</i> <b>sub.</b>   | sorcery          | <i>n.</i> <b>mèrèsin;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>wich<sub>2</sub>.</b>                |
| show          | <i>v.</i> <b>so<sub>1</sub>.</b>  | sorry            | <i>v.</i> <b>sori.</b>   |
| shower        | <i>v.</i> <b>sawa.</b>  | sound            | <i>n.</i> <b>sonido.</b>   |
| sick          | <i>adj.</i> <b>bad.</b>   | soup             | <i>n.</i> <b>sup.</b>  |
| sick (be ~)   | <i>v.</i> <b>sik.</b>   | Spain            | <i>pn.</i> <b>Pànyá.</b>   |
| sickness      | <i>n.</i> <b>sik.</b>   | Spaniard         | <i>pn.</i> <b>Pànyá.</b>   |
| side          | <i>n.</i> <b>say.</b>   | Spanish          | <i>pn.</i> <b>Pànyá.</b>   |
| sieve         | <i>n.</i> <b>sifta.</b>   |                  |  |
| sift          | <i>v.</i> <b>sifta.</b>   |                  |  |
| sign          | <i>v.</i> <b>sayn.</b>  |                  |  |
| since         | <i>prep.</i> <b>fròn.</b>   |                  |  |
| since long    | — <b>fròn bòkú tèn,</b> <i>see:</i> <b>fròn;</b><br>— <b>lòn tèn,</b> <i>see:</i> <b>lòn.</b> |                  |  |

VOCABULARY

|                          |  |                         |   |
|--------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|
| spend                    | v. <b>spen</b> .                                   | store                   | n. <b>almacén</b> .   |
| spirit                   | n. <b>spirit</b> .                                 | storey                  | n. <b>pisó</b> .  |
| spit                     | n. <b>spit</b> ;<br>v. <b>spit</b> .               | story                   | n. <b>tòrí</b> .  |
| spoil                    | v. <b>spwel</b> .                                  | straight                | v. <b>stret</b> .   |
| spoil (a child)          | v. <b>bànfá</b> .                                  | strap                   | n. <b>bèlt</b> .  |
| spoon                    | n. <b>spun</b> .                                   | street                  | n. <b>strit</b> .   |
| spy on                   | v. <b>spia</b> .                                   | strength                | n. <b>pawa</b> .  |
| square                   | n. <b>plaza</b> .                                  | strong                  | v. <b>stron</b> ;<br>v. <b>tranga</b> .                         |
| squeeze                  | v. <b>skwis</b> .                                  | style                   | n. <b>stayl</b> .   |
| stab                     | v. <b>chuk</b> .                                   | stylish (be ~)          | v. <b>spot</b> .  |
| stand                    | v. <b>tanap</b> .                                  | subjunctive mood marker | link. <b>mek<sub>2</sub></b> .                                  |
| stand (up)               | v. <b>tinap</b> .                                  | subordinator            | link. <b>we<sub>1</sub></b> .                                   |
| standard marker          | v. <b>pas</b> (1).                                 | suddenly                | adv. <b>wan ten</b> , see: <b>wan</b> ;<br>adv. <b>wanten</b> . |
| star                     | n. <b>estrella</b> ;<br>n. <b>sta</b> .            | suffer                  | v. <b>sofa</b> .  |
| start                    | v. <b>stat</b> .                                   | sugar                   | n. <b>suga</b> .  |
| stay                     | v. <b>ste</b> .                                    | sun                     | n. <b>san</b> .   |
| steal                    | v. <b>tif</b> .                                    | sunday                  | n. <b>sònde</b> .   |
| stew                     | n. <b>styu</b> .                                   | surname                 | n. <b>apellido</b> .  |
| stick                    | n. <b>stik</b> .                                   | surpass                 | v. <b>pas</b> (1).  |
| stick in(to)             | v. <b>pin</b> .                                    | surround                | v. <b>rawn</b> .  |
| sticky (of an okro soup) | v. <b>drò</b> (1).                                 | swallow                 | v. <b>swela</b> .   |
| still                    | adv. <b>stil</b> ;<br>adv. <b>yet</b> .            | sweat                   | n. <b>swet</b> ;<br>v. <b>swet</b> .                            |
| sting                    | v. <b>chuk</b> .                                   | sweet                   | v. <b>swit</b> (2).   |
| stingy                   | v. <b>gridi</b> .                                  | sweetheart              | n. <b>bèbí</b> (2);<br>n. <b>bèlps</b> .                        |
| stone                    | n. <b>ston</b> (1).                                | swim                    | v. <b>swin</b> .  |
| stoop (over)             | v. <b>bùtú</b> .                                   |                         |   |
| stop                     | v. <b>lɛf<sub>1</sub></b> (1);<br>v. <b>stòp</b> . |                         |   |

T - t

|                |                                       |                      |   |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| table          | n. <b>tebul</b> .                     | teach                | v. <b>lan</b> ;<br>v. <b>tich</b> .       |
| tailor         | n. <b>sastre</b> .                    | teacher              | n. <b>profesor</b> ;<br>n. <b>ticha</b> . |
| take           | v. <b>ker</b> ;<br>v. <b>tek</b> .    | tear                 | v. <b>cher</b> .                          |
| take a picture | — <b>pul fòtó</b> , see: <b>pul</b> . | telephone            | n. <b>teléfono</b> .                      |
| take down      | v. <b>baja</b> .                      | telephone (mobile ~) | n. <b>móvil</b> .                         |
| take up        | v. <b>sube</b> .                      | television           | n. <b>televisión</b> .                    |
| talk           | v. <b>tak</b> .                       | tell                 | v. <b>tel</b> .                           |
| tall           | v. <b>lon</b> .                       | tell a story         | — <b>pul tòrí</b> , see: <b>pul</b> .     |
| tasty          | v. <b>swit</b> (1).                   | term of address      | n. <b>ántí</b> ;                          |
| taxi           | n. <b>tàksí</b> .                     |                      |   |

|                |  |                 |   |
|----------------|--|-----------------|---|
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>broda</b> ;                       | think of        | <i>v.</i> <b>membra</b> .                       |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>cuñada</b> ;                      | thirsty         | <i>v.</i> <b>tosti</b> .                        |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>cuñado</b> ;                      | this            | <i>det.</i> <b>dì</b> ;                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>chif</b> ;                        |                 | <i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dis</b> .          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>grànmá</b> , <i>see: gràn-</i> ;  | thorn           | <i>n.</i> <b>chùkchúk</b> .                     |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>grànpá</b> , <i>see: gràn-</i> ;  | three           | <i>quant.</i> <b>tri</b> .                      |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>grand frère</b> ;                 | throat          | <i>n.</i> <b>trot</b> .                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>ma</b> (1);                       | through         | <i>prep.</i> <b>wèt</b> .                       |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>ma</b> (2);                       | throw           | <i>v.</i> <b>fling</b> ;                        |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>mamá</b> ;                        |                 | <i>v.</i> <b>hib</b> ;                          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>mámí</b> ;                        |                 | <i>v.</i> <b>sen</b> ;                          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>masa</b> ;                        |                 | <i>v.</i> <b>ston</b> ;                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>masta</b> ;                       |                 | <i>v.</i> <b>tròwé</b> (1).                     |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>misis</b> ;                       | throw away      | <i>v.</i> <b>tròwé</b> (1).                     |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>mòmi</b> ;                        | throw stones at | <i>v.</i> <b>ston</b> .                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>ònkúl</b> ;                       | thunderstorm    | <i>n.</i> <b>tinada</b> .                       |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>pa</b> ;                          | tickle          | <i>v.</i> <b>chiklís</b> .                      |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>pàpá</b> ;                        | tie             | <i>v.</i> <b>tay</b> .                          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>pàpí</b> ;                        | tight(en)       | <i>v.</i> <b>tayt</b> .                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>sa</b> ;                          | time            | <i>n.</i> <b>awa</b> ;                          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>sista</b> ;                       |                 | <i>n.</i> <b>ten</b> .                          |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>tia</b> ;                         | tiny            | <i>v.</i> <b>lilí</b> .                         |
|                | <i>n.</i> <b>tio</b> .                         | tipsy           | <i>v.</i> <b>layt</b> (2).                      |
| testicle       | <i>n.</i> <b>ston</b> (2).                     | tired           | <i>v.</i> <b>taya</b> .                         |
| thanks         | <i>intj.</i> <b>tenki</b> .                    | TMA marker      | <i>link.</i> <b>mek</b> <sub>2</sub> ;          |
| that           | <i>det.</i> <b>dan</b> ;                       |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>bìn</b> ;                        |
|                | <i>det</i> ; <i>prom.</i> <b>dat</b> ;         |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>dè</b> ;                         |
|                | <i>link.</i> <b>se</b> ;                       |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>dòn</b> <sub>1</sub> ;           |
|                | <i>link.</i> <b>we</b> <sub>1</sub> .          |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>fò</b> ;                         |
| the            | <i>det.</i> <b>dì</b> .                        |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>gò</b> ;                         |
| them           | <i>pron.</i> <b>den</b> .                      |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>kìn</b> ;                        |
| then           | <i>adv.</i> <b>afta</b> ;                      |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>mòs</b> ;                        |
|                | <i>adv.</i> <b>dasòl</b> .                     |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>nea</b> ;                        |
| there          | <i>adv.</i> <b>de</b> <sub>1</sub> .           |                 | <i>TMA.</i> <b>nòba</b> ;                       |
| there (over ~) | <i>adv.</i> <b>yàndá</b> .                     |                 | <i>v.</i> <b>kan</b> (2).                       |
| they           | <i>pron.</i> <b>den</b> ;                      | to              | <i>prep.</i> <b>fò</b> ;                        |
|                | <i>pron.</i> <b>dèn</b> .                      |                 | <i>prep.</i> <b>tò</b> .                        |
| thick          | <i>v.</i> <b>tik</b> .                         | today           | <i>n.</i> <b>tidé</b> .                         |
| thief          | <i>n.</i> <b>tif-man</b> , <i>see: tif</i> .   | tomato          | <i>n.</i> <b>tamatis</b> ;                      |
| thin           | <i>v.</i> <b>dray</b> ;                        |                 | <i>n.</i> <b>tomate</b> .                       |
|                | <i>v.</i> <b>smòlskín</b> , <i>see: skin</i> ; | tomorrow        | <i>n.</i> <b>tumara</b> .                       |
|                | <i>v.</i> <b>slim</b> .                        | tongue          | <i>n.</i> <b>tong</b> .                         |
| thing          | <i>n.</i> <b>tin</b> .                         | too             | <i>part.</i> <b>senwe</b> ;                     |
| think          | <i>v.</i> <b>chek</b> ;                        |                 | <i>part.</i> <b>sef</b> .                       |
|                | <i>v.</i> <b>tink</b> .                        | too much        | <i>adv.</i> <b>tu mòch</b> , <i>see: mòch</i> ; |

VOCABULARY

|             |  |          |   |
|-------------|--|----------|---|
|             | <i>adv.</i> <b>tu<sub>2</sub></b> ,  | tremble  | <i>v.</i> <b>trimbul.</b>                           |
| tooth       | <i>n.</i> <b>tit.</b>  | trick    | <i>v.</i> <b>wàyó.</b>                              |
| top         | <i>loc.</i> <b>àntóp;</b><br><i>loc.</i> <b>pàntáp;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>tòp.</b> | trickery | <i>n.</i> <b>ajàjà.</b>                             |
| touch       | <i>v.</i> <b>tòch.</b>   | trouble  | <i>n.</i> <b>plaba;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>tròbul.</b> |
| towel       | <i>n.</i> <b>tawel.</b>  | trousers | <i>n.</i> <b>tròsis.</b>                            |
| town        | <i>n.</i> <b>ton<sub>1</sub>.</b>  | true     | <i>v.</i> <b>tru.</b>                               |
| traditional | <i>adj.</i> <b>tradicional;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>netif.</b>                       | try      | <i>v.</i> <b>intenta;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>tray.</b> |
| train       | <i>v.</i> <b>tren.</b>   | tuesday  | <i>n.</i> <b>tyusde.</b>                            |
| training    | <i>n.</i> <b>trenin.</b>   | tune     | <i>v.</i> <b>tun</b> (1).                           |
| transport   | <i>n.</i> <b>transporte.</b>   | turn     | <i>v.</i> <b>ton<sub>2</sub></b> (1).               |
| travel      | <i>v.</i> <b>travul;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>viaja.</b>                              | turn out | <i>v.</i> <b>kòmót</b> (2).                         |
| tree        | <i>n.</i> <b>stik.</b>   | two      | <i>quant.</i> <b>tu<sub>1</sub>.</b>                |

U - u

|                        |  |               |  |
|------------------------|--|---------------|--|
| ugly                   | <i>ideo; v.</i> <b>wòwó.</b>   | up            | <i>loc.</i> <b>òp.</b>   |
| uncle                  | <i>n.</i> <b>ànkúl;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>tio.</b>   | upbringing    | <i>n.</i> <b>trenin.</b>                                       |
| under                  | <i>loc.</i> <b>bàtón.</b>  | upside down   | <i>n.</i> <b>ròn-say</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>ròn<sub>1</sub>.</b> |
| understand             | <i>v.</i> <b>hia<sub>4</sub>;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>òndàstán;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>yer.</b> | urinate       | <i>v.</i> <b>pìpí.</b>   |
| unfortunately          | <i>adv.</i> <b>badten.</b>   | urine         | <i>n.</i> <b>pìpí.</b>   |
| units (mobile phone ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>saldo.</b>  | us            | <i>pron.</i> <b>wi.</b>  |
| until                  | <i>prep.</i> <b>soté.</b>  | use           | <i>v.</i> <b>yus.</b>  |
|                        |  | use up        | <i>v.</i> <b>spwel.</b>  |
|                        |  | used to (be~) | <i>v.</i> <b>kòstòn.</b>                                       |

V - v

|            |  |             |                          |
|------------|--|-------------|--------------------------|
| vagina     | <i>n.</i> <b>òpó;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>tòtó.</b>      | virgin(ity) | <i>n.</i> <b>vilech.</b> |
| vegetables | <i>n.</i> <b>verdura.</b>                            | visit       | <i>v.</i> <b>vìsít.</b>  |
| vehicle    | <i>n.</i> <b>mòtó.</b>                               | vomit       | <i>v.</i> <b>vòmit.</b>  |
| village    | <i>n.</i> <b>kòntri;</b><br><i>n.</i> <b>pueblo;</b> |             |                          |

W - w

|           |  |      |   |
|-----------|--|------|---|
| wait      | <i>v.</i> <b>wet.</b>                            | walk | <i>v.</i> <b>waka;</b>                          |
| wake (up) | <i>v.</i> <b>wek;</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>wekòp.</b> | want | <i>v.</i> <b>wòk.</b><br><i>v.</i> <b>want.</b> |

|                      |   |         |  |
|----------------------|---|---------|--|
| warm                 | v. <b>hòt</b> <sub>1</sub> .                            | whine   | <i>ideo.</i> <b>menyemenyé</b> .                         |
| wash                 | v. <b>was</b> .   | white   | v. <b>wayt</b> .   |
| watch                | v. <b>wach</b> .  | who     | <i>inter.</i> <b>udat</b> ;                              |
| water                | <i>n.</i> <b>wàtá</b> ;                                 |         | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=pòsin</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> . |
|                      | <i>n.</i> <b>wòtá</b> .                                 | whole   | <i>quant.</i> <b>hol</b> <sub>3</sub> ,                  |
| water (cold, cool ~) | <i>n.</i> <b>kòl-wàtá</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>wàtá</b> .   | wicked  | v. <b>wiked</b> .  |
| water (hot, warm ~)  | <i>n.</i> <b>hòt-wàtá</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>wàtá</b> .   | wife    | <i>n.</i> <b>wayf</b> .                                  |
| way                  | <i>n.</i> <b>we</b> <sub>2</sub> .                      | win     | v. <b>win</b> .  |
| way (the ~ that)     | <i>link.</i> <b>lèk haw</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>lèk</b> .  | window  | <i>n.</i> <b>winda</b> .                                 |
| we                   | <i>pron.</i> <b>wi</b> ;                                | wine    | <i>n.</i> <b>vino</b> .                                  |
|                      | <i>pron.</i> <b>wì</b> .                                | wipe    | v. <b>wayp</b> .   |
| wear                 | v. <b>wer</b> .   | witch   | <i>n.</i> <b>wich</b> <sub>2</sub> .                     |
| weather              | <i>n.</i> <b>de</b> <sub>3</sub> .                      | with    | <i>prep.</i> <b>wèt</b> .                                |
| wednesday            | <i>n.</i> <b>wensde</b> .                               | without | <i>prep.</i> <b>sin</b> ;                                |
| weed                 | v. <b>chapea</b> .                                      |         | <i>prep.</i> <b>witàwt</b> .                             |
| week                 | <i>n.</i> <b>wik</b> .                                  | woman   | <i>n.</i> <b>human</b> .                                 |
| weekend              | <i>n.</i> <b>fin de semana</b> .                        | womb    | <i>n.</i> <b>bèlé</b> .                                  |
| welcome              | <i>intj.</i> <b>wèlkòm</b> .                            | wonder  | v. <b>wanda</b> .  |
| well                 | v. <b>wel</b> .   | wood    | <i>n.</i> <b>stik</b> ;                                  |
| well-dressed         | v. <b>spot</b> .  |         | <i>n.</i> <b>wud</b> .                                   |
| wet                  | v. <b>sok</b> .   | word    | <i>n.</i> <b>tòk</b> ;                                   |
| what                 | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=tin</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> ;  |         | <i>n.</i> <b>wòd</b> .                                   |
|                      | <i>inter.</i> <b>wetin</b> .                            | work    | v; <i>n.</i> <b>wok</b> .                                |
| when                 | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=awa</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> ;  | world   | <i>n.</i> <b>wòl</b> .                                   |
|                      | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=ten</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> ;  | worm    | <i>n.</i> <b>tùmbú</b> .                                 |
|                      | <i>link.</i> <b>we</b> <sub>1</sub> .                   | worry   | v. <b>wòri</b> .   |
| where                | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=say</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> .  | wound   | <i>n.</i> <b>kòt</b> ;                                   |
| whether              | <i>link.</i> <b>èf</b> ;                                |         | <i>n.</i> <b>sòfút</b> .                                 |
|                      | <i>link.</i> <b>if</b> .                                | write   | v. <b>rayt</b> <sub>1</sub> .                            |
| which                | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=</b> ;                              | wrong   | v. <b>ron</b> <sub>1</sub> .                             |
|                      | <i>inter.</i> <b>wich</b> <sub>1</sub> .                |         |  |
| which (kind of)      | <i>inter.</i> <b>us=kayn</b> , <i>see:</i> <b>us=</b> . |         |  |
| while                | <i>link.</i> <b>we</b> <sub>1</sub> .                   |         |  |

## Y - y

|              |                                     |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| year         | <i>n.</i> <b>hia</b> <sub>3</sub> . |
| yes          | <i>intj.</i> <b>yes</b> .           |
| yes (strong) | <i>intj.</i> <b>èhé</b> .           |
| yesterday    | <i>n.</i> <b>yéstàdé</b> .          |
| yet          | <i>adv.</i> <b>yet</b> .            |
| you (pl)     | <i>pron.</i> <b>ùna</b> .           |
| you (sg)     | <i>pron.</i> <b>yu</b> ;            |
|              | <i>pron.</i> <b>yù</b> .            |
| young        | v. <b>yun</b> .                     |

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## Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Pichi (ook bekend als Fernando Po Creools) is een Atlantische Creooltaal met Engelse woordenschat gesproken op het eiland Bioko, Equatoriaal-Guinea. Het is de meest algemeen gesproken taal van het landshoofdstad Malabo en wordt gebruikt als een lingua franca op het hele Bioko. Pichi is een dochter van Krio (Sierra Leone) en heeft veel kenmerken gemeen met andere nauw verwante talen zoals Aku (Gambia), Nigeriaans, Cameroons en Ghanees Pidgin.

Deze eerste uitgebreide beschrijving van het Pichi is gebaseerd op veldwerk in Equatoriaal-Guinea en presenteert een gedetailleerde analyse van de fonologie, de morfologie en de syntaxis van de taal. Een apart hoofdstuk is gewijd aan Pichi-Spaanse code-vermenging. De bijlagen bevatten een verzameling interlinie glossen en geannoteerde teksten van verschillende genres, evenals Pichi-Engelse en Engels-Pichi woordenlijsten.

Pichi is een taal die fonologie, grammatica en lexicon uit verschillende bronnen combineert. De meerderheid van de wortels in het lexicon van het Pichi worden afgeleid van Krio, de brontaal van het Pichi. Krio heeft op zijn beurt de meeste van haar lexicon van Engelse bronnen afgeleid. Pichi heeft daarentegen veel gemeen met andere West-Afrikaanse talen op het gebied van grammaticale categorieën, morfo-syntaxis, semantische structuren en pragmatiek. Tegelijkertijd heeft het Spaans, de koloniale en officiële taal van Equatoriaal-Guinea, ook een aanzienlijke invloed op het lexicon en grammatica van het Pichi.

Pichi heeft een gemengd prosodisch systeem dat gebruikmaakt van zowel 'pitch accent' als toon. Toonhoogte wordt ook beperkt gebruikt voor flexie en afleiding. Pichi beschikt over een zevenklinker-systeem. Er zijn 22 consonantfonemen in het Pichi. Pichi fonemen worden over het algemeen volledig uitgesproken, en er is niet veel aanpassing tussen woorden.

De taal heeft een hoge mate isolerende structuur. Vooral blijft de morfologische vorm van woorden ongewijzigd. Afzonderlijke woorden worden gecombineerd op specifieke manieren om grammaticale functies en relaties uit te drukken. Er is echter een beperkt gebruik van flectionele en derivationele morfologie, waarin affixatie, toon en de suppletieve vormen worden gebruikt. Pichi heeft zowel elementen voor als na het nomen. Hieronder vinden wij een meervoudsmarkeerder gelijk aan het derde persoons meervoud voornaamwoord. Pichi wordt gekenmerkt door een zwak werkwoord-bijvoeglijk naamwoord onderscheid. De taal heeft een handvol bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, terwijl alle resultatieven en vrijwel alle eigenschapswoorden als werkwoord worden uitgedrukt.

De categorieën van tempus, modaliteit en aspect worden in de eerste plaats door



middel van preverbale deeltjes uitgedrukt. Pichi is een aspect prominente taal waarin aspect een dominante rol speelt. Naast het modale systeem vertoont het een complexe werkverdeling tussen de verschillende functionele elementen op het gebied van de complementatie en bevat het een conjunctieve vorm die ook deontische modaliteit uitdrukt.

Pichi vertoont een grote verscheidenheid aan vergelijkende constructies. Hiertoe behoren de soorten uit de typologie Exceed-1- en Exceed-2 vergelijkende constructies en een seriële werkwoordsconstructie met het werkwoord *pas* (overtreffen). De taal wordt ook gekenmerkt door een complex copulasysteem dat gebruik maakt van afzonderlijk vormen en suppletie, en langs het criterium van tijdsstabiliteit is gedifferentieerd. Het uitgebreide gebruik van focusstructuren in de zinsvorming is een onderscheidend kenmerk van de taal.

Pichi werkwoorden worden onderverdeeld in drie lexicale aspectklassen: dynamisch, inchoatief-statief en statief. De meeste werkwoorden komen voor in intransitieve, transitieve en ditransitieve zinnen. Er is dus een dienovereenkomstig hoog percentage werkwoorden met onstabiele toestanden. Onstabiele toestandswerkwoorden omvatten wijziging van staat werkwoorden, de meeste eigenschapaanduidingen, locatieve werkwoorden en experiëntiële werkwoorden. Naast een groot scala aan 'lichte' werkwoordsconstructies zijn er talrijke gelexicaliseerde werkwoord-object combinaties in het Pichi, waarin syntactische objecten niet-essentiële semantische rollen als manier, doel, instrument of bron uitdrukken.

Het Pichi vertoont een onderwerp-werkwoordvolgorde in intransitieve en een onderwerp-werkwoord-object volgorde in transitieve zinnen. Zinsontkenning wordt gekenmerkt door negatieve congruentie: wanneer de bewerking wordt ontkend, worden niet-specifieke NPs normaal gesproken ook voorafgegaan door *no* 'negatie'. Inhoudsvragen worden gevormd door middel van een gemengd vraagwoordsysteem waarin een transparante en ondoorzichtige vraagelementen voorkomen. Voorzetsels, locatieve zelfstandige naamwoorden en locatieve werkwoorden spelen een rol om ruimtelijke relaties uit te drukken. Andere middelen zijn bewegingswerkwoorden en seriële werkwoordconstructies.

De taal kent ook verschillende soorten multi-werkwoord constructies. Seriële werkwoord constructies dienen onder meer om deelnemers te markeren (bijvoorbeeld in 'nemen' seriële werkwoordconstructies) en om complexe bewegingen en aspectuele en modale begrippen uit te drukken.

## Curriculum vitae

Kofi Yakpo received a Magister Artium in linguistics, social anthropology and political science from the University of Cologne with a master's thesis on tense, aspect and modality in Bislama, the Creole language of Vanuatu. After earning a Masters in Business Administration from the University of Geneva and a foray into law at King's College, University of London, he worked for a few years as the Africa Desk Coordinator of FIAN, an international human rights organisation advocating for the right to food. Subsequently, he served as a policy advisor on rural development to the Green Party MP Thilo Hoppe, chairman of the Committee on Development of the German Parliament.

Upon earning his Ph.D degree as a result of the present work, he joined the team of Pieter Muysken at the University of Nijmegen as a post-doctoral researcher in a project on language contact and historical linguistics entitled 'Traces of Contact'. Under the artist name 'linguist', Kofi Yakpo is also a founding member of 'Advanced Chemistry' a band that pioneered Hip Hop music in Germany in the late 1980's. Since then, he has been involved in various artistic projects as a songwriter, playwright and author.

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