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Pichi

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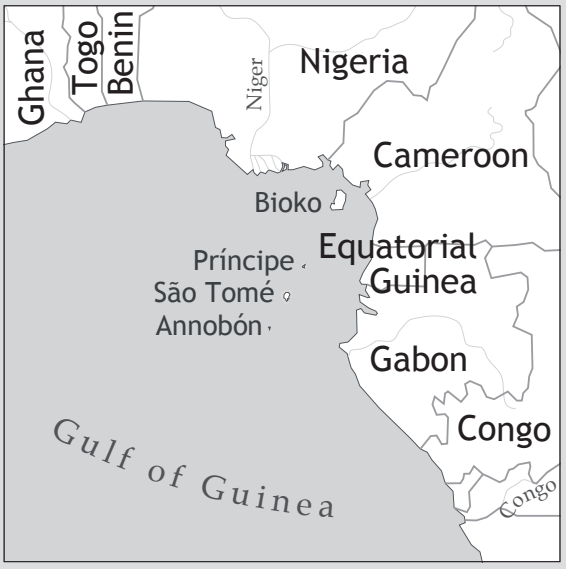
1. Introduction

Pichi belongs to the African branch of the family of Atlantic English-lexicon creole languages. It is spoken on the island of Bioko, Equatorial Guinea. Pichi is an offshoot of Krio, which first arrived in Bioko, the former Fernando Po, with African settlers from Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1827 (Fyfe 1962: 165). It is the second-most widely spoken language of the capital Malabo after Spanish and is used as a primary language in a number of villages and towns along the Coast of Bioko. Pichi also functions as a lingua franca throughout Bioko. No official figures exist but by extrapolation from population data, there is reason to assume that Pichi is used by at least 100,000 people of Equatorial Guinea's population of 693,000 (UN 2009). This makes Pichi the second most widely spoken non-European language of the country behind Fang (Northwest Bantu). The following overview is based on a corpus of some 50,000 words collected in Bioko between 2003 and 2007 (see Yakpo 2009b).

Pichi

Autoglossonyms:	*Pichi*, *Pichin*, *Pichinglis*, *Krio*
	English: *Fernando Po Creole English*, *Fernando Po Krio*, *Pidgin*, *Broken English*
Other names:	Spanish: *Pichi*, *Pichinglis*
Number of speakers:	More than 100,000
Major lexifier:	English
Other contributing languages:	Spanish (major), Yoruba, Portuguese, Bube, French
Location:	Bioko (Equatorial Guinea) and emigrant communities in Rio Muni, neighbouring countries and Spain
Official languages of Equatorial Guinea:	Spanish and French



Map 1.

2. Sociohistorical background

In 1827, the town of Port Clarence (later renamed to Santa Isabel under Spanish colonial rule and to Malabo after independence in 1968) was founded by the British on the island of Fernando Po, as Bioko was then called. In the first decades after the founding of Port Clarence, settlers from Freetown, Sierra Leone, who spoke the English-lexicon Creole language Krio, formed the largest component of the predominantly African population of the town (Martín del Molino 1993: 59). The "Krios", the Creoles of Freetown, also appear to have provided the cultural and linguistic models for other, numerically smaller groups of Africans in the town (García Cantús 2006: 116–18). In the following decades these groups of diverse origins merged and acquired a distinct cultural and linguistic identity as the "Fernandino" people (Lynn 1984).

Until the end of the nineteenth century, trade contacts between Port Clarence and Freetown were upheld through regular steamer trips (Martín del Molino 1993: 62ff). These contacts contributed to reinforcing the link between Krio and its developing daughter language Pichi. Fernandino traders also acted as middlemen in the palm oil trade with the Bube people, the indigenous population of Fernando Po (Lynn 1984: 267), which contributed to the spread of Pichi as a trade lingua franca throughout the island (Martín del Molino 1993: 116). During the twentieth century, Bioko witnessed a massive expansion of the cocoa plantation economy. The bulk of manual labour was provided by Southern Nigerian, and to a lesser extent, Liberian, Ghanaian, and Cameroonian contract workers, who out-

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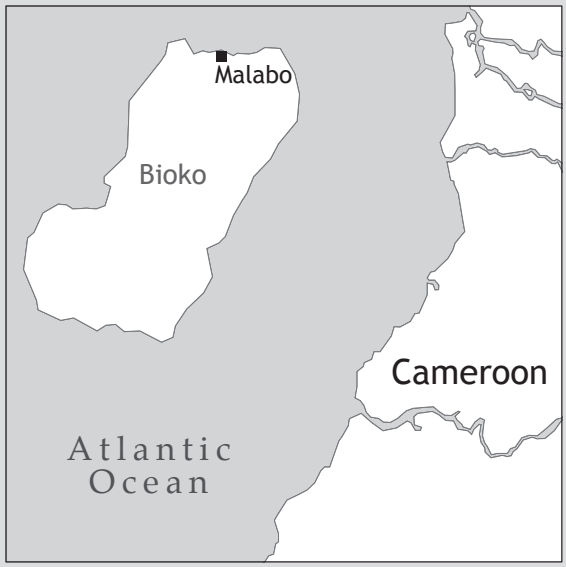

Map 2.

numbered the Bube and Fernandino population of Bioko by the 1950s. The present-day oil boom in Equatorial Guinea has once more made Bioko the destination of migratory movements from the West African sub-region. Although the language has essentially retained its Krio character, the continuous presence in Bioko of speakers of other varieties of West African Creole and Pidgin English throughout the last 150 years as well as language shift from Bube (Northwest Bantu) have not gone unnoticed in the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of Pichi.

3. Sociolinguistic situation

Equatorial Guinea has risen to become sub-Saharan Africa's third-largest oil-exporting nation. The most important factors affecting the use and status of Pichi in this context are: large-scale work-related immigration from West African pidgin/creole-speaking countries of the sub-region and internal migration from mainland Equatorial Guinea to Bioko; the ongoing language shift of Bube speakers to Pichi and Spanish; accelerating urbanization; ethnic hybridization; and the ongoing expansion of Spanish-medium primary education. It remains to be seen how Pichi will adapt to the profound changes that Equatorial Guinea is going through at this moment.

Variation in Pichi may be captured by an—albeit oversimplified—division of speakers into two groups. Group 1 tends to be made up of younger speakers of up to 30 years old and encompasses a larger percentage of speakers who acquired Pichi alongside other languages and/or who have been accultured more recently into the Pichi-speaking urban culture of Malabo. Group 2 consists of the Fernandinos, the former commercial and social élite of the island, who use Pichi as their community language and people of diverse cultural backgrounds who grew up in the ambit of Fernandino culture. Group 2 appears to be shrinking at the expense of group 1 (see also Morgades Besari 2004). The most conspicuous phonological differences between these two groups follow. For group 1 speakers, there is generally no phonemic contrast between the alveolar fricative /s/ and the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ (see (a) in Table 1) and this is systematically applied to all words in positions where group 2 speakers use /ʃ/ ((a) and (b) in Table 1). Additionally, group 1 speakers insert a palatal glide /j/ between /s/ and a following mid vowel where group 2 uses /ʃ/, as shown in (c) and (d) in Table 1.

Table 1. **Phonological variation in Pichi**

	Group 1			Group 2	
a.	*so*	[só]	'sew; show; so'	[só]	'sew; so'
				[ʃó]	'show'
b.	*finis*	[fìnìs]	'finish'	[fìnìʃ]	'finish'
c.	*sɔp*	[sjɔ́p]	'shop'	[ʃɔ́p]	'shop'
d.	*nesɔn*	[nésjɔ̀n]	'nation'	[néʃɔ̀n]	'nation'

There is also some variation in the use and acceptance of certain grammatical structures. For example, the speech of group 1 appears to feature fewer types of serial verb constructions. A final area characterized by variation is the depth of Pichi–Spanish language contact. For example, the names of weekdays, numerals, and religious terminology are almost exclusively expressed in Spanish by group 1 speakers. In contrast, group 2 speakers appear to 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' as well. Similarly, most group 1 speakers normally employ Spanish numerals above five (*seis* 'six', *siete* 'seven', *ocho* 'eight') instead of Pichi numerals (*siks* 'six', *sɛven* 'seven', *et* 'eight'). In contrast, group 2 speakers seem to master a wider range of the Pichi numeral system.

4. Phonology

Pichi has seven vowel phonemes. Vowel length is not distinctive. There is some lexically determined vowel alternation with alternate forms like *kɛr ~ kɛri ~ kari* 'carry, take', *lɛk ~ layk* 'like'; *gɛl*

Table 2. **Vowels**

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

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Table 3. **Consonants**

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Labio-velar	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	voiceless	p		kp	t			g		
	voiced	b		gb	d			k		
Implosive										
Nasal		m			n		ɲ	ŋ		
Trill										
Fricative	voiceless		f		s	(ʃ)			ʁ	h
	voiced		v							
Affricate	voiceless					tʃ				
	voiced					dʒ				
Approximant							j	w		
Lateral					l					

~ *gal* 'girl'; *ùnu* ~ *ùna* 'you (2PL)'; *wɔnt* ~ *want* 'want'. There is also a tendency towards the reduction of the phonemic contrast between the mid-vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ (e.g. *lɛk* [lék] ~ [lék] 'like', *kɛr* [kér] ~ [kér] 'carry') as well as /o/ and /ɔ/ (e.g. *nɔto* [nɔ́tò] ~ [nótò] 'NEG.FOC', *mɔ* [mɔ́] ~ [mó] 'more').

The consonant inventory counts 23 phonemes. The labio-velar plosives /kp/ and /gb/ are marginal and only attested in ideophones, (e.g. *gbin* 'sound of a sudden blow'). The voiced labio-dental plosive /v/ is marginally phonemic in words like *grèví* [grèví] 'gravy'. In most words, however, /v/ is in free variation with /b/ (e.g. *ova* [óbà] ~ [óvà] 'over, be excessive' and *riva* [ríbà] ~ [rívà] 'river').

Furthermore, for most younger speakers (group 1) the opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/, which is still operational with some older speakers (group 2), has collapsed, with /s/ being pronounced in all positions (see §3). Hence, one-time minimal pairs like *so* [só] 'sew' and *sho* [ʃó] 'show' have given way to the homonyms *so* [so] 'sew; show'.

Pichi features a rich variety of processes involving nasals/nasalization. For example, the prothesis of /n/ is optional with some words featuring an initial /j/, as in *yun* [jún] ~ [njún] 'be young', while other words with a word-final /i/ are optionally subjected to word-final nasalization (realized as [n] or nasalization of the final [i]), e.g. *gridi* [grídì] ~ [grídìn] 'be greedy', *hangri* [hángrì] ~ [hángrìn] 'be hungry'. Moreover, a group of high-frequency function words undergoes nasal place assimilation (e.g. the clitic object pronoun *=àn* [àn] ~ [àm] '3SG.OBJ'. A further process involves the optional insertion of the approximant /j/ between either of the velar consonants /g/ and /k/ and the front vowels /a/ and /ɛ/, e.g. *gal* [gál] ~ [gjál] 'girl', *kɛr* [kér] ~ [kjér] 'carry'. Another feature of interest is the existence of a voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ with the variants [ɾ] and [ɣ], e.g. *kɛr* [kér] ~ [kéʁ] ~ [kéɣ] 'carry, take' and *rɛs* [rés] ~ [ʁés] ~ [ɣés] 'rice' (see Hancock (1976: 6) on this phoneme in Krio).

The vast majority of words are mono- and bisyllabic. The syllable template is (C)(C)(C)(V)V(C)(C). A vowel constitutes the syllable nucleus—there are no syllabic nasals. Up to two consonants may cluster in codas and three consonants may cluster in onsets. However, most clusters are systematically broken up by deletion and insertion processes, e.g. *smɔl* [sìmɔ́l] ~ [sùmɔ́l] '(be) small' and *hɛlp* [hélɛ̀p] 'help'.

Pichi is a tone language with two phonemic tones, a high (H) and a low (L) tone, as well as a default low tone over toneless syllables. Hence we find monosyllabic tonal minimal pairs like *de* [H] 'locative-existential copula' vs. *dè* [L] 'imperfective marker'. The language also shows the maximal number of possible tonal configurations over bisyllabic words of the same syntactic category: *fiba* [HL] 'fever', *wɔ̀tá* [LH] 'water', *nyɔmí* [HH] 'ant' and *bàta* [LL] 'buttocks'. Grammatical tone is used for inflection and derivation as well (see §5). Pichi exhibits a mixed prosodic system, a typologically unusual feature that characterizes other Atlantic creoles too (see e.g. Berry 1970, Rountree 1972, Devonish 2002, Good 2004, Rivera Castillo & Faraclas 2005). Hence, around 95 per cent of the words in the corpus bear a single pitch accent (an H tone). The remaining 5 per cent are 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. Tones are graphicized in the following way: monosyllables and penultimate syllables always bear a high tone if they bear no tone mark (e.g. *go* [gó] 'go', *waka* [wákà] 'walk'). Conversely, low-toned monosyllables or penultimate syllables always bear a grave accent mark (e.g. *ɛ̀f* [ɛ̀f] 'if', *lɛ̀kɛ* [lɛ̀kɛ̀] 'like'). When a high tone occurs elsewhere in the word, it is marked so by an acute accent mark (e.g. *màmá* [màmá] 'mother', *nyɔmí* [nyɔ́mí] 'ant'. Syllables not covered by these notation rules are always low and remain unmarked (e.g. *prɔpàtí* [prɔ̀pàtí] 'property', *banana* [bànánà] 'banana'. Tonal notation applies to the root, hence the components of multimorphemic words separated by a hyphen or an equals sign are marked for tone individually (e.g. *us=tin* [ús=tín] 'what', *wàka-stik* [wàkà-stík] 'walking stick').

5. Morphology

Pichi has a largely isolating morphology. However, there is some use of inflectional and derivational morphology in which tonal and non-tonal affixes, as well as suppletive forms, are used. With personal pronouns, the grammatical relations of subject, object, and possessive case are marked through constituent order (e.g. for distinguishing subject from possessive case with *yù* '2SG' and *wì* '1PL'), suppletion (e.g. for distinguishing subject case *à* '1SG.SBJ' from object case *mi* '1SG.EMPH') as well as tone to signal inflection (e.g. for distinguishing subject and possessive case *dɛ̀n* '3PL' from object case *dɛn* '3PL.EMPH'. In (1),

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tone alone distinguishes possessive from object case with the first-person-singular personal pronoun *mi* (all following Pichi examples from Yakpo 2009b):

(1) *Dɛ̀n tif mi mì sus.*
3PL steal 1SG.EMPH 1SG.POSS shoe
'They stole my shoes from me.'

Pichi makes use of three affixing processes for derivation. One is a tonal process involving the deletion of the lexical high tone over a word and its replacement by a default low tone in order to form compounds. In (2), the lexical high tone over the first syllable of the modifier noun *kɔntri* 'country' is deleted and replaced by a default low tone (indicated by a grave accent), while the head noun *chɔp* retains its original high tone:

(2) *Nà ìn* ***kɔ̀ntri-chɔp***.
FOC 3SG.POSS country.CPD-food
'That's his local food.'

Reduplication, too, the second derivational process, features the tone deletion characteristic of compounding but additionally involves iteration, that is, the use of a reduplicant. Reduplication is productive only with dynamic verbs and indicates verbal plurality. Compare the reduplicated verb *chench* 'change':

(3) *Wetin yù dè* ***chènch~chench*** ***nɔmba dɛ̀n*** *so?*
what 2SG IPFV PLURALITY~change number PL like.that
'Why are you constantly changing (telephone) numbers like that?'

The third process involves suffixation of the formative *-wan* 'ADV', which is employed to derive adverbials. The affix *-wan* is etymologically related to the Pichi cardinal numeral *wan* 'one':

(4) *È fayn fɔ̀ dring* ***smɔl-wan***.
3SG.SBJ be.fine ASSOC drink small-ADV
'It's good to drink moderately.'

Most of the ideophones on record involve lexicalized iteration, which may be morphological in appearance, hence involve reduplication (e.g. *katakatá* 'be hectic') or appear to be syntactic and involve repetition, as shown with *fwífwifwí* in (5). Most ideophones are used as manner adverbs:

(5) *Nà so à dè wayp=àn, à dè sopla*
FOC like.that 1SG.SBJ IPFV wipe=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ IPFV blow
in ***fwífwifwí***.
3SG.EMPH sound.of.wind
'I was wiping him like that, I was fanning him.'

6. The noun phrase

The structure of the noun phrase is represented in the constructed example in Figure 1.

QUANT	DEF	CARD	ORD	MOD	N	PL	ADV	FOC	TOP	SUBORD
ɔl	*dì*	*tri*	*las*	*blu*	*mòtó*	*dɛ̀n*	*ya*	*sɛf*	*naw*	*we*
all	the	three	last	blue	car	PL	here	self	now	which
Prenominal					Head	Postnominal				

'As for all the three last blue cars here which [. . .]'

Figure 1. Noun-phrase structure

Postnominal modifiers include a pluralizer that is identical with the third-person-plural dependent subject pronoun. The pluralizer may also express an associative plural in combination with personal names (see 6) The third-person-plural dependent pronoun is used with impersonal reference as well in order to background an agent (see 1):

(6) *À dɔn explica* ***Bòyé dɛ̀n*** *se* [. . .].
1SG.SBJ PRF explain Boye PL QUOT
'I have explained to Bòyé and the others that [. . .].'

Determiners like the definite article *dì* (cf. *dì bɔl* 'the ball' in 12), the indefiniteness expressions *wan* 'one, a' (cf. *wan blak lapa* 'a black cloth' in 61) and *sɔ̀n* 'some, a' (see 7), as well as the proximal and distal demonstratives *di*(*s*) 'this' (see 42) and *da*(*n*) 'that' (see 11) precede the nouns they refer to:

(7) *À want mek yù du mi* ***sɔ̀n febɔ***.
1SG.SBJ want SBJV 2SG do 1SG.EMPH some favour
'I want you to do me a favour.'

The comitative and instrumental preposition *wèt* 'with, and' is the preferred means of coordinating noun phrases:

(8) *Lidia* ***wèt*** *Junior, nà dɛn à sàbí.*
Lidia with Junior FOC 3PL.EMPH 1SG.SBJ know
'Lidia and Junior, it's them I know.'

Five features are important with respect to **personal pronouns** (see Table 4): person, number, syntactic (in)dependence, case, and the pragmatic notion of emphasis.

Except for the suppletive forms *mì* '1SG.POSS' (which substitutes for *à* '1SG.SBJ') and *ìn* '3SG.POSS' (which substitutes for *è* '3SG.SBJ'), dependent subject pronouns are also employed in adnominal possessive function. Independent pronouns (glossed

Table 4. **Personal pronouns and adnominal possessives**

	Dependent pronouns			Indep. pronouns
	Subject	Adnom. poss.	Object	Object & emphatic
1SG	*à*	*mì*		*mi*
2SG	*yù*			*yu*
3SG	*è*	*ìn*	*=àn*	*in*
1PL	*wì*			*wi*
2PL	*ùna*, *ùnu*			*ùna*, *ùnu*
3PL	*dɛ̀n*			*dɛn*

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as EMPH) are used in emphatic contexts in both subject and object positions. Hence they may be stressed, focused, topicalized, modified by postposed elements, and conjoined. Independent pronouns are also employed as the regular object pronouns of verbs and prepositions. However, in object position the third-person dependent clitic object pronoun *=àn* '3SG.OBJ' is in complementary distribution with the object pronoun *in* '3SG.EMPH' from the independent/emphatic series. The distribution of the suppletive allomorphs *=àn* and *in* is phonologically conditioned by the requirement of a polar pitch configuration of a vowel sequence at the clitic boundary. Therefore only verbs or prepositions with a word-final consonant or a word-final vowel with a high tone permit the encliticization of the low-toned vowel-initial object pronoun *=àn* '3SG.OBJ' (see 9). In turn, verbs and prepositions with a word-final low-toned vowel may only take the high-toned independent object pronoun *in* '3SG.EMPH' (see 10):

(9) *Yù dè nyàngá=**àn**.*
2SG IPFV be.ostentatious=3SG.OBJ
'You're being ostentatious to him.'

(10) *À dè fia **in**.*
3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.EMPH
'I fear her.'

Independent pronouns can be modified by postposed quantifiers (see 11), focus and topic markers, and nouns. The pronominal system may also be extended through compounding. Compound pronouns may feature the numeral *tu* 'two' as the second component and thereby express dual number (see 12):

(11) *Nà **in** **dasɔl** dan human dɔn dè wok fɔ.*
FOC 3SG.EMPH only that woman PRF IPFV work ASSOC
'It is only that (thing) (that) that woman is working for.'

(12) *Yù si, **dèn-ɔl-tu** jump fɔ bɔt dì*
2SG see 3PL.EMPH.CPD-all.CPD-two jump ASSOC head DEF
bɔl.
ball
'You see, they both jumped to head the ball.'

The functional equivalents of indefinite pronouns are common NPs involving generic nouns preceded by the quantifier and indefinite determiner *sɔ̀n* 'some, a' (*sɔ̀n pɔsin*/*sɔ̀n man* 'somebody') as well as the quantifiers *ɔl* 'all' (*ɔl tin* 'all things/everything'), *ɛni* 'every' (*ɛni tɛn* 'every time') and *no* 'NEG' (see 38 and 39).

Pichi makes no difference between 'some' indefinites used in affirmative and realis modality declaratives, and "free-choice" indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 48–52) of the 'any' type:

(13) *Yù fit mek **ɛni kaɣn tin**, yù gò si mɔ̀ní.*
2SG can make every kind thing 2SG POT see money
You could do any (kind of) thing [in Libreville] (and) you'd earn money.'

7. The verb phrase

The core tense–mood–aspect (TMA) system is constituted by particles which express central notions such as imperfective aspect or potential mood. In the non-core system, auxiliary verbs express aspectual and modal notions in serial verb constructions. Pichi also makes use of complementizers in order to express modality. The elements of the core TMA system and their position relative to the verb root are provided in Figure 2.

Three lexical aspect classes can be identified on distributional grounds. Stative (STAT) verbs (*fit* 'can', *de* 'be.at', *tink* 'think', etc.) do not co-occur with the imperfective marker *dè* and are always interpreted as stative. Inchoative-stative (ISTA) verbs (*brok* 'break, be broken', *sìdɔ́n* 'sit down, be seated', *sàbí* '(get to) know', *blak* 'be(come) black') may receive both a present state or a past entry-into-state interpretation when they occur as bare verbs in intransitive clauses without further disambiguating information. Dynamic (DYN) verbs (*nak* 'hit', *go* 'go', *kres* 'be crazy') always receive a past interpretation when they appear unmarked for TMA. The inherent temporal structure of Pichi verbs co-determines the meanings that arise when core aspect marking co-occurs with a verb. These are summarized in Table 5.

The general imperfective aspect marker *dè* covers functions generally associated with the imperfective domain such as progressive in (14), habitual in combination with the appropriate adverbial in (15), but also modal functions such as future tense in (16) and hypothetical modality in (17):

(14) *À **dè** **smɛl** dì sɛnt fɔ lɛ̀k*
1SG.SBJ IPFV smell DEF scent ASSOC like
*haw è **dè** **kuk** plàntí.*
how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook plantain
'I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.'

Mood/comp	Pronoun	Negative	Tense	Mood	Aspect		Stem	Root
mek	*yù*	*no*	*bìn*	*gò*	*dɔn*	*dè*	RED–	verb
SBJV	2SG	NEG	PST	POT	PRF	IPFV		
				fɔ	*nɛa*	*kan*		
				COND/OBLIG	NEG.PRF	PFV		
				mɔ̀s	*kìn*			
				OBLIG	HAB/ABIL			

Figure 2. Position of TMA markers

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Table 5. **Tense–mood–aspect marking**

	Lexical aspect	Tense	Aspect	Mood
Bare verb	STAT	Present	Imperfective	–
	ISTA	Present/past	Imperfective/perfective	–
	DYN	Past	Perfective	–
bìn 'PST'	All	Past(-before-past)	Imperfective	Past conditional
dè 'IPFV'	STAT	–	–	–
	ISTA	Present	Imperfective (inchoative)	Hypothetical
	DYN	Present	Imperfective (progressive)	Hypothetical
kan 'PFV'	STAT/ISTA	Past	Perfective (inchoative)	–
	DYN	Past	Perfective (terminated)	Realis
dɔn 'PRF', *nɛa* 'NEG.PRF'	All	Past	Perfect	Realis
kìn 'HAB'	All	Present	Habitual, iterative	–
gò 'POT'	All	Future	–	Potential
mek 'SBJV'	All	Inherently future	–	Subjunctive
fɔ̀ 'ASSOC'	All	–	–	Obligation, past conditional
mɔ̀s 'OBLIG'	All	–	–	Obligation

(15) *Ɛni de dɛ̀n* ***dè chɔp*** *rɛs, ɛni de.*
every day 3PL IPFV eat rice every day
'Every day they eat rice, every day.'

(16) *À* ***dè lɛf*** *nà Luba soté dì nɛ́ks wík.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV remain LOC Luba until DEF next week
'I'm remaining in Luba until next week.'

(17) *À* ***dè tek*** *mì pìkín go nà hospital, claro.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV take 1SG.POSS child go LOC hospital clear
'I would take my child to hospital, of course.'

The expression of perfective aspect is less uniform. For one, perfective aspect may be expressed by default with dynamic verbs through the assignment of factative TMA (Welmers 1973), that is, the use of the bare verb (18). With non-dynamic verbs, the assignment of factative TMA most commonly yields an imperfective reading, namely, present tense (or ongoing state) (19):

(18) *À* ***pas*** *dì dòmót bìhɛ́n say, à* ***go*** *fɛ́n 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.'

(19) *À* ***gɛt*** *mɔdɛ̀lɔ́.*
1SG.SBJ get mother-in-law
'I have a mother-in-law.'

Secondly, perfective aspect may be expressed by the narrative perfective marker *kan* 'PFV' with all lexical aspect classes. The marker is, however, specialized in the foregrounded sections of narrative discourse, as in the following excerpt from a narrative:

(20) *À* ***kan go*** *nà mì ɔ̀nkúl ìn pàpá ìn let brɔda.*
1SG.SBJ PFV go LOC 1SG.POSS uncle 3SG.POSS father 3SG.POSS late brother
'I went to my uncle's father's late brother.'

Tense is expressed either overtly through the use of aspect marking or overtly by means of the past marker *bìn* 'PST' and the potential-mood marker *gò*. The past marker is not obligatory. It is generally employed in temporally remote, backgrounded, orienting, and supportive sections of narratives. Compare the first two occurrences of *bìn* in (21):

(21) *Mi* ***bìn de*** *de, à* ***bìn mek*** *dasɔl, dis,*
1SG.EMPH PST be.at there 1SG.SBJ PST make only this
à dè mek finga dɛ̀n, 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.'

The TMA marker *gò* is found in statements of intention (47) and prediction (13). However, its meaning is usually tinged with modal undertones. In (22), the potential mood expresses an epistemic possibility:

(22) *Mek yù tɔn=àn, porque bɔ̀tɔ́n* ***gò*** *ros.*
SBJV 2SG turn=3SG.OBJ because bottom POT burn
'Stir it, because the bottom might burn.'

The marker *gò* 'POT' in (23) is also found to mark conditional modality in hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions in the same way as *dè* 'IPFV' (see 17). The following sentence is not preceded by an 'if' clause: the 'condition' is deduced from the context:

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(23) *Mi no* ***gò*** *tɛl=àn no natin.*
1SG.EMPH NEG POT tell=3SG.OBJ NEG nothing
'I [EMPH] wouldn't tell him anything.'

Pichi also makes use of serial verb constructions in order to express aspectual and modal notions. Compare the egressive serial verb construction involving the first verb in series *kɔ̀mɔ́t* 'come out' (24) and the expression of ability and (root) possibility via the verb *fit* 'can' (25):

(24) *We yù* ***kɔ̀mɔ́t sik*** *dan sik nà Pànyá* [. . .].
SUBORD 2SG come.out sick that sickness LOC Spain
'When you had just fallen sick with that sickness in Spain [. . .].'

(25) *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).'

Subjunctive mood is instantiated in the modal complementizer *mek* 'SBJV' and occurs in contexts characterized by the presence of deontic modality—in other words, in directive main clauses such as imperatives and other "mands" (see 22) and in the subordinate clauses of main predicates that induce deontic modality (26). Subjunctive mood occurs in purpose clauses (27) as well:

(26) *È nak dì plet pàn dì tebul bìkɔs 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.'

(27) *Dɛ̀n kan kɛr mi nà Madrid* (*fɔ*)
3PL PFV carry 1SG.EMPH LOC Madrid (ASSOC)
mek *dɛ̀n go opera mi.*
SBJV 3PL go operate 1SG.EMPH
'They took me to Madrid in order to go and operate on me.'

8. Grammatical relations

There are only few strictly intransitive verbs in Pichi (e.g. *rɔn* 'run', *day* 'die', *fɛt* 'fight'). A large proportion of verbs is labile, that is, they may be used in transitive and intransitive clauses alike. Hence, the undergoer subject of the intransitive clause in (28) becomes an actor subject in the transitive clause in (29). Also note how the unmarked verb *slip* 'lie, sleep' receives a present state reading in the intransitive clause (28) and how it acquires a past-tense reading when used as a dynamic transitive verb in (29):

(28) ***Dì bɔtul slip*** *pàntáp dì tebul.*
DEF bottle lie top DEF table
'The bottle is lying on the table.'

(29) *È* ***slip dì bɔtul*** *pàntáp dì tebul.*
3SG.SBJ lie DEF bottle top DEF table
'He laid the bottle on the table.'

Double-object constructions featuring transfer and communication verbs, such as *gi* 'give', *das* 'give as a present', and *lan* 'learn, teach', are the only means of expressing the relation between an agent, a recipient, and a theme, as shown in (30). Serial verb constructions of the GIVE-type in order to mark recipient and beneficiary roles are not attested in the language.

(30) *Mì màmá* ***das*** *mi sɔ̀n regalo.*
1SG.POSS mother give.as.present 1SG.EMPH some present
'My mother gave me a present.'

There are numerous lexicalized verb–object combinations in Pichi in which syntactic objects occupy non-core semantic roles as diverse as instrument, purpose, source or content (see 31). The use of semantically empty deverbal cognate objects for emphasis is also common (32):

(31) *Nà China mòtó dɛ̀n* ***fulɔp pipul****.*
LOC China car PL be.full people
'In China cars are full of people.'

(32) *Dan tòrí bìn dè* ***swit*** *mi* ***wan swit****.*
that story PST IPFV be.tasty 1SG.EMPH one tastiness
'I really enjoyed that story (lit. That story was really tasty to me).'

The following two sentences exemplify the use of the form *sɛf* as a reflexive and reciprocal anaphor in combination with personal pronouns. The form may also function as a focus/emphasis marker with smaller constituents and clauses (41).

(33) ***È*** *dè so* ***ìn sɛf*** *tu mɔch.*
3SG.SBJ IPFV show 3SG.POSS self too much
'He brags too much.' (lit. 'He's showing himself too much.')

(34) ***Dɛ̀n*** *dè luk* ***dɛ̀n sɛf****.*
3PL IPFV look 3PL self
'They're looking at each other.'

The most common type of causative construction involves the use of the causative verb *mek* 'make' and a subordinate subjunctive clause containing the verb of effect. The subjunctive clause is introduced by the modal complementizer and subjunctive marker *mek* 'SBJV':

(35) *È bìn* ***mek*** *mek à* ***gi*** *dì gɛl dì plàntí.*
3SG.SBJ PST make SBJV 1SG.SBJ give DEF girl DEF plantain
'She made me give the girl the plantain.'

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9. Simple clauses

Pichi exhibits subject–verb word order in intransitive clauses, as in (36), and a subject-verb-object order in transitive clauses, as in (37). Very often, a coreferential dependent pronoun additionally appears in the predicate which refers to the preceding specific full noun subject. Sentence (36) presents both alternatives:

(36) *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.'

(37) *È dɔn chàkrá mared.*
3SG.SBJ PRF destroy marriage
'She has ruined (the) marriage.'

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. Sentence negation is characterized by negative concord. Whenever the verb is negated, non-specific NPs in the clause may be preceded by *no* 'NEG' in order to add an emphatic sense to the clause, as in (38):

(38) ***No** mòtó **no** de we è smat lɛ̀k mì*
NEG car NEG be.at SUBORD 3SG.SBJ be.fast like 1SG.POSS
yon.
own
'There is not a single car that is as fast as mine.'

In contrast, negative concord is obligatory with all negative phrases—syntactic phrases that function as negative indefinites in Pichi and involve the negator *no* followed by a generic noun, for example, *no say* [NEG side] 'nowhere', *no man* [NEG man] 'nobody', *no wan de* [NEG one day] 'never'. Verb negation also accompanies the use of *natin* 'nothing', the only negative indefinite pronoun (39).

(39) ***No natin no** de we è fayn lɛ̀k kɔmpin.*
NEG nothing NEG be.at SUBORD 3SG.SBJ be.fine like friend
'There is nothing as nice as a friend/friendship.'

Content questions are formed by way of a mixed question-word system which involves different types of transparent and opaque question elements (see Muysken & Smith 1990): (1) simple, monomorphemic elements (*udat* 'who' and *wetin* 'what'); (2) bimorphemic question words composed of either a clitic question particle and a generic noun (*us=pɔsin* [which=person] 'who', *us=say* [which=side] 'where'), or a question particle and a non-generic common noun, as in *us=mòtó* 'which car'; (3) question phrases (*wetin mek* [what make] 'why').

Question elements are often placed under focus. In (40), a possessor noun is questioned and cleft-focused with the particle *nà* 'FOC'. In Pichi cleft constructions, the out-of-focus part of the sentence is not usually expressed as a relative clause.

(40) ***Nà udat** ìn mòtó Pancho dè yus?*
FOC who 3SG.POSS car Pancho IPFV use
'It's whose car Pancho is using?'

The use of focus structures in the formation of declarative sentences is also commonplace. The reflexive anaphor and emphatic particle *sɛf* 'self, EMPH' is the most frequently used form in particle focus as in (41). But other elements also play a role, for example, *senwe* 'EMPH' (42) or the sentence particle *o* (43):

(41) *Naw è dɔn day **sɛf**.*
now 3SG.SBJ PRF die EMPH
'Now he is even dead.'

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

Verbs may also be singled out for focus individually in predicate cleft constructions (see e.g. Muysken 1978; Koopman 1984):

(43) ***Nà go** à dè **go** o.*
FOC go 1SG.SBJ IPFV go SENT.PCL
'Mind you, I'm going (lit. 'It's going (that) I'm going).'

The most common type of comparative is a mixed comparative (Stassen 1985). It involves the use of the comparative particle *mɔ* together with a serial verb construction in which the verb *pas* '(sur)pass' functions as the standard marker, as in (44):

(44) *Pero ɛ̀f dì tin kan bɔ̀kú **mɔ** **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.'

Equative clauses are characterized by asymmetries and suppletion in the use of personal pronouns, polarity and TMA marking. For one, the two lexically distinct forms *nà* and *nɔto* express affirmative (45) and negative (46) identity respectively. When an equative clause is overtly marked for TMA the suppletive copula *bi* 'be' is recruited as in (47):

(45) ***Nà** kàndá fɔ̀ kòko-nát.*
FOC skin ASS coco.CPD-nut
'It's the shell of a coconut.'

(46) *Mi **nɔto** smɔl gɛl.*
1SG.EMPH NEG.FOC small girl
'I'm not a small girl.'

(47) *Mi **gò** **bi** dɔkta.*
1SG.EMPH POT be doctor
'I [EMPH] will be a doctor.'

The locative–existential copula *de* 'be.at' may take adverbials

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and adjectives as complements. This form is used to express relatively transient, less permanent existence in time (48) and space (49):

(48) *Wí* ***de*** *las dos y media.*
1PL be.at the.PL two and half
'It's two thirty.'

(49) *Yù fon* ***de*** *nia tebul.*
2SG phone be.at near table
'Your phone is near (the) table.'

Adjectival complements of *de* (see 50 and 65) also render less time-stable properties than their verbal counterparts (51). However, only the three value-property items *bad* '(be) bad', *gud* '(be) good', and *fayn* '(be) fine' may unequivocally be employed as complements of the copula *de*. Other property concepts in the data are lexicalized as verbs:

(50) *Tìdé dì human* ***de*** ***fayn***.
today DEF woman be.at fine
'Today the woman is fine.'

(51) *Dì human* ***fayn***.
DEF woman be.fine
'The woman is beautiful.'

Prepositions and locative nouns play a part in expressing spatial relations. Other means include locative verbs (e.g. *slip* 'lie' in 28 and 29), motion verbs, and motion-direction SVCs (62) as well as locative adverbs (such as *ya* 'here' in Figure 1). Contrary to locative nouns (52), prepositions may not be employed in the syntactic position of nouns and require explicit mention of the ground, most often a nominal complement (53):

(52) *Yù dè klem fɔ̀ rich* ***pàntáp***.
2SG IPFV climb ASSOC arrive top
'You're climbing in order to reach the top.'

(53) *È lɛ̀f dɛn* ***pàn dì tebul***.
3SG.SBJ leave 3PL.EMPH on DEF table
'She left them on the table.'

10. Clause linkage

Pichi clause linkage is characterized by a large variety of strategies and forms. The quotative marker *se* and the morphologically invariant general subordinator *we* (and its rare variant *wɛn*) stand out as multifunctional elements with overlapping functions. The subordinator *we* introduces relative clauses as well as time and manner clauses, and functions as a clause coordinator. In (54), the first two occurrences of *we* represent uses of *we* as a clausal coordinator, the third occurrence suggests a temporal reading of *we* as 'when':

(54) ***We*** *wì kan kan nà tɔn,* ***we*** *à bìgín go*
SUBORD 1PL PFV come LOC town SUBORD 1SG.SBJ begin go
skul, ***we*** *à bìn get, à tink se seis años.*
school SUBORD 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.'

In addition, the most common means of forming relative clauses involves the use of subordinator *we* 'SUBORD' and its less common variant *wɛn*. The use of resumptive pronouns is nearly general in subject relative clauses with [+ specific] head nouns as in (55), fairly common in object-relative clauses featuring highly transitive verbs like *brok* in (56) and rare in the relativization of prepositional phrases (57). Note the possibility of preposition stranding in (57):

(55) *Ɛ̀f yù chɔp ɔl* ***dis chɔp*** [***we*** ***è*** *no dɔn*],
if 2SG eat all this food SUBORD 3SG.SBJ NEG done
tumɔ́ro yù gò sik.
tomorrow 2SG POT be.sick
'If you eat all this food that is not done you'll be sick tomorrow.'

(56) *Dì de wɛn mì màmá gò gɛt sɔ̀n*
DEF day SUBORD 1SG.POSS mother POT get some
fàya-wud [***we*** *dɛ̀n brok=****àn*** *nà fam*] [. . .].
fire.CPD-wood SUBORD 3PL break=3SG.OBJ LOC farm
'Those days that my mother used to get fire wood that had been broken up at the farm [. . .].'

(57) *Dì* ***bɛd*** [***we*** *è dè slip* ***pàn***], *è de nà*
DEF bed SUBORD 3SG.SBJ IPFV sleep on 3SG.SBJ be.at LOC
dì rum.
DEF room
'The bed that she sleeps on, it's in the room.'

The quotative marker *se* is characterized by a high degree of polyfunctionality (see Güldemann 2008). For example, *se* may be followed by a clause, a phrase, or a member of a list as in the following example:

(58) *Krio màmá dɛ̀n, we dɛ̀n dè tɔk Pichi*
Krio mother PL SUBORD 3PL IPFV talk Pichi
dɛ̀n kìn tɔk ***se*** "***grin***".
3PL HAB talk QUOT green
'The elderly Krio women, when they talk Pichi, they usually say "green" (as opposed to "verde" like younger people).'

The quotative marker *se* 'QUOT' may also introduce various types of adverbial clause. In (59) the quotative marker introduces a manner clause:

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(59) *Dɛ̀n pul dì mòtó nà garaje **se** dɛ̀n dɛ̀*
3PL remove DEF car LOC workshop QUOT 3PL IPFV
pus=àn.
push=3SG.OBJ
'They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.'

A host of other elements are employed to introduce adverbial clauses with more specific meanings, e.g. *ɛ̀f* (*ɛ*)*/if* 'if' (55), *bìfó* 'before', *lɛ̀k haw* 'as soon as, the way that' (14), *fɔseka* 'due to', *bikɔs*/*porque* 'because' (60, 22):

(60) ***Nà bìkɔs** è bɔn pìkín, nà dì tin mek*
FOC because 3SG.SBJ give.birth child FOC DEF thing make
è day.
3SG.SBJ die
'It is because she gave birth (to a child), that's why she died.'

Serial verb constructions are less central to event integration than other forms of clause linkage. Among other functions, SVCs may be employed to introduce theme and instrument participants as in (61), the ground in a motion event as in (62). SVCs may also provide adverbial modification as in (63). However, most types of SVC are formed with a restricted number of verbs and may hence be analyzed as lexicalized compound verbs:

(61) *È kìn de lɛ̀k se dɛ̀n **tek** wan blak làpá dɛ̀n*
3SG.SBJ HAB be.at like QUOT 3PL take one black cloth 3PL
***kɔba** yu.*
cover 2SG.EMPH
'It is usually so that they cover you with a black cloth.'

(62) *À **kɛr**=àn **go nà** comedor.*
1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining.room
'I carried him to the dining-room.'

(63) *Yù dɔn **ste** **kan**?*
2SG PRF stay come
'Did you come long ago?'

Other constructions are akin to SVCs but are best analyzed as involving reduced secondary predicates. In a construction like (64), the second predication is always construed as temporally overlapping with the first one. This may lead to differential aspect marking:

(64) *È **mit** mi à **dè** **kuk** sɛf.*
3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.EMPH 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook EMPH
'He came across me while I was actually cooking.'

11. Contact between Pichi and Spanish

Spanish has left a deep imprint on the lexicon and grammar of Pichi (see Yakpo 2009a). Code-mixing forms an integral part of the linguistic system of Pichi. In a selected portion of the corpus, a type count revealed that 50 per cent of all nouns, 30 per cent of all verbs, and 62 per cent of all numerals used were of Spanish origin. For example, Spanish adjectives (65) and some conjunctions (66) are regularly found in Pichi sentences, too:

(65) *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.'

(66) *Yù nɛa gɛt pìkín **porque** yù nɛa 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 considerable 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 (67). These verbs are more frequent than their Pichi equivalents *go ɔp* 'go up' and *go dɔn* 'go down'.

(67) *Pancho mek lɛ̀kɛ se è dè **sube** bìhén we*
Pancho make like QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind SUBORD
*è **baja** mɔ.*
3SG.SBJ go.down more
'Pancho pretended to go up behind and then went down again.'

Virtually the entire numeral system, as well as the date nomenclature, have been borrowed into Pichi from Spanish:

(68) *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.'

A much smaller percentage of words of West African origin from diverse semantic fields was inherited from Krio as well, for example, *okobó* 'impotent man', *chàkrá* 'waste; destroy', *wàyó* 'cunning' (Fyle & Jones 1980). The number of words that originate from Bube, the autochthonous language of Bioko Island and the African language with which Pichi has had the longest period of contact, is limited to a handful of items in the corpus (e.g. *tòpé* 'palm-wine').

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Glossed text

This text is an excerpt of an extensive conversation about the ongoing construction of a family house commissioned by (the female) speaker 2 [SP2] and overseen by (the male) speaker 1 [SP1]. The conversation features the characteristic code-mixing that typifies Pichi as spoken in Malabo today. Spanish elements are set in bold (for the full text, see Yakpo 2009b: 580–606).

Pues hemos estado ahí**, à tink se wan **las
so we.have been there 1SG.SBJ think QUOT one the
So we were there, I think around

cuatro** we dì **jefe** kɔ̀mɔ́t, è no **aparece
four SUBORD DEF boss go.out 3SG.SBJ NEG appear
four o'clock that the boss went out (and) he hadn't appeared

yet. Dì ɔda man tɛl mi se dɛ̀n dɔn bay
yet DEF other man tell 1SG.EMPH QUOT 3PL PRF buy
yet. [SP1] The other man told me that they had bought

***veinte sacos**. È kɛf **doce**. È **falta** mɔ̀ní*
twenty bags 3SG.SBJ remain twelve 3SG.SBJ lack money
twenty bags. [SP1] Twelve remain. [SP1] The money is lacking

*fɔ pul **saco** dɛ̀n de fɔ kɛr=àn nà*
ASSOC remove sack PL there ASSOC carry=3SG.OBJ LOC
to remove the bags there in order to bring them to

*hos. **Me van a tocar los cojones porque***
house me they.will to touch the.PL testicles because
the house. [SP1] They're going to get me really annoyed because

*mi gi dɛn **diez mil** fɔ **transporte**.*
1SG.EMPH give 3PL.EMPH ten thousand ASSOC transport
I [EMPH] gave them ten thousand for transport. [SP2]

Nà so in dè tɛl mi. Mek dɛ̀n
FOC SO 3SG.EMPH IPFV tell 1SG.EMPH SBJV 3PL
That's what he [EMPH] told me. [SP1] Let them

transporta** dì **cemento** nà Ela Nguema **porque no
transport DEF cement LOC Ela Nguema because NEG
transport the cement to Ela Nguema because it hadn't

***estaba dicho que** dɛ̀n gò go lɛf dì **cemento**. Dì*
was said that 3PL POT go leave DEF cement DEF
been agreed that they would go leave the cement [lying there]. [SP2]The

***cemento**, **estaba dicho que** nà fɔ kɛr=àn*
cement was said that FOC ASSOC carry=3SG.OBJ
cement, it had been agreed that it is to be taken

***directamente** nà Ela Nguema. Dat min se Buehu*
directly LOC Ela Nguema that mean QUOT NAME
directly to Ela Nguema. [SP2] That means that Buehu

no kan è no gi no mɔ̀ní no natin.
NEG come 3SG.SBJ NEG give NEG money NEG nothing
didn't come (and) he didn't give (them) any money at all. [SP2]

*No natin. Tumɔro mɔnin tɛn, wan las **siete***
NEG nothing tomorrow morning time one the.PL seven
Nothing at all. [SP1] Tomorrow morning, around seven o'clock

so à gò go de.
SO 1SG.SBJ POT go there
or so, I'll go there. [SP2] There. [SP2]

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