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Negation in Pichi (Equatorial Guinea)

The case for areal convergence

Kofi Yakpo
The University of Hong Kong

This chapter provides a detailed overview of negation in Pichi, the English-lexifier Creole spoken by the people of the island of Bioko (Equatorial Guinea). Pichi negation patterns align closely with areal negation patterns found across a broad swath of West Africa. Like the vast majority of genealogically diverse languages of the region, Pichi employs asymmetric negation strategies. These involve the use of subjunctive mood for the negation of imperatives, the use of suppletive portmanteau forms that combine negative polarity and aspect, and the use of an identity-equation copula that incorporates negative polarity, temporal-aspectual values, person deixis and pragmatic functions, and whose distribution is determined by complex syntactic rules. Negative concord is pragmatically determined, hence non-strict with common nouns, where it renders emphatic meanings. Negative concord is grammatically determined and strict with negative indefinite pronouns and with negative phrases fulfilling the functions of negative indefinite pronouns. I conclude that Pichi negation patterns are typically areal in character and cannot be seen to reflect a "Creole" linguistic type.

Keywords: West Africa, Creole, linguistic area, negation, negative concord, indefinites, copula

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a detailed overview of negation in Pichi, thus giving a first comprehensive overview of negation as a functional area, not only for Pichi but also for a West African English-lexifier Creole in general. In accordance with the objectives of this volume, I dedicate some attention to negative concord, and try to single out typologically relevant characteristics of this type of negation, thereby placing negative concord and the other negation strategies found in Pichi within the broader context of Creole "specificity". I argue that Pichi patterns of negation show a significant convergence with areal patterns of negation in West African languages. The findings of this chapter confirm the areal-typological affinities of Pichi and the

other English-lexifier Creoles of West Africa that I have described with respect to other functional domains (see Yakpo 2012a, 2012b, 2017). I conclude that Pichi negation does not reflect phylogenetic traits of an assumed Creole prototype and is instead firmly rooted in the areal typology of West Africa.

Pichi is an Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole (Faraclas 2004; Yakpo 2012b) spoken by upwards of 100, 000 people at various levels of nativization and in a variety of multilingual and multilectal constellations in and outside their homes (Yakpo 2013). Pichi is a direct offshoot of 19th century Krio, spoken in Sierra Leone and has close historical and genetic ties with the other English-lexifier contact languages of the region, i.e. Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English (Yakpo 2009: 3–5 for the socio-historical details on the links between Krio and Pichi).

The analyses in this chapter are based on a corpus of primary data consisting of 46,060 words of dialogues, narratives, procedural texts and elicitations that I collected during three field trips to Bioko between 2003 and 2007. A comprehensive grammatical description of Pichi is provided in Yakpo 2009 (in English) and Yakpo 2010 (in Spanish). All examples in this chapter that bear no reference are from my field data. More information on the corpus and my linguistic collaborators in Equatorial Guinea can be found in Yakpo 2009: 21–25.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: In Section 2, I provide a summary of formal and typological characteristics of negation in Pichi. In Sections 3 and 4, I turn to standard verb negation and copula negation respectively. In Section 5, I explore and discuss negative concord. Section 6 examines the question of Creole specificity of Pichi negation on the basis of the findings presented earlier on. Section 7 concludes this chapter.

2. Formal and typological aspects of negation in Pichi

Pichi negation is characterized by a number of typological properties that align it closely with negation patterns found across a broad geographical swath of genealogically diverse languages in a linguistic area that I have defined elsewhere as "West Africa" (Yakpo 2012a: 270), which largely corresponds with the "Macro-Sudan Belt" (Güldemann 2008). These typological properties are the following:

- Asymmetric negation (use of special negators and/or negation patterns) of specific TMA categories (e.g. Jungraithmayr 1988).
- Asymmetric copular negation (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009).
- Interaction between negation and focus (e.g. Wolff 2007).
- Negative concord (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009).
- Absence or scarcity of dedicated negative indefinite pronouns (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009; Van Alsenoy 2014).

In the following sections, I will address these typological characteristics one-by-one. Due to space limitations, I will not be able to engage in an extensive comparative analysis of Pichi negation with the corresponding West African structures. I will, however, refer to the relevant literature where necessary.

Table 1 presents the form inventory and negation patterns of Pichi. It covers different types of verb negation (1); copula negation (2); the negation of nominal and other constituents including the use of negative indefinite pronouns (3), and (4) focus-related and other pragmatically oriented negation structures. The English etymologies of individual forms are provided in parentheses where available, e.g. the negative perfect aspect particles *néa* and *nóba* in (1b) are etymologically related to the English adverb 'never'. More details with reference to the sub-types (in letters) of each of these three types (in numbers) are treated in the sections that follow:

Table 1. Negation in Pichi: Forms and patterns

Negation type		**Form/pattern**	
(1) Verb negation			
a.	Standard negation	*nó* (< 'no')	(4)
b.	Negative perfect aspect	*néa/nóba* (< 'never')	(9)
c.	Negative imperatives, cohortatives and jussives	*mék* — *nó* (< 'make — no')	(12)–(14)
(2) Copula negation			
a.	Locative/existential copula negation	*nó dé* 'NEG BE.LOC' = 'not be 'somewhere'	(18), (19)
b.	Identity/equative copula negation	*nóto* 'NEG.FOC' (< 'not) = 'not be somebody/something'	(23)–(26)
c.	Identity/equative copula negation	*nó* – TMA – *bí* (< 'be') = 'not be somebody/something'	(28), (29)
(3) Nominal and constituent negation			
a.	Nominal negation	*nó* 'NEG'	(33), (34)
b.	Constituent negation	*nóto* 'NEG.FOC'	(24)
c.	Negative indefinite pronouns	*nátin* (< 'nothing'), *nó-bɔ́di* ('nobody')	(35)–(39)
(4) Pragmatically oriented negation structures			
a.	Negative focus	*nóto (se)* 'NEG.FOC (QUOT)' = 'it is not (that)'	(24)
b.	Disagreement	*nó*	(1)
c.	Question tag/channel check	*nɔ́/nó*	(2)

Table 1 above shows that Pichi makes use of five different forms that fulfill negation functions, not counting variants separated by a slash. These are *nó/nɔ́*, *néa/nóba, nóto, nátin,* and *nó-bɔ́di.* Additionally, complex rules govern the distribution of negation in the copula system, which features altogether four copula forms (*na,*

nóto, dé, bí) as well as additional morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies. The table also reflects some of the typological specificities of Pichi negation referred to in the bullet points further above. We find asymmetric negation patterns with standard negation, i.e. a defective negation paradigm for perfect aspect (1b), as well as the use of subjunctive clauses for the negation of directives (1c).

Equally, we find a two-way distinction in the negation of copulas: while the locative-existential copula is negated via standard negation (2a), the formation of negative identity/equative clauses involves the use of two suppletive forms (2b)–(c), we therefore have another defective paradigm. Likewise, Pichi only has two forms that qualify as negative indefinite pronouns (3c). Further, Pichi makes use of negative concord by the simultaneous use of verbal (1) and nominal negation (3). Finally, Pichi employs a negative focus particle (4a), which overlaps formally and functionally with the negative identity copula (2b), and is employed in constituent negation as well (3b).

I treat these characteristics of Pichi negation in more detail in the following sections. I first turn to verb negation.

3. Verb negation: Regular and suppletive forms and patterns

In the following, I employ the term "standard negation" (Miestamo 2005) for the negation of declarative clauses. Standard negation revolves around the general negator *nó* 'NEG', which functions as a negative particle in verb negation (1a) in Table 1. The general negator is employed for the negation of all TMA categories save perfect tense-aspect and in directives, and therefore has the widest distribution of all negation devices. The general negator (in its phonological variants *nó* and *nɔ́)* also serves as an interjection. In sentence-initial position *nó* 'no' serves as the central disagreement particle of Pichi and in sentence-final position it serves as a question tag and channel-checking particle:

(1) ***Nó,*** *a* *nó* *nó* *dán* *gyál.*[1]
NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG know DIST girl
'No, I don't know that girl.'

1. Regarding the transcription of Pichi examples: I employ an orthography based on Krio (see e.g. Coomber 1992), used for the first time in Yakpo 2009. The grapheme /ɛ/ renders the open-mid front vowel [ɛ] and /ɔ/ renders the open-mid back vowel [ɔ]. The prosodic system of Pichi has two phonemic tones, high and low. All high-toned syllables bear an acute accent and low-toned syllables are left unmarked, e.g. *wét* [wét] 'wait' vs. *wet* [wèt] 'with'. Spanish words in Pichi ex-amples are written according to Spanish orthographic conventions.

(2) *Náw yu fít dríng=an* ***nɔ́?***
now 2SG can drink = 3SG.OBJ right
'Now, you're able to drink it, right?'

Declarative clauses acquire negative polarity when the general negator, the particle *nó* intervenes between the personal pronoun and a following TMA particle or the verb. The position of the negator is canonical. The imperfective-marked verb *gí* 'give' in (3) is negated in (4):

(3) *Dɛn de* ***gí*** *dɛ́n skúl fɔ training centre.*
3PL IPFV give 3PL.INDP school PREP training center
'They give them classes at a training center.'

(4) *Dɛn* ***nó*** *de* ***gí*** ***dɛ́n*** *skúl.*
3PL NEG IPFV give 3PL.INDP school
'They don't give them classes.'

Sentence (5) contains both an affirmative and a negative clause in the potential mood. Examples (6) and (7) present an affirmative and a negative clause with past tense marking. We see that verbal negation is "symmetrical" (cf. Miestamo 2005: 72ff.) in these two Pichi mood and tense categories. The standard negator is simply added without any further adjustments to the clause (hence the term "additive" for this kind of negation by Jungraithmayr 1988):

(5) *E* ***nó*** ***go*** *slíp tidé, yu go sí.*
3SG.SBJ NEG POT sleep today 2SG POT see
'He won't sleep today, you'll see.'

(6) *E* ***bin*** *go na jél.*
3SG.SBJ PST go LOC jail
'He went to jail.'

(7) *A* ***nó*** ***bin*** *fít ték motó.*
1SG.SBJ NEG PST can take car
'I wasn't able to take a car.'

The negation of the perfect aspect is not achieved by the addition of the general negator *nó* (cf. (1b) in Table 1). Instead, negation in these environments is "asymmetrical" (Miestamo 2005) or "substitutive" (Jungraithmayr 1988). Negation relies on the use of a morphologically distinct element that incorporates negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category. The negative perfect particles *nɛ́a* and *nóba* are functionally identical free variants that substitute for the affirmative perfect particle *dɔ́n* 'PRF'.

(8) *Yu* ***dɔ́n*** *bɔ́n* *fó* *pikín.*
2SG PRF engender four child
'You have engendered four children.'

(9) *E* ***néa*** *bɔ́n* *pikín.*
3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF engender child
'She hasn't given birth to a child (yet).'

Asymmetric negation of tense-aspect-mood categories involving the use of portmanteau forms like *néa/nóba* is extensively documented for genealogically diverse languages belonging to all West African linguistic groupings including Benue-Congo (Ndimele 2009), Mande (Creissels 1997: 3; Kastenholz 2002: 96), Gur (Winkelmann & Miehe 2009: 173–174), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 293–303), Atlantic (Robert 1990), Saharan (Cyffer 2009: 73–75; Zima 2009: 99), and Chadic (Zima 2009: 99). West African languages naturally vary in the extent to which asymmetric negation occurs and how it is realized. There is nevertheless a tendency among many West African languages for perfect(ive) aspect and related senses to make use of asymmetric negation. The particular susceptibility of perfect(ive) senses to suppletive negation appears to be motivated by the semantic incompatibility of boundedness or completeness of an event and the negation of its occurrence (cf. e.g. Vydrine 2009: 256, for suppletive negative perfects in Southern Mande).

Asymmetric negation is also a hallmark of prohibitives (negative imperatives). These can be formed in two ways in Pichi. One involves standard negation – the general negator *nó* is placed before the verb, compare the imperative in (10) with the prohibitive in (11):

(10) *Pás* *na* *mákit* *mɔ́!*
pass LOC market again
'Pass by the market again!'

(11) ***Nó*** *tɔ́k,* *a* *bég!*
NEG talk 1SG.SBJ beg
'Please don't talk!'

A prohibition can alternatively be expressed asymmetrically via a negative subjunctive clause. The subjunctive complementizer *mék* 'SBJV' appears in the complementizer position on the left edge of the clause, while the verb is simultaneously negated via the general negator *nó.* Subjunctive clauses are more finite clause types than imperatives, and so the use of the 2nd person pronoun is obligatory:

(12) ***Mék*** *yu* ***nó*** *pás* *na* *mákit* *mɔ́!*
SBJV 2SG NEG pass LOC market again
'Don't pass by the market again!'

The use of negative subjunctive clauses is obligatory when directives in persons other than 2SG (imperatives) are negated. These categories are usually referred to with the labels of negative (1st and 3rd person) jussive (13) and negative (1st person plural) cohortative (14):

(13) ***Mék*** *e* ***nó*** *fɔdɔ́n na grɔ́n ó!*
SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG fall LOC ground SP
'Don't let it fall on the ground!' or 'Lest it fall on the ground!'

(14) ***Mék*** *wi* ***nó*** *lɛ́f=an dé!*
SBJV 1PL NEG leave = 3SG.OBJ there
'Let's not leave it there!'

The use of the subjunctive complementizer is however also obligatory in jussives and cohortatives with positive polarity, compare the following 3SG jussive. Therefore only the negation of (2SG/PL) imperatives is, strictly speaking, asymmetrical:

(15) *Tín fɔ fɔ́s tɛ́n* ***mék*** *e dé!*
thing PREP first time SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC
'Let things of the past remain!'

The use of a negative subjunctive clause is also obligatory in affirmative and negative embedded imperatives such as (16):

(16) *A tɛ́l=an sé* ***mék*** *e* ***nó*** *pás na mákit mɔ́.*
1SG tell = 3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG pass LOC market again
'I told him not to pass by the market again.'

Asymmetric negation of direct and indirect imperatives involving non-indicative mood is widely documented in genealogically diverse West African languages and the formal and functional parallels with Pichi are striking: West African languages with suppletive patterns of prohibitive and/or negative jussive formation generally make use of non-indicative moods in these constructions. These non-indicative moods are very often instantiated in modal complementizers instead of, or in addition to, mood marking in the predicate by particles or affixes (e.g. Kanuri, Cyffer 1974: 99; Pular, Diallo 2000; Ewe, Ameka 2008: 152–153; Hausa, Ziegelmeyer 2009: 10–12). I have shown elsewhere that such uses of subjunctive mood in Pichi and other Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles, as well as in a cross-section of genetically diverse West African languages, are part of a larger functional domain, in which non-indicative mood, instantiated in modal complementizers, is a concomitant of deonticity (Yakpo 2012b, 2017).

4. Copula negation: A functional overlap with pragmatic structures

In this section, I will show that the copular system of Pichi is typified by the interplay of pragmatics and morphosyntax. Moreover, complex distributional rules determine how the negation of identity-equation and location-existence is formally expressed with the help of altogether four copular forms.

The copula system of Pichi features a two-way functional distinction between the expression of identity-equation on the one hand, and location-existence on the other. I should point out to the creolist reader that Pichi employs overt copulas in all relevant contexts, there are therefore no "null" copulas. The element *dé* 'BE.LOC' serves as the locative-existential copula and shows no suppletion. Negation of this copula is symmetrical, as shown in the following two examples:

(17) *Dɛn* ***dé*** *ínsay dán motó.*
3PL BE.LOC inside DIST car
'They are inside that car.'

(18) *Dɛn* ***nó dé*** *na hós.*
3PL NEG BE.LOC LOC house
'They are not at home.'

Pichi only has a handful of adjectives, which all appear as complements to the locative-existential copula *dé* when used predicatively (Yakpo 2009: 319–322). The negation of predicational copular clauses is symmetrical as well:

(19) a. *A* ***dé*** *fáyn.*
1SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine
'I'm fine.
b. *A* ***nó dé*** *fáyn.*
1SG.SBJ NEG BE.LOC fine
'I'm not fine.'

The expression of identity-equation is governed by more complex rules and taken care of by altogether three suppletive copular forms in complementary distribution, namely *na* 'FOC', *nóto* 'NEG.FOC' and *bí* 'BE'. The alternation between these forms is determined by polarity as well as restrictions in the use of TMA marking and person deixis. Examples (20) and (21) present an affirmative and a negative identity clause respectively. The negative clause in (21) features the suppletive form *nóto.*

(20) *In papá* ***na*** *guineano.*
3SG.POSS father FOC Equatoguinean
'Her father is Equatoguinean.'

(21) *In papá* ***nóto*** *guineano.*
3SG.POSS father NEG.FOC Equatoguinean
'Her father is not Equatoguinean.'

Both *na* and *nóto* are also employed to signal presentational (*na*) and contrastive (*na* and *nóto*) focus in constructions like (22a) and (23a), and in descriptionally identificational clauses (Declerck 1988) like (22b) and (23b). As can be seen in the respective (b) examples, the negative asymmetry observed in (20) and (21) above is also found in such pragmatic structures.

(22) a. ***Na*** *kasára.*
FOC cassava
'It's/that's (a) cassava'.
b. ***Na*** *kasára dís.*
FOC cassava PROX
'This is (a) cassava.'

(23) a. ***Nóto*** *mi motó.*
NEG.FOC 1SG.POSS car
'It's/that's not my car.'
b. ***Nóto*** *mi motó dát.*
NEG.FOC 1SG.POSS car DIST
'That's not my car.'

Both *na* and *nóto* are also used as focus particles in cleft constructions like (24), including verb-doubling constructions (Yakpo 2009: 297–299; Yakpo 2012a: 254).

(24) ***Nóto*** *ɔ́l húman fít máred.*
NEG.FOC all woman can marry
'Not all women can get married.'

The chiefly pragmatic function of *na/nóto* transpires in the fact that in identity clauses like (22a) and (23a), the identified referent is in focus by default (indicated by the alternative translations separated by a slash). When identity between a referent other than 3rd person and another noun phrase is expressed, the non-verbal and deeply pragmatic nature of the copula-like element in sentences like (20) and (21) above is revealed. Since *na/nóto* are not copula "verbs", the subject pronoun cannot come from the dependent series of the pronominal paradigm, which is reserved for verbal predicates, cf. (25). Instead, an independent (emphatic) pronoun must be used, as in (26).

(25) ****A*** ***na/nóto*** *guineano*
1SG.SBJ FOC/NEG.FOC Equatoguinean
Intended reading: 'I am (not) Equatoguinean.'

(26) ***Mí*** ***na/nóto*** *guineano*
1SG.INDP FOC/NEG.FOC Equatoguinean
'I am (not) Equatoguinean.'

Therefore identity-equative clauses are best seen as grammaticalized topic-comment structures, in which the topical subject is followed by an entity under focus by *na/nóto*. The particularities of person deixis in these constructions show that the elements *na* and *nóto* retain their pragmatic, identificational and focus-marking functions even in such "copular" clauses. A translation of (26) that takes the functional linkage between copular expression and focus into account could be phrased something like 'As for me, that's (not) Equatoguinean.'

A further layer of complexity unfolds when we turn to TMA marking. Presentational and identificational clauses featuring *na/nóto*, like (22) and (23) have a default "present tense", or better, imperfective reading, given that Pichi is an aspect-prominent language. This semantic characteristic has a structural correlate in Pichi, leading to further suppletion: Both *na/nóto* may not co-occur with any overt TMA particles, or appear in any other context characterized by a higher degree of verbiness than in the "copular" clauses seen so far (see Yakpo 2009: 306–308 for more details). Hence also the inability of *na/nóto* to occur in contexts of reduced finiteness such as the following imperative clause:

(27) ****Na*** *bɛ́tɛ* *dɔ́kta!*
FOC very.good doctor
Intended reading: 'Be a very good doctor!'

This means that the expression of negative identity-equation in tenses, aspects, and moods other than present/imperfective can only be achieved by making use of another suppletive form, namely the copular verb *bí* 'BE'. Compare the equative clause in (28), which features the potential mood particle *go* and thus requires the use of the copula *bí*, in an affirmative (a) and a negative clause (b). Note that the copular *bí* takes personal pronouns of the dependent series like the locative-existential copula (cf. (19)) and any other Pichi verb (cf. e.g. (16)):

(28) a. *A* ***go*** ***bí*** *di* *jefe.*
1SG.SBJ POT BE DEF boss
'I'll be the boss.'
b. *A* ***nó*** ***go*** ***bí*** *di* *jefe.*
1SG.SBJ NEG POT BE DEF boss
'I won't be the boss.'

Na/nóto and *bí* are in strict complementary distribution. Hence *bí* may conversely not occur in clauses that do not feature overt TMA particles, whether negative or affirmative. Compare (26) above and (29) below:

(29) **A* ***nó*** ***bí*** *guineano.*
1SG.SBJ NEG BE Equatoguinean
'I am not Equatoguinean.'

The following table provides an overview of the properties of the Pichi copula system covered above:

Table 2. Morphosyntactic properties of Pichi copulas

Property	**Identity & Equation**			**Location & Existence**
	na **'FOC'**	***nóto*** **'NEG.FOC'**	***bí*** **'BE'**	***dé*** **'BE.LOC'**
Can co-occur with TMA particles?	No	No	Yes	Yes
Suppletion?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Can co-occur with dependent personal pronoun?	No	No	Yes	Yes
Can occur in non-finite clauses?	No	No	Yes	Yes

To summarize, the expression of identity-equation is characterized by several asymmetries. It is characterized by suppletion, with a defective copular paradigm featuring an affirmative and a negative copula (*na* vs. *nóto*), an additional form specialized to use with overt TMA marking (*bí*), and corresponding irregularities in the expression of person deixis.

Copular systems with formal two-way distinctions (mostly identity-equation vs. location-existence), are so ubiquitous throughout West Africa and other parts of Africa, that their existence may be seen as a pervasive genetic and areal property on the African continent. Such distinctions are found, for example, in distant Niger-Congo branches and non-related African linguistic groupings such as Kwa (e.g. Ewe, see Westermann 1954: 91–92), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 288–290), Mande (Vydrine 2009: 252, 256) and Chadic (see Frajzyngier, Krech & Mirzayan 2002 for an overview). The copular systems of many of these languages are also characterized by separate negation patterns for copular and standard verbal negation, by defective TMA-conditioned copular paradigms and polarity-conditioned suppletion (see e.g. Winkelmann & Miehe 2009: 169 for Gur), including the use of independent person forms in combination with certain types of copular negation (see e.g. Vydrine 2009: 224–225 for Mande). In virtually all languages with

two-way copular distinctions, there are functional and formal linkages between the expression of identity-equation and focus, as in Pichi. In many cases, the functional overlap between pragmatics and grammar and the distributional idiosyncrasies of identity-equation copulas point to a grammaticalization chain from focus particle to copula, again as in Pichi (e.g. McWhorter 1992). In the following section, I explore further aspects of the linkage between pragmatics and grammar in Pichi when turning to nominal negation and negative concord.

5. Negative concord: Lexifier and substrate convergence?

Pichi speakers make use of negative concord. Verbal and constituent negation co-occur in clauses with negative polarity. Negative concord is pragmatically determined, hence non-strict with common nouns, where it renders emphatic meanings. Negative concord is, however, grammatically determined, and strict, with the two negative indefinite pronouns that Pichi has, as well as with negative phrases fulfilling the functions of negative indefinite pronouns. Negative concord appears not to be as strong an areal property as the others discussed in the preceding sections. I therefore suggest that non-standard varieties of British Isles English might also have contributed significantly to the consolidation of negative concord in the proto-language of Pichi.

As shown in Table 1 (see 3a), the general negator not only functions as a verb negator. It may also be employed as an NP negator in the prenominal position. Pragmatically neutral subject NPs are not normally preceded by the general negator *nó* 'NEG' in negative clauses. The following example is a negative existential clause, in which the subject *chɔ́p* 'food' is not preceded by the negator *nó:*

(30) *Yu gó fɔ mákit, chɔ́p* ***nó*** *dé.*
2SG go PREP market food NEG BE.LOC
'(if) you go to the market, there's no food (to buy).'

Subject NPs may be preceded by *nó* for emphasis. Such negative clauses featuring subject negative concord have a single negation reading. Emphatic negative concord adds a negative quantificational meaning to the NP, as shown in the translation 'not a single car':

(31) ***Nó*** *motó* ***nó*** *dé wé e smát lɛk mi yón*
NEG car NEG BE.LOC SUB 3SG.SBJ be.fast like 1SG.POSS own
'There is not a single car that's as fast as mine.'

Object NPs also only feature negative concord when emphasis is intended. Compare the non-emphatic negative clause in (32) with the emphatic clause (33), which features verb negation *and* nominal negation:

(32) *A* ***nó*** *kúk* *bíf* *tidé.*
1SG.SBJ NEG cook meat today
'I didn't cook meat today.'

(33) *Ín* *go* *chɔ́p=an,* *e* ***nó*** *gɛ́t* ***nó*** ***problema.***
3SG.INDP POT eat = 3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG get NEG problem
'He [EMP] will eat it, he has no problem whatsoever [with this kind of food].'

NPs preceded by *nó* in negative clauses can receive an even higher degree of emphasis if the negative quantifier *nó* is followed by the cardinal numeral and indefinite determiner *wán*, as in (34) with the object *wɔ́d* 'word':

(34) *E* ***nó*** *tɔ́k* ***nó*** ***wán*** *wɔ́d.*
3SG.SBJ NEG talk NEG one word
'She didn't' say a single word / anything at all.'

While negative concord is exploited for pragmatic purposes with lexical nouns, negative concord is strict, and grammatically conditioned with the two negative indefinite pronouns that Pichi has. Negative concord is also strict with negative phrases fulfilling the function of negative indefinite pronouns.

Pichi has a single item that can unequivocally be qualified as a polarity sensitive, monomorphemic negative indefinite pronoun, namely *nátin* 'nothing'. Additionally the expression *nó-bɔ́di* 'NEG-body' = 'nobody' may also be seen as a negative indefinite pronoun (see below for details).

The negative indefinite pronoun *nátin* must be used with support from verb negation in verbal clauses. Its use in any syntactic function, as a subject or object, therefore invariably involves the use of negative concord. Compare (35) and (36):

(35) *Mí* ***nó*** *go* *tɛ́l=an* ****(nó)*** ***nátin.***
1SG.INDP NEG POT tell = 3SG.OBJ NEG nothing
'I [EMP] wouldn't tell him anything.'

(36) ****(Nó)*** ***nátin*** ***nó*** *go* *chénch=an.*
NEG nothing NEG POT change = 3SG.OBJ
'Nothing is going to change her.'

In the same vein, the co-occurrence of the negative quantifier *nó* and the negative indefinite pronoun without the simultaneous use of verbal negation is ungrammatical:

(37) ***Nó nátin*** ****(nó)*** *dé* *dé.*
NEG nothing NEG BE.LOC there
'Nothing is there.'

The second negative indefinite pronoun besides *nátin* is *nó-bɔ́di*. Even though *nó-bɔ́di* is segmentable (NEG-*bɔ́di* 'no-body'), the noun *bɔ́di* 'body' is rare in Pichi, the common term for 'body' being *skín*. The fully transparent and regularly formed negative indefinite phrases *nó mán* 'NEG man' and *nó pɔ́sin* 'NEG person' are common alternatives to *nó-bɔ́di*. Strict negative concord also applies to the negative indefinite pronoun *nó-bɔ́di* 'nobody' (38), in the same ways as it does to *nátin* above:

(38) ***Nó-bɔ́di*** ****(nó)*** *de* *wáka* *na* *strít.*
no-body NEG IPFV walk LOC street
'Nobody is walking in the streets.'

(39) *A* ****(nó)*** *sí* ***nó-bɔ́di*** *na* *strít.*
1SG.SBJ NEG see NEG-body LOC street
Intended reading: 'I didn't see anybody out in the streets.'

Negative indefinite concepts other than 'nobody' and 'nothing' are expressed via fully segmentable syntactic phrases featuring the negative quantifier *nó* 'NEG' and a following generic noun (e.g. *nó pɔ́sin* 'NEG person' = 'nobody', *nó sáy* 'NEG side' = 'nowhere'). Such negative indefinite phrases also receive support from verb negation:

(40) *A* ***nó*** *sí* ***nó*** *mán* *na* *bús.*
1SG.SBJ NEG see NEG man LOC forest
'I didn't' see any anybody in the forest.'

Pichi shows an areal fit with respect to some of the characteristics described in this section and less so with others. Generic nouns appear as the most common bases for the formation of (negative) indefinite pronouns or their functional equivalents (i.e. phrasal expressions) in a cross-linguistic sample of African languages by Haspelmath (1997, 2013). Additionally, the vast majority (76%) of African languages in a cross-linguistic sample by Alsenoy (2014: 213–14) uses the same generic noun base form for indefinite and negative indefinite expressions. There is no evidence, however, for a strong areal preference for negative concord in the same sample. Van Alsenoy's sample (2014: 88) shows a lower percentage of negative concord languages (21%) in Africa, compared to other regions (e.g. 53% in Eurasia). However, Van Alsenoy's sample is relatively small while containing a large number of languages from Eastern and Southern Africa (e.g. Khoisan, Nilotic and Semitic languages). Information on negative concord is difficult to cull from existing grammars.

However, one large West African language for which the evidence for negative concord is conclusive is Ewe of the Gbe cluster (Agbedor 1995), which is known to have been an important historical substrate to the Surinamese Creoles (see Smith 2002; Migge 2003; Muysken & Smith 2015), a branch of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles that shares historical links with Pichi via Krio (Smith 2015). Another large linguistic grouping in West Africa in which individual languages feature negative concord is Mande (Vydrine 2009: 248 Examples 60–61). More detailed studies might reveal that negative concord is present in additional historical substrate languages of the West African littoral zone.

The lack of a clear areal bias in favor of negative concord in samples of West African languages in the existing literature may actually support the case for convergent influence in the consolidation of negative concord in (the ancestor language of) Pichi. Negative concord is *"for practically all non-standard dialects of Great Britain today, […] at least possible, though not obligatory **any more**"* (emphasis mine) (Anderwald 2002: 115). As a matter of fact, standard English appears to be the only British dialect that does not allow negative concord (Anderwald 2002: 115). We can therefore assume with some confidence that negative concord was even more prevalent in colonial era Englishes than now. From what is known about the formative period of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles the non-standard pattern of negation would have provided an input into the emerging Creoles rather than the standard dialect, which would have been far less prominent in the colonies (Smith 2015: 82).

6. Is there something specifically 'Creole' about Pichi negation?

The hypothesis of Creole specificity is based on the understanding that a typological class of "Creole language" is identifiable on structural grounds. It claims that the contact scenario that produced the ancestor of a language like Pichi was favorable to the emergence of structural properties that owe more to universal-cognitive factors than to genetic inheritance from the lexifier and substrate languages (e.g. Whinnom 1971; Bickerton 1984; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; McWhorter 2001; Bakker et al. 2011).

The facts about Pichi present enough evidence for one to answer the question posed in the title of this subsection with a firm "no". Firstly, Pichi negation involves the use of typologically noteworthy structures not found in the lexifier English, nor in the superstrate Spanish. Secondly, these structures are also found, in countless variations of the same theme, in genealogically diverse languages and linguistic groupings throughout much of West Africa. Pichi negation is therefore firmly rooted in the areal typology of West Africa. A third aspect is also relevant

in this context. Pichi negation shows a formal diversity that cannot easily be reconciled with the notion that Creole structures are generally simpler than those of their lexifiers or substrates due to the prominent role played by L2 acquisition mechanisms. I have identified areal properties of negation found in Pichi that are unknown in English:

- Asymmetric negative paradigms, involving the use of suppletive portmanteau forms that incorporate a TMA category and negative polarity;
- The use of an asymmetric negative paradigm for imperative involving a modal complementizer and the use of the same negative paradigm in the dependent clauses of deontic modality-inducing main verbs of the WANT type;
- Defective copular paradigms, conditioned by the presence of specific TMA categories, finiteness and negative polarity. These paradigms also involve the use of negative-polarity and person-incorporating suppletive portmanteau forms.

Even so, a cognitive "universal" that may be seen to manifest itself in Pichi negation is leveling. This process has been seen as important for driving the selection of features for Creoles from typologically similar but diverse substrates (for the notion of "(dialect) leveling" applied to Creole emergence, see Mühlhäusler 1980; Mufwene 1990; Harris 1991; Siegel 1997, 1998, 2008; Lang 2011; Munro 2011). Leveling and convergence of substrate properties would have played a role during three historical stages of the development of Pichi. The leveling of African substrate properties would have been operative during the emergence of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole proto-language (in the early 17th century Caribbean according to some sources; see Smith 2015 for an overview). Leveling and convergence of African adstrate properties would have played an important role during the consolidation of Early Krio (see e.g. Hancock 1971; Huber 2000) and the ethnogenesis of the Krio people in Freetown, Sierra Leone, during the first of half of the 19th century (cf. Wyse 1989). After the implantation of Krio in present-day Equatorial Guinea in 1827, adstrate leveling would have also accompanied its further development there and the ethnogenesis of the Fernandino people of Bioko (cf. Lynn 1984; Martín del Molino 1993). In this vein, leveling and convergence would have played a role with respect to the following properties of Pichi negation:

- The absence in Pichi of complex asymmetric verb negation paradigms covering *several* TMA categories as found in some potential West African substrate and adstrate languages of Krio/Pichi (e.g. Igbo, see Ndimele 2009; for the Gur languages, see Winkelmann & Miehe 2009: 173; see Fabunmi 2013: 2, for standard Yoruba) and the limitation to the areally most common suppletive negative TMA paradigms in Pichi (i.e. perfect aspect and imperative mood) found in equally many substrate languages (e.g. Wolof, see Robert 1990: 173–175; Ewe, see Duthie 1996: 88–89; for Akan, see Christaller 1875: 60–64)

– The favoring of a single verb negating particle *nó* in Pichi instead of discontinuous "double negators". The latter are widely found throughout West Africa (see Beyer 2009, for an overview), but so are single negators (e.g. in large substrate languages/clusters like Yoruba, Igbo, Akan, Wolof; see references in preceding paragraphs);
– The occurrence of negative concord, as in non-standard Englishes and in some but not all potential African substrate and adstrate languages (see Section 5 above).

In sum, Pichi negation patterns represent a common denominator of substrate and adstrate patterns found in the linguistic area of West Africa, with a small infusion of English lexifier properties.

7. Conclusion

I have argued in the preceding sections that Pichi negation patterns show convergence with West African areal ones in all domains. The areal fit of Pichi manifests itself in the use of negative portmanteau forms that combine negative polarity and a specific aspect category (i.e. perfect aspect), as well as the use of special constructions (i.e. the use of subjunctive for the negation of imperatives and jussives). I have shown the existence of further negative asymmetries in the copular system, where several elements expressing identity-equation are in complementary distribution with each other, one of which is once more an inherently negative portmanteau form. Further, I have shown the existence of non-strict (optional and pragmatically-determined) and strict (obligatory and grammatically-determined) negative concord in Pichi. The case for substrate models may not be as strong with negative concord as with the other domains mentioned above because it appears less prevalent as an areal pattern according to the only comparative typological study to date. However, the data base for the study is narrow for West Africa and given the occurrence of negative concord in an important historical substrate like Ewe of the Gbe language cluster, we might expect to find negative concord in many more West African languages. But then the case is strong anyway for mutual reinforcement and convergence in Pichi of non-standard English, and African substrate and adstrate patterns of negative concord. That said, none of the Pichi structures I have described in this chapter is unusual or unattested in West Africa. In fact, if the lexifier of Pichi were a West African language rather than English, Pichi negation structures would be inconspicuous in the context of the areal typology of the region.

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