



- (7) a. *é dé insàý mòtó.*  
3SG.SBJ COP inside car  
'She's in(side) a/the car' (Pichi)
- b. *é nó dé insàý mòtó.*  
3SG.SBJ NEG COP inside car  
'She's not inside a/the car.'
- (8) a. *\*é/ín nà guineana.*  
3SG.SBJ/3SG.INDP FOC/COP guinean.F  
'She is Equatoguinean.' (Pichi)
- b. *ín nótó guineana.*  
3SG.INDP NEG.FOC/NEG.COP guinean.F  
'She is not Equatoguinean.'
- (9) a. *é/\*ín gò bí dì jefe.*  
3SG.SBJ/3SG.INDP POT COP DEF boss  
'He'll be the boss.' (Pichi)
- b. *é nó gò bí dì jefe.*  
3SG.SBJ NEG POT COP DEF boss  
'He won't be the boss.'

(10) Asymmetric copula negation in the AECs

Copula type/language	Krio/Pichi		Nigerian Pidgin		Ghanaian Pidgin	
	+	-	+	-	+	-
Polarity	+	-	+	-	+	-
Locative/existential	<i>dé</i>	<i>nó dé</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>nó dé</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>nó dé</i>
Identity/equative	<i>ná</i>	<i>nótó</i>	<i>ná, bí</i>	<i>nó bí</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>nó bí</i>
Identity/equative + TMA	<i>bí</i>	<i>nó TMA bí</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>nó TMA bí</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>nó TMA bí</i>

(11) Copular systems with formal two-way distinctions (mostly identity-equation vs. location-existence), in West Africa, e.g. Kwa (e.g. Ewe, see Westermann 1954: 91–92), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 288–290), Mande (Vydrine 2009: 252, 256), Chadic (see Frajzyngier, Krech & Mirzayan 2002). Distinct negation patterns for copular and standard verbal negation, defective TMA-conditioned copular paradigms and polarity-conditioned suppletion (see e.g. Winkelmann & Mieke 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).

(12) Subjunctive ('jussive/optative') complementizers in the AECs and Macro-Sudan languages SBJV comp?

1. Factive clause: <i>I know that she will come</i>	No
2. Directives: <i>come (sg)!, come (pl)!, let's go! let them come!</i>	Yes
3. In complements of strong deontic verbs:	Yes
3.1. Indirect imperatives: <i>I told her to come</i>	Yes
3.2. WANT: <i>I want him to come</i>	Yes
3.3. Causatives: <i>I made him leave, I allowed her to go home</i>	Yes/No
4. Preference/aversion: <i>It's good/better for him to leave now, I fear that he should leave me</i>	Yes
5. Purpose clauses: <i>She went to Accra in order to get treatment</i>	Yes
6. Temporal limit clause: <i>I waited until she came</i>	Yes/No
7. Epistemic possibility: <i>It is possible that she arrives tomorrow</i>	No

(13) Subjunctive complementizer in Nigerian Pidgin (Krio, Pichi)

1. *à nó sé ìm gò kóm*  
1SG.SBJ know QUOT 3SG.SBJ IRR come  
'I know that she will come.'
2. *mék wì/à gó!*  
SBJV 1PL.SBJ/1SG.SBJ go  
'Let us/me go!'
- 3.1 *à tel=àm se mek ìm kóm.*  
1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come  
'I told her to come.'

- 3.2 à *wónt* sé *mek* è *kóm*.  
 1SG.SBJ want QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come  
 ‘I want him to come.’
- 3.3. (a) à *mek/du* *mek* ìm *léf* (b) à *mék* ì *léf*  
 1SG.SBJ make/do SBJV 3SG.SBJ leave 1SG.SBJ make 3SG.SBJ leave  
 ‘I made her leave.’ (NigP) ‘I made her leave’ (GhaP)
4. à *dè* *fyá* sé *mék* ìm *nó* *kóm*.  
 1SG.SBJ IPFV fear QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG come  
 ‘I fear that he should/might come.’
5. ìm *gó* *Ìbàdàn* *mék* ìm *gét* *trítmènt*.  
 3SG.SBJ go Ibadan SBJV 3SG.SBJ get treatment  
 ‘She went to Ibadan in order to get treatment’
6. *yù* *fit* *tón=àm* *sóté* *mék* ìm *tík*.  
 2SG can turn=3SG.OBJ until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick  
 ‘You can turn it until it [the soup] is thick.’

(14) Subjunctive complementizer + zero mood marking in predicate in Yoruba (field data)

- a. *sé* *kí* *èmi* *ó* *wá?*  
 Q SBJV 1SG.INDP ASP come  
 ‘Should I come?’
- b. *mo* *sọ* *fún* *un* *pé* *kí* *ó* *wá*.  
 1SG.SBJ say GIVE 3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come  
 ‘I told her to come.’
- c. *mo* *fẹ* *kí* *ó* *wá*  
 1SG.SBJ want SBJV 3SG.SBJ come  
 ‘I want him to come.’
- d. *mo* *mú* *kí* *ó* *lò* *oògùn* *náà*.  
 1SG.SBJ cause SBJV 3SG.SBJ use medicine DEF  
 ‘I made her drink the medicine.’
- e. *ó* *lọ* *sí* *Ìbàdàn* *kí* *ó* *lè* *gbà* *itójú*  
 3SG.SBJ go LOC Ibadan SBJV 3SG.SBJ can get care  
 ‘She went to Ibadan in order to (be able to) get a treatment.’ (Yoruba)

(15) Mood marking in predicate + optional complementizer, Susu (Mande) (field data)

- a. *mu* *kha* *sigá!*  
 1PL.EXCL SBJV go  
 ‘Let’s go!’
- b. *n* *bara* *a* *satuli* (*kha*) *a* *kha* *fa* *be*.  
 1SG PRF 3SG convince COMP 3SG SBJV come here  
 ‘I convinced him to come here.’
- c. *n* *wama* (*kha*) *a* *kha* *sigá*.  
 1SG make COMP 3SG SBJV go  
 ‘I want him to leave.’
- d. *m* *bara* *a* *lu* *a* *kha* *sigá*.  
 1SG PRF 3SG let 3SG SBJV leave  
 ‘I let/allowed him to leave.’
- e. *n* *na* *tanka* *tongo-fe* (*kha*) *n* *kha* *sigá* *yamani* *bökhi-ra*.  
 1SG BE.AT train take-INF COMP 1SG SBJV go German country-LOC  
 ‘I am taking the train in order to go to Germany.’

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