

NIGERIAN PIDGIN

NICHOLAS G. FARACLAS



DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS



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Nigerian Pidgin

Nigerian Pidgin will provide linguists, Africanists, creolists, language teachers and learners with the first comprehensive grammar of what has become one of the biggest languages in Africa and the most widely spoken pidgin language in the world. This volume contains an in-depth analysis of the sound system and grammar of Nigerian Pidgin and will be a constant reference source for the future.

The work consists of a detailed descriptive and analytic treatment of the syntax, morphology and phonology of Nigerian Pidgin, as well as preliminary studies of the lexicon and semantics of the language. The topics covered and the numerical system used to index and order each section are those listed on the *Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire*, as designed by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith. The data and analysis presented in this book are based on samples of spontaneous speech collected in markets, workplaces, private homes, drinking parlours and other sites throughout south-eastern Nigeria. A full bibliography of works about the language is also included.

This comprehensive description of Nigerian Pidgin will be indispensable for anyone involved in the teaching or learning of the language and will prove especially useful for those wishing to study this language at postgraduate level.

Nicholas G. Faraclas is a Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Papua New Guinea. He has published several books and articles in the areas of theoretical, descriptive, socio- and applied linguistics.

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Editorial statement

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglocentrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

Nigerian Pidgin

Nicholas G.Faraclas



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To my father

GREGORY NICHOLAS FARACLAS

Born in Greece in diaspora from Constantinople 1915.

Arrived in the United States 1920.

Left school to support his family after his father's death 1929.

Fought in the war against the Fascists 1943–5.

Awarded his High School Diploma (age 42) 1957.

Died of heart failure while working double shifts 1960.

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Abbreviations and symbols

ABBREVIATIONS

ar	general article
av	adverb(ial)
c	clause
C	consonant
C ⁻	unexploded consonant
C ^h	aspirated consonant
+C	completive aspect
–C	incompletive aspect
cv	copular verb
cx	copular extension
D	dummy pronoun
E	emphatic/focus (marker)
EP	emphatic pronoun
f	phrase-final particle
F	factative tense/aspect/ modality
H	high tone
I	introducer
ip	ideophone
L	low tone
m	modifier
n	noun
N	syllabic nasal
NP	Nigerian Pidgin
ng	negative marker
o	object
p	(general) preposition

P	pronoun
+P	past
–P	nonpast
pl	pluralizer
ps	possessive (pronoun)
Qù	YNQ rising intonation
R	reduplicated form
+R	realis modality
–R	irrealis modality
rc	relative clause
s	subject
S	sentence, sentential
SJ	subjunctive
T	topic(alizer)
TQ	topic-switching question
v	verb
V	vowel
V ⁿ	nasalized vowel
V+	valence-increasing serial verb
YNQ	yes-no question marker

SYMBOLS

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	persons (1pl=4; 2pl=5; 3pl=6)
?	question word
!	exclamatory particle
+	serialized verb
/+/	word boundary
/=/	phrase stress group boundary
'	stressed syllable follows
o, e	narrow pharynx ('short') vowels
@	acrolectal speech
#	basilectal speech
*	ungrammatical sentence
x/y	x varies with y

Phonemic/phonetic tone

/ó/, [ó]	high tone syllable
/ò/, [ò]	low tone syllable
[ô]	falling tone syllable
[˜]	rising tone syllable

Orthographic tone marking

o (vowel without tone mark) Penultimate or monosyllable Other positions	high tone syllable toneless syllable
ò	low tone syllable
ô	nonpenultimate high tone syllable
ó	high tone sequence

Orthographic symbols

The orthographic symbols used in this work are listed with their IPA equivalents in [section 3.1.1](#).

Introduction

1

THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The goal of this work is the synthesis of the first comprehensive grammar of Nigerian Pidgin. [Chapters 1–5](#) provide basic descriptive and analytic treatment of the syntax, morphology and phonology of this increasingly important language, which may soon become the most widely spoken language in all of Africa. The topics covered and the numerical system used to index and order each section are those listed on the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (Croom Helm) *Questionnaire*, which first appeared in *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1. The *Lingua Questionnaire* was designed by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith to provide a comprehensive and flexible framework for the creation of a set of mutually comparable grammars which would be as ‘theoretically unbiased’ as possible. In this study, slight modifications have been made to the *Questionnaire*, especially in the areas of verb serialization (see [section 1.3.1.1.4](#)), ideophones (see [4.1](#)) and word order (see [1.2.5.3](#)).

2

NIGERIAN PIDGIN AND THE NIGERIAN PIDGIN-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Nigerian Pidgin can be considered to be one link in a chain of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles spoken along the coast of West Africa and in African Diaspora communities throughout the Atlantic Basin. Among these ‘related’ varieties, Cameroonian Pidgin is closer in form to Nigerian Pidgin than are, for example, Sierra Leonian and Jamaican Krio. All of these pidgins and creoles, however, share a significant number of semantic, grammatical and phonological features and structures.

A conservative estimate of the number of people who speak Nigerian Pidgin as a second language would have to exceed 40 million and the number of first language speakers has already surpassed 1 million. Both of these numbers are increasing rapidly, given the popularity of the language among young people, who make up a majority of the national population (currently pegged at 107 million by most international agencies). If present trends continue, Nigerian Pidgin will be spoken by most Nigerians by the year 2000 and it is already the most widely spoken language in the country. Nigerian Pidgin is distinguished from the other 400 or so Nigerian languages by the fact that it is spoken by members of every regional, ethnolinguistic and religious group in the federation. Nigerian Pidgin is distinguished from Nigerian Standard English by the fact that it is spoken by members of every socioeconomic group, while only those with many years of formal education can claim to speak Standard English with any proficiency. For an

understanding of Nigerian affairs and for practical communication in Nigeria, a knowledge of Nigerian Pidgin is fast becoming indispensable.

Despite the fact that Nigerian Pidgin is in most respects the most logical choice for a national language, it has received little recognition from those responsible for language policy in Nigeria. Official attitudes towards Nigerian Pidgin remain negative, perpetuating erroneous notions inherited from the colonial period that Nigerian Pidgin is some form of 'broken English'.

3

SOCIAL LECTS: IS NIGERIAN PIDGIN REALLY A 'PIDGIN'?

The name Nigerian 'Pidgin' is to some extent misleading, since the Nigerian Pidgin-speaking community includes people who speak the language as a pidginized speech form, as a creolized speech form and/or as a decreolized speech form. For instance, for a Yoruba market woman whose use of Nigerian Pidgin is restricted to business transactions, the language is a pidgin in the true sense of the word. For her children who use Nigerian Pidgin with their Igbo playmates in the market, the language is depidginizing or creolizing. For the Nembe man who speaks Nigerian Pidgin with his Ibibio wife, and especially for his children, who speak Nigerian Pidgin with their parents and each other, the language is not a pidgin at all, but a creole. For the child from an elite Port Harcourt family who grows up speaking Nigerian Pidgin, but who hears Nigerian Standard English at home (on formal occasions), at school and on the radio and television, Nigerian Pidgin is in all probability a decreolized speech form.

For convenience of description, Nigerian Pidgin may therefore be divided into three sets of social lects: acrolectal (decreolized) varieties which show significant influence from Nigerian Standard English, basilectal (pidginized or repidginized) varieties which show significant influence from other Nigerian languages, and mesolectal (creolized) varieties which typify the speech of those who use Nigerian Pidgin in most of their daily interactions or who have learned Nigerian Pidgin as a first language. In practice, most speakers are able to change the lect of Nigerian Pidgin that they use according to social context. For example, a factory worker might use a basilectal variety in the market, a mesolectal variety with other workers and an acrolectal variety with the plant manager. In this work, mesolectal varieties of Nigerian Pidgin are used in all descriptions, analyses, examples, etc., unless stated otherwise.

4

ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN

With a large and vigorous population and a long tradition of ethnic and linguistic diversity and tolerance, Nigeria was able to develop a highly mercantile society with major urban centres centuries before the landing of European merchant ships in the fifteenth century or the arrival of the Jihad in the thirteenth century. City life, intermarriage, trading and travel have brought Nigerians who speak different languages into close contact with one another for thousands of years. Bilingualism and multilingualism have always been the norm rather than the exception in most parts of Nigeria. For these reasons, it is very likely that pidginized versions of Nigerian languages were widely used in many areas. In fact, pidginized Hausa is still spoken by non-native speakers of Hausa in the markets around Lake Chad while a pidginized form of Igbo is used at present in some Niger Delta markets.

Nigerian Pidgin may very well have developed from one or several such pidginized Nigerian languages that were spoken along the coast before the Europeans arrived. Because of the importance of the European trade and the reluctance of Europeans to learn other languages, European words would have been

substituted for Nigerian words to facilitate communication. Since the Portuguese arrived first, a few Portuguese-derived items such as *sàbi* 'know' and *pikîn* 'child' would have been initially adopted, but as the British consolidated power over Nigeria, more and more English words would have been integrated into the language. Along with British colonialism came European education via missionaries, many of whom were Krio speakers from Sierra Leone (mostly ex-slaves or descendants of 'repatriated' slaves from the Caribbean).

Whether Nigerian Pidgin developed from marketplace contacts between European traders and the various ethnic groups along the coast or from the influence of missionaries from Sierra Leone is impossible to determine, given the present state of our knowledge. It is reasonable to assume that both of these factors played some part, but scholars must be careful not to over-emphasize the role of either the traders or the missionaries in the evolution of Nigerian Pidgin. In the frantic search for origins, creolists typically ignore the fact that at every stage of its history, Nigerian Pidgin has been used primarily as a means of communication among Nigerians rather than between Nigerians and traders, missionaries or other foreigners. Mounting evidence indicates that it is impossible to formulate any plausible scenario for the origin and development of Nigerian Pidgin that does not ascribe a significant role to influence from the linguistic patterns with which southern Nigerians have always been the most familiar: the structures that typify the languages of southern Nigeria.

Although several studies have been realized thus far on various subsystems of the phonology and grammar of Nigerian Pidgin (see Bibliography) this work represents the first comprehensive treatment of these systems in their entirety.

5

THE DATA SAMPLE

The data sample on which the grammar is based consists of transcribed recordings of at least one hour of speech from each of some sixty speakers selected on the basis of age, sex, ethnolinguistic background, daily Pidgin use patterns and educational history to represent a cross-section of the Nigerian Pidgin-speaking community of Port Harcourt, the capital of Rivers State, Nigeria (part of the former Eastern Region, population approximately 1 million). To obtain this sample, tape recordings of conversations, story-telling sessions and other relatively casual interactions were made in several working-class compounds, market stalls, industrial plants, drinking parlours, etc., in urban Port Harcourt from July 1985 to February 1986.

6

PARALLEL STUDY OF TOK PISIN (PAPUA NEW GUINEA PIDGIN)

During the year following the collection and analysis of the Nigerian data on which the present work is based, the author succeeded in realizing a similar project in Wewak, Papua New Guinea. The focus of this parallel study was Tok Pisin, a pidgin/creole spoken throughout Papua New Guinea.

Tok Pisin can be considered to be one link in a chain of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles that stretches across the Pacific Basin in much the same way as Nigerian Pidgin can be considered to be a link in an Atlantic Basin chain of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. The English-lexifier pidgins and creoles of the Atlantic and Pacific show striking similarities at every level of linguistic structure. Attempts to explain why such similarities should exist have framed all of the key debates in the field of creolistics since its inception.

In general, creolists have proved to be more than ready to espouse the most counterintuitive and empirically unverifiable explanations (which invoke such *deus ex machina* concatenations as

'bioprogrammatic' universals or, worse, universal patterns of 'linguistic regression') while totally ignoring or, at best, trivializing the possible role that substrate languages could have played. The present study and its Tok Pisin counterpart represent the first systematic comparisons of Atlantic or Pacific pidgins/creoles with a genetically and geographically balanced sample of their substrate languages.

The preliminary results of these studies indicate that in many (and perhaps most) cases where Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin show similarities in structure, such similarities are also to be found between the languages of southern Nigeria and Papua New Guinea. Moreover, where Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin are dissimilar in linguistic structure, the languages of southern Nigeria and Papua New Guinea are usually dissimilar as well, with the southern Nigerian languages displaying significant parallels to Nigerian Pidgin and the Papua New Guinean languages patterning with Tok Pisin. Initial findings from the Atlantic/Pacific study appear in Faraclas (1990).

Syntax

1.1 GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1.1 Sentence types

1.1.1.1 *Direct speech and indirect speech*

The only means regularly employed to indicate the difference between direct and indirect speech is a change in pronominal person categories from those found in the original utterance (quoted word-for-word in direct speech) to those appropriate to the situation in which the original utterance is being discussed (in the case of indirect speech). There is no formal way to distinguish logophoric from anaphoric reference:

- (1) *direct speech*
Dèm tók 'Wì layk yù.'
6sP talkF+ 4sP likeF 2oP
'They said, "We like you."'
- (2) *indirect speech*
Dèm tók dèm layk mì.
6sP talkF+ 6sP likeF 1oP
'They told me that they like me.'

A single object noun clause construction is used for direct speech, indirect speech and clauses following verbs of perception or cognition (see 1.1.2.2). In both direct and indirect speech, a verb of reporting obligatorily appears in the main clause followed optionally by a valence-increasing verb and/or a hearer/object. The subordinated object noun clause begins optionally with the noun clause introducer *se* (which is cognate with the verb of reporting *se* 'say') and consists of the speech material directly quoted or indirectly reported about (incorporating the appropriate changes in pronominal person categories) with an optional resetting (raising) of the intonation register over the first syllables of the clause:

(3) *noun clause construction for direct/indirect speech**main clause:* verb of reporting ± valence increaser ± hearer object ±*noun clause:* ncI *se* ± intonation register reset + speech material + indirect speech: pronoun change(4) *direct speech:*

Dèm tɔk tɛl mǐ se ‘Wǐ layk yù.’

6sP talkF+ tellV+ 1oP ncI 4sP likeF 2oP

‘They told me, “We like you.”’

*analysis:**main clause:*

Dèm tɔk (tɛl) (mǐ)

6sP talkF+ (tellV+) (1oP)

s + verb ± increaser ± o ±

(reset)

noun clause:

se ‘Wǐ layk yù.’

ncI 4sP likeF 2oP

ncI + speech material (no pronouns changed)

(5) *indirect speech:*

Dèm tɔk tɛl mǐ se dèm layk mǐ.

6sP talkF+ tellV+ 1oP ncI 6sP likeF 1oP

‘They told me that they like me.’

main clause:

Dèm tɔk (tɛl) (mǐ)

6sP talkF+ (tellV+) (1oP)

s + verb ± increaser ± o ±

(reset)

noun clause:

se dèm layk mǐ.

ncI 6sP likeF 1oP

ncI + speech material (pronouns changed)

Slightly different versions of this noun clause construction are used in indirect questions and commands (see 1.1.2.2.2–5).

If an oblique hearer/object is mentioned, noun clauses including a question word or a relative clause may be substituted for the noun clause types that normally occur in direct/indirect speech constructions (see 1.1.2.3.6):

(6) Dèm tɛl mǐ wǎtɪŋ dèm ʈɔp.

6sP tellF 1oP what? 6oP eatF

‘They told me what they ate.’

(7) Dèm tɛl mǐ dǐ tɪŋ wɛ dèm ʈɔp.

6sP tellF 1oP ar thing rcI 6oP eatF

‘They told me the thing that they ate.’

1.1.1.2
Interrogative sentences

1.1.1.2.1
Yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1 Neutral yes-no questions Almost any declarative sentence may be transformed into a yes-no question by replacing the normal sentence-final falling intonation contour by a rising contour. This is the most commonly attested means for signalling yes-no questions:

(8) Yù go maket.
 2sP goF market
 ‘You went to the market.’

(9) Yù go makèt ?
 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

A yes-no question marker *àbi* may be used (usually together with a sentence-final rising intonation contour) at the beginning or end of a sentence in order to transform it into a yes-no question:

(10) Abi yù go makèt ?
 YNQ 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

Sentence-finally, *àbi* automatically bears a rising contour due to the fact that it bears a low tone (see [3.3.3.10](#)):

(11) Yù go makèt àbi ?
 2sP goF market YNQ (Qù)
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

Àbi is also found in the middle of sentences with the same yes-no question-marking function, but in this position it takes on a secondary topicalizing function, singling out the preceding constituent as the topic of the sentence:

- (12) a. Prâmeri na klas.
 primary EI class
 ‘Primary is a class (in grade school).’
 b. Abi prâmeri nà klàs ?
 YNQ primary EI class Qù
 ‘Is primary a grade school class?’
 c. Prâmeri nà klas àbi ?
 primary EI class YNQ Qù
 ‘Primary, is it a class?’ OR ‘Is primary a class?’

- d. Prâmeri àbi nà klàs ?
 primary YNQ EI class Qù
 ‘Primary, is it a class?’ OR ‘Is primary a class?’

Weda ‘whether’ sometimes functions as a yes-no question marker at the beginning of a sentence:

- (13) *Weda* yù go makèt ?
 whether 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

1.1.1.2.1.2 Leading yes-no questions In answers to yes-no questions, *yes* ‘yes’ signals agreement with the proposition being asserted (even if it is a negative proposition) while *no* ‘no’ signals disagreement with the proposition (even if it is negative):

- (14) a. A: Abi yù go makèt ?
 YNQ 2sP goF market Qù
 B: Yes, à go. OR No, à no go.
 yes 1sP goF no 1sP ng goF
 A: ‘Did you go to the market?’
 B: ‘Yes, I went.’ OR ‘No, I didn’t go.’
 b. A: Abi yù no go makèt ?
 YNQ 2sP ng goF market Qù
 B: Yes, à no go. OR No, à go.
 yes 1sP ng goF no 1sP goF
 A: ‘Didn’t you go to the market?’
 B: ‘Yes, I didn’t go.’ OR ‘No, I went.’

For these reasons, leading yes-no questions are classified here according to whether the asker of the question expects agreement (a ‘yes’ answer) or disagreement (a ‘no’ answer) with the proposition (negative or affirmative) asserted in the question.

1.1.1.2.1.2.1 Yes-no questions expecting agreement: In yes-no questions expecting agreement, the proposition put forward in the question is usually made into a noun clause (see 1.1.2.2) which normally follows (but sometimes precedes) a main clause containing a verb of perception such as *tink* ‘think’:

- (15) A tink (se) yù go makèt ?
 1sP thinkF (ncI) 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’ (expecting agreement)

- (16) Yù go makèt à tink ?
 2sP goF market 1sP thinkF Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’ (expecting agreement)

A negative copular construction such as *ì no bì so?* ‘isn’t it so?’ or *ì no biam?* ‘isn’t it so?’ may also occur sentence-finally or (more rarely) sentence-initially as a tag-like main clause subordinating the proposition as

a noun clause. In such cases a ‘yes’ answer signifies agreement with the truth value of the noun clause, rather than with the truth value of the negative main clause:

- (17) I no bì so (se) yù go makèt ?
 3sD ng cvF so (ncI) 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’ (expecting agreement)
- (18) Yu go makèt, (i) no bì so ?
 2sP goF market (3sD) ng cvF so Qù
 ‘Did you go to the market?’ (expecting agreement)
- (19) A: Yù go maket, (i) no bì -am ?
 2sP goF market (3sD) ng cvF-3oP Qu
 B: Yēs, à go.
 yes 1sP goF
 A: ‘You went to the market, didn’t you?’
 B: ‘Yes, I did.’

Elugbe and Omamor (ms: 123) report the use of *shebi* as a sentence-initial marker in yes-no questions expecting agreement. *Shebi* does not occur in the Port Harcourt data collected for this study. In this connection, it should be noted that Elugbe and Omamor have done extensive work on the midwestern dialects of Nigerian Pidgin and *shebi* may occur more commonly in the area around Benin City than in the area around Port Harcourt.

1.1.1.2.1.2.2 Yes-no questions expecting disagreement: No consistently employed means for signalling yes-no questions expecting disagreement can be found in the data or in the literature.

1.1.1.2.1.3 Alternative questions Alternative questions include two or more conjoined sentences in an *òr* co-ordination construction (see 1.3.1.1.3). The forms *àbi*, *òr* and *weda* are most often used here, but *ayda* is also attested. The co-occurrence of co-ordinators in alternative questions is as follows:

<i>Beginning of question</i> (optional):	<i>Between co-ordinated elements</i> (obligatory):
(àbi/weda)	àbi
(weda)	òr
(àbi/weda)	weda

Normal sentence-final falling intonation rather than a rising contour is usually found over alternative questions:

- (20) (Abi) yù go maket àbi yù go skul?
 (YNQ) 2sP goF market YNQ 2sP goF school (Qù)
 ‘Did you go to the market or to school?’
- (21) (Weda) yù go maket weda yù go skul ?
 (whether) 2sP goF market whether 2sP goF school (Qù)
 ‘Did you go to the market or to school?’

1.1.1.2.2

Question-word questions

Question-words are of three types: simple interrogative pronouns, compound interrogative pronouns and question-word expressions. Simple interrogative pronouns include: *haw* ‘how?’, *hu* ‘who?’, *way* ‘why?’, *we* ‘where?’ and, in acrolectal varieties, *wen* ‘when?’ Compound interrogative pronouns consist of one of the interrogative markers (*hus-*, *wat-*, *wich* or, less commonly, *we-* or *wus-*) followed by a pronominal such as *-pesin* ‘person’, *-ples* ‘place’ or *ting* ‘thing’ (see 2.2.6.3). The pronominal *-kaynd* ‘sort, kind’ may precede another pronominal in a compound interrogative pronoun. Examples of compound interrogative pronouns are: *watîng* ‘what?’, *wetîng* ‘what?’, *wich kaynd ting* ‘which (kind of) thing?’, *huskaynd pesin* ‘who?’ and *wusplês* ‘where?’ Question-word expressions occurring in the data are: *fôr we* ‘where?’, *watîng mek* ‘why?’, *haw moch* ‘how much/many?’ and *haw meni* ‘how many?’ Question words may also serve to introduce headless relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.6). All question words are inherently stressed (see 3.3.2.3).

1.1.1.2.2.1 Elements of the sentence which can be questioned

1.1.1.2.2.1.1 Questioning constituents of main clauses: Any major constituent of a main clause may be questioned. To do this, the element to be questioned is normally replaced by a question-word. Individual auxiliaries and verbs (both serialized and nonserialized) are not usually subject to questioning, but whole verb phrases may be questioned by using a construction which includes a verb such as *du* ‘do’ or *mek* ‘make’ and a question-word:

- (22) *Im giv yù nyam fôr haws.*
 3sP giveF 2oP yam p house
 ‘(S)he gave you yams at the house.’
- (23) *subject questioned*
 Hu giv yù nyam fôr haws?
 who? giveF 2oP yam p house
 ‘Who gave you yams at the house?’
- (24) *main (direct) object questioned*
 Im giv yu watîng fôr haws?
 3sP giveF 2oP what? p house
 ‘What did (s)he give you at the house?’
- (25) *other (indirect) object questioned*
 Im giv hu nyam fôr haws?
 3sP giveF who? yam p house
 ‘To whom did (s)he give yams at the house?’
- (26) *oblique object questioned*
 Im giv yù nyam (fôr) wê?
 3sP giveF 2oP yam (p) where?
 ‘Where did she give you yams?’ OR ‘At what place did she give you yams?’

- (27) *verb phrase questioned*
 Im du wátŋg (fòr haws)?
 3sP doF what? (p house)
 ‘What did (s)he do (at the house)?’
- (28) Im giv yù mà nyam.
 3sP giveF 2oP 1ps yam
 ‘(S)he gave you my yams.’
- (29) *possessor questioned*
 Im giv yù huspesin ìm nyam?
 3sP giveF 2oP whose? 3ps yam
 ‘Whose yams did she give you?’
- (30) Nyam swit pas rays,
 yam be tastyF+ pass+ rice
 ‘Yam is more delicious than rice.’
- (31) *object of comparison questioned*
 Nyam swit pas wátŋg?
 yam be tastyF+ pass+ what?
 ‘Yam is more delicious than what?’

It should be noted here that comparative constructions are serialized verb constructions (see 1.3 and 1.8) so that objects of comparison are simply objects of the verb *pas* ‘pass’. All of the question-words in the preceding examples may occur at the beginning of the questions in which they are found (see 1.1.1.2.2.2.2) without any kind of marker appearing in the sentential position normally occupied by the questioned item, although such markers may optionally be used in some cases (see 1.5).

1.1.1.2.2.1.2 Questioning constituents of subordinate clauses: Any constituent of any noun clause, relative clause, adverbial clause or subjunctive clause may be questioned in exactly the same ways as described for main clauses in 1.1.1.2.2.1.1. In practice, the occurrence of this type of questioning is largely restricted to echo questions (see 1.1.1.2.3):

- (32) Dèm si dì nyam wẹ ìm giv yù fòr haws.
 6sP seeF ar yam rcI 3sP giveF 2oP p house
 ‘They saw the yams that (s)he gave you at the house.’
- (33) Dèm si dì nyam wẹ ìm giv yù fòr wẹ?
 6sP seeF ar yam rcI 3sP giveF 2oP p where?
 ‘They saw the yams that (s)he gave you where?’
- (34) Dèm si dì nyam wẹ huspesin ìm sista (ìm) giv yù?
 6sP seeF ar yam rcI whose? 3ps sister (3sP) giveF 2oP
 ‘They saw the yams that whose sister gave you?’

- (35) Dèm sàbi se ìm giv yù nyam fòr haws.
6sP knowF ncI 3sP giveF 2oP yam p house
'They know that (s)he gave you yams at the house.'
- (36) Dèm sàbi se ìm giv yù wátŋ fòr haws?
6sP knowF ncI 3sP giveF 2oP what? p house
'They know that (s)he gave you what at the house?'

The following examples show that there are no particular restrictions which prevent the questioning of elements adjacent to subordination markers:

- (37) Dèm sàbi se hu giv yù nyam fòr haws?
6sP knowF ncI who? giveF 2oP yam p house
'They know that who gave you yams at the house?'
- (38) Dèm si dì nyam wẹ huspesin (ìm) giv yù?
6sP seeF ar yam rcI whose? (3sP) giveF 2oP
'They saw the yams that who gave you?'

Some speakers, however, accept the preceding example as a grammatical sentence less readily than those listed before it. There is a widespread preference for longer question-word forms such as *huspesin* 'who?' over the normally interchangeable forms such as *hu* 'who?' in this position.

Unlike main clause constituents, elements of relative and adverbial subordinate clauses may not be fronted (that is, they may not occur at the beginning of questions) even for topicalization or focalization. In order for these items to occur at the beginning of a question, the entire sentence must be restructured as shown in the following example (which is a restructured version of the preceding one):

- (39) Hu giv yù dì nyam wẹ dèm si?
who? giveF 2oP ar yam rcI 6sP seeF
'Who gave you the yams that they saw?'

'Subjectless' relative clauses allow the same range of questioning as do relative clauses:

- (40) Dèm si dì pẹsin wẹ giv yù wátŋ?
6sP seeF ar person rcI giveF 2oP what?
'They saw the person who gave you what?'

Questioned elements of subordinate noun clauses, however, may occur question-initially in the same way as can questioned main clause constituents. See 1.1.1.2.2.2.2-3 for special remarks concerning the questioning of subjects of subordinate clauses:

- (41) Wátŋ ìm tók se à giv yù?
what? 3sP talkF ncI 1sP giveF 2oP
'What did (s)he say I gave you?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3 Questioning elements of noun phrases: Any noun phrase element may be questioned except for emphasis markers, topicalizers, the article *dì* and the postposed pluralizer *dèm* (see 1.2.5.2). Good examples of questioned head nouns (animate and inanimate) and possessive modifiers may be found in section 1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Entire noun phrases and noun clauses may also be questioned:

- (42) A: Dèm si ɔl dì faynfayn nyam dèm.
6sP seeF all ar fineR yam pl
B: Dèm si watíng? OR Watíng dèm si?
6sP seeF what? what? 6sP seeF
A: 'They saw all of the fine yams.'
B: 'They saw what?' OR 'What did they see?'
- (43) A: Dèm sàbi se yù chop nyam.
6sP knowF ncI 2sP eatF yam
B: Dèm sàbi watíng? OR Watíng dèm sàbi?
6sP knowF what? what? 6sP knowF
A: 'They know that you ate yam.'
B: 'They know what?' OR 'What do they know?'

Quantifiers within noun phrases may be questioned using the question-word expressions *haw moch* and *haw meni*. These two items are used interchangeably in many cases:

- (44) Dèm get plenti nyam.
6sP haveF plenty yam
'They have many yams/much yam.'
- (45) Dèm get haw moch/haw meni nyam?
6sP haveF how much/many? yam
'They have how much/many yam(s)?'
- (46) a. Haw moch/Haw meni nyam dèm get?
how much/many? yam 6sP haveF
'How much/many yam(s) do they have?'

If its referent is understood from context, *haw moch/meni* may occur without a head noun:

- (46) b. Haw moch dèm get?
how much 6sP haveF
'How much do they have?'

All other noun phrase elements (qualifiers, demonstratives, etc.) may be questioned using compound interrogative pronouns, especially those incorporating the interrogative marker *wich* and/or the pronominal *kaynd*:

- (47) Dèm si wich (kaynd) nyam?

6sP seeF which (sort of) yam
 ‘They saw which (sort of) yam(s)?’

- (48) Wich (kaynd) nyam dèm si?
 which (sort of) yam 6sP seeF
 ‘Which (sort of) yam(s) did they see?’

As shown in the preceding examples, a questioned element may occur sentence-initially along with the rest of the noun phrase in which it occurs. Sentence-initial occurrence of questioned noun phrase elements from subordinate clauses is only possible when the noun phrase element in question is part of a noun clause. (This seems to be a general pattern: see 1.1.1.2.2.1.2). Examples of questioned possessor nouns may be found in section 1.1.1.2.2.1.1.

1.1.1.2.2.1.4 Questioning elements of prepositional and adverbial phrases: Any element of any prepositional or adverbial phrase (excluding prepositions as isolated elements) may be questioned. As shown in sections 1.1.1.2.2.1.1–2, questioning is possible over entire prepositional and adverbial phrases as well. Noun phrases and elements within noun phrases that make up part or all of a given adverbial or prepositional phrase are subject to exactly the same processes, possibilities and restrictions described for noun phrase questioning in 1.1.1.2.2.1.3:

- (49) Yù sik (fòr) haw mēni nait? OR
 2sP be sickF (p) how many? night
 (Fòr) haw mēni nait yù sik?
 (p) how many? night 2sP be sickF
 ‘How many nights are you/have you been sick?’

To question elements in prepositional and adverbial phrases which are not included in local noun phrases the following question words may be employed: (a) the simple interrogative pronouns *haw* ‘how?’, *way* ‘why?’, *we* ‘where?’ and, in acrolectal speech, *wen* ‘when?’; (b) compound interrogative pronouns containing pronominals such as *taym* ‘time’, *ples* ‘place’ and *we* ‘means, way’; and (c) the question-word expressions *for we* ‘where?’ and *watîng mek* ‘why?’ As shown in 1.1.1.2.2.1.1–2, the scope of such questions normally covers the entire prepositional and adverbial phrase:

- (50) Dèm kot nyam wīt nayf.
 6sP cutF yam with knife
 ‘They cut yams with a knife.’
- (51) Dèm kot nyam haw? OR Haw dèm kot nyam?
 6sP cutF yam how? how? 6sP cutF yam
 ‘They cut yams how?’ OR ‘How did they cut yams?’

When an element of a prepositional phrase is fronted (that is, when it occurs at the beginning of a question) the preposition must occur alongside the questioned element. The only apparent exception is the item *fròm* ‘from’, which often behaves more like a serialized verb than a preposition (see 2.1.1.5):

- (52) Dèm put nyam for haws.

6sP putF yam p house
 ‘They put yams in the house.’

- (53) Dèm put nyam fòr we? OR For we dèm put nyam?
 6sP putF yam p where? p where? 6sP putF yam
 ‘They put yams where?’ OR ‘Where did they put yams?’
- (54) Yù kom fròm we? OR We yù kom fròm?
 2sP comeF from where? where? 2sP comeF from
 ‘Where do you come from?’
- (55) We yù fròm kom?
 where? 2sP from comeF
 ‘Where do you come from?’

1.1.1.2.2.1.5 Questioning of elements in co-ordinate structures: Normally, only one element of a co-ordinate structure may usually be questioned at a time. This constraint aside, all of the procedures, possibilities and restrictions described for other structures in 1.1.1.2.2.1.1–4 apply. Questioning of more than one element in co-ordinate structures is not completely unacceptable, however, especially in the case of conjoined adverbial phrases and noun phrases. Cases of movement of one conjunct of a co-ordinate structure are not attested in the data:

- (56) We ànd haw yù gò bay nyam?
 where? and how? 2sP–R buy yam
 ‘Where and how will you buy yams?’
- (57) Yù si haw meni pìkìn and wichkâynd nyam?
 2sP seeF how many? child and which? yam
 ‘You saw how many children and what sort of yam?’

1.1.1.2.2.1.5.1 Questioning elements in serialized verb constructions Objects of valence-increasing verbs and other verbs in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3 and 1.8) are questioned in the same way as are all noun phrase constituents (as illustrated in section 1.1.1.2.2.1.1). Objects of serialized verbs may also be questioned in other ways when the semantics of the construction in which they occur match those of another category. For example, objects of the valence-increasing verb *tek* ‘take’ in the serialized instrumental construction may be questioned in exactly the same way as shown for the instrumental prepositional phrases which include the preposition *wit* (see sections 1.1.1.2.2.1.4 and 2.1.4):

- (58) Dèm tek nayf kot nyam.
 6sP takeFV+ knife cut+ yam
 ‘They cut yams with a knife.’
- (59) Dèm kot nyam wichwê? OR Wichwê dèm kot nyam? OR
 6sP cutF yam how? how? 6sP cutF yam

- (60) Dèm tek wichwê kot nyam? OR
 6sP takeFV+ how? cut+ yam
 Wichwê dèm tek kot nyam?
 how 6sP takeFV+ cut+ yam
- (61) Dèm tek watîng kot nyam? OR
 6sP takeFV+ what? cut+ yam
 Watîng dèm tek kot nyam?
 what? 6sP takeFV+ cut+ yam
 ‘They cut yams how?’ OR ‘How did they cut yams?’

1.1.1.2.2.1.6 Questioning of more than one element: Within the constraints outlined in 1.1.1.2.2.1–5 there is no theoretical limit on the number of elements in a given sentence that can be questioned. In practice, however, only one element is usually questioned. In the preceding examples are found instances of questions containing two co-ordinate questioned items. The following question is judged by speakers to be grammatical, but not likely to be uttered in normal conversation:

- (62) Dèm kari nayf giv òs fòr tawn.
 6sP carryF+ knife giveV+ 4oP p town
 ‘They gave us a knife in town.’
- (63) Hu kari watîng giv hu (fòr) husâyð?
 who? carryF+ what? giveV+ who? (p) where?
 ‘Who gave what to whom where?’

1.1.1.2.2.2 Morphosyntactic behaviour of questioned elements

1.1.1.2.2.2.1 Unchanged elements: No element remains unchanged under question-word questioning. One or more of the processes described in 1.1.1.2.2.2.2–8 must apply.

1.1.1.2.2.2.2–3 Position of questioned elements: Questioned elements are retained in their usual syntactic positions or they may be fronted (that is, they may occur at the beginning of the question). The question-word *way* ‘why?’ (and, to a lesser extent, *watîng mek* ‘why?’) is in many cases unacceptable to speakers unless it occurs question-initially:

- (64) Dèm kari nayf mek dèm kot nyam.
 6sP carryF knife SJcI 6sP cutSJ yam
 ‘They brought knives (in order) to cut yams.’
- (65) *Dèm kari nayf way?
 ?Dèm kari nayf watîng mek?
 Way dèm kari nayf?
 Watîng mek dèm kari nayf?
 ‘Why did they carry (bring) knives?’

As shown in 1.1.1.2.2.1.2, questioned elements in subordinate clauses may be fronted. In the case of subjects of subordinate clauses, since sentenceinitial and preverbal positions are in almost every case

identical, the type of fronting discussed in this section could be considered to be a process involving movement to either or both positions, if indeed we wish to consider the process to be one involving movement at all. Verbs (both within and outside of serialized verb constructions) may not be directly questioned and they may not occur question-initially.

1.1.1.2.2.2.4 Clefting and emphasis of questioned elements: The fact that question-words may occur in or be fronted to sentence-initial position reflects their inherently emphasized or focused nature (see 1.11.2.1 and 3.3.2.3). Questioned elements may be further emphasized by including them in a sentence-initial cleft construction. If the questioned element includes a noun or a pronoun, the relative clause introducer *we* may optionally follow it. Otherwise, *we*, which is usually optionally present in most cleft constructions, may not occur after a question-word (see 1.11.2.1.4):

- (66) Na haw meni nyam (we) yù gò chop?
 EI how many? yam (rcI) 2sP–R eat
 ‘How many yams is it that you will eat?’
- (67) Nà hu gò chop nyam?
 EI who? –R eat yam
 ‘Who is it that will eat yams?’

1.1.1.2.2.2.5 Stress and emphasis of questioned elements: Where there is no conflict with higher-level intonation and stress patterns, question-words usually either form a stress group unto themselves or mark a stress group final boundary, thus attracting phrase stress in almost every utterance in which they occur (see 3.3.2.3). For this reason question-words, along with other items such as negative markers, may be said to be inherently emphasized or focused (see 1.11.2.1). In most question-word questions, therefore, there is a falling pitch contour over the question-word, often accompanied by an increase in perceived loudness and/or syllable length. The stressing of question-words is unaffected by their position in the sentence: sentence-initial question-words bear the same stress as noninitial question-words.

1.1.1.2.2.2.6 Other processes affecting questioned elements: The processes listed in 1.1.1.2.2.2.1–5 account for all of the major morphosyntactic patterns consistently observed for questioned elements.

1.1.1.2.2.2.7–8 Movement of items along with a questioned element: Questioned noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases and possessive constructions (see 1.2.5.1.1) occur sentence-initially (that is, fronted) only as indivisible units. Conjoined noun phrases and adverbial phrases may occur together at the beginning of a question (as in 1.1.1.2.2.1.5) or, more rarely, they may be split apart with one of the conjoined elements at the beginning and the other left behind in its usual sentential position:

- (68) (split version of (57)):
 Haw meni pìkîn yù si ànd wichkâynd nyam?
 how many? child 2sP seeF and which? yam
 ‘How many children did you see and what sort of yam?’

Apart from these cases, only one questioned element may normally be found sentence-initially (fronted) in any given question. Verbs may not occur in initial position along with their questioned objects, even in serialized constructions where the verb’s semantics match the semantics of other items which may occur question-initially, such as prepositions. Contrast the following with the forms in 1.1.1.2.2.1.5.1:

- (69) Dèm tek nayf kot nyam. OR
 6sP takeFV+ knife cutF+ yam
 Dèm kot nyam wìt nayf.
 6sP cutF yam with knife
 ‘They cut yams with knives.’

- (70) Wìt watíng dèm kot nyam?
 with what? 6sP cutF yam
 ‘With what did they cut yams?’
 *Tek watíng dèm kot nyam?

1.1.1.2.3

Echo questions

1.1.1.2.3.1–7 Echo questions All of the processes, possibilities and constraints described for yes-no questions and for question-word questions in 1.1.1.2.1 and 1.1.1.2.2 are appropriate to echo-question formation as well. Any of the yes-no questions in section 1.1.1.2.1 could be used as a yes-no echo question. The clause *yù min (se)* ‘you mean (that)’ can be employed to introduce yes-no question echo questions, in which case the yes-no question becomes a noun clause:

- (71) Yù min (se) yù go makèt ?
 2sP meanF (ncI) 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘You mean (that) you went to the market?’

If *àbi* or *weda* are used, *se* may not occur:

- (72) *Yù min (se) weda yù go makèt ?
 Yù min weda yù go makèt
 2sP meanF whether 2sP goF market Qù
 ‘You mean you went to the market?’

Noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases and possessive constructions may be preceded by *yù min (se)* or may stand alone as yes-no echo questions:

- (73) A: Dèm kot nyam fòr fam.
 6sP cutF yam p farm
 ‘They cut yams on the farm.’

- B: (Yù min) dèm ?
 (2sP meanF) 6EP Qù
 ‘(You mean) them?’

- C: (Yù min) fòr fàm ?
 (2sP meanF) p farm Qù
 ‘(You mean) on the farm?’

The entire range of question-word questions exemplified in section 1.1.1.2.2 may also be used as question-word echo questions. Any question word may stand alone as an echo question, as long as the constraints outlined in 1.1.1.2.2.7 are respected. In echo questions containing question-words, the normal falling intonation associated with question-word questions is usually replaced by the rising intonation contour typical of yes-no questions:

- (74) A: A go maket.
 1sP goF market
 ‘I went to the market.’
 B: Wàtìng ?
 what? Qù
 ‘What (did you do)?’

- (75) A: A go maket.
 1sP goF market
 ‘I went to the market.’
 B: Wè ?
 where? Qù
 ‘Where (did you go)?’

1.1.1.2.4 Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1 Answers as complete sentences

1.1.1.2.4.1.1–3. Answers as a distinct speech act: Both questions and answers are distinct speech acts, to the extent that they serve to shift the emphasis and/or the topic of a speech event: (a) from one part of the message to another (question-word questions); (b) from the information content of the signal to the truth value of the information content (yes-no questions); or (c) to the quality of the channel over which the message is conveyed (echo-questions). These distinct functions of questions and answers are manifested by the special intonation and stress patterns found over them as well as by emphasis and topicalizing mechanisms. Answers to all three types of questions are often characterized by a widened, more dramatic range of pitch and by the use of topicalization constructions (such as dislocation: see 1.12) and/or emphasis or focus constructions (such as clefting: see 1.11).

1.1.1.2.4.2 Incomplete sentences used as answers Perhaps the most dramatic way to add prominence to a given element of a given sentence is to mention the element alone without the rest of the sentence. It is not surprising, then, that this is one of the most common strategies used for answering questions.

1.1.1.2.4.2.1 Incomplete sentence answers to yes-no questions: A particular element of a yes-no question may be singled out and repeated as an answer, signalling affirmation of the entire proposition, but drawing attention to the particular item repeated as well. Elements available for this type of answer normally obey the same constraints that govern the behaviour of questioned elements (1.1.1.2.2.7) and the omission of items from yes-no questions (1.1.1.2.3.1):

- (76) A: Abi yù kot kàsàva ?
 YNQ 2sP cutF cassava Qù

- B: Yes, kàsàva.
yes cassava
- A: Kàsàva ? Yù ?
cassava Qù 2EP Qù
- B: (No.) (Nà) yu (kot- àm).
(no) (EI) 2EP (cutF-3oP)
- A: 'Did you cut cassava?'
- B: 'Yes, cassava.'
- A: 'Cassava? You?'
- B: '(No.) (It is) you (who cut it).'

As illustrated in (76), disagreement with a proposition may be signalled by replacing an element of a sentence by another and then using the replacement element by itself, without the rest of the sentence. Examples (76) and (77) show that yes-no echo questions may also be answered by using the replacement element by itself:

- (77) A: Abi yù chop ràys ?
YNQ 2sP eatF rice Qù
- B: (Yù min) mì ?
(2sP meanF) 1EP Qù
- A: (Yes.) Yu.
(yes) 2EP
- A: 'Did you eat rice?'
- B: '(Who?) Me?'
- A: '(Yes.) You.'

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.1–2 'Yes', 'no' and 'maybe'

As illustrated in 1.1.1.2.1.2 'yes' signals agreement with a proposition while 'no' signals disagreement. The most commonly used expressions of agreement are:

- (78) Yes. 'Yes.'
- N. 'Yes.' (a high toned syllabic *n*)
- Nà im. 'That's it.' (strong)
- EI 3ED
- Tank yu. 'Thank you.' (strong)
- thankF 2EP

Lack of agreement is expressed by:

- (79) No. 'No.'
- A-à. 'No.' (often nasalized)
- Atôl. 'Not at all.' (strong)
- Husâyð? OR Fòr we? 'Where?' (strong)
- Kòmôt! OR Getôt! 'Get out of here!' (abusive)

Doubt is very often expressed by the use of the verb *fit* ‘be able’ in such statements as *ì fit bi so* ‘it could be so’. Or-conjoined statements may be employed to show doubt about a proposition. In acrolectal varieties, *mebi* ‘maybe’ is also attested:

- (80) A: Abi yù gò go Legos ?
YNQ 2sP –R go Lagos Qù
‘Will you go to Lagos?’
B: A fit go. OR I fit bi so.
1sP be ableF+ go+ 3sD be ableF+ cv+ so
‘I could go.’ ‘It might be so.’
- (81) Weda à gò go, weda à no gò go. OR @Mebi.
whether 1sP –R go whether 1sP ng –R go maybe
‘I may go or I may not go.’ ‘Maybe.’

1.1.1.2.4.2.2 Incomplete sentence answers to question-word questions: Any element of an answer to a question-word question which corresponds to the questioned element of the original question may be used alone as an incomplete sentence answer. It is much more common, however, to use the questioned element alone in a cleft construction (as illustrated in 1.1.1.2.2.2.2–4):

- (82) A: Yù pawnd nyam hustây?m?
2sP poundF yam when?
‘When did you pound yam?’
B: A pawnd nyam yestàdê. OR Yestàdê.
1sP poundF yam yesterday yesterday
‘(I pounded yam) yesterday.’

Nà yestàdê we à pawnd nyam. OR Nà yestàdê.
EI yesterday rcl 1sP poundF yam EI yesterday
‘(It was) yesterday (that I pounded yam).’

Incomplete sentence answers to why-questions usually include the verb *mek* ‘make’ functioning as a serialized verb in a causative construction or as a subjunctive clause introducer:

- (83) A: Way yù chop nyam?
why? 2sP eatF yam
‘Why did you eat yam?’
B: Hongri mek mì chop -am. OR Hongri, nà im mek.
hunger makeF+ 1oP eatF+-3oP hunger EI 3ED makeF
A: ‘Why did you eat yam?’
B: ‘Because I was hungry.’

1.1.1.3
Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are normally identical in form to declarative sentences, except for the fact that the subjunctive clause introducer *mek* occurs before the subject in most imperatives. (For a full discussion of the subjunctive modality, see 1.3.1.1.4 and 2.1.3.4.15.) Both *mek* and the verb that follows it in an imperative subjunctive clause normally form the nuclei of separate stress groups, so that an argument for inherent stress can be made for imperatives (see 1.1.1.2.2 and 1.1.1.2.2.5). Subject pronouns are used following *mek* when it occurs as an imperative subjunctive clause introducer, despite the fact that the presumably cognate item *mek* ‘make’ (the verb) is in most cases followed by an object (even when it is found in a serialized causative construction; see 2.1.3.1.3.1):

- (84) A giv -am nyam.
 1sP giveF-3oP yam
 ‘I gave him/her yams.’
- (85) Dì wuman giv mì nyam.
 ar woman giveF 1oP yam
 ‘The woman gave me yams.’
- (86) Mek à giv -am nyam!
 SJcI 1sP giveSJ-3oP yam
 ‘Let me give him/her yam.’
- (87) Mek dì wuman giv mì nyam!
 SJcI ar woman giveSJ 1oP yam
 ‘Let the woman give me yams.’

1.1.1.3.1
Positive imperative forms

1.1.1.3.1.1 Special imperative forms and person/number/auxiliary combinations Subjunctive imperative sentences introduced by *mek* may include subjects of any person or number. If the subject is in the second person (singular or plural) *mek* together with the subject pronoun may optionally not be used. If one of these two elements is not used, the other must also not be used:

- (88) Yù go fam.
 2sP goF farm
 ‘You went to the farm.’
- (89) Mek yù go fam!
 SJcI 2sP goSJ farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’
- (90) Go fam!
 goSJ farm

*Mek go fam!
 *Yù go fam!
 ‘Go to the farm!’

The only tense/aspect/modality auxiliaries which may occur in imperative sentences are the incomplete aspect marker *dè*, the realis modality auxiliary *kom*, and the completive aspect marker *finish*. The completive marker *don* may not be used in imperative sentences:

- (91) (Mek yù) *dè* go fam!
 (SJcI 2sP) –C goSJ farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’ OR ‘(You’d best) be going to the farm!’
- (92) Kot *dì* nyam finish!
 cutSJ ar yam +C
 *Don kot *dì* nyam (finish)!
 ‘Cut the yams completely!’

On the basis of their midwestern data, Elugbe and Omamor (ms: 123) contend that only imperative sentences whose subjects are in the second person singular (not the plural) may occur without *mek* and subject pronoun.

1.1.1.3.1.2 Degrees of imperative There is no clear difference in the degree of imperative expressed by sentences which include *mek* and the subject pronoun versus those that exclude these elements, except perhaps that the latter may be slightly more abrupt and consequently less polite than the former. The most commonly employed means for giving a more courteous tone to imperative sentences include the use of phrase-final *ò* (see 2.1.8), the replacement of the subjunctive construction by a construction containing an irrealis modality marker and/or the introduction of imperative sentences by such phrases as *A beg...* ‘I beg you (please)...’ or *No veks...* ‘Don’t be annoyed...’:

- (93) A beg, (mek yù) go fam o!
 1sP beg (SJcI 2sP) goSJ farm f
 ‘Please go to the farm.’
- (94) Yù *fò* go fam o.
 2sP –R go farm f
 ‘You should go to the farm.’

1.1.1.3.2

Negative imperative

Imperative sentences are made negative in the same way as any other type of sentence: the negative marker *no* is placed between the subject noun phrase and the following verb phrase (including the auxiliaries). In accordance with this rule, if *mek* and the subject pronoun are not used, *no* occurs in clauseinitial position:

- (95) Mek yù no bay nyam!
 SJcI 2sP ng buySJ yam

‘Don’t buy yams!’

- (96) No go tawn!
 ng goSJ town
 ‘Don’t go to town!’

Negative imperative sentences have the same restrictions and possibilities with respect to person/number, tense/aspect/modality and degree distinctions as do affirmative imperative sentences.

1.1.1.3.3

Other means of expressing imperatives

See [1.1.1.3.1.2](#) and [1.1.1.5](#).

1.1.1.4

Other sentence types

1.1.1.4.1

Exclamations

Several exclamatory particles and/or phrases are used alone or to punctuate other sentences. Particles used in this way include *Chay!* and *He!* Exclamatory phrases include *Nà wa o!* (see [section 4.2](#)):

- (97) Chay! Yù drink dì tùmbo finish ? Nà wa o!
 ! 2sP drinkF ar wine +C Qù EI ! f
 ‘Hey! Did you drink all the wine? Wow!’

1.1.1.4.2

Strong affirmation/rejection

Among the various means available for expressing strong affirmation is *Tank yu* ‘Thank you’, while strong rejection of a proposition is often expressed by a phrase such as *A no gri* ‘I don’t agree’ (see [1.1.1.2.4.2.1](#)).

1.1.1.4.3

Channel checks

A heavily nasalized central vowel (written as *en* in this work) is often pronounced with a rising yes-no question intonation at the end of a sentence when the speaker wishes to verify if the hearer has actually heard or understood what has been said. The items *Sì?* ‘See?’ and *Yù hyà?* ‘You hear?’ are often employed in the same position and with the same intonation for the same purpose.

1.1.1.4.4

Topic-switching question

The topic of a verbal exchange can be changed by asking a question beginning with *Wat òf...* ‘What about...’ and/or ending with a variety of particles taken from different Nigerian languages, such as: *nko*, *kwanu*, *fa*, *sha*, *ba*, etc. Such questions do not bear any special intonation patterns: the normal declarative falling pattern is used. It should be noted, however, that the above listed particles are all exempt from the normal stress rules (see 3.3.2) and invariably retain high tone over all of their syllables:

- (98) *Wat òf yò pìkín? OR Yò pìkín nko?*
 what about 2ps child 2ps child TQf
 ‘And what about your child?’

1.1.1.4.5

Vocatives and salutations

Vocatively, a proper name can be uttered alone or followed by the phrase final particle *o*. Greetings include the following:

- (99) *A sàlùt. OR A dòn kòm.*
 1sP saluteF 1sP +C come
 ‘Hello.’
- (100) *Haw yù de? OR Haw bòdì?*
 how? 2sP cvF how? body
 ‘How are you?’

When taking leave, the following may be used:

- (101) *A dòn go. OR Wì gò (dè) sì.*
 1sP +C go 4sP –R (–C) see
 ‘Goodbye.’

1.1.1.5

Indirect speech acts

Interrogative and imperative sentences may be used to convey declarative meanings:

- (102) *Yù no dè shem ?*
 2sP ng –C be ashamed Qù
 ‘You should be ashamed of yourself.’
- (103) *Kòmôt!*
 get awaySJ
 ‘You are lying to me.’

Declarative and interrogative sentences may be used to convey imperative meanings:

- (104) A dè kom.
 1sP –C come
 ‘Wait a minute!’
- (105) Yù no want chop ?
 2sP ng wantF+ eat+ Qù
 ‘Eat!’

Using yes-no question rising intonation, both declarative and imperative sentences may be used to convey interrogative meanings:

- (106) Yù get mòngi ?
 2sP haveF money Qù
 ‘Do you have money?’
- (107) Mek à bay nyam ?
 SJcI 1sP buyF yam Qù
 ‘Should I buy yams?’ OR ‘Do you want me to buy yams?’

1.1.2 Subordination

1.1.2.1 *General markers of subordination*

The primary means employed for marking subordination is word order. Subordinate clauses usually follow the clause to which they are subordinate (hereafter their main or superordinate clause) except when they are topicalized or emphasized or when adverbial clauses occur in sentence-initial position (see 1.1.2.4.1 and 1.1.2.4.2.5). The noun clause introducer *se*, the relative clause introducer *we* and several adverbial clause introducers (such as *if*, the conditional clause introducer) are regularly employed to introduce subordinate clauses, but in nearly every case their use is optional. When a subordinate clause follows its main clause the intonation register may optionally be reset (raised) over the initial syllables of the subordinate clause.

1.1.2.2 *Noun clauses*

1.1.2.2.1 Marking and position of noun clauses

All noun clauses may optionally begin with the noun clause introducer *se*. This is the only morphological marking device which distinguishes noun clauses from other clauses. Noun clauses occur in one of two syntactic positions following the verb of their superordinate clause: the object position or the adverbial

position (see 1.2.5.3). A noun clause may follow an adverbial clause introducer, in which case it may be considered to be part of a larger adverbial clause (see (110) and 1.1.2.4).

1.1.2.2.2–5

Types of noun clause

Since there is little or no evidence in Nigerian Pidgin for the existence of such categories as ‘copula’ (see 1.2.1.1), ‘adjective’ (see 2.1.4) or ‘intransitive verb’ (see 2.1.3.1) a noun clause which does not occupy the adverbial position can be considered to be the syntactic object of the verb of the clause to which it is subordinate. Noun clauses may therefore be divided into two types: object noun clauses and adverbial noun clauses:

- (108) *Object noun clause*
 A tink [se dēm bay nyam].
 1sP thinkF [ncI 6sP buyF yam]
 ‘I think they bought yam.’
- (109) *Adverbial noun clause* (see 1.1.2.4)
 Im tēl mī se ‘Chop nyam!’ [se hōngri du mī finish].
 3sP tellF 1oP ncI cutF yam [ncI hungry doF 1oP +C]
 ‘(S)he told me, “Eat the yams!” because I was hungry.’
- (110) *Noun clause as part of an adverbial clause* (see 1.1.2.4.2.5)
 A gò kuk sup [if [se yù kot nyam]].
 1sP –R cook soup [avcI [ncI 2sP cut–R yam]]
 ‘I will cook soup if you cut yams.’

Semantic typology of noun clauses. While there is very little in the way of morphosyntactic criteria to distinguish one type of object noun clause from another, the semantics of object noun clauses differs considerably, depending on the semantics of the main clause verbs for which they function as objects.

Noun clauses as objects of verbs of cognition or perception. Verbs of cognition and perception often take noun clause objects:

- (111) Yù sàbi òs.
 2sP knowF 4oP
 ‘You know us.’
- (112) Yù sàbi [se wì de Legos].
 2sP knowF [ncI 4sP cvF Lagos]
 ‘You know that we are in Lagos.’
- (113) Yù si òs.
 2sP seeF 4oP
 ‘You saw us.’

- (114) Yù si [se wì de Legos].
 2sP seeF [ncI 2sP cvF Lagos]
 ‘You see that we are in Lagos.’

Noun clauses as objects of verbs of speaking and showing. The constructions used for direct and indirect speech are nearly identical: both consist minimally of a verb of reporting such as *tok* ‘talk’ or *tel* ‘tell’ followed by a noun clause. The only difference between direct and indirect speech is that while the pronominal person categories of the original utterance are preserved in direct speech constructions, they are changed to those appropriate to the reporting situation in the case of indirect speech:

- (115) Dèm tok [se ‘Wì de Legos’].
 6sP talkF [ncI 2sP cvF Lagos]
 ‘They said, “We are in Lagos.”’
- (116) Dèm tok [se dèm de Legos].
 6sP talkF [ncI 6sP cvF Lagos].
 ‘They said that they are in Lagos.’

A fuller discussion of this construction can be found in [1.1.1.1](#).

Noun clauses as objects of verbs of interrogation. The most commonly used construction for both direct and indirect reporting of questions consists of a verb of interrogation such as *aks* ‘ask’ followed by a noun clause object. As in the case of direct and indirect speech (see [1.1.1.1](#)) the pronominal persons of the original utterance are preserved in questions reported directly while they are changed to match the reporting situation in the case of indirect questions. An oblique hearer/object may also be inserted between the verb of interrogation and the noun clause object. Reported questions differ from reported speech, however, in that the verb of interrogation may not be followed by a valence-increasing verb. The noun clause object of a verb of interrogation may consist of any of the interrogative sentences described in [1.1.1.2](#):

- (117) *direct yes-no questions*
 Audu aks mì [se ‘Yù go hàws ?’]
 Audu askF 1oP [ncI 2sP goF house Qù]
 ‘Audu asked me, “Did you go home?”’
- (118) *indirect yes-no questions*
 Ade aks mì [se wèda à go hàws].
 Ade askF 1oP [ncI whether 1sP goF house]
 ‘Ade asked me whether I went home.’
- (119) *direct question-word questions*
 Chidi aks mì [se ‘Dèm giv yù wàtíng fòr hàws?’]
 Chidi askF 1oP [ncI 6sP giveF 2sP what? p house]
 ‘Chidi asked me, “What did they give you at the house?”’
- (120) *indirect question-word questions*
 Audu aks mì [se dèm giv mì wàtíng fòr hàws].

Audu askF 1oP [ncI 6sP giveF 1oP what? p house]
 ‘Audu asked me what they gave me at the house.’

All of the processes, constraints and possibilities described for interrogative sentences in 1.1.1.2 apply as well to noun clause objects of verbs of interrogation:

(121) Ade aks mì [se hu giv mì wátĩng f̣or w̄e?].
 Ade askF 1oP [ncI who? giveF 1oP what? p where?]
 ‘Ade asked me who gave me what where.’

(122) Chidi aks mì [se wátĩng d̄em giv mì].
 Chidi askF 1oP [ncI what? 6sP giveF 1oP]
 ‘Chidi asked me what they gave me.’

(123) Bassey aks mì [se d̄em aks yù [se wátĩng]].
 Bassey askF 1oP [ncI 6sP askF 2oP [ncI what?]]
 ‘Bassey asked me what they asked you (about).’

Less commonly, a verb of speaking is used in both direct and indirect questions in place of a verb of interrogation. In such cases, the noun clause construction for direct/indirect speech outlined in 1.1.1.1 may be employed without the restrictions imposed on it by the utilization of interrogative verbs:

(124) Im ṭok ṭel mì [se wátĩng d̄em giv mì].
 3sP talkF+ tellV+ 1oP [ncI what? 6sP givF 1oP]
 ‘(S)he asked me what they gave me.’ OR ‘(S)he told me what they gave me.’

In indirect questions a relative clause or a headless relative clause including a question word may be substituted for a noun clause, if an oblique hearer -object is present:

(125) Im aks mì d̄i t̄ing w̄e à chop. OR
 3sP askF 1oP ar thing rcI 1sP eatF

Im aks mì wátĩng à chop.
 3sP askF 1oP what? 1sP eatF
 ‘(S)he asked me what I ate.’

While the noun clause introducer *se* can occur in constructions similar to the second version of (125), *se* cannot occur in sentences such as the one in the first version of (125).

Noun clauses as objects of verbs of commanding/requesting. The construction employed for both direct and indirect reporting of commands is identical to the construction outlined in 1.1.1.1 for direct and indirect statements. In most cases, the same verbs of speaking are used in the superordinate clause (although other verbs such as *want* ‘want’ are possible here as well) but the noun clause objects of these verbs must be one of the imperative subjunctive sentences listed in 1.1.1.3. All of the processes, constraints and possibilities listed for imperative sentences in 1.1.1.3 apply:

- (126) Im tɛl mì [se ‘(Mek yù) kɔm!’]
 3sP tell 1oP [ncI (SJcI 2sP) comeSJ]
 ‘(S)he told me, “Come!”’
- (127) Im tɛl mì [se mek à kɔm].
 3sP tell 1oP [ncI SJcI 1sP comeSJ]
 ‘(S)he told me to come.’
- (128) A tɔk [se mek dɛm no chɔp].
 1sP talkF [ncI SJcI 6sP ng eatSJ]
 ‘I said that they must not eat.’

For reporting polite requests, sentences including the items listed in 1.1.1.3.1.2 are utilized as object noun clauses in the direct/indirect speech construction:

- (129) A tɔk tɛl dɛm [se dɛm fɔ no tɔk].
 1sP talkF+ tellV+ 6oP [ncI 6sP –R ng talk]
 ‘I told them that they should not talk.’

Noun clauses as objects of copular verbs. All copular verbs may take syntactic objects under certain conditions (see 1.2.1.1) For this reason and because of the fact that the category ‘adjective’ is absent and largely replaced by stative verbs (which also take syntactic objects) it becomes extremely difficult to establish a special class of predicate noun clauses which is not identical in almost every way to the well-motivated class of object noun clauses. Sentences such as (130), (131) and (132) can be said to motivate the assignment of the noun clauses in (133) and (134) to the class of noun clause objects:

- (130) A de Legos.
 1sP cvF Lagos
 ‘I am in Lagos.’
- (131) Mɔni de mì fɔr hand,
 money cvF 1oP p hand
 ‘I have money.’
- (132) Yu bì dɔkta, ì no bì -am?
 2sP cvF doctor 3sD ng cvF-3oP Qù
 ‘You are a doctor, isn’t that right?’
- (133) Dì prɔblem bì [se yù bì dɔkta].
 ar problem cvF [ncI 2sP cvF doctor]
 ‘The problem is that you are a doctor.’
- (134) I bì layk [se yù go Legos].
 3sD cvF cx [ncI 2sP goF Lagos]
 ‘It seems that you went to Lagos.’

Noun clauses as objects of mental state verbs. Stative verbs that describe human sentiments and emotions such as *gud* ‘be good’, *bad* ‘be bad’ or *hàpi* ‘be happy’ may also take noun clause objects:

- (135) I gud [se yù go Legos].
3sD be goodF [ncI 2sP goF Lagos]
‘It is good that you went to Lagos.’
- (136) I gud [se mek yù go Legos].
3sD be goodF [ncI SJcI 2sP goF Lagos]
‘It is good that you go to Lagos.’
- (137) A hàpi [se yù go Legos].
1sP be happyF [ncI 2sP goF Lagos]
‘I am happy that you went to Lagos.’ OR ‘I am happy because you went to Lagos.’

The two glosses for (137) indicate that two interpretations are often possible for this type of sentence, depending on whether the noun clause is considered to be occupying the object position (first gloss) or the adjacent adverbial position (second gloss). These possibilities are more fully illustrated by the verb *veks* ‘be angry’, which allows more flexibility in the assignment of semantic role to its syntactic subject than does *hàpi*:

- (138) A dè veks [se yù bay nyam].
1sP –C be angryF [ncI 2sP buyF yam]
‘It is making me angry that you bought yams.’ OR ‘I am getting angry because you bought yams.’
- (139) Im dè veks mì [se yù bay nyam].
3sP –C be angry 1oP [ncI 2sP buyF yam]
‘It is making me angry that you bought yams.’ OR ‘I am getting angry because you bought yams.’

The object noun clause version of (139) (first gloss) is roughly equivalent to (140) while the adverbial noun clause version (second gloss) could be restated as (141):

- (140) [Se yu bay nyam] de veks mì.
[ncI 2sP buyF yam] –C be angryF 1oP
‘That you bought yams is angering me.’
- (141) [Se yù bay nyam] nà im (mek) à dè veks.
[ncI 2sP buyF yam] EI 3EP (SJcI) 1sP –C be angry
‘You bought yams, *that* is why I am getting angry.’

Adverbial clauses are discussed further in 1.1.2.4.

The use of se in different types of noun clauses. Noun clause initially, *se* is always optional and never obligatory. Nevertheless, certain environments favour the use of *se* while other environments inhibit it. *Se* is more likely to occur: (a) before directly reported (quoted) speech, questions, or commands; (b) before a pronoun; (c) after a copular verb or a mental state verb; or (d) when the noun clause is shifted to sentence-initial position. *Se* is less likely to be used: (a) before a question-word in indirectly reported questions and (b) after the focus introducer *nà*.

1.1.2.2.6

Nonfinite noun clauses

Multifunctionality. The categories ‘verb’ and ‘noun’ are often not very clearly distinguishable. A great many of the lexical items assigned to either one of these categories may also belong to the other. When a lexical item changes category, it loses the arguments, modifiers, auxiliaries, etc. appropriate to the category it leaves and takes on those of the category it enters. In most cases a particular item may change category without undergoing any type of morphological change, syntactic position being the only reliable criterion for category assignment (see 2.2):

- (142) wàka ‘walk’ (*prototypically a verb?*)
 Nà wàka wẹ̀ dì wàka man dẹ̀ wàka wàkawaka
 EI walk/n rCI ar walk/mn man –C walk/v walk/ip
 ‘It is walking that the walker walks walk-walk-walk.’
- (143) wàhala ‘trouble’ (*prototypically a noun?*)
 Wàhala man, no wàhala mi wìt yẹ̀ wàhala!
 trouble/mn man ng troubleSJ/v 3EP with 2ps trouble/n
 ‘Trouble-maker, don’t annoy me with all your irks.’

Focalization. In certain focus constructions, entire sentences may be nominalized (see 1.11). The elements of the focused sentence do not undergo any kind of morphological change and all are included in the focus construction:

- (144) Nà [à dọ́n day] bì dat.
 EI [1sP +C die] cvF that
 ‘I died is what that was. (That devastated me.)’

There is little to be gained from labelling verbal items involved in the multifunctionality and localization processes described above infinitives, gerunds or even nominalizations. Since these are the only forms in Nigerian Pidgin which even remotely suggest the existence of nonfinite verbs or clauses, all sentences, clauses and verbs in the language may be said to be finite.

In acrolectal speech a very interesting set of proto-nonfinite verbal forms seems to be developing, first in such environments as following the modal serialized verbs *want* ‘want’, *layk* ‘like’ or *stat* ‘start’ and then extending gradually to other environments:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|
| (145) | A want chop. | A bigin chop. |
| | 1sP wantF+ eat+ | 1sP beginF+ eat+ |

‘I want to eat.’
 @A want [dè chop].
 –C
 @A want [tù chop].
 to

‘I began eating.’
 @A stat [dè chop].
 –C
 @A stat [tù (dè) chop].
 to (–C)

These acrolectal forms can be said to be motivated by several different constructions found in all lects of Nigerian Pidgin as well as by constructions found in Nigerian Standard English (NSE). The nonfinite use of [*dè* + verb] matches the semantics of the NSE [verb-*ing*] gerund with the semantics of the Nigerian Pidgin incomplete aspect, which is marked by *dè*. Syntactically and phonetically, *dè* and *tù* do not only resemble each other, but they also resemble *to* of the NSE [*to* + verb] infinitive, the Nigerian Pidgin and NSE generic verb *du* and *do* and the Nigerian Pidgin preverbal adverbial *tu* ‘too much’ (see 1.2.5.3). Agheyisi (1971:96–7) describes a similar construction in her Midwest data, which utilizes [*fò* + verb] where [*dè/tù* + verb] are used in Port Harcourt. Agheyisi does not mention whether the distribution of this construction is socially conditioned.

1.1.2.3 Relative clauses

Since the category ‘adjective’ does not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4) and because of the fact that the only type of clause in the language which may serve to modify nominal elements is the relative clause, the label ‘adjective clause’ is not employed here, ‘relative clause’ being used instead.

1.1.2.3.1 Marking of relative clauses

Relative clauses are most consistently marked by word order: relative clauses always follow the nominal element that they modify (hereafter, their head noun or head noun phrase). As is the case for all subordinate clauses that follow their superordinate clauses, the initial syllables of relative clauses may optionally be marked by a resetting of the intonation register. Relative clauses generally begin with the relative clause introducer *we*, but the use of *we* is always optional, except where there is no other segmental marker of relativization present between the head noun phrase and the verb phrase of the relative clause:

- (146) A si dī ting [wē yù bìn chop].
 1sP seeF ar thing [rcI 2sP +P eat].
 ‘I saw the thing that you ate.’
- (147) A si dī ting [yù bìn chop].
 1sP seeF ar thing [2sP +P eat].
 ‘I saw the thing that you ate.’
- (148) A si dī man [wē ìm bìn chop].
 1sP seeF ar man [rcI 3sP +P eat]
 ‘I saw the man who ate.’

- (149) A si dì man [wɛ̀ bìn chɔp].
 1sP seeF ar man [rcI +P eat]
 ‘I saw the man who ate.’

- (150) *A si dì man [bìn chɔp].
 1sP seeF ar man [+P eat]
 ‘I saw the man who ate.’

Relative clauses may modify head nouns that are contained in larger noun clauses, adverbial clauses or relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.7, 1.1.1.1, 1.1.2.2.2, and 1.1.2.4).

1.1.2.3.2

Restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses

There is no morphosyntactic means used exclusively and consistently to distinguish restrictive relative clauses from nonrestrictive relative clauses. There is, however, a greater tendency for the intonation register to be reset over the initial syllables of a restrictive relative clause than over a nonrestrictive relative clause.

1.1.2.3.3

Position of the head noun

The noun phrase to which the head noun belongs always precedes the relative clause that modifies it. Only a short adverbial element may come between a head noun phrase and its relative clause, usually when the speaker wishes to emphasize or topicalize the adverbial information. For this reason, a good argument can be made for dislocation in such cases (see 1.11 and 1.12):

- (151) A si [dì wuman] [wɛ̀ dɔn sik].
 1sP seeF [ar woman] [rcI +C be sick]
 ‘I saw the woman who was sick.’
- (152) A si [dì wuman dɛ̀m kwanu] [wɛ̀ dɔn sik].
 1sP seeF [ar woman pl T] [rcI +C be sick]
 ‘I saw the women who were sick.’
- (153) A si [dì wuman] [tùdê] [wɛ̀ dɔn sik].
 1sP seeF [ar woman] [today] [rcI +C be sick]
 ‘I saw the woman today who was sick.’

1.1.2.3.4

Form of the relativized element

The element of the relative clause that corresponds to the head noun is never preserved in full, except in the rare instances where the head noun phrase is itself headed by an emphatic pronoun. In such cases, an emphatic or non-emphatic pronoun corresponding to the head noun phrase pronoun may optionally be used in the relative clause:

- (154) [Yu [wɛ (yù) ðon taya] (yù) nɛva slɪp ?]
 [2EP [rcI (2sP) +C be tired] (2sP) ng+C sleep Qù]
 ‘You who are so tired, haven’t you slept yet?’
- (155) Dèm kòm bit yu [wɛ dèm bìn bit (yù) bífô].
 6sP +R beat 2EP [rcI 6sP +P beat (2oP) before]
 ‘They beat you, whom they had beaten before.’

Any head noun may optionally be replaced by a personal pronoun in a relative clause that modifies it:

- (156) [Dì pìkín [wɛ (im) ðon taya] (im) nɛva slɪp ?]
 [ar child [rcI (3sP) +C be tired] (3sP) ng+C sleep Qù]
 ‘The child who was so tired, hasn’t (s)he slept yet?’
- (157) Dèm kòm bit dì pìkín [wɛ dèm bìn bit (-am) bífô].
 6sP +R beat ar child [rcI 6sP +P beat (3oP) before]
 ‘They beat the child whom they had beaten before.’

While all speakers of Nigerian Pidgin use the third person singular object pronoun *-am* in relative clauses to refer back to a human head noun, basilectal speakers tend to use *-am* in relative clauses to refer back to nonhuman head nouns more often than do acrolectal speakers. In all but the most heavily basilectal varieties of Nigerian Pidgin, *-am* may not occur in a relative clause alongside a human object in a multiple object construction (see 1.2.1.2.3):

- (158) A si ði nyam [wɛ yù pawnd].
 1sP seeF ar yam [rcI 2sP poundF]
 ‘I saw the yam that you pounded.’
- (159) #A si ði nyam [wɛ yù pawnd -am].
 1sP seeF ar yam [rcI 2sP poundF-3op]
 ‘I saw the yam that you pounded.’
- (160) ###A si ði nyam [wɛ yù giv -am mì].
 1sP seeF ar yam [rcI 2sP giveF-3op 1oP]
 ‘I saw the yam that you gave me.’

An invariant relative pronoun *ì* is used in some basilectal varieties of Nigerian Pidgin, and among older speakers in general (see Faraclas 1986b). For all basilectal speakers, *ì* is variably used for both the third person singular and plural subject while *-am* is variably used for both the third person singular and third person plural object pronouns. For some more heavily basilectal speakers, *ì* is used for the second person singular and for all third-person subjects and objects, whether singular or plural.

Although Agheysi (1971:131) considers *we* to be a pronoun, she admits that *we* ‘depends entirely on its head noun for both its feature content and specific semantic interpretation’. Eze (1980:104–6) sometimes calls *we* a ‘subordination marker’ and at other times calls it a ‘relative pronoun’. This is perhaps because he collapses *we* with the basilectal invariant relative pronoun *ì*, adopting the spelling *wey* for *we* in all

positions, including those where *ì* would never occur after *we*. (It should be noted that the *wey* spelling is the one most commonly encountered in popular works written in Nigerian Pidgin.) Both Agheyisi and Eze fail to distinguish adequately between the use of *we* in relative clauses and the use of the apparently cognate question word *we* ‘where?’ As shown in the preceding examples and confirmed by Agheyisi, *we* plays no role whatever in transferring the semantic content of the head noun to relative clauses, personal pronouns being used instead for this purpose. For this reason, Eze’s hedged classification of *we* as a subordination marker is probably the most accurate in the literature to date. Eze does not, however, take into account the fact that *we* is not used in all types of subordinate clauses, but in relative clauses only. We may therefore conclude that in most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, *we* is best classified as a relative clause introducer when it occurs in subordinate clauses.

1.1.2.3.5

Position of the relativized element

In relative clauses, personal pronouns retain whatever position they would occupy in any other sentence in the language regardless of whether they refer back to the head noun or not. The same can be said for the invariant relative pronoun *ì*. The relative clause introducer *we* always occurs at the beginning of the clause.

1.1.2.3.6

Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are attested only as objects of verbs of perception/cognition, speaking (see 1.1.1.1) or asking (see 1.1.2.2.2). In such cases, a question word can be used in place of a [head noun + relative clause] construction:

- (161) Dèm sàbi dì tìng [*we* dèm chop].
6sP knowF ar thing [rcI 6sP eatF]
‘They know what they ate.’

- (162) Dèm sàbi [*waťing* dèm chop].
6sP knowF [what? 6sP eatF]
‘Thev know what they ate.’

In acrolectal speech, headless relative clauses sometimes occur within adverbial clauses:

- (163) A si dì gel [*fòr* dì ples [*we* ìm sìdôn]].
1sP seeF ar girl [pavcI ar place [rcI 3sP sitF]]
‘I saw the girl where she was sitting.’

- (164) @A si dì gel [(*fòr*) [*we(a)* ìm sìdôn]].
1sP seeF ar girl [(pavcI) [where? 3sP sitF]]
‘I saw the girl where she was sitting.’

1.1.2.3.7

Elements that can be relativized

As shown in the following examples, noun phrases may be relativized from any position in the subordinate clause which can normally be occupied by a nominal:

- (165) Dì gəl giv dì boy ti fòr rod.
 ar girl giveF ar boy tea p road
 ‘The girl gave the boy tea on the way.’
- (166) *subject noun*
 A si dì gəl wə ìm giv dì boy ti fòr rod.
 1sp seeF ar girl rcI 3sP giveF ar boy tea p road
 ‘I saw the girl who gave the boy tea on the way.’
- (167) *main (direct) object noun*
 A si dì ti wə dì gəl giv dì boy fòr rod.
 1sp seeF ar tea rcI ar girl giveF ar boy p road
 ‘I saw the tea that girl gave the boy on the way.’
- (168) *other (indirect) object pronoun*
 A si dì boy wə dì gəl giv -am ti fòr rod.
 1sp seeF ar boy rcI ar girl giveF -3oP tea p road
 ‘I saw the boy to whom the girl gave tea on the way.’
- (169) *oblique (prepositional) object noun*
 A si dì rod wə dì gəl giv dì boy ti fòr -am.
 1sp seeF ar road rcI ar girl giveF ar boy tea p -3oP
 ‘I saw the road where the girl gave the boy tea.’
- (170) *possessed noun*
 Dì pìkîn ìm haws [wə de tawn] dòn sik.
 ar child 3ps house [rcI cvF town] +C be sick
 ‘The child whose house is in town fell sick.’
- (171) *possessor noun*
 Dì pìkîn [wə ìm haws de tawn] dòn sik.
 ar child [rcI 3ps house cvF town] +C be sick
 ‘The child whose house is in town fell sick.’
- (172) *possessor noun*
 Dì pìkîn [wə dòn sik] ìm haws de tawn.
 ar child [rcI +C be sickF] 3ps house cvF town
 ‘The child who fell sick, his/her house is in town.’

Many speakers find (172) unacceptable unless there is a pause between the end of the relative clause and the possessive marker, as in the English gloss. This indicates that possessor nouns may only be relativized in a topic/comment construction (see 1.12).

- (173) *objects of serialized verbs including comparatives*
 Nyam [we big] swit pas nyam [we smol].
 yam [rcI be big] be tastyF+ pass+ yam [rcI be small]
 ‘Big yams are more delicious than small yams.’
- (174) *verbal forms as head nominals*
 Dì bit [we à gò bit dì pìkín] gò hevi we|wêl.
 ar beat [rcI 1sP –R beat ar child] –R be heavy ipR
 ‘The beating that I will give the child will be big.’
- (175) *focused sentences as head nominals*
 [Nà dì man bit dì boy] [we wàhala dì gèl].
 [EI ar man beatF ar boy] [rcI worryF ar girl]
 ‘It’s that the man beat the boy that irked the girl.’

Relative clauses may modify head nouns that are contained in larger noun clauses, adverbial clauses, or relative clauses (see 1.1.1.1, 1.1.2.2.2 and 1.1.2.4):

- (176) A sàbi [se dì ting [we yù bìn chop] bì nyam].
 1sP knowF [ncI ar thing [rcI 2sP +P eat] cvF yam]
 ‘I know that the thing that you ate was yam.’
- (177) A baf [fòr dì taym [we yù bìn chop]].
 1sP batheF [pavcI ar time [rcI 2sP +P eat]]
 ‘I bathed while you ate.’
- (178) A si dì man [we chop dì nyam [we yu bìn prìpê]].
 1sP seeF ar man [rcI eatF ar yam [rcI 2sP +P cook]]
 ‘I saw the man who ate the yam that you cooked.’

1.1.2.3.8

Movement of relativized elements

In most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, a relativized element may not be moved unless it is moved together with its head noun and the rest of the relative clause to which it belongs. Such movement occurs principally in topicalization constructions which involve dislocation (see 1.12):

- (179) A si dì gèl we ìm giv dì boy ti fòr rod.
 lsp seeF ar girl rcI 3sP giveF ar boy tea p road
 ‘I saw the girl who gave the boy tea on the way.’

- (180) Dì gel wẹ ìm giv dì boy ti fòr rod, a si -am.
 ar girl rcI 3sP giveF ar boy tea p road lsp seeF-3oP
 ‘The girl who gave the boy tea on the way, I saw her.’

When a relative clause makes up part of a larger clause it may be moved as a unit along with its head noun and the rest of the larger clause to any position normally occupied by the larger clause.

1.1.2.3.9

Nonfinite relative clauses

As explained in 1.1.2.2.6, no truly nonfinite forms exist in Nigerian Pidgin. Examples of multifunctional verb forms and focused sentences serving as nominal heads for relative clauses may be found in 1.1.2.3.7.

1.1.2.4

Adverbial clauses

1.1.2.4.1

Marking and position of adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are marked morphologically in a variety of ways. There are a few items whose unique function is to introduce particular types of adverbial clauses. These adverbial clause introducers (which include items such as *if* ‘if’ and *sòte* ‘until’) are normally followed by a noun clause or relative clause construction. More commonly, the general preposition *fòr* is used as an adverbial clause introducer, in which case it is followed by a [head noun + relative clause] construction or, in acrolectal speech, a headless relative clause (see 1.1.2.3.6–7). Many adverbial clauses are introduced by *se* in exactly the same way as are noun clauses. The majority of the noun clauses which function as adverbial clauses are subjunctive noun clauses introduced by [*se+mek*] (see 1.1.2.2.2).

Syntactic position is the most consistent means employed to distinguish adverbial clauses from other clauses. Adverbial clauses may occupy either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final adverbial position (see 1.2.5.3). Some types of adverbial clause (such as conditional clauses) usually occur in sentence-initial position, while other clause types (such as subjunctive, result, purpose and reason clauses) are normally found in the sentence-final slot. When in sentence-final position, clauses introduced by *se* may be ambiguous as to whether they function as object noun clauses or adverbial noun clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2).

1.1.2.4.2

Types of adverbial clause

1.1.2.4.2.1 Time clauses The most commonly used adverbial time clauses are optionally introduced by the general preposition *fòr* or by such adverbial clause introducers as *afta* ‘after’ or *bifò* ‘before’ and consist of a head nominal such as *dì taym* ‘the time’, *eni taym* ‘any time’ or *evri taym* ‘every time’ followed by a relative clause. These clauses may occupy either adverbial slot, but there is a slight preference on the part of speakers to use time clauses headed by *afta* and *bifò* sentence-initially, and the other time clauses sentence-finally:

- (181) Im shawt [(fòr) dì taym [(wè) yù kòm]].
 3sP shoutF [(pavcI) ar time [(rcI) 2sP comeF]]
 ‘(S)he shouted when you came.’
- (182) Im gò shawt [(fòr) eni taym [(wè) yù kòm]].
 3sP –R shoutF [(pavcI) any time [(rcI) 2sP comeF]]
 ‘(S)he will shout anytime you come.’
- (183) [Bifô dì taym [(wè) yù gò kòm]] ìm gò slip,
 [before ar time [(rcI) 2sP –R come]] 3sP –R sleep
 ‘Before you come (s)he will sleep.’

Afta and *bifô* may also be followed by a noun clause:

- (184) [Bifô [(se) yu kòm]] ìm gò slip,
 [before [(ncI) 2sP come]] 3sP –R sleep
 ‘Before you come (s)he will sleep.’

In acrolectal speech the question word *wen* ‘when?’ may be used to introduce a headless relative adverbial time clause (see 1.1.2.3.6).

1.1.2.4.2.2 Manner clauses Manner clauses are rare. The most commonly used adverbial manner clauses are optionally introduced by the general preposition *fòr* and consist of a head nominal such as *dì we* ‘the way’ or *eni we* ‘any way’, followed by a relative clause. Such clauses normally occupy the sentence-final adverbial slot.:

- (185) A chu dì kola [(fòr) dì we [(wè) yù tók]].
 1sP chewF ar kola [(pavcI) ar way [(rcI) 2sP talkF]]
 ‘I chewed the kola nut in the way you said.’

All acrolectal speakers and most mesolectal speakers use the adverbial clause introducers *as* ‘as’ and *layk* ‘like’ followed by a noun clause in adverbial manner clauses:

- (186) A chu dì kola [lâyk [(se) onyibomân dè chu]].
 1sP chewF ar kola [avcI [(ncI) white man –C chew]]
 ‘I chewed the kola nut the way a white man does it.’

In acrolectal speech the question word *haw* ‘how?’ may be used to introduce a headless relative adverbial manner clause (see 1.1.2.3.6).

1.1.2.4.2.3 Purpose clauses Adverbial purpose clauses have exactly the same structure as subjunctive noun clauses: they are optionally introduced by the noun clause introducer *se* and obligatorily include the subjunctive marker *mek* in presubject position:

- (187) A kil dì snek [(se) mek ìm no bayt mì].
 1sP killF ar snake [(ncI) SJcI 3sP ng biteSJ 1oP]
 ‘I killed the snake so that it wouldn’t bite me.’

1.1.2.4.2.4 Cause clauses Noun clauses introduced by *se* are commonly employed as adverbial cause clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2). In most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, the adverbial clause introducer *bikô*s ‘because’ may optionally precede *se*. This type of clause normally follows its superordinate clause. When the superordinate clause follows, it is usually introduced by *nà im mek* ‘that is why’:

- (188) A kil ði snek [(bikô)s se ìm want bayt mì].
 1sP killF ar snake [(avC) ncI 3sP wantF+ bite+ 1oP]
 ‘I killed the snake because it was about to bite me.’
- (189) [Se ìm want bayt] nà im mek à kil ði snek.
 [ncI 3sP wantF+ bite+] EI 3EP SJcI 1sP killSJ ar snake
 ‘Because it was about to bite, that is why I killed the snake.’

In acrolectal speech the question word *way* ‘why?’ may be used to introduce a headless relative adverbial cause clause (see 1.1.2.3.6).

1.1.2.4.2.5 Condition clauses Adverbial condition clauses consist of a noun clause which may optionally begin with the adverbial clause introducers *if* ‘if’ and/or *làyk* ‘like’. When both *if* and *làyk* are used to introduce the same conditional clause, *if* precedes *làyk*. A conditional clause usually comes before its superordinate clause and bears a rising intonation contour over its final syllables. The main verb of a superordinate clause of an adverbial condition clause must be marked for irrealis modality by the auxiliary *gò* if the events described are nonpast and by the modal verb *fò* if the reference is to events in the past:

- (190) [(If) (làyk) [(se) à get m̀ǹni]] à gò bay mòto.
 [(avC) (avC) [(ncI) 1sP have money]] 1sP –R buy car.
 ‘If I have money, I will buy a car.’
- (191) [(If) [à bìn get m̀ǹni]] à fò bay mòto.
 [(avC) [1sP +P haveF money]] 1sP should+ buy+ car
 ‘If I had money, I would buy a car.’

1.1.2.4.2.6 Result clauses Beside the constructions described for clauses of purpose in 1.1.2.4.2.3, constructions consisting of the adverbial clause introducers *sòte* ‘until’ or *tìl* ‘until’ followed by a noun clause may be used as adverbial result clauses:

- (192) Dèm chop nyam chop chop [sòte [(se) dèm belefùl]].
 6sP eatF+ yam eat+ eat+ [avC [(ncI) 6sP be fullF]]
 ‘They ate so much that they couldn’t eat any more.’

1.1.2.4.2.7 Degree clauses All degree relations are expressed by serialized verb constructions rather than by adverbial clauses (see 1.3 and 1.8)

1.1.2.4.2.8 Location clauses The most commonly used adverbial location clauses are optionally introduced by the general preposition *fòr* and consist of a head nominal such as *ði ples* ‘the place’, *eni ples* ‘any place’ or *evri ples* ‘every place’ followed by a relative clause. Such clauses normally occupy the sentence-final adverbial slot:

- (193) A put dī kola [(fòr) dī ples [(wē) dēm sīdôn]].
 1sP putF ar kola [(pavcl) ar place [(rcI) 6sP sit F]]
 ‘I put the kola nut where they are sitting.’

In acrolectal speech the question word *we(a)* ‘where?’ may be used to introduce a headless relative adverbial location clause (see 1.1.2.3.6).

1.1.2.4.2.9 Concessive clauses Concessive clauses are rare. The most commonly used adverbial concessive clauses are introduced by a head nominal such as *eni taym* ‘any time’, *eni ples* ‘any place’ or *eni we* ‘any way’ followed by a relative clause. Such clauses normally occupy the sentence-initial adverbial slot:

- (194) [Eni ples ìm faynd mì] ìm no sì mì.
 [any place 3sP searchF 1oP] 3sP ng see 1oP
 ‘Although (s)he looked for me, (s)he didn’t find me.’

In acrolectal speech such adverbial clause introducers as *ivindô* ‘even though’ are used to introduce adverbial concessive clauses.

1.1.2.4.2.10 Source clauses The most commonly used adverbial source clauses are introduced by the preposition *fròm* ‘from’ followed by an adverbial time or location clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.1 and 1.1.2.4.2.8). There seems to be no clear preference on the part of speakers for either sentence-initial or sentence-final adverbial position in the case of adverbial source clauses:

- (195) [Fròm [dī taym [wē yù kòm]]] yù nēva chop,
 [from [ar time [rcI 2sP comeF]]] 2sP ng+C eat
 ‘Since you came you haven’t eaten.’

Some acrolectal speakers use the adverbial *sins* ‘for a long time since’ as an adverbial clause introducer in source clauses.

1.1.2.4.2.11 Limit clauses Adverbial limit clauses are introduced by the adverbial clause introducer *onli* ‘only’ followed by a time clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.1) or location clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.8) construction. Limit clauses are optionally preceded by the focalizer *nà* and normally occur as focused (fronted) sentence-initial constituents:

- (196) (Nà) [onli [dī taym [wē yù kòm]]] dēm chop nyam.
 (EI) [only [ar time [rcI 2sP comeF]]] 6sP eatF yam
 ‘Only when you came did they eat yam.’

1.1.2.4.3

Nonfinite adverbial clauses

As explained in 1.1.2.2.6, no truly nonfinite forms exist in Nigerian Pidgin. An example of a focused clause serving as an adverbial clause may be found in 1.1.2.4.2.11. Multifunctionally reduplicated ideophones, which play an adverbial role in most sentences (see 1.16.7 and 2.2.4.2) could conceivably be considered to be derived from cognate object constructions (see 1.2.1.2.2). Thus, the ideophonic form *wàkawaka* ‘peripatetically’ could be a nonfinite version of:

- (197) Im wàka wàka.
 3sP walkvF walk(ing)n
 ‘(S)he walked about.’

1.1.2.5

Sequence of tense/aspect/modality

In narrative texts as well as in many other communication situations, all events recounted by the speaker are assumed by default to be in the irrealis modality. For this reason, the realis modality auxiliary *kom* and other markers of realis modality such as the phrase-final particle *ò* are frequently used to stress that what is being said is an objective fact rather than a subjective interpretation (see 2.1.3.4.8–9).

The only other tense/aspect/modality parameters or constraints in Nigerian Pidgin are (a) the ‘factive’ interpretation of unmarked verb forms according to lexical stativity (see 2.1.3) and (b) the co-occurrence of tense and modality markers in conditional constructions (see 1.1.2.4.2.5).

1.1.2.6

Complex subordinate clauses

Any combination of embedded noun clauses, relative clauses and/or adverbial clauses is possible:

- (198) a. Yù sàbi [se à drayv mòto] [se à get m̀òni].
 2sP knowF [ncI 1sP driveF car] [ncI 1sP haveF money]
 ‘You know that I drive a car and that I’m wealthy.’
- (198) b. Im t̀ok [se [f̀òr d̀i de [w_ yù sho mì d̀i ples
 3sP sayF [ncI [avcI ar day [rcI 2sP showF 1oP ar place
 [w_ im w_òk]] [w_ no gud]]] im go tawn].
 [rcI 3sP workF]] [rcI ng be goodF]]] 3sP goF town]
 ‘(S)he told me that when you showed me the place where (s)he
 works that’s no good (s)he went to town.’

Other examples of complex subordinate clauses may be found under 1.1.2.2.2, 1.1.2.3.6–7 and 1.1.2.4.2.1–11.

1.2 STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1.2.1 Internal sentence structure

1.2.1.1 *Copular sentences*

In Nigerian Pidgin the semantic space normally covered by copulas is divided roughly into two parts, each of which is codified by one of two basic copular verbs: the copular identity verb *bì* and the copular location/existence verb *de*. The copular function is always overtly marked: there is no ‘zero copula’. Copular verbs have all of the properties that characterize other verbs in the language and there is very little motivation for treating them as a special class (see 2.1.3). The focus introducer *nà* also has some copular features which will be described in this section. In different lects of Nigerian Pidgin, there are slight variations in the areas of overlap in function and meaning among *bì*, *de* and *nà*. The following remarks outline the general contours of the patterns of utilization of copular elements that typify mesolectal speech.

1.2.1.1.1 Copular sentences with nominal complement

The identity verb *bì* is the most commonly used copular element in copular sentences with nominal complements:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (199) | A <i>bì</i> man.
3sP cvF man
‘I am a man.’ | *A <i>nà</i> man. | *A <i>de</i> man. |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|

As is the case with all copular verbs, there are no special circumstances where *bì* may optionally not be used, and *bì* takes any of the arguments, negators, auxiliaries, etc. available to all verbs in Nigerian Pidgin, in the usual order. There is no reason to consider a nominal complement of *bì* to be anything other than the setential object of *bì*. Predicate nouns bear no special marking, except for that appropriate to object nominals. Object pronouns normally replace nominal complements of *bì*:

- | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (200) | <p>Wì <i>bì</i> dī pipul wē chop.
 4sP cvF ar people rcI eatF
 ‘We are the people who ate.’
 *Wì <i>de</i> dī pipul wē chop.
 *Wì <i>nà</i> dī pipul wē chop.</p> |
| (201) | <p>Dì pipul wē chop <i>bì</i> os.
 ar people rcI eatF cv 4oP
 ‘We are the people who ate.’
 *Dì pipul wē chop <i>bì</i> wì.</p> |

- (202) Im bì wuman, ì no bì -am ?
 3sP cvF woman 3sD ng cvF -3oP Qù
 ‘She is a woman, isn’t that so?’

Truncated nominals consisting of such items as quantifiers, modifier nouns or demonstratives may also function as predicates (objects) of *bì* when their excluded constituents are included in the subject nominal:

- (203) A get tre smòl pìkín.
 1sP haveF three small/mn child
 ‘I have three small children.’
- (204) Mà pìkín bì tre.
 lps child cvF three
 ‘My children are three (in number).’
- (205) Mà pìkín bì dat.
 lps child cvF that
 ‘My children are those (ones).’

Where a truncated nominal copular predicate is headed by a modifier noun derived from a stative verb (such as *smòl* in example (203)) it may function either as the object of the copular identity verb *bì* or as the object of the copular location/existence verb *de*. When this type of deverbal modifier noun occurs as the object of *bì*, it usually denotes an inherent or relatively permanent quality possessed by the referent of the sentential subject. When it is the object of *de*, a deverbal modifier noun normally refers to an ephemeral or relatively temporary quality possessed by the subject:

- (206) Mà pìkín bì smòl.
 lps child cvF small/mn
 ‘My children are small (in build or in number).’
- (207) Mà pìkín de smòl.
 lps child cvF small/mn
 ‘My children are small (in age).’

Bì may also take nominal clause predicates (or objects, see 1.1.2.2.2):

- (208) Dì wàhala bì [se à no get m̀òni].
 ar trouble cvF [ncI 1sP ng haveF money]
 ‘The trouble is that I don’t have money.’

1.2.1.1.2

Copular sentences with adjectival complement

Because the category ‘adjective’ does not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4), there are no adjectival complements *per se*. What are normally considered to be adjectival complements in other languages are

best classified as stative verbs, which may occasionally be nominalized and employed in truncated nominal predicates (objects), as described in 1.2.1.1.1.

1.2.1.1.3

Copular sentences with adverbial complement

While nominal complements usually function as the objects of the copular identity verb *bì* (see 1.2.1.1.1) adverbial complements which are not introduced by a preposition normally function as the objects of the copular location/existence verb *de*:

- (209) A de Benin. *A bì Benin. *A nà Benin.
 1sP cvF Benin
 ‘I am in Benin City.’

Just as is the case for *bì*, *de* is used with the same range of arguments, negators, auxiliaries, etc. as is any other verb in Nigerian Pidgin. *De* may take adverbial clauses and object pronouns as objects as well (see 1.1.2.2.2 and 1.1.2.4.2):

- (210) A de [(fòr) dì ples [(wè) dèm de [evri taym]]].
 1sP cvF [(pavcI) ar place [(rcI) 6sP cv [always]]]
 ‘I am in the place where they always are.’

- (211) Dèm bìn de mì fòr bak.
 3sP +P cvF 1oP p back
 ‘They followed me.’

- (212) Dì ples gò fayn: vidyo sèf gò de-am,
 ar place –R be fine video E –R cv-3oP
 ‘The place will be nice: it will even have videos.’

As explained in 1.2.1.1.1, *de* may take a deverbal modifier noun as a truncated nominal object to express a relatively temporary or ephemeral quality possessed by the subject of the sentence:

- (213) Dì ples gò de fayn.
 ar place –R cv fine/mn
 ‘The place will be done up nicely.’

Deverbal nominals may also occur as nontruncated nominal objects of *de*:

- (214) Fòr vilèj naw, à de fam, a de fish,
 p village T 1sP cvF farm/n 1sP cvF fish/n
 ‘While I am in my village, I farm and I fish.’

From the previous examples, some of the more significant motivating factors for the use of the form *dè* (bearing a low tone) as the incomplete auxiliary become apparent. A more exact reading of (214) would be: ‘While

I am in my village, I am located in (or existing in) the state of farming and in the state of fishing.’ The semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological distance between (214) and the *dè* auxiliary version in (215) is quite small:

- (215) Fòr vilēj naw, à dè fam, a dè fish,
p village T 1sP –C farm/v 1sP –C fish/v
‘While I am in my village, I farm and I fish.’

A more exact reading of (215) would be ‘While I am in my village, I often farm and I often fish.’ In a few cases, *de* and *dè* may be found in the same verb phrase:

- (216) Im jost dè de làyk dat.
3sP just –C cv cx that
‘(S)he is just like that’ OR ‘That is just the way that (s)he is (and nothing can be done about it).’

Existence, in the most abstract sense of the word, is expressed by the use of *de* without an object:

- (217) A: Haw yù de?
how? 2sP cvF
B: A de. Yù nkò?
1sP cvF 2sP TQf
A: A de làyk à no de.
1sP cvF cxavcl 1sP ng cvF
A: ‘How are you?’
B: ‘I’m existing (beyond that, forget it!) And you?’
A: ‘I’m existing as if I were not even existing!’

1.2.1.1.4–5

Copular sentences without overt copula

As explained in 1.2.1.1.1–3, there are no copular sentences in Nigerian Pidgin which do not have an overt copular element.

1.2.1.1.6

Other copular elements and functions

The emphatic introducer nà. Any focused constituent or phrase may be introduced by *nà* (see 1.11):

- (218) Nà nyam (wē à chop).
EI yam (rcI 1sP eatF)
‘It is yam (that I ate).’

Nà cannot take any of the auxiliaries, negators or nonemphatic pronouns that normally occur with verbs in Nigerian Pidgin. The copular extension *làyk* may not be used after *nà*, but *nà* must always be followed by a

1.2.1.1.6.3 Copular elements used to express role*Bì* copular identity verb:

- (226) Im bì ticha.
 3sP cvF teacher
 ‘(S)he is a teacher.’

Nà emphatic introducer:

- (227) Im nà ticha.
 3sP EI teacher
 ‘(S)he is a teacher.’

1.2.1.1.6.4 Copular elements used to express relationship*Bì* copular identity verb:

- (228) Yù bì mà broda.
 2sP cvF lps brother
 ‘You are my brother.’

Nà emphatic introducer:

- (229) Dì man nà mà broda,
 ar man EI lps brother
 ‘The man is my brother.’

1.2.1.1.6.5 Copular elements used to express becoming*Kom* realis modality auxiliary + stative verb:

- (230) Dì làpa kom red.
 ar cloth +R be red
 ‘The cloth became red.’

Bikôm ‘become’:

- (231) A dòn bìkôm yò broda.
 1sP +C become 2ps brother
 ‘I have become your brother.’

1.2.1.1.6.6 Copular elements expressing existence in space*De* copular location/existence verb:

- (232) A de haws.
 1sP cvF house
 ‘I am at home.’

Ste ‘remain’:

- (233) A ste haws.
 1sP remainF house
 ‘I remain at the house.’

Rich ‘arrive’:

- (234) A don rich (haws).
 1sP +C arrive (house)
 ‘I have arrived (at the house).’

1.2.1.1.6.7 Copular elements expressing existence in time

(*S*)te ‘last (a long time)’:

- (235) I don (s)te.
 3sD +C last
 ‘It has been a long time.’

Get ‘have’ (impersonal usage, see 1.2.1.2.1):

- (236) I get won taym we ùnà tif mà nyam.
 3sD have one time rcI 5sP stealF 1sP yam
 ‘There was a time when you stole my yams.’

Rich ‘arrive’:

- (237) Dì taym neva rich.
 ar time ng+C arrive
 ‘It is not yet the time (for...).’

1.2.1.1.6.8 Copular elements expressing quantity

Get ‘have’ (impersonal usage, see 1.2.1.2.1.4):

- (238) I get won nyam we ùnà tif.
 3sD have one yam rcI 5sP stealF
 ‘There is one yam that you stole.’

Rich ‘arrive’:

- (239) I rich ten nyam we ùnà tif.
 3sD arrive ten yam rcI 5sP stealF
 ‘The number of yams that you stole reached ten.’

Plenti ‘be plenty’:

- (240) Mà pìkín kòm plenti.
 lps child +R be plenty
 ‘My children became numerous.’

Tumôch ‘be too much/very much’:

- (241) Yò wàhala dòn tumôch.
 2sP trouble +C be too much
 ‘Your troubles have grown very big.’

Smol ‘be little (in quantity)’:

- (242) Mà mòni gò smol.
 1sP money –R be small
 ‘My money will be little.’

1.2.1.1.6.9 Copular elements expressing resemblance

Làyk ‘like’ (copular extension, [bì + làyk], [de + làyk]):

- (243) Dì gàri de làyk sànsan.
 ar gari cvF cx sand
 ‘The gari looks like sand.’
- (244) Dì gàri bì làyk sànsan.
 ar gari cvF cx sand
 ‘The gari is like sand.’ OR ‘Gari is very plentiful.’

1.2.1.2 Verbal sentences

1.2.1.2.1 Subjects

There are no conditions under which verbs obligatorily occur without an overtly marked subject. Subject markers may optionally be omitted before noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3 and 1.8), before verbs whose subject has recently been mentioned in a previous clause or sentence, or before verbs in a special second-person imperative form (see 1.1.1.3.1):

- (245) Yù go fam (yù) go plant nyam (yù) kòm rìtôn.
 2sP goF+ farm (2sP) go+ plant+ yam (2sP) come+ return+
 ‘You went to the farm, planted yams and returned.’
- (246) Dì wuman bit yù kòm kray.
 ar woman beatF 2s/oP +R cry

6sP beatF ar man
 ‘The man was beaten.’

1.2.1.2.2

Objects

All verbs (including copular verbs, stative verbs and verbs of motion) may potentially take objects. For this reason, the transitive/intransitive distinction is useful in the description and analysis of Nigerian Pidgin verbs only to the extent that it serves to define the idealized endpoints of a continuum along which different verbal forms fall, rather than a criterion for dividing verbs into distinct classes. The following represent the range of possibilities:

Objects of copular verbs, stative verbs and verbs of motion. Many of the same arguments put forward for the objecthood of predicates following copular verbs and stative verbs in 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.1.2.2.2 apply as well to the objecthood of nonprepositional phrases and clauses following verbs of motion. There is no justification for setting up an *ad hoc* category to handle such constituents, which exhibit most of the features that characterize other types of objects in the language (see 2.1.1.2.4):

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| (254) | Dèm si Oyo.
3sP seeF Oyo.
‘They saw Oyo.’ | Dèm de Oyo.
3sP cvF Oyo.
‘They are in Oyo.’ | Dèm go Oyo.
3sP goF Oyo.
‘They went to Oyo.’ |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|

Verbs of motion share with the preposition *fòr* and the copular location/existence verb *de* (in most of their occurrences) a restriction against the selection of animate objects:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (255) | A si Jòn.
1sP seeF John
‘I saw John.’ | *A de (fòr) Jon. | *A go (fòr) Jon. |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|

- | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (256) | A go dì ples wẹ Jòn ìm de.
1sP goF ar place rcI John 3sP cvF
‘I went to the place where John is.’ |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Verbs which usually take objects. Some verbs, such as *get* ‘have’, *bit* ‘beat’ and *giv* ‘give’, usually take objects. In most cases where these verbs occur without an object it is because the object has just been mentioned in the discourse, and is not repeated:

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (257) | Bit dì boy! Bit!
beatSJ ar boy beatSJ
‘Beat the boy! Beat (him)!’ |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Verbs which may or may not take objects. Verbs like *chop* ‘eat’ and *had* ‘be difficult’ sometimes take an object and sometimes do not:

- | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| (258) | Wì gò chop. Wì gò chop nyam.
4sP –R eat 4sP –R eat yam |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|

‘We will eat. We will eat yams.’

- (259) Dì wòk gò had. Dì wòk gò had yù.
 ar work –R be hard ar work –R be hard 2oP
 ‘The work will be difficult. The work will be difficult for you to do.’

Verbs that usually occur with particular objects. Some verbs normally select particular items as objects. The verb *swim* ‘swim’, for example, often takes *wòta* ‘water’ as its object:

- (260) Dì pìkîn no sàbi swim,
 ar child ng knowF swim
 ‘The child does not know how to swim.’
 Dì pìkîn no sàbi swim wòta.
 ar child ng knowF swim water

Cognate objects. Most verbs may take deverbal objects derived from themselves. Because such objects are morphosyntactically almost identical to what are called ‘cognate objects’ in many West African languages, this term will be used to designate them here:

- (261) Dì pìkîn no sàbi swim swim,
 ar child ng knowF swim swim/n
 ‘The child does not know how to swim.’

Verbs which may only take cognate objects. A few verbs rarely occur with any type of object other than a cognate object. These verbs include such items as *slip* ‘sleep’ and *day* ‘die’:

- (262) A slip bèta slip.
 1sP sleepF very good/mn sleep/n
 ‘I slept very well.’

1.2.1.2.2.1 Semantic function of objects As shown in the preceding section, objects may be employed to express a wide range of semantic functions including destinations of verbs of motion, copular definition, identification and location, agent, patient, experiencer, etc. There are, however, many more possible semantic functions that can be expressed by objects, most of which are described in 2.1.1.2–5. A few are listed here:

- (263) *source/circumstance*
 Im gò sik màlerya.
 3sP –R be sick malaria
 ‘(S)he will fall ill with malaria.’
- (264) *location/means*
 Mà màma dè sèl maket.
 1ps mother –C sell market ‘My mother sells (things) in the market.’

1.2.1.2.3

Indirect objects and double object constructions

There is no clearly distinguishable class of indirect objects in Nigerian Pidgin, although a few verbs such as *giv* 'give' and *send* 'send' often occur with more than one object:

- (265) Im *send* mì *somting*.
 3sP sendF 1oP something
 '(S)he sent me to do something.' OR '(S)he sent something to me.'

The two possible interpretations of this example illustrate the inappropriateness of the distinction direct object/indirect object to the meaningful analysis of verbal sentences in Nigerian Pidgin. Serialized verb constructions (see 1.3) and prepositional constructions are much more frequently utilized than are multiple object constructions to increase the valence of verbs. Any confusion due to the ambiguity of this sentence could be easily eliminated by the use of serialized verbs:

- (266) Im *send* mì (mek à) du *somting*.
 3sP sendF+ 1oP (SJcI 1sP) do+ something
 '(S)he sent me to do something.'

- (267) Im *tek somting send* mì.
 3sP takeFV+ something send+ 1oP
 '(S)he gave something to me.'

The direct object/indirect object dichotomy becomes even less useful when cognate objects, objects of copular verbs or verbs of motion and some of the other object forms listed in 1.2.1.2.2.1 are taken into consideration.

1.2.1.2.4

Other possible arguments

A wide variety of adverbial modifiers may be used both preceding and following verbs. Some of these could be considered to be arguments, especially such constructions as the acrolectal prepositional benefactive phrase headed by *fòr*:

- (268) @A *giv* dì man *nyam fòr* yù.
 1sP giveF ar man yam p 2oP
 'I gave the man yams for you.'

Adverbial modifiers are treated in greater detail in 1.2.1.3. In most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, no other verbal arguments than those listed thus far in this section may occur. In basilectal speech, the third-person object pronoun *-am* is often used even when the entity to which it refers is otherwise overtly marked:

- (269) #*Dem kòm kawnt-am mèn*i.
 6sP +R count-3oP money
 'They counted money.'

Coalesced pronouns in serialized verb constructions could conceivably be classified as a distinct type of argument, but this does not seem to be necessary (see 1.2.1.2.1).

1.2.1.2.5–6.

Combinations and order of arguments

All verbs must have subjects (except for the few exceptional cases listed in 1.2.1.2.1) and can optionally take an object. A few verbs can take two objects. The basic order of arguments in sentences is as follows:

Order of verbal arguments

SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT 1) + (OBJECT 2)

When two objects follow a verb, an animate object will precede an inanimate object. If both objects are animate or inanimate, the recipient object precedes the patient object and all objects will precede other postverbal elements, except for postverbal auxiliaries (see 1.2.5.5) and adverbials that sometimes fill the postverbal auxiliary slot (see 1.2.1.3.1.1). Processes such as topicalization (see 1.12) and relativization (see 1.1.2.3.7) often involve the movement of arguments from their normal positions to sentence- or clause-initial position. Any verbal argument may undergo this type of movement.

- (270) A giv dì man nyam.
 1sP giveF ar man yam
 ‘I gave the man yams.’
- (271) A go chuk yù nayf.
 1sP –R stab 2oP knife
 ‘I will stab you with a knife.’
- (272) Im kòl mà sista yeyē.
 3sP callF 1ps sister stupid
 ‘(S)he called my sister stupid.’

1.2.1.3

Adverbials and ideophones

1.2.1.3.1

Types of adverbials and ideophones

There are five types of adverbials and ideophones: (a) preverbal adverbs/ideophones; (b) sentential adverbs/ideophones; (c) prepositional phrases; (d) noun phrases; and (e) adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are extensively treated in 1.1.2.4. The category ‘ideophone’ is an open class of sound-symbolic, often reduplicated forms that serve to intensify the meaning or augment the force of the event described in the clause or sentence in which they occur. A more complete discussion of ideophones may be found in section 4.1.

1.2.1.3.1.1 Adverbs and ideophones Adverbs and ideophones can be divided into two classes, depending on their position and function in the sentence: (a) preverbal adverbs and ideophones and (b)

sentential adverbs and ideophones. Preverbal adverbs and ideophones often modify the tense/ aspect/ modality properties of the verbs that they precede and constitute a small, relatively closed class. Sentential adverbs and ideophones occur clause-or sentence-finally and modify the entire clause or sentence to which they belong. Sentential adverbs and ideophones constitute a large, relatively open class. Preverbal adverbs include *tu* ‘very, too much’, *jost* ‘just’ and *stil* ‘still’ while preverbal ideophones include *kokoro* and *kuku*:

- (273) Yù tu tòk.
 2sP too much talk
 ‘You talk too much.’
- (274) A kuku kari dī pìkín go.
 1sP ip takeFV+ ar child go+
 ‘I did nothing less than take the child away.’

The class of sentential adverbs consists of such items as *tù* ‘also’, *ègên* ‘again’ and *sins* ‘long since’. Lexical items such as *tùmore* ‘tomorrow’ and *hyar* ‘here’ behave much more like nouns than adverbs in Nigerian Pidgin and will be treated as nouns in this work. Sentential ideophones form a productive class which includes some items used with a restricted set of verbs such as (*slap*) ...zàwây and others which may be used with any verb like *kpàtàkpata*:

- (275) Dēm chop gari tù.
 6sP eatF gari also
 ‘They ate gari also.’
- (276) Im slap mì zàwây.
 3sP slapF 1oP ip
 ‘(S)he slapped me sharply.’

Sentential adverbs and ideophones may at times be used to modify the tense/aspect/modality properties of the verb that they follow. In such cases, they may occupy the postverbal auxiliary slot (see 1.2.5.5):

- (277) Im slip sins.
 3sP sleepF long since
 ‘(S)he has been sleeping for a long time.’
- (278) Dì man kòm kres kpàtàkpata.
 ar man +P be mad ip
 ‘The man went completely crazy.’

In acrolectal speech, there is a tendency to use [verb + particle] constructions such as *go bak* ‘go back’ or *faynd awt* ‘find out’.

1.2.1.3.1.2 Prepositional phrases There is one general preposition *fòr* in Nigerian Pidgin which can be used to express a wide range of spatial, temporal, role and other relationships (see 2.1.1.2–7):

- (279) A de fòr haws.

1sP cvF p house

CAN MEAN: 'I am at/on/in/in front of/etc....the house.'

(280) A go fòr fam.

1sP goF p farm

CAN MEAN: 'I went to/toward/near/on account of/etc....the farm.'

In order to further specify a spatial or directional relationship *fòr* may be followed by an associative noun phrase construction (see 1.2.5.1.1) in which the possessor noun is a locational noun such as *insây* 'inside' or a body part noun such as *bak* 'back':

(281) A de fòr [insây haws].

1sP cvF p [inside house]

'I am in the house.'

In most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, the prepositions *wit* 'with (accompaniment and instrumental)' and *fròm* 'from' are used to some degree instead of *fòr*. In acrolectal speech, several other prepositions such as *tìl* 'until' and *òf* 'of' may occur as well.

1.2.1.3.1.3 Noun phrase adverbials Noun phrases are very commonly used as adverbials:

(282) A gò du-am [dis nayt].

1sP -R do-3oP [this night]

'I will do it tonight.'

As noted above, items such as *tùdê* 'today' and *dyar* 'there' are nouns and when they are used adverbially they will be considered to be noun phrase adverbials. Compound nouns (see 2.2.6.3) which include such words as *taym* 'time', *ples* 'place' and *sayd* 'place' are often utilized adverbially:

(283) A gò du-am krismastây.

1sP -R do-3oP Christmastime

'I will do it at Christmastime.'

1.2.1.3.1.4 Adverbial clauses As noted in section 1.1.2.4 (which contains an extensive treatment of adverbial clauses), most adverbial clauses consist of an adverbial clause introducer such as the preposition *fòr* followed by a noun clause or relative clause construction:

(284) Ade gò don slip [fòr dì taym wè yù want kòm.]

Ade -R +C sleep [p ar time rcI 2sP wantF+ come+]

'Ade will have gone to sleep by the time that you want to come.'

Noun clauses may also be employed as adverbials:

(285) Fati bit ìm pìkìn [se ìm no dè maynd-am àtòl].

Fati beatF 3ps child [ncI 3sP ng -C mind -3oP ngE]

'Fati beat her child because (s)he never obeys her.'

Nonfinite adverbial clauses do not occur, with the possible exception of the constructions referred to in 1.1.2.4.3.

1.2.1.3–2
Combinations and order of adverbials

There are no grammatical constraints on the possible combinations of adverbial elements in a single sentence. Preverbal adverbs and ideophones occupy the modal verb slot between the subject and the verb (see 1.2.5.5). Sentential adverbs and ideophones follow all object arguments after the verb, except for the instances where they function as auxiliaries, in which case they occupy the postverbal auxiliary slot. The great majority of prepositional phrases, noun phrase adverbials and adverbial clauses occur sentence-finally, but most may optionally occur sentence-initially. A few adverbial clause types (such as conditional clauses) usually occupy sentence-initial position (see 1.1.2.4.2). The general order of adverbial elements is therefore as follows:

<i>Sentence-</i>		<i>Preverbal</i>		<i>Postverbal</i>	<i>Sentence-</i>
<i>initial+</i>	<i>subject+</i>	<i>aux+</i>	<i>verb+</i>	<i>aux+</i>	<i>final</i>
(S av)		prev av		(S av)	S av
(S ip)		prev ip		(S ip)	S ip
(p phrase)					p phrase
(n phrase)					n phrase
avc					avc

In a single sentence the preverbal and postverbal slots are normally occupied by one adverbial at a time. The sentence-initial and especially the sentence-final slots may contain any number or combination of adverbial elements:

- (286) If yù go yù gò jòst rɔn smɔl kpri dyar fòr rod.
avcl 2sP go 2sP –R just run a bit ip there p road
[avc] av av ip nc [p phrase]
‘If you go, you’ll just run a bit there on the way.’

1.2.1.3.3
Obligatory adverbials

Since copulas and verbs of motion can take objects (see 1.2.1.2.2) there are no verbs which must be followed by an adverbial complement. Some constructions, such as the conditional construction (see 1.1.2.4.2.5) do require an adverbial clause, although in many such cases a noun clause may function as an adverbial clause.

1.2.2 Adjective phrases

As shown in 2.1.4, there is no category ‘adjective’ in Nigerian Pidgin. Most of the items which convey the same meanings as do adjectives in other languages are stative verbs in Nigerian Pidgin. Stative verbs take the same arguments and modifiers in the same combinations and the same order as do other verbs (see 1.2.1.2.1–3 and 1.2.3). In acrolectal varieties, there is some attested use of adjectives, beginning with fixed expressions such as *men rod* ‘main road’ or *left hand* ‘left hand’ and then extending to other environments.

1.2.3 Adverbial phrases

1.2.3.1 *Operational definition*

The only operational definition that applies to all adverbial phrases specifies their position in the sentence: adverbial phrases occupy the sentence-final and, to a lesser extent, sentence-initial adverbial slots (see 1.2.5.5).

1.2.3.2 *Adverbials which can modify other adverbials*

It could be very plausibly argued that no adverbial may modify another adverbial. There are, however, some cases which could be interpreted as adverbial modification of another adverbial and these will be described here.

1.2.3.2.1 Adverbs and ideophones

Adverbs are not used to modify other adverbials or ideophones. Although ideophones may not modify adverbials, they may occur in series, in which case it is difficult to determine whether one ideophone is modifying another ideophone or whether each individual ideophone separately modifies the verb:

- (287) Mà ay don klyar fyayfyây fyam.
 lps eye +C clear ipR ip
 ‘My eyes cleared suddenly and completely.’ OR ‘I finally saw my error.’

The most commonly employed means for modifying adverbials and ideophones is reduplication. Reduplication can signal intensity, multiplicity, duration, plurality and many other related meanings, as shown in the preceding and following examples (see 2.1.7):

- (288) Dì pìkîn ron kwikkwîk go tawn.
 ar child runF+ quicklyR go+ town
 ‘The child ran quickly to town.’

The adverb *tù* ‘also’ sometimes serves to modify adverbials in acrolectal speech.

1.2.3.2.2

Prepositional phrases

Some prepositional phrases could be analysed as modifiers of adverbials. In such cases, any type of adverbial, with the exception of a preverbal adverb is subject to modification. Ideophones may not be modified by prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases always follow the adverbials that they modify. It should be noted that in all of the following examples the prepositional phrases could be interpreted as modifying the verb directly, rather than indirectly via the preceding adverbial:

- (289) *sentential adverb modified*
 A gò du-am kwikkwík fòr màshîn.
 1sP –R do-3oP quicklyR p machine
 ‘I will do it quickly with the machine.’
- (290) *noun phrase modified*
 A gò du-am wòn de fòr aftanûn.
 1sP –R do-3oP one day p afternoon
 ‘I will do it one day in the afternoon.’
- (291) *prepositional phrase modified?*
 A gò put-am fòr wòn boks fòr dî mòto.
 1sP –R put-3oP p one box p ar car
 ‘I will put it in a box in the car.’
- (292) *adverbial clause modified*
 A gò put-am fòr wòn boks wè spoyl fòr vilèj.
 1sP –R put-3oP p one box rcI spoilF p village
 ‘I will put it in a worn out box in the village.’

1.2.3.2.3

Noun phrases

Adverbials and ideophones are not normally modified by noun phrase adverbials.

1.2.3.2.4

Adverbial clauses

Any type of adverbial except for a preverbal adverb may be modified by adverbial clauses. Ideophones may not be modified in this way. Adverbial clauses follow the adverbials that they modify. Once again, it should be noted that in all of the following examples the adverbial clauses could be interpreted as modifying the verb directly, rather than indirectly via the preceding adverbial:

- (293) *adverbial clause modified*

A gò du-am kwikkwík (*fòr*) dì we yù sho mì.
 1sP –R do-3oP quicklyR (p) ar way 2sP showF 1oP
 ‘I will do it quickly in the way you showed me.’

(294) *noun phrase modified*

A gò du-am wòn de (*fòr*) dì taym dèm gò don chop.
 1sP –R do-3oP one day (p) ar time 6sP –R +C eat
 ‘I will do it one day after they have eaten.’

(295) *prepositional phrase modified*

A gò du-am *fòr* nayt (*fòr*) dì taym dèm gò don chop.
 1sP –R do-3oP p night (p) ar time 6sP –R +C eat
 ‘I will do it at night after they have eaten.’

(296) *adverbial clause modified*

A gò du-am haw yù layk (*fòr*) dì we yù sho mì.
 1sP –R do-3oP how? 2sP likeF (p) ar way 2sP showF 1oP
 ‘I will do as you please in the way you showed me.’

As noted in 1.1.2.4.3, nonfinite adverbial clauses do not occur in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.2.3.3–4

Order and restrictions

Modifying adverbials always directly follow the adverbials that they modify. There is no single adverbial or adverbial class that is restricted to modifying a particular adverbial type.

1.2.4.

Prepositional phrases

1.2.4.1

Operational definition

Prepositional phrases consist obligatorily of preposition followed immediately by its noun phrase object. No element may be inserted between a preposition and its object. Prepositional phrases may occupy either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final adverbial slots (see 1.2.5.5). As stated in 1.2.1.3.1.2, there is one general preposition *fòr* in all lects and a few other items which may be used prepositionally in particular lects of Nigerian Pidgin.

1.2.4.2

Arguments of prepositions

1.2.4.2.1–4

Prepositions and their arguments

The only possible argument that can be taken by a preposition is a single noun phrase object. This object is obligatorily present in every case. Noun phrases are the only constituents which can serve as prepositional objects. Multiple objects do not occur, although conjoined noun phrase objects are attested. When the object of a preposition is focused and moved to sentence-initial position, a pronoun object must remain in its original position following the preposition:

- (297) A p̄or ti f̄or k̄op. Nà d̄i k̄op w̄e à p̄or ti f̄or-am.
 1sP pourF tea p cup EI rcI p -3oP
 ‘I poured tea into the cup. It is the cup that I poured tea into.’

1.2.4.3

Prepositional modifiers

1.2.4.3.1–5

Modification of prepositions

The sole means available for the modification of prepositions is the incorporation of a prepositional phrase into an adverbial clause headed by such adverbial clause introducers as *onli* ‘only’. This type of clause is usually relatively restricted in its distribution. *Onli* clauses, for example, may only occur in focalization constructions (see 1.1.2.4.2.11):

- (298) Nà [onli [f̄or nayt] w̄e à d̄e ch̄op].
 EI [only [p night] rcI 1sP –C eat]
 ‘It is only at night that I eat.’

1.2.4.4

Prepositions and case government

The general preposition can govern literally dozens of different case-type relations, a full inventory of which may be found in sections 2.1.1.2–7. To a certain extent, the case relations expressed through prepositions are determined by the semantics of the verbs that they occur with:

- (299) A ḡò mek -am f̄or yù.
 1sP –R make-3oP p 2oP
 ‘I will make it for you’ (benefactive).
 (300) A ḡò giv -am f̄or yù.
 1sP –R give-3oP p 2oP
 ‘I will give it to you’ (dative).

A much stronger factor in the determination of case relations encoded in prepositions is the nature of the prepositional objects themselves:

- (301) A gò bit yu f_{or} mà mama.
1sP –R beat 2oP p lps mother
'I will beat you for my mother.' (benefactive)
- (302) A gò bit yù f_{or} haws.
1sP –R beat 2oP p house
'I will beat you at the house.' (locative)
- (303) A gò bit yù f_{or} ken.
1sP –R beat 2oP p cane
'I will beat you with a cane.' (instrumental)
- (304) A gò bit yù f_{or} nyash.
1sP –R beat 2oP p buttocks
'I will beat your buttocks.' (accusative)
- (305) A gò bit yù f_{or} nayt.
1sP –R beat 2oP p night
'I will beat you at night.' (temporal)

1.2.5 Noun phrases

1.2.5.1 *Operational definition*

Noun phrases are headed by nouns or pronouns. Noun phrases can play a number of roles in the sentence and therefore may occupy a number of different syntactic slots, depending on their function (see 1.2.5.5). Subject noun phrases occupy the subject slot preceding the verb, while noun phrases which are verbal objects occupy the object slot following the verb. Noun phrases which function as adverbials may fill either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final adverbial slot, while prepositional object noun phrases fill the object slot following the preposition. The noun phrase constitutes a cohesive unit which is normally moved as an integral whole:

- (306) Dis ɔl yò ɔda frɛnd dɛm dɔn go.
this all 2ps other friend pl +C go
'All of these your other friends have gone.'
- (307) Nà [dis ɔl yò ɔda frɛnd dɛm] wɛ dɔn go.
EI [this all 2ps other friend pl] rcI +C go
'It's all of these your other friends who have gone.'
*Nà frɛnd wɛ dis ɔl yò ɔda dɛm dɔn go.

*Nà dis w ɔl yò ɔda frɛnd dɛm dɔn go. (for goal only)

*Nà dɛm wɛ dis ɔl yò ɔda frɛnd dɔn go.

*Nà ɔl dis yò ɔda dɛm wɛ frɛnd dɔn go.

Within the noun phrase, word order is strictly adhered to, with little or no possibility of alternative ordering.

1.2.5.1.1

Associative/possessive noun phrase constructions

A special associative/possessive noun phrase construction consisting of two nouns, the first of whose referent modifies or possesses the referent of the second, occurs with a very high frequency and plays a pivotal role in signalling many important semantic relations in Nigerian Pidgin. The term ‘associative’ is commonly used among Africanists to refer to this type of construction, while the terms ‘genitive’ or ‘possessive’ are commonly used by other linguists to refer to similar constructions in non-African languages. For the sake of clarity, the slightly cumbersome term ‘associative/possessive construction’ will be used in this work:

- (308) A si [[Akpan] [buk]].
1sP seeF [[Akpan] [book]]
‘I saw Akpan’s book.’
- (309) A folo [[bush] [rod]].
1sP followF [[bush] [road]]
‘I went down a bush road.’
- (310) Im de (fɔ̀r) [[Legos] [layf]].
3sP cvF (p) [[Lagos] [life]]
‘(S)he is into the Lagos lifestyle.’
- (311) A no get [[red] [klot]].
1sP ng haveF [[red/n] [cloth]]
‘I have no red clothes.’
- (312) Dɛm go (fɔ̀r) [[insâyɔ] [haws]].
6sP goF (p) [[inside] [house]]
‘They went inside the house.’

When a possessive relation is expressed by an associative/possessive construction, a possessive pronoun may replace the possessor/modifier noun (see 2.1.2.1.10 for a listing of all of the possessive pronouns and 2.1.2.4.1–11):

- (313) A si [[yò] [buk]].
1sP seeF [[2ps] [book]]
‘I saw your book.’

When the speaker wishes to specify or emphasize the referent of the possessive pronoun, a noun or emphatic pronoun corresponding to the referent of the possessive pronoun may be placed at the beginning of the associative/ possessive construction:

- (314) A si [[yu] [[yò] [buk]]].
 1sP seeF [[2EP] [[2ps] [book]]]
 ‘I saw your book.’
- (315) A si [[Akpan] [[im] [buk]]].
 1sP seeF [[Akpan] [[3ps] [book]]]
 ‘I saw Akpan’s book.’

Complex associative/possessive constructions are not uncommon:

- (316) A de (fòr) [[insây] [[bush] [haws]]].
 1sP cvF (p) [[inside] [[bush] [house]]]
 ‘I am inside the bush house.’

A special associative/possessive object pronoun *on* ‘...own’ occurs in associative/possessive constructions where the modified or possessed noun is not specifically mentioned:

- (317) Làpa ? A dòn fògêr mà on.
 wrapper Qù 1sP +C forget lps po
 ‘Wrapper?’ ‘I forgot mine.’ OR ‘I forgot my own.’
- (318) Làpa ? A gèt Nàjirya on.
 wrapper Qù 1sP haveF Nigeria po
 ‘Wrapper?’ ‘I have an authentic Nigerian one.’

1.2.5.2 Modifiers

1.2.5.2.1 Adjectives

The category ‘adjective’ does not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4). Deverbal nouns derived from stative verbs (see 1.2.1.1.1) may be used in associative/possessive constructions in a way that resembles the use of attributive adjectives in other languages (see 1.2.5.1.1 for other examples):

- (319) had ‘*be difficult*’ *stative verb*
 Bìfò yù gò du-am, di wòk gò dòn had yù finish,
 before 2sP –R do-3oP ar work –R +C be hard 2oP +C
 ‘Before you do it, the work will have become very difficult for you.’
- (320) had ‘*difficulty*’ *deverbal noun*

Dì had wè dì wòk gò had ba, ì no gò smòl.

ar hard/n rcl ar work –R be hard T 3sD ng –R be small

‘The work will be very hard.’ OR ‘The difficulty with which the work will be difficult will not be small.’

(321) had *deverbal noun used in associative construction*

Dat pìkîn no sàbi [[had] [wok]],

that child ng knowF [[hard/n] [work]]

‘That child doesn’t know (what) hard work (is).’

1.2.5.2.2

Relative clauses

Only nouns and emphatic pronouns may be modified by relative clauses, as described in 1.1.2.3.

1.2.5.2.3

Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns may take the place of possessor nouns in possessive constructions (see 1.2.5.1.1). Each personal pronoun has a corresponding possessive pronoun (see 2.1.2.1.10 and 2.1.2.4.1–11):

(322) Mà pìkîn ìm ay dèm dòn rəd finish.

lps child 3ps eye pl +C be red +C

‘My child’s eyes have become completely red.’

As shown in 1.2.5.1.1, the associative/possessive object pronoun *on* may replace the possessed noun in an associative/genitive construction.

1.2.5.2.4

Articles

There is one general definite article *dì* which precedes the noun that it modifies. The numeral *won* ‘one’ is employed as an indefinite article and also precedes the noun that it modifies. *Dì* does not change in form with number or case. *Won* is only used in the singular, *som* taking its place to a certain extent in the plural, especially in acrolectal varieties. Collective and mass nouns such as *hyar* ‘hair’ and *wòta* ‘water’ are rarely used with articles and are anaphorically referred to by third person singular pronouns. When marked for indefiniteness, however, mass nouns and collective nouns take the plural ‘article’ *som* rather than the singular *won* (see 2.1.1.11 and 2.1.1.8):

(323) A tay klot.
1sP tieF cloth
‘I put on the/a cloth.’
A tay wòn klot.
1sP tieF one cloth
‘I put on a cloth.’

A tay dì klot.
1sP tieF ar cloth
‘I put on the cloth.’

- (324) Dì man kòm kil wòn kotingrâs.
 ar man +R kill one grass cutter
 ‘The man killed a grasscutter.’

1.2.5.2.5

Demonstratives

There are two types of demonstratives: demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative nouns. Demonstrative modifiers occupy the noun phrase initial slot, while demonstrative nouns fill the associative/possessive noun modifier slot which immediately precedes the head slot (see 1.2.5.5). The most commonly encountered demonstrative modifiers are the proximal *dis* ‘this’ and the distal *dat* ‘that’, which are used in both the singular and plural, although such forms as *diz* ‘these’ and *doz* ‘those’ are heard in acrolectal speech:

- (325) Dat pìkìn no get sens,
 that child ng haveF sense
 ‘That child is stupid.’ OR ‘Those children are stupid.’

Demonstrative nouns include *oda* ‘other’ and *sem* ‘same’. The special combined demonstrative article + noun form *ànoda* ‘another’ occupies the demonstrative modifier slot:

- (326) Dì fayv òda man dèm kil ànoda fayv kotingrâs.
 ar five other man pl killF another five grasscutter
 ‘The other five men killed another five grasscutters.’

1.2.5.2.6

Quantifiers

All quantifiers except for the pluralizer *dèm* precede the nouns that they modify. *Dèm* immediately follows the head noun (see 1.2.5.5). A full listing of ordinal and cardinal numbers is given in 2.1.6. Related to the ordinal numbers are *last* ‘last’ and *hol* ‘whole’. Other forms included in the class of quantifiers are *som* ‘some’, *ol* ‘all’, *ich* ‘each’, *evri* ‘every’, *eni* ‘any’ and such acrolectal items as *bot* ‘both’:

- (327) Dèm plant ol yò hol fifti nyam dèm.
 6sP plantF all ar whole fifty yam pl
 ‘They planted all of your fifty yams.’

It should be noted that the pluralizer and the sixth-person pronoun are identical in form but occupy different positions in the sentence. Quantification in Nigerian Pidgin is often expressed through the use of such stative verbs as *meni* ‘be many’ or *plenti* ‘be plenty’:

- (328) Dì taym yù gò kòm, nyam gò don plenti nyàfùnyafu.
 ar time 2sP –R come yam –R +C be plenty ipR
 ‘By the time you come, there will be plenty of yams.’

1.2.5.2.7 Adverbials

Adverbials do not regularly modify elements within noun phrases. The limiter adverbial *onli* ‘only’ may be used to modify an entire noun phrase in a focus construction, in which case *onli* immediately precedes or follows the noun phrase (see 1.1.2.4.2.11 and 1.2.4.3.1):

- (329) Nà onli mà pìkín dēm wē go tawn.
EI only lps child pl rcI goF town
‘It is only my children who went to town.’
- (330) Nà mà pìkín dēm onli wē go tawn.
EI lps child pl only rcI goF town
‘It is only my children who went to town.’

1.2.5.2.8 Emphasis markers and topicalizers

Beside the focus introducer *nà* which precedes the head noun, all emphasis and topicalization markers follow the noun or occur at the end of the noun phrase, with emphasis markers preceding topicalizers. Emphasis markers include *sef* and to a certain extent the phrase-final particle *ò* (see 1.11). Commonly used topicalizers are: *ba*, *kwanu*, etc. (see 1.12):

- (331) Dat yò tu pìkín sef no go skul.
that 2ps two child E ng goF school
‘Even (those) your two children didn’t go to school.’
- (332) Dat yò tu pìkín sha no go haws,
that 2ps two child T ng goF house
‘As for (those) your two children, they didn’t go home.’

Where the focus introducer is employed without a preceding noun phrase, the noun phrase that follows must be followed by a relative clause (see 1.1.2.3, 1.2.1.1.6 and 1.11):

- (333) Nà dat yò tu pìkín sha wē no go haws.
EI that 2ps two child T rcI ng goF house
‘It is (those) your two children who didn’t go home.’

1.2.5.2.9 Comparative/superlative/equative structures

Comparative, superlative and equative relations are expressed through the use of serialized verb constructions in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.3 and 1.8).

1.2.5.3–5

Combination and order of elements

Noun phrases may consist of the following elements in the following order:

±A	±B	±C±D	±E	±F
demonstrative	m±quantifier±ar±ordinal±cardinal±associative			
		ps		m/ps/n
+G	±H±I ±J ±K			
+HEAD±pl±E±T±rc				
n/P				

(334) *possible noun phrase elements*

Dis ɔl yò fest fayv [ɔda nyam] dèm sɛf ba [wɛ rɛd] de tawn.

A B C D E [F G] H I J [K] v o

‘As for even all of these your first five other yams which are red, they are in town.’

Nouns and numerals may be reduplicated (see 2.2.6.3).

Several instances of the noun phrase elements listed above may be found within the same noun phrase. There is no limit on the number of nouns which can be incorporated into a complex associative/possessive construction (see 1.2.5.1.1) or on the length of relative clause chains (see 1.1.2.3.7). Up to two cardinal numbers and/or emphatic markers may occur in the same noun phrase:

- (335) A si tu tre pìkín sɛf ò fɔr kɪ̀rɪkiri.
 1sP seeF two three child E fɛ p jail
 ‘I even saw a few children in the jail.’

Apart from the processes just mentioned, no other iterations of noun phrase elements are possible. As shown in the examples above, all possible noun phrase elements may hypothetically occur in the same noun phrase. The only restrictions which prevent the use of particular items from one category with particular items from another category are semantic rather than morphosyntactic.

Prepositional phrases consist of an obligatory preposition followed by a single or conjoined noun phrase object (see 1.2.4.2.1):

Order of elements in prepositional phrases

+A	+B
preposition+noun phrase object	

Verb phrases consist of the following elements in the following order:

Sentences consist of the following elements in the following order:

±A	+B	±C±D	±E
S initial av phrase	+subject n phrase±ng+v phrase±S final av phrase		

Several sentence-initial and/or sentence-final adverbial phrases may occur in the same sentence. Conjoined noun phrases are common and verb phrases are often joined by means of serialized verb constructions (see 1.3). All of the elements listed above may occur together in a single sentence, the only co-occurrence restrictions being semantic rather than morphosyntactic:

- (336) [Tùdê] [à] [no] [bay gàri] [fòr Sapele].
 [A] [B] [C] [D] [E]
 today 1sP ng buyF gari p Sapele
 ‘Today I didn’t buy gari in Sapele.’

1.3 CO-ORDINATION

1.3.1 Means of co-ordination

In this work, the definition of ‘co-ordination’ will be extended somewhat further than may be the usual practice, in order to accommodate serialized verb constructions, which are the most commonly employed means of co-ordination in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.3.1.1.4 and 1.3.1.3).

1.3.1.1 *Co-ordination of sentences*

1.3.1.1.1 *And-coordination*

Sentences may be co-ordinated simply by raising the intonation pattern at the end of each nonfinal sentence in the co-ordinated series. The co-ordinator *ànd* ‘and’ and/or the sentence-final adverbial *tù* ‘also’ may optionally be used to co-ordinate sentences:

- (337) Im go tawn. Im bay nyam.
 3sp goF town 3sP buyF yam
 ‘(S)he went to town. (S)he bought yams.’
- (338) Im go tawn, ìm bay nyam (tù).
 3sp goF town *rising intonation* 3sP buyF yam (also)
 ‘(S)he went to town and (s)he bought yams (too).’
- (339) Im go tawn ànd ìm bay nyam (tù).
 3sp goF town and 3sP buyF yam (also)
 ‘(S)he went to town and (s)he bought yams (too).’

None of the constructions illustrated in the preceding examples occurs with much frequency. Serialized verb constructions are much more commonly utilized (see 1.3.1.1.4):

- (340) Im go tawn bay nyam.
 3sp goF+ town buy+ yam
 ‘(S)he went to town (and) bought yams.’

1.3.1.1.2

But-coordination

All of the processes, possibilities and constraints listed for *and*-coordination (see 1.3.1.1.1) are appropriate as well to *but*-coordination, with the addition of the use of the co-ordinator *bòt* ‘but’:

- (341) Im go tawn (bòt) ìm no bay nyam (tù).
 3sp goF town (but) 3sP ng buyF yam (also)
 ‘(S)he went to town (but) (s)he didn’t buy yams.’
- (342) Im go tawn (ànd) ìm no bay nyam (tù).
 3sp goF town (and) 3sP ng buyF yam (also)
 ‘(S)he went to town (but) (s)he didn’t buy yams.’
- (343) Im bigîn go kòm fòdôn wund finish gbum.
 3sP beginF+ go+ +R fall+ wound+ +C ip
 ‘(S)he began to go (but) fell and hurt him/herself.’

1.3.1.1.3

Or-coordination

The co-ordinators *òr* ‘either/or’ and (less frequently) *ayda* ‘either/or’ are employed in or-coordination constructions. One of these markers obligatorily occurs between the co-ordinated elements. Optionally, either one of the two markers may occur at the beginning of the construction as well. There are no co-occurrence restrictions on *òr* and *ayda*:

- (344) (*Or/ayda*) yù gò bay nyam òr/ayda yù gò bay gàri.
 (either) 2sP –R buy yam or 2sP –R buy gari
 ‘(Either) you will buy yams or you will buy gari.’

In alternative question constructions, *àbi* and *weda* may be used in place of *òr* and *ayda* (see 1.1.1.2.1.3):

- (345) (*Weda/àbi*) yù gò bay nyam weda/àbi yù gò bay gàri?
 (YNQ) 2sP –R buy yam YNQ 2sP –R buy gari Qù
 ‘Will you buy yams or will you buy gari?’

1.3.1.1.4

Serialized verb constructions

Subjects, objects and serialized verbs. Verb phrases may be strung together in serialized verb constructions. Verbs in serialized verb constructions usually share the same sentential subject, which precedes the first

verb in the series and is not repeated thereafter. Each verb in a serialized construction may normally take its own object(s), adverbials and ideophones:

- (346) A tek nayf kot dì nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ knife cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’

In causative serialized verb constructions, the causee object of the verb *mek* ‘make’ serves as the subject of the following verb (see 2.1.3.1.3.1). Another possible exception to the single subject restriction for serialized verbs is the relatively rare case where the object of a verb in the series is the same as the subject of the following verb, in which case the same morphosyntactic marker may be used to signal the coalesced subject/object arguments (see 1.2.1.2.1).

Serialized verbs, polarity and tense/aspect/modality. Unless they are marked otherwise, verbs in serialized constructions normally adopt the same polarity and tense/aspect/modality values which apply to the first verb in the series.

Preverbal auxiliaries and serialized verbs. The irrealis auxiliary *gò*, the past auxiliary *bìn* and the completive auxiliary *don* may only occur before the first verb in a serialized construction. Other preverbal tense/aspect/modality markers and/or negation markers may be used with any verb in a series, although these are most often found preceding the series initial verb as well:

- (347) A bìn tek nayf kot dì nyam.
 1sP +P takeV+ knife cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’
 *A tek nayf bìn kot dì nyam.
- (348) A kòm tek nayf kot dì nyam.
 1sP +R takeV+ knife cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’
- (349) A tek nayf kòm kot dì nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ knife +R cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’

Postverbal auxiliaries and serialized verbs. Postverbal auxiliaries tend to be used with noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions:

- (350) A tek nayf kot dì nyam finish.
 1sP takeFV+ knife cut+ ar yam +C
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’
 ?A tek nayf finish kot dì nyam.

Verbs that tend to precede other verbs in series. The following verbs tend to precede other verbs in serialized constructions with the meanings indicated:

fest	‘be first’	sequential
------	------------	------------

folo	‘follow’	comitative
kari	‘carry’	accompaniment
tek	‘take’	instrumental, general valence increaser

- (351) fest *sequential*
 A gò fest graynd pepe.
 1sP –R be first+ grind+ pepper
 ‘I will be the first one to grind the pepper.’ OR ‘I will grind pepper first, (then...)’

- (352) folo *comitative*
 A gò folo yù graynd pepe.
 1sP –R follow+ 2oP grind+ pepper
 ‘I will grind pepper with you.’

- (353) kari *accompaniment*
 A dòn kari pepe kom.
 1sP +C carry+ pepper come+
 ‘I brought pepper.’

In this work, the term ‘modal auxiliary verb’ will be used in a slightly unconventional manner, to refer to verbs which must precede all other verbs in a series (including the verbs just listed), which do not take nonserial co-ordination and which do not normally take objects. Examples of modal auxiliary verbs are:

bìgîn	‘begin’	inceptive
fit	‘be able’	abilitative
fò	‘should’	possibility
gri	‘allow’	permission, agreement
layk	‘like’	desiderative
manij	‘manage’	accomplishment
want	‘be about to’	imminency

- (354) fit *abilitative*
 A gò fit kari pepe kom.
 1sP –R be able+ carry+ pepper come+
 ‘I will be able to bring pepper.’

The verb *mek* ‘make’ precedes other verbs in causative serialized verb constructions (see 2.1.3.1.3.1). Preverbal adverbials could be analysed as verbs which precede other verbs in series as well.

Verbs that tend to follow other verbs in series. The verbs listed below tend to follow other verbs in serialized constructions with the meanings indicated:

giv	‘give’	dative, benefactive
go	‘go’	direction away
kom	‘come’	direction toward
kòmôt	‘exit’	evacuation

pas	‘(sur)pass’	comparative, superlative
rich	‘arrive’	equative, destination
trowê	‘throw away’	overflow

- (355) *giv dative, benefactive*
 A bay nyam giv yù.
 1sP buyF+ yam give+ 2oP
 ‘I bought you the yam.’
- (356) *go, kom directionals; kòmôt evacuation*
 Im drayv dĩ mòto kòm, drayv -am go kòmôt.
 3sP driveF+ ar car come+ drive+-3oP go+ exit+
 ‘(S)he drove the car to that place and (then) away from it.’
- (357) *rich equative; pas comparative, superlative*
 A: Yù no drink rich mì.
 2sP ng drinkF+ reach+ 1oP
 B: A drink pas yù, drink pas ol.
 1sP drinkF+ pass+ 2oP drink+ pass+ all
 A: ‘You didn’t drink as much as I did.’
 B: ‘I drank more than you, I drank the most of all.’
- (358) *trowê overflow*
 Pikín dèm plenti trowê fòr haws,
 child pl be plentyF+ throw out+ p house
 ‘The children have overrun the house.’

The postverbal auxiliaries *finish* and *taya* could be considered to be verbs which follow other verbs in serialized constructions. Items such as *bèlèfûl* ‘be satiated’ (which is used mainly after the verb *chop* ‘eat’ in much the same way as an ideophone would be) could conceivably fall into this category along with the entire class of ideophones and postverbal adverbials:

- (359) Wì chop dĩ nyam bèlèfûl finish kpakpa.
 4sP eatF+ ar yam be full+ +C ipR
 ‘We ate up all the yams until we were full.’

Other items that could possibly be classified as verbs which tend to follow other verbs in serialized constructions are the noun clause introducer *se* (which is identical to the verbal form *se* ‘talk, say’, see 1.1.1.1) and the subjunctive clause introducer *mek* (which is identical to the verbal form *mek* ‘make’, see 1.1.1.3). Finally, a case could be made for the categorization of such prepositions as *fòr* and *fròm* as serialized verbs, since they can take objects and appear to take subjects in acrolectal varieties (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.4 and 2.1.1.5):

- (360) @A fròm Arochukwu (kòm).
 1sP from Arochukwu (comeF)
 ‘I (have) come from Arochukwu.’

The same interpretation is possible for the acrolectal use of [verb + particle] constructions (see 1.2.1.3.1.1):

- (361) Dèm no gò bak yù yò m̀nì .
 6sP ng –R give back 2oP 2ps money
 ‘They will not give you your money back.’
- (362) @Dèm no gò giv yù yò m̀nì bak.
 6sP ng –R give+ 2oP 2ps money give back+
 ‘They will not give you your money back.’

Semantic and syntactic relations among serialized verbs. There is no theoretical limit on the number of verbs which can be linked together in a single extended serialized verb construction:

- (363) A fit folo yù tek nyam put f̀or bag
 1sP be ableF+ follow+ 2oP take+ yam put+ p bag
 kari -am wàka go rich haws giv dèm chop.
 carry+-3oP walk+ go+ reach+ house give+ 6s/oP eat+
 ‘I can help you to put yams in the bags and then carry the bags with you to the house and give the yams to them to eat.’

There is no consistent way to determine whether verbs within a given serialized construction refer to events that are conceptualized as one single composite/simultaneous event or as separate/consecutive events. The position of verbs in series normally follows the temporal sequence of the events to which they refer, but temporal order may be violated in many instances:

- (364) A chop nyam rich dyar boyl -am put faya chop.
 1sP eatF+ yam reach+ there boil+-3oP put+ fire eat+
 ‘I ate yam, arriving there, boiling it, putting fire under it, I ate (it).’

Agheyisi (1971:105–11) attempts to distinguish verbs which tend to precede other verbs in series from verbs which tend to follow. Preceding verbs would be non-nuclear (oblique) argument introducers, while following verbs would show directionality in Agheyisi’s scheme, which works to a certain point, but fails to account for forms such as *fest* and *giv*. It might be argued that there is a tighter semantic relationship between a verb such as *tek* with a following serialized verb than exists between a verb such as *trowê* and a preceding verb in series:

- (365) A tek nayf kòt dì nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ knife cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam with a knife.’
- (366) Pikín dèm plenti trowê f̀or haws,

child pl be plentyF+ throw out+ p house
 ‘The children have overrun the house.’

While the validity of a ‘semantic binding criterion’ and/or a ‘non-nuclear vs. directional (in the broadest sense of the word) distinction’ for differentiating the set of preceding verbs from following verbs might be suggested by the examples just cited, the following examples could lead us to the opposite conclusion:

- (367) Wòta pò trowê fòr grawnd.
 water pourF+ throw away+ p ground
 ‘The water spilled onto the ground.’
- (368) A tek nayt kòt dì nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ night cut+ ar yam
 ‘I cut the yam at night.’
- (369) A tek nyam kòt (-am).
 1sP takeFV+ yam cut+(-3oP)
 ‘I cut the yam.’
- (370) A tek hed fòdôn.
 1sP takeFV+ head fall down+
 ‘I fell on my head.’

The lack of a simple set of criteria for the analysis of the relationships that exist between serialized verbs is highlighted by the fact that all of the verbs that tend either to precede or to follow other verbs in series (including all of the ‘modal’ verbs except for *fit* and *fò*) may also be used alone as main verbs. A further complication is introduced by such multifunctional verbal elements as *manij* (modal, preceding serial verb, main verb), *finish* (auxiliary, following serial verb, main verb) and *fò* (auxiliary, modal). An analysis which accounts for the facts in a more satisfactory (but perhaps less ‘constrained’) way than those put forward thus far is suggested to some extent by Agheyisi (1971:111) when she characterizes verbs which tend to follow other verbs in series as adverbial in nature.

There is in fact no reason not to extend this analysis to verbs that precede other verbs in serialized constructions as well (see the preceding examples involving the use of the verb *tek*). Verbs which tend to precede other verbs in series could then be said to occupy the preverbal adverbial slot and verbs which tend to follow other serialized verbs could be said to fill the postverbal adverbial slot (see 1.2.5.3). This analysis not only accounts for the adverb-like meanings commonly associated with serialized verbs, but it also explains the similarities among preceding serial verbs, preverbal adverbials and modals on the one hand and among following serial verbs, postverbal adverbials, postverbal auxiliaries and ideophones on the other hand. This analysis should allow us to identify clusters of serialized verbs, centred around one (or more?) head verb with the other verbs in each cluster modifying the head and occupying either the preverbal or postverbal adverbial position. This schema assumes a considerable amount of internal complexity in the preverbal and postverbal adverbial constituents (and perhaps in the head verb constituent itself):

- (371) A [fit folo yù tek nyam put fòr bag]
 1sP [be ableF+ follow+ 2oP take+ yam put+ p bag]

s [preverbal adverbial constituent]

[kari -am waka] [go rich haws give dèm chop].

[carry+-3oP walk+] [go+ reach+ house give+ 6s/oP eat+]

[head verbs] [postverbal adverbial constituent]

‘I can help you to put yams in the bags and then carry the bags with you to the house and give the yams to them to eat.’

1.3.1.2

Number of co-ordinators

At sentence level, *and*-coordination allows the use of one less co-ordinator than the number of conjuncts (in which case the first conjunct normally lacks a preceding co-ordinator), one co-ordinator only (in which case the co-ordinator is usually inserted between the last two conjuncts) or no co-ordinator at all. In some basilectal varieties, there may be as many co-ordinators as conjuncts in *and*-coordination constructions:

- (372) A bay nyam ànd yù kòt -am ànd ìm chop-am.
 1sP buyF yam and 2sP cutF-3oP and 3sP eatF -3oP
 ‘I bought yams, you cut them and (s)he ate them.’

also acceptable:

A bay nyam yù kòt-am ànd ìm chop-am.

A bay nyam yù kòt-am ìm chop-am.

And à bay nyam ànd yu kòt-am ànd ìm chop-am.

At sentence level *or*-coordination allows the use of as many co-ordinators as conjuncts, one less co-ordinator than the number of conjuncts (in which case the first conjunct normally lacks a preceding co-ordinator) or one co-ordinator only (in which case the co-ordinator is usually inserted between the last two conjuncts). At least one co-ordinator must be used:

- (373) Or à bay nyam òr yù kòt -am òr ìm chop-am,
 or 1sP buyF yam or 2sP cutF-3oP or 3sP eatF -3oP
 ‘I bought yams, you cut them or (s)he ate them.’

also acceptable:

A bay nyam òr yù kòt-am òr ìm chop-am.

A bay nyam yù kòt-am or ìm chop-am.

But-coordination allows the use of one co-ordinator only or no co-ordinator at all (see 1.3.1.1.2). This type of co-ordination is rare and the only cases attested in the data consist of two sentential conjuncts:

- (374) A want go bôt mà màma no gri.
 1sP wantF+ go+ but 1ps mother ng allowF
 ‘I want to go, but my mother refuses to allow it.’

1.3.1.3

Co-ordination of major sentence categories

Major sentence categories may be co-ordinated by means of *and*-coordination (as outlined in 1.3.1.1.1), *or*-coordination (as outlined in 1.3.1.1.3) or by means of verb serialization (as shown in 1.3.1.1.4). The constraints on the numbers of co-ordinators which may be used in each type of co-ordination construction at sentence level (see 1.3.1.2) apply at the level of major categories within the sentence as well.

1.3.1.3.1

Co-ordinating noun phrases

- (375) *and-coordination of noun phrases*
 Ibrahim kòm bay nyam ànd gàri ànd fish ànd mit.
 Ibrahim +C buy yam and gari and fish and meat
 ‘Ibrahim bought yams, gari, fish and meat.’

also acceptable:

Ibrahim kòm bay nyam gàri fish ànd mit.
 Ibrahim kòm bay nyam gàri fish mit.
 #Ibrahim kòm bay ànd nyam ànd gàri ànd fish ànd mit.

- (376) *or-coordination of noun phrases*
 Ibrahim gò bay òr nyam òr gàri òr fish òr mit.
 Ibrahim –R buy or yam or gari or fish or meat
 ‘Ibrahim will buy yams, gari, fish or meat.’

also acceptable:

Ibrahim gò bay nyam òr gàri òr fish òr mit.
 Ibrahim gò bay nyam gàri fish òr mit.

- (377) *serialized verb co-ordination of noun phrases*
 Ibrahim kòm bay nyam bay gàri bay fish bay mit.
 Ibrahim +C buy+ yam buy+ gari buy+ fish buy+ meat
 ‘Ibrahim bought yams, gari, fish and meat.’

also acceptable:

Ibrahim kòm bay nyam gàri fish bay mit.
 Ibrahim kòm bay nyam bay gàri fish mit.
 Ibrahim kòm bay nyam bay gàri bay fish ànd mit.

Example (377) could also be interpreted as co-ordination of verb phrases.

1.3.1.3.2

Co-ordinating verb phrases

- (378) *and-coordination of verb phrases*
 A bay nyam ànd kòt -am ànd chòp-am.
 1sP buyF yam and cutF-3oP and eatF -3oP
 ‘I bought yams, cut them and ate them.’

also acceptable:

A bay nyam kòt-am ànd chòp-am.
 # And a bay nyam ànd kòt-am ànd chòp-am.

- (379) *or-coordination of verb phrases*
Òr a bay nyam òr kòt -am òr chòp-am,
 or 1sP buyF yam or cutF-3oP or eatF -3oP
 ‘I bought yams, cut them or ate them.’

also acceptable:

A bay nyam òr kòt-am òr chòp-am.
 A bay nyam kòt-am òr chòp-am.

- (380) *serialized verb co-ordination of verb phrases*
 A bay nyam kòt -am chòp-am.
 1sP buyF+ yam cut+-3oP eat+-3oP
 ‘I bought yams, cut them and ate them.’

1.3.1.3.3.

Co-ordinating adverbial phrases

The co-ordination of adverbial phrases is discussed in [1.3.1.5.3](#).

1.3.1.4

Co-ordination and accompaniment

The co-ordinator *ànd* ‘and’ may be used to express accompaniment. In most acrolectal and mesolectal varieties, the preposition *wìt* ‘with’ may also be employed for this purpose. Occasionally, *wìt* is utilized as a co-ordinator in *and*-coordination constructions. The most common means used for expressing accompaniment is a serialized verb construction incorporating the verb *folo* ‘follow’ (see [1.3.1.1.4](#)):

- (381) Im gò folo dèm dans.
 3sP -R follow+ 6oP dance+
 ‘(S)he will dance with them.’

- (382) Im gò dans wìt dèm.
3sP –R dance with 6oP
'(S)he will dance with them.'
- (383) Im ànd dèm gò dans.
3sP and 6sP –R dance
'(S)he and they will dance.'
- (384) Im wìt dèm gò dans.
3sP with 6sP –R dance
'(S)he and they will dance.'

1.3.1.5

Structural parallelism in co-ordination

Sentences representing distinct speech act types are not usually co-ordinated, but co-ordinate interrogative, imperative and statement constructions freely occur (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.5 and 1.3.1.2). Although noun phrases are usually only co-ordinated with other noun phrases and verb phrases are only co-ordinated with other verb phrases, all types of adverbials may be found in a single co-ordinate construction (see 1.2.1.3.2 and 1.3.1.5.3).

1.3.1.5.1

Adjectives and participial constructions

As explained in 1.2.1.1.1, 1.1.2.2.6 and 2.1.4, there are no adjectives or participles in Nigerian Pidgin. Deverbal modifier nouns are normally not conjoined, except in the most acrolectal varieties.

1.3.1.5.2

Nouns and nominalized constructions

Nominalized constructions are rare (see 1.1.2.2.6). Deverbal (multifunctional) nouns and focalized nominalization constructions may be conjoined when they fill either the subject or the object slots:

- (385) Nà [wàka go tawn] ànd [wòk fòr fam] wẹ had.
EI [walk+ go+/n town] and [work/n p farm] rCI be hardF
'It is walking to town and working on the farm that is hard.'

1.3.1.5.3

Different types of adverbials and ideophones

In sentence-initial or sentence-final position, any type of adverbial may be co-ordinated with any other type of adverbial (see 1.2.1.3.2). Adverbs and ideophones can precede and/or follow adverbials in the same adverbial phrase, but no overtly marked co-ordinator may be used with them (see 1.2.3.2.1). Other types of adverbial may optionally take overtly marked co-ordinators in co-ordination constructions:

- (386) *adverb+adverb*
 A chop sins tù.
 1sP eatF long ago also
 'I ate long ago as well.'
- (387) *adverb+ideophone+ideophone*
 A gò bit yù ègên gbumbbum gbudûm.
 1sP –R beat 2oP again ipR ip
 'I will beat you again soundly.'
- (388) *adverb+ideophone+n phrase+p phrase+av clause*
 A gò bit yù ègên gbudûm nayttây (ànd) fòr mōning
 1sP –R beat 2oP again ip at night (and) p morning
 (ànd) [bìfô yù chop].
 (and) [before 2sP eat]
 'I'll beat you again soundly at night, in the morning and before you eat.'

1.3.1.5.4

Active verbs and passive verbs

An impersonal pseudopassive construction utilizing the sixth-person subject pronoun is the only means used to express the passive voice in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.3.1.1). These impersonal passive structures can in most cases be co-ordinated with active structures:

- (389) Dèm kòl yù bôt yù no hyar.
 6sP callF 2oP but 2sP ng hearF
 'You were called but you didn't hear (it).'

1.3.1.5.5

Other verb categories

All verb categories allow co-ordination with overtly marked co-ordinators optionally present, except for modals and auxiliaries which do not allow any overtly marked co-ordinators:

- (390) A fò dòn fit bigîn wàka (ànd) go.
 1sP –R +C be able+ begin+ walk+ (and) go+
 'I would have been able to begin to walk away.'

1.3.2 Omission under co-ordination

1.3.2.1

Omission of sentence elements under co-ordination

Under the conditions described in this section, any sentence element may be omitted when it is identical to a preceding element in a single co-ordination construction.

Subjects. As shown in 1.3.1.1.4 and 1.3.1.3.2, identical subjects may be omitted under *or*-, *and*- or serialized verb co-ordination as long as the subject is overtly marked in the first sentence or verb phrase in the construction.

Objects. Once an object has been overtly marked in a co-ordination construction, identical objects may be either signalled by a pronoun or omitted entirely:

- (391) A tek nyam (ànd) pawnd (-am) (ànd) kip (-am).
1sP takeF+ yam (and) pound+(-3oP) (and) keep+ (-3oP)
'I pounded the yam and stored it.'

Adverbials. A sentence-initial or sentence-final adverbial may modify all sentences in a single co-ordination construction if it occurs at the beginning or at the end of the construction. If the adverbial occurs in the middle of the construction, it tends to modify only the conjunct in which it is found and (more rarely) those conjuncts that follow:

- (392) Fòr mōning wì boyl nyam pawnd -am kip.
p morning 4sP boilF+ yam pound+-3oP keep+
'In the morning we boiled yams, pounded them and stored them.'
- (393) Wì boyl nyam pawnd -am kip fòr mōning.
4sP boilF+ yam pound+-3oP keep+ p morning
'We boiled yams, pounded them and stored them in the morning.'
- (394) Wì boyl nyam pawnd -am fòr mōning kip
4sP boilF+ yam pound+-3oP p morning keep+
'We boiled yams, pounded them in the morning and stored them.'

Verbs. When sentences or verb phrases in a co-ordination construction share the same verb, all instances of that verb may be omitted after the initial instance, as long as no other verb intervenes:

- (395) Dèm prìpê dì sup ànd dèm màma dì gari.
6sP prepareF ar soup and 6ps mother ar gari
'They prepared the soup and their mother the gari.'

As is the case for serialized verbs (see 1.3.1.1.4), any noninitial verb in a co-ordinate construction may take its tense/aspect/modality specifications from a preceding verb and all auxiliaries and modals which might otherwise have occurred with it may be omitted. The irrealis auxiliaries *gò* and *fò*, the past auxiliary *bìn* and

the completive auxiliary *don* usually occur before the first verb in a co-ordinated construction (just as is the case for serialized constructions) although some violations of this constraint are attested.

1.3.3 Omission of major category elements

1.3.3.1

Omission of noun phrase elements

All of the noun phrase elements listed in 1.2.5.1–3 (except for cardinal numbers) may be omitted when following an identical element in a co-ordinated noun phrase construction, as long as no nonidentical element of the same category intervenes:

Elements of associative/possessive constructions

- (396) *possessed nouns*
 [Eze (1m) fam] + [Ade (1m) fam] = [Eze Ade (dèm) fam]
 [Eze (3ps) farm] [Ade (3ps) farm] [Eze Ade (6ps) farm]
 ‘Eze’s farm’ ‘Ade’s farm’ ‘Eze and Ade’s farm’
- (397) *modified nouns*
 [Igbo fam] + [Hausa fam] = [(ol) Igbo Hausa fam]
 [Igbo farm] [Hausa farm] [(all) Igbo Hausa farm]
 ‘Igbo farms’ ‘Hausa farms’ ‘Igbo and Hausa farms’
- (398) *possessor nouns*
 [Eze (1m) nyam] + [Eze (1m) gari] =
 [Eze (3ps) yam] [Eze (3ps) gari]
 ‘Eze’s yams’ ‘Eze’s gari’
 [Eze (1m) nyam (ànd) (1m) gari]
 [Eze (3ps) yam (and) (3ps) gari]
 ‘Eze’s yams and gari’
- (399) *modifier nouns*
 [Bini boy] + [Bini gel] = [Bini boy ànd gel]
 [Bini boy] [Bini girl] [Bini boy and girl]
 ‘Bini boy’ ‘Bini girl’ ‘Bini boy and girl’

Other noun phrase elements

- (400) *relative clauses*
 dī gel [wē kōm] + dī boy [wē kōm] =
 ar girl [rcI comeF] ar boy [rcI comeF]
 ‘the girl who came’ ‘the boy who came’
 dī gel ànd (dī) boy [wē kōm]
 ar girl and (ar) boy [rcI comeF]

‘the girl and the boy who came’

- (401) *possessive pronouns*
 mà nyam + mà gàrì = mà nyam ànd gàrì
 1ps yam 1ps gari
 ‘my yams’ ‘my gari’ ‘my yams and gari’
- (402) *articles*
 dī nyam + dī gàrì = dī nyam ànd gàrì
 ar yam ar gari
 ‘the yams’ ‘the gari’ ‘the yams and gari’
- (403) *demonstratives*
 dat nyam + dat gàrì = dat nyam ànd gàrì
 that yam that gari
 ‘that yam’ ‘that gari’ ‘that yam and gari’
- (404) *quantifiers*
 ich boy + ich gəl = ich boy ànd gəl
 each boy each girl
 ‘each boy’ ‘each girl’ ‘each boy and girl’
- (405) *emphasis markers*
 nyam sef + gàrì sef = nyam ànd gàrì sef
 yam E gari E
 ‘even yams’ ‘even gari’ ‘even yams and gari’
- (406) *focus markers and topicalizers*
 nà nyam ba + nà gàrì ba = nà nyam ànd gàrì ba
 EI yam T EI gari T
 ‘it is yam’ ‘it is gari’ ‘it is yam and gari’
- (407) *comparative/superlative/equative (serialized) objects*
 Im chop pas mì ànd ìm chop pas yù. =
 3sP eatF+ pass+ 1oP and 3sP eatF+ pass+ 2oP
 ‘(S)he ate more than me and (s)he ate more than you.’
 Im chop pas mì ànd yù.
 3sP eatF+ pass+ 1oP and 2oP
 ‘(S)he ate more than me and you.’
- (408) *ordinal numbers*
 dī fest boy + dī fest gəl = dī fest boy ànd gəl
 ar first boy ar first girl
 ar first boy and girl

‘first boy’

‘first girl’

‘first boy and girl’

While identical cardinal numbers may not be omitted in co-ordination constructions, the nouns which they modify can be omitted under identity in a special construction that expresses approximate quantity:

- (409) *cardinal numbers*
- | | | | | |
|------------|---|--------------|---|---------------------|
| tu nyam | + | tre nyam | = | tu tre nyam |
| two yam | | three yam | | two three yam |
| ‘two yams’ | | ‘three yams’ | | ‘two or three yams’ |

1.3.3.2

Omission of adjective phrase elements

Adjective phrases do not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.1.2.2.6, 1.1.2.3.7 and 2.1.4).

1.3.3.3

Omission of adverbial phrase elements

In co-ordination constructions, elements in adverbial noun phrases may be omitted, as shown in 1.3.3.1. The omission of elements in adverbial clauses follows the patterns outlined in 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.3.1. Objects of prepositions are not usually omitted, but identical prepositions can be omitted:

- (410) *prepositions:*
- | | | | | |
|------------|---|-----------|---|---------------------|
| fòr Legos | + | fòr Kano | = | fòr Legos ànd Kano |
| p Lagos | | p Kano | | p Lagos and Kano |
| ‘in Lagos’ | | ‘in Kano’ | | ‘in Lagos and Kano’ |

1.4

NEGATION

There is one general negative marker: *no*. *No* almost always bears an extra high pitch and may therefore be said to be inherently stressed (see 1.11.2.1 and 3.3.2.3). Agheyisi (1971:149) distinguishes between the general negative marker *no* (pronounced with a close vowel) and the negative ‘interjection’ *no* (pronounced with an open vowel). In the Port Harcourt dialect, no such distinction in vowel quality exists (see 1.1.1.2.4.2.1.1). Since Agheyisi devoted a major part of her study of Nigerian Pidgin to the negation process, her work will be used as a point of reference throughout this section.

1.4.1

Sentence negation

Sentences are negated by placing the negative marker *no* between the subject noun phrase and the verb phrase (see 1.2.5.3):

- (411)
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| A bay nyam. | A no bay nyam. |
| 1sP buyF yam | 1sP ng buyF yam |

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (416) | A bay <u>som</u> nyam.
1sP buyF some yam
'I bought some yams.' | A no bay <u>eni</u> nyam.
1sP ng buyF any yam
'I didn't buy any yams.' |
| (417) | A si <u>sombodi</u> .
1sP seeF somebody
'I saw somebody.' | A <u>no</u> si enibodi.
1sP ng seeF anybody
'I didn't see anybody.' |

1.4.2 Constituent negation

Agheyisi (1971:156) claims that there are no instances of constituent negation in Nigerian Pidgin. In this section several different types of 'constituent negation' will be described. The discrepancies between Agheyisi's account of constituent negation in Nigerian Pidgin and the one adopted here have at least two sources: (a) Agheyisi uses an extremely restrictive definition of constituent negation and (b) Agheyisi's midwestern data do not seem to include some of the constructions found in the Port Harcourt data, such as the [*no*+noun] construction outlined below. In his midwestern data, Obilade (1976:95) finds similar constructions to those found in the Port Harcourt sample. Obilade calls these [*no*+noun] constructions 'negative article constructions'. Any sentence constituent except for an adverb may be negated by inserting it into a sentence-initial negative clefted focus construction introduced by (*i*) *no bi* (see 1.11.2.1.4.):

- (418) (I) no bi nyam wε à bay fòr maket.
(3sD) ng cvF yam rcI 1sP buyF p market
'It is not yams that I bought in the market.'
- (419) (I) no bi fòr maket wε à bay nyam.
(3sD) ng cvF p market rcI 1sP buyF yam
'It is not in the market that I bought yams.'

Any noun phrase constituent within a sentence may also be negated by fronting it to the position of a head noun phrase, preceding it with the negative marker *no* and following it with the rest of the original sentence in the form of a relative clause:

- (420) No maket (wε) à gò tek bay nyam (fòr-am).
ng market (rcI) 1sP -R takeV+ buy+ yam (p -3oP)
'There is no market for me to buy yams (at).'
- (421) No pesin (wε) gò bay nyam.
ng person (rcI) -R buy yam
'Nobody will buy yams.'
- (422) No kaynd pesin (wε) gò bay nyam.
ng kind/mn person (rcI) -R buy yam
'No person of any sort will buy yams.'

The negative compound pronominals *nobodi* ‘nobody’ and *noting* ‘nothing’ may occur as the head nominal of this construction:

- (423) Nobodi (we) gò bay nyam.
 nobody (rcI) –R buy yam
 ‘Nobody will buy yams.’

[*eni*+noun] constructions may be used either/both as part of the negated head nominal as well as in noun phrases in the following relative clause, in order to augment the force and/or the scope of the negation:

- (424) No eni pesin (we) gò bay nyam.
 ng any person (rcI) –R buy yam
 ‘No person of any sort will buy yams.’
- (425) No eni pesin (we) gò bay eni ting,
 ng any person (rcI) –R buy any thing
 ‘No person of any sort will buy anything.’

A very commonly employed means for negating individual constituents is to negate one of the verbs in a serialized verb construction (see 1.4.4):

- (426) Yù no gò tek hand bit dì pikîn (yù gò tek stik).
 2sP ng –R take+ hand beat+ ar child (2sP –R take stick)
 ‘You will not use your hand to beat the child (you will use a stick).’
- (427) Im folo yù joyn mòto no ritôn kòm vilej
 3sP followF+ 2sP join+ car ng return+ come+ village
 ‘(S)he accompanied you in getting into the car (and) not returning to the village.’

In some lects, *no* may be placed directly before the verb and after all preverbal auxiliaries, resulting in such tokens as: *A bìn no get mòto* ‘I didn’t have a car.’ Whether this process should be considered to be an instance of constituent negation or some type of ‘negative transportation’ movement process is an open question. In any case, this phenomenon seems to be restricted to upper mesolectal and acrolectal speech at present.

1.4.3

More than one negative marker in a sentence

When two or more negative markers occur in the same sentence, they negate one another, rather than augmenting the negative force of the entire sentence via some sort of negative concord or negative prosody construction:

- (428) No maket (we) à no gò tek bay nyam (fòr-am).
 ng market (rcI) 1sP ng –R takeV+ buy+ yam (p -3oP)
 ‘There is no market where I won’t buy yams.’

- (429) No eni pesin (we) no gò bay nyam.
 ng any person (rcI) ng –R buy yam
 ‘No person of any sort will not buy yams.’

1.4.4

Negation of co-ordinate structures

In co-ordinate constructions, negative markers show no particular tendency to gravitate toward the co-ordinator position and there are no special negative co-ordinator forms. The scope of the negative marker in one clause of an *or*-, *and*- or *but*-coordination construction does not usually extend to any other clause in the construction, no matter which position in the relative order of clauses it occupies. Each clause must therefore be negated separately. Where the conjoined elements are not whole clauses, nonverbal conjuncts all fall within the scope of any negative marker that operates over the verb for which they or the phrases to which they belong serve as arguments:

- (430) A no si yù ànd yù enta mòto.
 1sP ng seeF 2oP and 2sP enterF car
 ‘I didn’t see you and you got into a car.’

also acceptable:

Yù enta mòto ànd à no si yù.

- (431) Ade ànd Akpan no enta mòto.
 Ade and Akpan ng enterF car
 ‘Ade and Akpan didn’t get into a car.’
- (432) Yù no si mì fòr maket òr fòr rod.
 2sP ng seeF 1oP p market or p road
 ‘You didn’t see me in the market or on the road.’

When verb phrases are co-ordinated, the scope of a negative marker sometimes extends rightwards from the verb phrase that it occupies:

- (433) Yù no enta mòto ànd yù go tawn.
 2sP ng enterF car and 2sP goF town
 ‘You didn’t get into a car and you went to town.’
- (434) Yù no enta mòto (ànd) go tawn.
 2sP ng enterE car (and) go+ town
 ‘You didn’t get into a car and go to town.’

The scope of negation in serialized verb constructions varies significantly with the semantics of the verbs involved, stress/intonation and the use of polarity-sensitive items such as [*eni*+noun] constructions (see 1.4.1 and 1.4.2).

1.4.5.

Negation of superordinate and subordinate clauses

The scope of a negative marker in one clause of a superordinate/subordinate structure does not extend to other clauses within that structure. A verb in one clause cannot be negated by the negation of a verb in another clause. The verb *tink* ‘think’ is rarely used in the negative before an object noun clause.

1.5

ANAPHORA

1.5.1

Means of expressing anaphora

The means employed for expressing anaphora include omission, personal, possessive, reflexive and anaphoric pronouns, numerals, demonstratives and a few proadverbials.

1.5.2

Anaphora environments

1.5.2.1

Anaphora within the clause

Omission is rare within clauses. The only consistent pattern which might be said to involve omission is the special second-person imperative (see 1.1.1.3.1):

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| (435) | Mek yù fray dòdo!
SJcI 2sP frySJ plantain
‘Fry plantain!’ | OR | Fray dòdo!
frySJ plantain |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------|

Pronominal forms. Emphatic and nonemphatic subject pronouns may be used to refer to a preceding noun subject in the same clause:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------|
| (436) | Mà broda im go tawn.
1ps brother 3EP goF town
‘My brother went to town.’ | OR | Mà broda ìm go tawn.
1ps brother 3sP goF town |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------|

Nonemphatic subject pronouns are also employed to refer to preceding emphatic subject pronouns:

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (437) | Mi à go tawn.
1EP 1sP goF town
‘(As for me) I went to town.’ |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|

In basilectal varieties, the third-person nonemphatic object pronoun *-am* follows the verb and precedes the object noun to which it refers. This pronoun *-am* could be considered to be a marker of transitivity in such cases (see 1.1.2.3.4):

- (438) #A go pawnd-am nyam.
 1sP –R pound-3oP yam.
 ‘I will pound yam.’

Possessive pronouns can refer to a preceding nominal within the same clause:

- (439) Ade go plant ìm kasava.
 Ade goF+ plant+ 3sP casava
 ‘Ade went to plant his casava.’

Possessive pronouns may be followed by the possessive pronominal form *on* ‘own’ in an associative/possessive construction with reference to a preceding or following noun or pronoun in the same clause:

- (440) Dat pìkìn bì mà on.
 that child cvF 1ps ps
 ‘That child is my own.’

Reflexive pronominals may be utilized to refer to a preceding noun or pronoun subject in the same clause:

- (441) Dèm kòm wund dèm sef.
 6sP +R wound 6ps self
 ‘They hurt themselves.’

Numerals and demonstratives are used in clauses to refer to preceding or following nominals, although these uses may be considered to be only marginally anaphoric:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|
| (442) | Mà pìkìn bì dat wòn.
1ps child cvF that one
‘My child is that one.’ | OR | Mà pìkìn bì dat.
1ps child cvF that |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|

Anaphoric sentential adverbials of manner may take the form of reduplicated numerals:

- (443) A gò bit ò pìkìn wòn-wòn.
 1sP –R beat ar child oneR
 ‘I will beat the children one by one.’

1.5.2.2

Anaphora between co-ordinate structures

Omission. Anaphoric omission of elements following identical elements in co-ordinate structures is very common. The constraints on this type of omission are outlined in sections 1.3.2–3. Serialized verb constructions could be considered to consist of verbs whose subjects have been omitted under identity (see 1.3.1.1.4).

Pronominal forms. All of the pronominal forms used to express anaphora within clauses are also utilized to show anaphora between co-ordinate clause structures:

- (444) *emphatic subject pronouns*
 Chinwe kòt nyam ànd ìm pawnd pepe.
 Chinwe cutF yam and 3EP poundF pepper
 ‘Chinwe cut yams and she pounded pepper.’
- (445) *nonemphatic subject pronouns*
 Chinwe kòt nyam ànd ìm pawnd pepe.
 Chinwe cutF yam and 3sP poundF pepper
 ‘Chinwe cut yams and she pounded pepper.’
- (446) *object pronouns*
 Chinwe kòt nyam ànd ìm pawnd -am.
 Chinwe cutF yam and 3sP poundF-3oP
 ‘Chinwe cut yams and she pounded them.’
- (447) *possessive pronouns*
 Chinwe kòt mà nyam ànd ìm pawnd ìm pepe.
 Chinwe cutF 1ps yam and 3sP poundF 3ps pepper
 ‘Chinwe cut my yams and she pounded her pepper.’
- (448) *possessive pronominals (on):*
 Chinwe kòt ìm nyam and im pawnd ma on.
 Chinwe cutF 3ps yam and 3sP poundF 1ps ps
 ‘Chinwe cut her yams and she pounded mine.’
- (449) *reflexive pronominals*
 Chinwe kòt nyam ànd kòm wund ìm sef.
 Chinwe cutF yam and +R wound 3ps self
 ‘Chinwe cut yams and hurt herself.’

In serialized verb constructions, a single pronoun sometimes serves as both the object of a verb and the subject of a following verb (see 1.2.1.2.1 and 1.3.1.1.4):

- (450) A kòm bit yù kòm tèl yò màma.
 1sP +R beat 2s/oP +R tell 2ps mother
 ‘I beat you and you told your mother.’

Anaphora from one co-ordinate phrase structure to another is possible only with possessive pronominals and only where the pronominal follows the nominal to which it refers:

- (451) Hàlima ànd ìm broda
 Halima and 3ps brother
 ‘Halima and her brother’
- (452) yò broda ànd mà on

2ps brother and 1ps ps
 ‘your brother and mine’

Numerals and demonstratives. Both numerals and demonstratives may be employed in a marginally anaphoric way in conjoined sentence and phrase structures:

- (453) Won mango don redi bòt di oda (won) neva yelo.
 one mango +C be ripe but ar other (one) ng+C be yellow
 ‘One mango has ripened but the other (one) is not yet yellow.’

- (454) dis boy and di oda (tu)
 this boy and ar other (two)
 ‘this boy and the other (two)’

Adverbials. The adverbial pronominals such as *so* ‘in that way’ (manner), *dyar* ‘(over) there’ (place) and *den* ‘then’ (time) may refer anaphorically to an adverbial in a preceding conjoined sentence:

- (455) Dèm dè chu gronòt won-won bòt wi no dè chu -am so.
 6sP -C chew peanut oneR but 4sP ng -C chew-3oP so
 ‘They eat peanuts one by one but we don’t eat them in that way.’

1.5.2.3

Anaphora in superordinate and subordinate clauses

1.5.2.3.1

Order: superordinate clause/subordinate clause

Omission is not available as a means to express anaphora in noun clauses. Any nominal element in a relative clause except for a prepositional object may be omitted when it is identical to the head nominal (see [1.1.2.3.4–7](#)):

- (456) *relative clause subject*
 A chop di nyam we de tebul.
 1sP eatF ar yam rcI cv table
 ‘I ate the yam that was on the table.’

- (457) *relative clause object*
 A chop di nyam we yù pripyâr.
 1sP eatF ar yam rcI 2sP prepareF
 ‘I ate the yam that you prepared.’

Headless relative clauses occur in a very restricted set of environments. In such cases the head nominal could be said to have been omitted or incorporated into the question-word at the beginning of the relative clause (see [1.1.2.3.6](#)).

Pronominal forms. Any nominal element of a relative clause or a noun clause may be replaced by a pronominal form that refers anaphorically to a nominal in the preceding superordinate clause (see 1.1.2.2–4):

Relative clauses.

- (458) *relative clause subject*
 A chop dì nyam wē ìm de tebul.
 1sP eatF ar yam rcI 3sP cv table
 ‘I ate the yam that was on the table.’
- (459) *relative clause object*
 A chop dì nyam wē yù pripyiar -am.
 1sP eatF ar yam rcI 2sP prepareF-3oP
 ‘I ate the yam that you prepared.’
- (460) *relative clause adverbial*
 A si dì haws wē yù dè slip fōr-am.
 1sP seeF ar house rcI 2sP –C sleep p -3oP
 ‘I saw the house where you sleep.’
- (461) *relative clause possessive pronoun*
 A no dì wuman wē ìm màma dōn day.
 1sP knowF ar woman rcI 3ps mother +C die
 ‘I know the woman whose mother died.’
- (462) *relative clause possessive pronominal (on), relativized on subject*
 A layk dì haws wē bì mà on.
 1sP likeF ar house rcI cvF 1ps ps
 ‘I like the house that is mine.’
- (463) *relative clause reflexive pronominal, relativized on subject*
 A sàbi dì man wē wund ìm sēf.
 1sP knowF ar man rcI hurtF 3ps self
 ‘I know the man who hurt himself.’

A reduced form of the third-person nonemphatic subject pronoun *ì* tends to be used instead of *ìm* in relative clauses and (more rarely) in noun clauses:

- (464) *relative clause subject*
 A chop dì nyam wē ì de tebul.
 1sP eatF ar yam rcI 3sP cv table
 ‘I ate the yam that was on the table.’

In basilectal speech, *ì* tends to be used for many or all persons in relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.4):

- (465) #Yu wɛ̀ ì no get sɛns gò go skul ?
 2sP rcI sP ng haveF sense -R go school Qù
 ‘A stupid person like you is going to go to school?’

Noun clauses.

- (466) *noun clause subject*
 Ade tɔk se ìm dɔn taya.
 Ade talkF ncI 3sP +C be tired
 ‘Ade said that he was tired.’
- (467) *noun clause object*
 Ade tɔk se dɛ̀m bit -am finish.
 Ade talkE ncI 6sP beatF-3oP +C
 ‘Ade said that they beat him soundly.’
- (468) *noun clause possessive pronoun*
 Ade tɔk se dɛ̀m bit ìm pìkìn finish.
 Ade talkF ncI 6sP beat 3ps child +C
 ‘Ade said that they beat his child soundly.’
- (469) *noun clause possessive pronominal (on)*
 Yù tɔk fɔ̀r dì haws se ìm bì yò on.
 2sP talkF p ar house ncI 3sP cvF 2ps ps
 ‘You said at the house that it is yours.’
- (470) *noun clause reflexive pronominal*
 Dì man tɔk se ìm wund ìm sɛ̀f.
 ar man talkF ncI 3ps hurtF 3ps self
 ‘The man said that he hurt himself.’

When an objectless verb occurs in a superordinate sentence of a noun clause construction it may optionally take a pronoun object which refers to the entire sentence contained in the following noun clause. This type of structure may be converted into a relative clause construction by replacing the noun clause introducer *se* with the relative clause introducer *wɛ̀*, in which case the use of the object pronoun is no longer optional but obligatory, since it serves as the head nominal:

- (471) A sàbi (-am) se dɛ̀m bit yò pìkìn finish.
 1sP knowF(-3oP) ncI 6sP beat 2ps child +C
 ‘I know that they beat your child soundly.’
- (472) A sàbi -am wɛ̀ dɛ̀m bit yò pìkìn finish.
 1sP knowF-3oP ncI 6sP beat 2ps child +C
 ‘I know that they beat your child soundly.’

Numerals and demonstratives are rarely employed to express anaphora between superordinate and subordinate clauses. A few examples of this type of anaphora, however, are attested in the data:

- (473) Im giv dì boy ɔl dì buk se mek -am rid ɛni wɔn.
 3sP giveF ar boy all ar book ncI SJcI-3oP read any one
 ‘(S)he gave the boy all the books, telling him to read any one.’
- (474) Im giv dì boy dì buk se mek -am rid dɛm wɔn-wɔn.
 3sP giveF ar boy ar book ncI SJcI-3oP read 6oP oneR
 ‘(S)he gave the boy the books, telling him to read them one by one.’

Adverbials. Proadverbials are occasionally utilized in subordinate clauses to refer anaphorically to adverbials in superordinate clauses:

- (475) Ade put ìm nyam fɔr mòto se mek à put mà on dyar tù.
 Ade putF 3ps yam p car ncI SJcI 1sP put 1ps ps there also
 ‘Ade put his yams into the car so that I would put mine there also.’

1.5.2.3.2

Order: subordinate/superordinate clause

The same possibilities and constraints that are appropriate to anaphora in constructions consisting normally of a superordinate clause followed by a subordinate clause are appropriate as well to constructions such as the conditional construction, which usually consist of a subordinate clause followed by a superordinate clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.5):

- (476) If se ìm put ìm gari fɔr pɔt Ade go prɪpyar-am.
 avcI ncI 3sP put 3sP gari p pot Ade -R prepare-3oP
 ‘If he (Ade) puts his gari in the pot, Ade will prepare it.’

A relative clause never precedes its nominal head. Noun clauses may sometimes be fronted in a topicalization construction. In such cases, all of the rules outlined in 1.5.2.3.1 still apply but in the opposite direction, with most of the omission, pronominal substitution, etc. still occurring in the subordinate clause, but with the antecedents mentioned afterwards, in the following superordinate clause:

- (477) Se mek-am rid -am, nà ìm ìm giv dì boy dì buk.
 ncI SJcI-3oP read-3oP EI 3EP 3sP giveE ar boy ar book
 ‘So that he would read it, (s)he gave the boy the book.’
- (478) Se dɛm bit mà pìkɪn finish, à sàbi (-am),
 ncI 6sP beat 1ps child +C 1sP knowF(-3oP)
 ‘They really beat my child, I know (it).’

1.5.2.4

Anaphora between different subordinate clauses

Anaphora between different subordinate clauses follows the patterns described in 1.2.5.3 with preceding subordinate clauses playing the role of superordinate clause in relation to any following subordinate clauses:

- (479) Im giv dì boy dì buk
 3sP giveF ar boy ar book
 se mek-am tek dì wɔ̃n wɛ̃ ìm layk (-am)
 ncI SJcI-3oP take ar one rcI 3sP likeF(-3oP)

se ì gò bì ìm on we ìm gò tek skul ìm sef.

ncI 3sP -R cv 3ps ps rcI 3sP -R takeV+ school/v 3ps self

‘(S)he gave the boy the books, telling him to take the one that he liked to be his own to teach himself with (it).’

1.5.2.5

Anaphora between different sentences

All of the possibilities for anaphora listed in sections 1.5.2.1–3 are available for anaphora between sentences as well, with fewer of the restrictions listed for smaller units.

Omission. Almost any item in a preceding sentence may be omitted in a following sentence, as shown for echo-questions and answers in sections 1.1.1.2.3–4.

Pronominal forms. All of the pronominals listed in the preceding sections are used extensively to express anaphora between sentences. The possessive pronominal *on* takes on the function of an indefinite or sentential pronoun in this environment:

- (480) Yù plan eni ting wɛ̃ yù gò plan.
 2sP plan any thing rcI 2sP -R plan
 Totis sef dɔ̃n sàbi ìm on finish.
 tortoise E +C know 3ps ps +C
 ‘You will plan anything you will plan. The tortoise him/herself has known his/her own already.’
 OR ‘No matter what you plan, the clever tortoise has already figured out how to outsmart you.’

- (481) A gò sho yù dì we wɛ̃ wì dè graynd tùmato.
 1sP -R show 2oP ar way rcI 4sP -C grind tomato
 I get màshîn on hand on tù wɛ̃ yù gò jɔ̃st du-am.
 3SD haveF machine ps hand ps too rcI 2sP -R just do-3oP
 ‘I will show you how we grind tomatoes. There is a machine method and a hand method to do it alone.’

Numerals, demonstratives and adverbials. All of the anaphoric uses of numerals, demonstratives and proadverbials illustrated in the preceding sections are available for the expression of anaphora between different sentences.

1.5.3

Anaphora and elements adjacent to clause introducers

Elements located adjacent to clause introducers undergo all of the processes discussed in sections 1.5.1–2 in the same way as do other elements. The only apparent exceptions to this general pattern are: (a) the omission/incorporation of the head noun in headless relative clause constructions (see 1.1.2.3.6 and 1.5.2.3.1) and (b) the constraint that disallows the omission of both the relative clause introducer *we* and the subject noun phrase of the same relative clause (see 1.1.2.3.1).

1.6

REFLEXIVES

1.6.1

Means of expressing reflexivity

1.6.1.1

Invariable reflexive pronominal

The form *bòdi* ‘body’ may be used as an invariable pronoun to express reflexivity, especially when the event it is associated with involves the physical body of the referent:

- (482) A *kòm* si *bòdi* fòr glas.
 1sP +R see body p glass
 ‘I saw my self in the mirror.’

1.6.1.2

Variable reflexive pronominals

Pronominal associative/possessive constructions, consisting of a possessive pronoun followed by *bòdi* ‘body’ or *sef* ‘self’, select one of the six possessive pronouns (see 2.1.2.4) to agree with the person and number specifications of the sentential subject when they are utilized as variable reflexive pronominals. In acrolectal speech, the forms including *sef* are employed more frequently than are the *bòdi* forms:

- (483) A *kòm* si mà *bòdi* fòr glas.
 1sP +R see 1ps body p glass
 ‘I saw my self in the mirror.’

- (484) A *kòm* si mà *sef* fòr glas.
 1sP +R see 1ps self p glass
 ‘I saw my self in the mirror.’

In acrolectal varieties, a special complex associative/possessive construction, consisting of one of the six possessive pronouns followed first by the possessive pronominal *on* (see 2.1.2.4) and then by the possessed nominal element may be employed to express reflexive possession. This form is used mainly to disambiguate third and sixth person reference:

- (485) @Akpan no dè bit ìm on pìkìn.
 Akpan ng –C beat 3ps ps child
 ‘Akpan doesn’t beat his own children.’

1.6.1.3
Reflexive verbal affixes

There are no reflexive verbal affixes in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.6.1.4
Other means of expressing reflexivity

Certain verbs such as *baf* ‘bathe’ and *wund* ‘wound’ have an inherently reflexive meaning when they are used without a sentential object. This reflexive meaning is enhanced by the realis modality auxiliary *kom*, which may lend a passive sense to the assertion as well (see 2.1.3.1):

- (486) A baf dì pìkìn finish ànd à *kom* baf.
 1sP batheF ar child +C and 1sP +R bathe
 ‘I bathed the child, then I bathed myself.’
- (487) Mā pāpa *kom* wund.
 1ps father +R hurt
 ‘My father hurt himself’ OR ‘My father was hurt.’

1.6.2–5
Position of reflexive pronominals and antecedents

A reflexive pronominal is in every case a semantic object (verbal or prepositional) of the clause for which its antecedent is the overt or understood semantic subject. All reflexive pronominals occupy a postverbal object slot of the clause in which they occur. An antecedent occupies the subject slot if it is found in the same clause as the reflexive pronominal which refers back to it. If the subject of the subordinate clause is not overtly expressed, the antecedent may occur in a clause which precedes the clause occupied by its reflexive pronominal, in which case the antecedent may occupy any sentential position available to noun phrases (see 1.2.5.3):

- (488) *antecedent/subject; reflexive/accusative object*
 Dì man bit bòdi.
 ar man beatF body
 ‘The man beat himself.’

also acceptable:

- Dì man bit ìm bodi.
 Dì man bit ìm sef.

- (489) *antecedent/subject; reflexive/prepositional object*
 Dì man pò wòta fòr bòdi.
 ar man pourF water p body
 ‘The man poured water on himself.’

also acceptable:

Dì man pò wòta fòr ìm bòdi.
 Dì man pò wòta fòr ìm sèf.

- (490) *antecedent/subject; reflexive/dative object*
 Dì man giv ìm sèf dì mònì.
 ar man giveF 3ps self ar money
 ‘The man gave himself the money.’
- (491) *antecedent/subject; reflexive/stative verb object*
 Dì man red bòdi.
 ar man be redF body
 ‘The man reddened himself (with ceremonial chalk).’

also acceptable:

Dì man red ìm bòdi.

- (492) *antecedent/subject; reflexive/copular verb object*
 Dì man bì ìm sèf.
 ar man cvF 3ps self
 ‘The man is himself.’
- (493) *antecedent/accusative object; reflexive/accusative object*
 A sì dì man wè bit bòdi.
 1sP seeF ar man rcI beatF body
 ‘I saw the man who beat himself.’

also acceptable:

A sì dì man wè bit ìm bòdi.
 A sì dì man wè bit ìm sèf.

- (494) *antecedent/accusative object; reflexive/prepositional object*
 A sì dì man wè pò wòta fòr bòdi.
 A sì dì man wè pò wòta fòr ìm bòdi.
 A sì dì man wè pò wòta fòr ìm sèf.
 ‘I saw the man who poured water on himself

- (495) *antecedent/accusative object; reflexive/dative object*
 A si dì man w_e giv ìm s_ef dì m_òni.
 ‘I saw the man who gave himself the money.’
- (496) *antecedent/accusative object; reflexive/stative verb object*
 A si dì man w_e r_ed b_òdi.
 A si dì man w_e r_ed ìm b_òdi.
 ‘I saw the man who reddened himself (with chalk).’
- (497) *antecedent/accusative object; reflexive/copular verb object*
 A si dì man w_e bì ìm s_ef.
 ‘I saw the man who is himself.’

All of the possible combinations of antecedent and reflexive positions listed in the preceding examples are acceptable as grammatical by native speakers of Nigerian Pidgin.

1.6.6

Reflexives in nominalized clauses

Reflexive pronominals may occur in clauses that have been nominalized in focus constructions (see 1.1.2.2.6):

- (498) Nà dì man giv ìm s_ef dì m_òni bì dat.
 EI ar man giveF 3ps self ar money cvF that
 ‘The man gave himself the money is what that is.’ OR ‘The fact is that the man gave himself the money.’

1.6.7

Reflexive relations within noun phrases

Beside the acrolectal use of reflexive possessive pronominals (see 1.6.1.2) and the special use of *on* as a nonspecific or sentential pronominal (see 1.5.2.5) reflexive relations do not normally exist within noun phrases.

1.6.8

Reflexive pronominals without antecedents

The only possible occurrences of reflexive pronominals without antecedents attested in the data are the instances where *on* is utilized as a nonspecific or sentential pronominal (see 1.5.2.5).

1.6.9 Other uses of reflexive pronominals

1.6.9.1 *Emphasis marking*

The emphasis marker *sef* (see 1.11.2.2) has exactly the same form and position as the item *sef* which follows the possessive pronouns to form reflexive pronominals (see 1.6.1.2). The emphatic use of *sef* could be considered to be an extension of its use in reflexive pronominals, or reflexive pronominals could be conceived of as a special type of emphasized noun phrase. Because it may form a noun phrase unto itself, an emphatic pronoun can be followed by *sef* in the same way as can any other noun phrase in the language:

- (499) Yu *sef* *kòm* giv yò *sef* ɔl dì mònì.
 2EP E +R give 2ps self all ar money
 ‘You (and nobody else) gave yourself all the money.’

1.7 RECIPROCALLS

1.7.1 Means of expressing reciprocity

1.7.1.1 *Invariable reciprocal pronominals*

In acrolectal speech, the forms *ich oda* ‘each other’ and *won ànoda* ‘one another’ are employed to express reciprocity:

- (500) @Dèm *kòm* laf ich òda.
 6sP +R laugh each other
 ‘They laughed at each other.’

1.7.1.2 *Variable reciprocal pronominals*

Any of the plural emphatic subject pronouns may be reduplicated and used in object and/or subject position to show reciprocity:

- (501) Wi-wi *kòm* wund wi-wi.
 4EPR +R hurt 4EPR
 ‘We hurt one another/each other.’

also acceptable:

Wi k_{om} wund wi-wi.

Wi-wi k_{om} wund.

Reflexive *sef* pronominals (see 1.6.1.2) are occasionally utilized in object position with a reciprocal meaning:

- (502) D_{em} layk d_{em} s_{ef}.
6sP likeF 6ps self
'They like one another/each other.'

When a *sef* pronominal fills an object position and expresses reciprocity, a reduplicated reciprocal pronoun may optionally fill the subject slot of the same clause:

- (503) D_{em}-d_{em} no dè bit d_{em} s_{ef}.
6EPR ng -C beat 6ps ps
'They don't beat one another/each other.'

1.7.1.3

Reciprocal verbal affixes

There are no reciprocal verbal affixes in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.7.1.4

Other means of expressing reciprocity

Certain verbs such as *kos* 'curse' and *fayt* 'fight' have an inherently reciprocal meaning when they are used without a sentential object:

- (504) D_{em} b_{ig}n k_{os} ànd d_{em} k_{om} fayt.
6sP beginF+ curse+ and 6sP +R fight
'They started to swear at each other and then fought each other.'

1.7.2–5

Position of reciprocal pronominals and antecedents

A reciprocal pronominal is normally a semantic object (verbal or prepositional) of the clause for which its antecedent is the semantic subject. The only exception to this general pattern is the relatively rare instance where a reduplicated emphatic reciprocal pronominal occurs in subject position, in which case the antecedent may act as a signal for reciprocity along with the object pronominal. All nonsubject reciprocal pronominals occupy a postverbal object slot of the clause in which they occur. An antecedent occupies the subject slot if it is found in the same clause as the reciprocal pronominal which refers back to it. An antecedent may occur in a clause which precedes the clause occupied by its reciprocal pronominal, in which case the antecedent may occupy any sentential position available to noun phrases (see 1.2.5.3):

- (505) *antecedent/subject; reciprocal/accusative object*

Dì man dèm bit dèm-dèm.
 ar man pl beatF 6EPR
 ‘The men beat one another/each other.’

also acceptable:

Dèm-dèm bit dèm-dèm.
 Dèm-dèm bit dèm sẹf.
 Dì man dèm bit dèm sẹf.
 @Dì man dèm bit ich ọda.
 @Dì man dèm bit won ànọda.

The same possibilities exist for reciprocal relations as exist for reflexive relations, except that reciprocal pronominals may not fill the object slot after copular verbs. Setting instances of copular objects aside, then, all of the example sentences under 1.6.2–5. could have their subjects pluralized and their reflexive elements replaced by reciprocal pronominals.

1.7.6

Reciprocals in nominalized clauses

Reciprocal pronominals may occur in clauses that have been nominalized in focus constructions (see 1.1.2.2.6):

- (506) Nà ùnà giv ùnà-ùnà mọni bì dì problem.
 EI 5sP giveF 5EPR money cvF ar problem
 ‘That you gave one another money is the problem.’

1.7.7

Reciprocal relations within noun phrases

Beside the acrolectal use of the reciprocal pronominals *ich ọda* and *won ànọda* (see 1.7.1.2) in associative/possessive constructions, reflexive relations do not normally exist within noun phrases:

- (507) @Dèm no dè bit ich ọda pìkín dèm.
 6sP ng –C beat each other child pl
 ‘They don’t beat one another’s/each other’s children.’

1.7.8

Reciprocal pronominals without antecedents

Reciprocal pronominals without antecedents are not attested in the data.

1.7.9

Other uses of reciprocal pronominals

Reciprocal pronominals are not used for any other purpose than to express reciprocity.

1.8

COMPARISON

1.8.1

Means of expressing comparison

1.8.1.1–3

Comparative elements and particles

There are no elements, particles or constructions used exclusively for comparison or for equatives. The only means regularly employed to express comparative and equative relations is verb serialization (see 1.8.1.4.2).

1.8.1.4

Other means of expressing comparison

1.8.1.4.1

Verbs with an inherently comparative meaning

Some verbs such as *fest* ‘be first’ or *sinyo* ‘be older’ have an inherently comparative meaning, and therefore an implicit comparative relation is expressed when they are used:

- (508) Nà mi fest yù kòm.
 EI 1EP be firstF+ 2oP come+
 ‘It is I who came before you.’ OR ‘I came earlier than you.’
- (509) A sinyo Akpan, sinyo ol mà broda dèm.
 1sP be olderF+ Akpan be older+ all 1ps brother pl
 ‘I am older than Akpan. I am the oldest of all of my siblings.’

The verb *bèta* ‘be very good’ and the adverbial *mo* ‘very much’ are not normally used to show comparison, despite their resemblance to the Nigerian Standard English comparative forms *better* and *more*:

- (510) A no get bèta pìkîn.
 1sP ng haveF be very good/mn child
 Dèm jost dè wàhala mo.
 6sP just –C trouble very much
 ‘I don’t have very good children. They just make trouble a lot.’

1.9 EQUATIVES

1.9.1 Means of expressing equatives

1.9.1.1–3 *Equative elements and particles*

There are no elements, particles or constructions used exclusively for comparison or for equatives. The only means regularly employed to express comparative and equative relations is verb serialization (see [1.9.1.4.2](#)).

1.9.1.4 *Other means of expressing equatives*

1.9.1.4.1 Verbs with an inherently equative meaning

Copular verbs, especially the copular extension *làyk* (see [1.2.1.1.6.9](#)), have an inherently equative meaning, and therefore an implicit equative relation is expressed when they are used:

- (522) Dì gàri bì làyk sànsan fòr grawnd ò.
 ar gari cvF cx sand p ground Ef
 ‘The gari is like sand.’ OR ‘There is as much gari as there is sand on the ground.’ OR ‘Gari is plentiful.’

1.9.1.4.2 Equatives expressed by means of serialized verbs

Equative relations are expressed principally through the use of regular serialized verb constructions (see [1.3.1.1.4](#) and [2.1.3.7](#)). In equative serialized verb constructions, the verb *rich* ‘arrive’ follows the verb phrase that sets the equative parameter and is itself followed by an object that sets the equative standard:

- (523) Chinwe [get sèns] rich [yu].
 Chinwe [haveF+ sense] reach+ [2EP]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Chinwe has as much sense as you.’ OR ‘Chinwe is as smart as you.’

Since there is no category ‘adjective’ in Nigerian Pidgin and because most adjectival functions are fulfilled by stative verbs, there is no need to distinguish between adverbial and adjectival equatives in the language: both equative types are expressed in exactly the same way:

- (524) A [gò wòk] rich [yu].

1sP [-R work+] reach+ [2EP]
 ‘I will work as much as you.’

- (525) A [gò big] rich [yu].
 1sP [-R be big+] reach+ [2EP]
 ‘I will be as big as you.’

- (526) A gò wòk [kwik] rich [yu].
 1sP -R work+ [be quick+] reach+ [2EP]
 ‘I will work as quickly as you.’

- (527) A gò big [kwik] rich [yu].
 1sP -R be big+ [be quick+] reach+ [2EP]
 ‘I will get big as quickly as you.’

Where context permits, the parameter-setting verb that normally precedes *rich* in series may be omitted:

- (528) Yò pìkîn [plenti] rich [mà on].
 2ps child [be plentyF+] reach+ [1ps ps]
 ‘Your children are as numerous as mine.’ OR ‘You have as many children as I.’

- (529) Yù get nàyn pìkîn ò. Yò pìkîn dòn rich [mà on].
 2sP haveF+ nine child Ef 2ps child +C reach+ [1ps ps]
 ‘You have nine children! Your children have become as numerous as mine.’ OR ‘You have nine children! You have as many children as I.’

Another possible permutation affecting the parameter-setting verb which is sometimes mentioned in the literature (but is not attested in the Port Harcourt data) involves the nominalization of the parameter-setting verb phrase and its incorporation into a prepositional phrase which usually occupies the sentence-final adverbial slot (see 1.2.5.3):

- (530) A [big] rich [yu]. OR A rich yu fòr big.
 1sP [be bigF+] reach+ [2EP] p be big/n
 ‘I am as big as you.’

It is possible to omit the standard-setting object of *rich* in order to express adequacy or satisfaction of some norm-determined expectation:

- (531) A [big] rich.
 1sP [be bigF+] reach+
 ‘I am big enough.’ OR ‘I am old enough.’

1.9.2–4

Omission of elements in equative structures

Because equative structures are serialized verb constructions, exactly the same patterns outlined in section 1.3 for omission under identity in serialized verb co-ordination and other co-ordination constructions are appropriate as well to equative constructions. Special cases of parameter-setting verb omission and of standard-setting object omission are discussed in section 1.9.1.4.2.

1.9.5

Differences between equative structure types

Equative structures are all serialized verb constructions and they may therefore be said to be all of the same type.

1.9.6

Correlative equatives

Correlative equative relations are expressed by the juxtaposition of two equative serialized verb constructions, each of which has undergone focalization of the standard-setting object of *rich*, which is replaced by the proadverbial *so* and inserted into a sentence-initial clefted focus construction (see 1.11.2.1.4). *Rich* itself is more often than not omitted from one or both terms of a correlative equative structure:

- (532) Nà so yù gò big (rich), nà so yù gò strong (rich).
 EI so 2sP –R be big+ (reach+) EI so 2sP –R be strong+ (reach+)
 ‘You will be as strong as you will be big.’ OR ‘You will only be as strong as your size permits.’

1.10

POSSESSION

1.10.1

Sentences expressing possession

The principal means used for expressing possessive relations is the associative/possessive noun phrase, which is described and exemplified in detail in section 1.2.5.1.1. Within associative/possessive noun phrases, possessive pronouns corresponding to the six pronominal persons and a general possessive pronominal *on* are commonly used to show possession (see 2.1.2.4).

At sentence level, the verbs *get* ‘have’ and *hold* ‘hold, have’ are employed to establish a possessive relation (see 1.10.3):

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (533) | A get wɔn buk.
1sP haveF one book
‘I have a book.’ OR
‘I own a book.’ | OR | A hold wɔn buk.
1sP holdF one book
‘I have a book.’ OR
‘I am keeping someone’s book.’ |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Get is also used impersonally as a copular verb to show quantity or existence in time (see 1.2.1.1.6.7–8).

1.10.2

Alienable vs. inalienable possession

A distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is made only in the case of body parts and a few other relatively inalienable items such as *haws* ‘house’ where the use of possessive pronouns to show possession is optional if the possessor is the sentential subject. The use of *bòdì* ‘body’, both with and without a possessive pronoun, as a reflexive marker could be seen as an example of this pattern (see 1.6.1.1–2):

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (534) | A <u>kòm</u> dèti mà kòp.
1sP +R be dirty 1ps cup
‘I soiled my cup.’ | A <u>kòm</u> dèti kòp.
1sP +R be dirty cup
‘I soiled a cup.’ |
| (535) | A <u>kòm</u> dèti mà hand.
1sP –R be dirty 1ps hand
‘I soiled my hand(s).’ | A <u>kòm</u> dèti hand.
1sP –R be dirty hand
‘I soiled my hand(s).’ |

1.10.3

Temporary vs. permanent possession

Get is used to show permanent possession or ownership, while *hold* shows temporary possession or guardianship (see 1.10.1).

1.10.4

Possession and the animacy hierarchy

With the exception of the very marginal distinction made between alienable and inalienable possession (see 1.10.2) there is little or no difference made in the expression of possession according to the degree of animacy of either the possessor or the possessed element.

1.10.5

Possession and tense/aspect/modality

Verbs which are utilized to show possession may be used with any of the tense/aspect/modality markers available to other verbs in the language.

1.11 EMPHASIS/FOCUS

1.11.1 Sentence emphasis

1.11.1.1–2 *Sentence emphasis/focus*

Sentences are emphasized or focused by all of the same means as constituents, and are therefore treated together with them in 1.11.2.1.

1.11.2 Emphasis of sentences and constituents

1.11.2.1 *Means of expressing emphasis/focus of sentences and constituents*

1.11.2.1.1 Stress/accent

All types of stress normally involve a peak in prominence which usually consists of a higher level of pitch and an increased rate of pitch change over an expanded range (optionally accompanied by an increase in perceived length and loudness) over one or several of the component syllables of the stressed unit (see Faraclas 1985b).

Sentence stress under emphasis/focus. Under normal sentence stress, one phrase stress group within each sentence is selected to receive extra stress prominence over the syllables within that group which bear the phrase stress. The level, slope and range of pitch and the amount of length and perceived loudness associated with these syllables can be increased under both noncontradictory and contradictory emphatic stress. Emphatic stress may also lead to a general widening of the range of pitch which defines the intonation melody over the entire sentence.

Clause stress under emphasis/focus. When a clause is assigned emphatic stress of any kind within a sentence, a peak of prominence normally occurs over its initial syllables and may involve the resetting of the intonation register as if the entire sentence were beginning anew (see 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.2.1).

Constituent stress under emphasis/focus. The parsing of sentences into stress groups determines the number of phrase stresses over each sentence (there is one phrase stress per phrase stress group—see 3.3.2). Any major constituent within a sentence can be focused either noncontrastively or contrastively by separating it off from the rest of the sentence as a distinct phrase group. Each phrase stress group receives a peak of pitch prominence over one or several syllables, which is often accompanied by extra length and/or perceived loudness.

Inherently focused items. Some elements almost invariably attract the prominence peak of the stress group to which they belong. These include most of the emphatic pronouns and the grammatical markers for such inherently focused functions as interrogation (see 1.1.1.2.2.4–5) negation (see 1.4) and the imperative (see 1.1.1.3). Compound stress seems to be closely related to inherent stress and most of the

lexical items that normally function as the final element of a compound such as *ples* ‘place’, *taym* ‘time’, *man* ‘man’, *sayd* ‘side’, etc. (see 2.2.6.3) normally attract phrase stress in all environments and may therefore be considered to be inherently focused.

1.11.2.1.2

Particles

The emphasis marker *sef* may follow a sentence or a constituent in order to signal that the sentence constituent is noncontradictorily or contradictorily emphasized or that the constituent is contrastively or noncontrastively focused. The sentence-final particle *ò* has an emphatic marking function and may be used in the same environments as *sef*, but *ò* adds other meanings such as empathy, solidarity and realis modality to the assertion as well (see 2.1.8):

- (536) *noncontradictory sentence emphasis/focus*
 Im sel gàri fòr maket sef.
 3sP sellF gari p market E
 ‘(It was even the case that) (s)he sold gari in the market.’

also acceptable:

Im sel gàri fòr maket ò.

- (537) *contradictory sentence emphasis/focus*
 Im no sel gàri fòr maket sef. Im bay nyam.
 3sP ng sellF gari p market E 3sP buyF yam
 ‘(It was not the case that) (s)he sold gari in the market. (S)he bought yams.’

also acceptable:

Im no sel gàri fòr maket ò. Im bay nyam.

The flexibility of emphatic scope that characterizes both *sef* and *ò* is illustrated by the fact that both the *sef* and the *ò* versions of the two preceding examples could be interpreted as cases of adverbial constituent focus with the following alternative glosses:

Im sel gàri fòr maket sef.
 Im sel gàri fòr maket ò.
 ‘(S)he sold gari even in the market.’
 Im no sel gàri fòr maket sef. Im sel gàri fòr rod.
 Im no sel gàri fòr maket ò. Im sel gàri fòr rod.
 ‘(S)he didn’t sell gari in the market. (S)he sold gari on the road.’

- (538) *noncontrastive constituent emphasis/focus*
 Im sel gàri sef fòr maket.
 3sP sellF gari E p market

‘(S)he sold even gari in the market.’

also acceptable:

Im sel gàri ò fòr maket.

- (539) *contrastive constituent emphasis/focus*
 Im no sel gàri sef fòr maket. Im sel nyam.
 3sP ng sellF gari E p market 3sP sellF yam
 ‘(S)he didn’t sell gari in the market. She sold yams.’

also acceptable:

Im no sel gàri ò fòr maket. Im sel nyam.

1.11.2.1.3

Movement of emphasized element without dislocation

1.11.2.1.3.1–4 Movement without dislocation Movement without dislocation is not normally used for emphasis/focus in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.11.2.1.4

Clefting

Clefting is probably the most commonly employed means for signalling emphasis/focus in the language. Clefted sentences can be used to show either noncontradictory or contradictory emphasis in sentences or noncontrastive or contrastive constituent focus. Clefted sentences begin with the focus introducers *nà* (in the affirmative) or (*i*) *no bì* (in the negative) which immediately precede the focused sentence or constituent which itself serves as the head nominal for a relative clause which follows. Any focused sentence within a cleft emphasis/focus construction may optionally be preceded by the noun clause introducer *se*. An additional cleft-like option available only for the contradictory emphasis of entire sentences involves a construction that consists of (*i*) *no bì* followed this time by a noun clause:

- (540) *noncontradictory sentence or clause emphasis/focus*
 I wàhala mì se ìm bay nyam. OR
 3sD troubleF 1oP ncI 3sP buyF yam
 Nà ìm bay nyam we wàhala mì.
 EI 3sP buyF yam rcI troubleF 1oP
 ‘It bothers me that (s)he bought yams.’ ‘It’s that (s)he bought yams that bothers me.’

- (541) *contradictory sentence or clause emphasis/focus*
 I no wàhala mì se ìm bay nyam. OR
 3sD ng troubleF 1oP ncI 3sP buyF yam
 ‘It doesn’t bother me that (s)he bought yams.’
 (I) no bì ìm bay nyam we wàhala mì. OR

(3sD) ng cvF 3sP buyF yam rcI troubleF 1oP
 ‘It’s not that (s)he bought yams that bothers me.’
 (I) no bì se ìm bay nyam wẹ wàhala mì.
 (3sD) ng cvF ncI 3sP buyF yam rcI troubleF 1oP
 ‘It’s not that (s)he bought yams that bothers me.’

(542) *noncontrastive/contrastive constituent emphasis/focus*
 Nà nyam wẹ ìm bay fòr maket.
 EI yam rcI 3sP buyF p market
 ‘It’s yams that (s)he bought in the market.’

(543) *contrastive constituent emphasis/focus only*
 I no bì nyam wẹ ìm bay fòr maket.
 3sD ng cvF yam rcI 3sP buyF p market
 ‘It’s not yams that (s)he bought in the market.’

1.11.2.1.5 Pseudoclefting

Pseudocleft emphasis/focus constructions may be utilized in place of any cleft emphasis/focus construction. A pseudocleft emphasis/focus construction begins with the focused sentence or constituent which is followed by one of the cleft emphasis/focus constructions listed in 1.11.2.1.4, in which a generic pronominal noun such as *ting* ‘thing’, *ples* ‘place’ or *taym* ‘time’ replaces the focused item after the focus introducer. Because a subject precedes the focus introducer in pseudocleft structures, the copular form *bì* can optionally replace *nà*:

(544) *noncontradictory sentence or clause emphasis/focus*
 (Se) ìm bay nyam nà dì ting wẹ wàhala mì.
 (ncI) 3sP buyF yam EI ar thing rcI troubleF 1oP
 ‘That (s)he bought yams is the thing that bothers me.’

(545) *contradictory sentence or clause emphasis/focus*
 (Se) ìm bay nyam no bì dì ting wẹ wàhala mì.
 (ncI) 3sP buyF yam ng cvF ar thing rcI troubleF 1oP
 ‘That (s)he bought yams is not the thing that bothers me.’

(546) *noncontrastive/contrastive constituent emphasis/focus*
 Nyam nà dì ting wẹ ìm bay fòr maket.
 yam EI ar thing rcI 3sP buyF p market
 ‘Yams are the thing that (s)he bought in the market.’

(547) *contrastive constituent emphasis/focus only*
 Nyam no bì dì ting wẹ ìm bay fòr maket.
 yam ng cvF ar thing rcI 3sP buyF p market
 ‘Yams are not the thing that (s)he bought in the market.’

1.11.2.1.6

Dislocation of emphasized elements

1.11.2.1.6.1–3 Dislocation Dislocation is employed primarily for topicalization in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.12.1.3). Focused items may themselves be dislocated, however, in complex topicalized focus constructions (see 1.2.5.3).

1.11.2.1.7

Other possibilities

Repetition and reduplication. Groups of words (including entire sentences) may be repeated or syllables and single words may be reduplicated to show noncontradictory sentence emphasis or noncontrastive constituent emphasis (see 2.2.6.3).

Cognate objects. Verbs can be noncontrastively emphasized or focused when they are followed by deverbal objects derived from themselves (cognate objects, see 1.2.1.2.2). It is often difficult to distinguish cognate object constructions from reduplicated items, although the suprasegmental properties of some reduplicated forms differ from those of cognate object constructions (see 2.2.6.3).

Relativization. Relativized elements often carry some emphatic force, due to the fact that they serve as head nominals (see 1.1.2.3).

Auxiliaries. Some auxiliaries such as the completive postverbal auxiliaries *finish* and *taya* lend an emphatic meaning to the verb phrase in which they occur. The auxiliary combination (*don+dè*) is often used to emphasize the fact that an event (especially a stative event) has fully unfolded:

- (548) Dì chop swit bifô. Naw dì ting dôn dè smel.
 ar food be tasty before now ar thing +C –C be smelly
 ‘The food was delicious before. Now it is putrid.’

Ideophones lend a high degree of emphatic force to the verb phrases and the sentences where they are used (see 1.2.1.3.1.1).

1.11.2.1.8

Combinations of methods of emphasis/focus

Almost any combination of the means for emphasizing or focusing sentences and constituents listed above is possible:

- (549) Nà wàkàwaka we mi sɛf ò à dôn dè wàka ɔl dis
 EI walk/nR rcI IEP E Ef 1sP +C –C walk all this
 kaynd wàka taya pyùmpyum.
 kind walk/n +C ipR
 ‘It is walking, walking that me, I have surely walked all of this kind of walking exhaustively on and on.’ OR ‘I have done nothing but walk.’

1.11.2.2

Elements which may be emphasized or focused

1.11.2.2.1

Constituents eligible for emphasis

1.11.2.2.1.1 Noun phrases Noun phrases may be emphasized or focused by any of the means listed in 1.11.2.1, excepting auxiliaries, ideophones and cognate objects, which modify verbs or entire sentences, rather than nouns.

1.11.2.2.1.2 Adjectives Adjectives do not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4, 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.5.1.1). Stative verbs take the same emphasis/focus markers as do other verbs. Deverbal nouns that follow copulas can be emphasized or focused in exactly the same way as can other nouns. Deverbal modifier nouns are emphasized or focused as are other nonhead constituents of noun phrases.

1.11.2.2.1.3 Verbs All of the means for signalling emphasis/focus which are listed in 1.11.2.1 are accessible to verbs, excepting the cleft and the pseudocleft constructions. In order to focus verbs in a cleft or pseudocleft sentence, a reduplicated or cognate object form of the verb must be available for fronting (or movement to sentence-initial position, see Aikhionbare and Chumbow 1982). The verb itself may not be moved or omitted from its original clause:

- (550) Nà wàka wẹ à wàka, à no rọn.
 EI walk/n rcI 1sP walkF 1sP ng runF
 ‘I walked, I didn’t run.’
 *Nà wàka wẹ à, à no rọn.

1.11.2.2.1.4 Adverbials

Noun phrase adverbials and prepositional phrase adverbials. Noun phrase adverbials are emphasized or focused in exactly the same way as are other noun phrases in the language. Prepositional phrase adverbials also follow general noun phrase patterns:

- (551) (Fòr) moning nà dì taym wẹ ìm bay nyam.
 (p) morning EI ar time rcI 3sP buyF yam
 ‘(In the) morning is the time that (s)he bought yams.’

also acceptable:

Nà (fòr) moning wẹ ìm bay nyam.

Adverbial clauses undergo emphasis/focus by all of the methods listed for sentences and clauses in 1.11.2.1.

Adverbs are normally never emphasized or focused: a few sporadic instances of stressed items such as *stil* ‘still’ and reduplicated items such as *tu-tu* ‘too much, very much’ are attested preverbally, however. Sentential adverbs are often followed by *sef* or *ò*, but in such cases it could be argued that the emphasis/focus is on the entire verb phrase or sentence, rather than on the adverb.

1.11.2.2.1.5 Ideophones Emphasis/focus of ideophones generally follows the emphasis/focus patterns for noun phrases, with two exceptions: (a) when ideophones are followed by *sef*, *ò* or another ideophone, it could be argued that the emphasis/focus is on the entire verb phrase or sentence, rather than on the

its elements: when a modified or possessed nominal is moved, it must be moved together with its modifier or possessor nominal.

Demonstratives and quantifiers. Constituent stress is the only means regularly employed for emphasizing non-pronominalized demonstratives and quantifiers. When a demonstrative or a quantifier is pronominalized, it may be followed by *sef*, δ or a relative clause for emphasis. Pronominalized numerals may be reduplicated to show emphasis/focus.

General article, topicalizers and nonemphatic and possessive pronouns. The general article, topicalizers and all of the nonemphatic pronouns (including the possessive pronouns) may never be emphasized or focused individually.

Relative clauses. Emphasis/focus of relative clauses is discussed in 1.11.2.2.2.2.

1.11.2.2.2.4 Co-ordinate constructions There are no particular restrictions on any of the different types of co-ordinate structures listed in section 1.3 with respect to any of the methods used for emphasis/focus as described in section 1.11.2.1. A single element of a co-ordinate structure may be emphasized by any means that does not involve movement:

- (554) Nà wàkàwaka pyùmpyum ò ànd ròn bigbig ròn sef
 EI walkFR ipR Ef and runF+ be big/mn run/n E
 we mi ànd yu wì tek go rich tawn finish.
 rcI 1EP and 2EP 4sP takeFV+ go+ reach+ town +C
 ‘It was by great effort at walking and even running that you and I finally even managed to get to town.’

1.11.2.2.2.5 More than one constituent simultaneously All possible combinations of constituents, including entire sentences, may be emphasized or focused by any of the means listed in 1.11.2.1, within the constraints on the uses of particular methods in particular contexts which are described in that section.

1.11.2.2.3

Elements left behind by movement under emphasis

1.11.2.2.3.1–4 Movement processes under emphasis/focus Clefting and pseudoclefting are the only emphasis/focus-related processes that involve movement. Because the only movement involved in either of these processes consists of the fronting of one of the sentence constituents to the position of head nominal of a relative clause containing the remaining sentence elements, the rules governing the copying, pronominalization and omission of the fronted element in the relative clause are identical to those which apply to relative clause formation in general (see 1.11.2.3.1–7). Special features of clefted and pseudoclefted verbs are discussed in 1.11.2.2.1.3.

1.11.3

Focus of yes-no questions

Constituents of yes-no questions may be emphasized or focused by any of the means listed in 1.11.2.1 (within the constraints on the use of particular methods in particular contexts which are described in that section) with the sole exception of δ . The incompatibility of δ with yes-no questions is probably due to its [+realis] modality-marking properties, which clash semantically and pragmatically with the modality properties of questions in general (see 2.1.3.4).

1.12 TOPIC

1.12.1 Means of indicating the topic

1.12.1.1

Particles

The constituent-final particles *ba*, *fa*, *kwa(nu)*, *nàw* and *sha* are employed to indicate that the preceding constituent is the topic of the assertion at hand. In topic-switching questions, the same constituent-final particles are used, except that *nàw* is replaced by *nko*, and an additional question initial element *Wat òf...* ‘what about...’ is added to the set of available markers (see 1.1.1.4.4). All constituent-final particles utilized for topicalization except for *nàw* are exempt from the normal stress rules (see 3.3.2) and invariably retain high tone over all of their syllables:

- (555) Im sɛl gàrì nàw fòr makɛt.
 3sP sellF gari T p market
 ‘(S)he sold gari (you know) in the market.’

also acceptable:

Im sɛl gàrì ba fòr makɛt.
 Im sɛl gàrì fa fòr makɛt.
 Im sɛl gàrì kwa(nu) fòr makɛt.
 Im sɛl gàrì sha fòr makɛt.

- (556) Gàrì nkò ?
 Gari TQ Qù
 ‘What about gari?’

also acceptable:

Gàrì ba?
 Gàrì fa?
 Gàrì kwa(nu)?
 Gàrì sha?
 Wat òf gàrì?

1.12.1.2

Movement without dislocation

1.12.1.2.1–3

Movement without dislocation

Movement without dislocation is not normally used for topicalization in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.12.1.3

Movement with dislocation

1.12.1.3.1–3

Dislocation

Dislocation to sentence-initial position is very commonly used to signal topicalization. A dislocated constituent is separated from the rest of the sentence of which it is a part by a pause and it forms a phrase stress group unto itself (see 3.3.2):

- (557) Gàri, ìm sel fòr maket.
 gari 3sP sellF p market
 ‘As for the gari, (s)he sold it in the market.’

Dislocation to positions other than sentence-initial position is not attested in the data, except for some apparent cases of dislocation to sentence-final position, which involve the repetition of some sentential elements:

- (558) Im sel fòr maket, sel gàri.
 3sP sellF p market sellF gari
 ‘As for the gari, (s)he sold it in the market.’

1.12.1.4

Verb agreement

Verb agreement is not normally used for topicalization in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.12.1.5

Other means

Beside the use of particles and dislocation described in this section, no other means are utilized to signal topicalization in Nigerian Pidgin.

1.12.1.6

Combinations of means for topicalization

Any combination of the use of particles and dislocation in order to show topicalization in statements is possible. In topic-switching questions, dislocation is not available as a means of topicalization:

- (559) Gàri kwanu, ìm sel fòr maket.
 gari T 3sP sellF p market
 ‘As for the gari, (s)he sold it in the market.’
- (560) Im sel fòr maket, sel gàri fa.
 3sP sellF p market sellF加里 T
 ‘As for the gari, (s)he sold it in the market.’

1.12.2

Elements which may be topicalized

1.12.2.1

Constituents eligible for topicalization

1.12.2.1.1

Noun phrases

Noun phrases may be topicalized by any of the means listed in 1.12.1:

- (561) Ol di nyam dèm wẹ spoyl nàw, à sel dèm finish,
 all ar yam pl rcl spoilF T 1sP sellF 6oP +C
 ‘As for all the spoiled yams, I sold them all.’

1.12.2.1.2

Adjectives

Adjectives do not exist in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4, 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.5.1.1). Stative verbs take the same topicalization markers as do other verbs. Deverbal nouns that follow copulas can be topicalized in exactly the same way as can other nouns. Deverbal modifier nouns are topicalized as are other nonhead constituents of noun phrases.

1.12.2.1.3

Verbs

Verbs may be topicalized by any of the means listed in 1.12.1:

- (562) Im sel kwanu fòr maket.
 3sP sellF T p market
 ‘As for selling, (s)he sells in the market.’

- (563) *Sel* kwanu, ìm *sel fòr maket*.
 sellF T 3sP sellF p market
 ‘As for selling, (s)he sells in the market.’

1.12.2.1.4

Adverbials and ideophones

Adverbs and ideophones may never serve as the topic of a sentence. Other elements that function adverbially, however, may be topicalized by the use of particles and/or dislocation (see 1.2.1.3.1):

- (564) *prepositional phrase*
Fòr maket kwa, ìm gò *sel* (dyar).
 p market T 3sP–R sell (there)
 ‘As for the market, (s)he will sell (there).’
- (565) *noun phrase adverbial*
Tùmore fa, ìm gò *sel fòr maket*.
 tomorrow T 3sP–R sell p market
 ‘As for tomorrow, (s)he will sell in the market.’
- (566) *adverbial clause*
Dì taym yù gò dè slip ba, ìm gò dè *sel fòr maket*.
 ar time 2sP–R –C sleep T 3sP–R –C sell p market
 ‘As for the time when you will be sleeping, (s)he will be selling in the market.’

1.12.2.2

Eligibility of clause constituents for topicalization

1.12.2.2.1

Main clause constituents

Topicalization patterns for noun clauses and adverbial clauses are listed in 1.12.2.1.1 and 1.12.2.1.4. A verb may function alone as the topic of a sentence (as shown in 1.12.2.1.3) or it may be topicalized along with any objects and/or adverbial elements associated with it.

1.12.2.2.2

Subordinate clause constituents

All of the topicalization processes available generally to sentences and clauses in the language (as outlined in 1.12.1) are also available to subordinate clauses. A relative clause may not be topicalized by dislocation, however, unless it is moved along with its head nominal:

- (567) *Dì pikín wẹ̀ à bit nàw*, ìm kray.
 ar child rcl 1sP beatF T 3sP cryF

‘As for the child that I beat, (s)he cried.’

*We à bit nàw, dì pìkín kray.

1.12.2.2.3

Noun clause constituents

Head nominals. Nouns and emphatic pronouns which fill the head slot in noun phrases (see 1.2.5.1–3) can be topicalized by any of the methods listed in 1.12.1.

Nominals in associative/genitive constructions. Modified or possessed nominals in associative/genitive constructions are topicalized in the same way as are other head nominals. The general possessive pronominal *on* enjoys an equally wide range of possibilities for topicalization. Modifier or possessor nominals in associative/genitive constructions may never serve as the topic of a sentence. An associative/genitive construction cannot be split by the dislocation of one of its elements: when a modified or possessed nominal is dislocated, it must move with its modifier or possessor nominal.

Demonstratives and quantifiers. Demonstratives and quantifiers do not normally function as the topic of a sentence. When a demonstrative or a quantifier is pronominalized, however, it may undergo topicalization, by the use of particles and/or dislocation.

General article, emphasis markers, and nonemphatic and possessive pronouns. The general article, emphasis markers and all of nonemphatic pronouns (including the possessive pronouns) may never serve individually as the topic of a sentence.

Relative clauses. Topicalization of relative clauses is discussed in 1.12.2.2.2.

1.12.2.2.4

Co-ordinate constructions

There are no particular restrictions on any of the different types of co-ordinate structures listed in section 1.3 with respect to any of the methods used for topicalization as described in section 1.12.1. Single conjuncts can be topicalized by any of these methods as well.

1.12.2.2.5

More than one constituent simultaneously

All possible combinations of constituents, including entire sentences, may be topicalized by any of the means listed in 1.12.1, within the constraints on the use of particular methods in particular contexts which are described in that section. Topicalized elements can be strung together in series within the same sentence when the speaker is searching for the optimal way to eventually weave them all together into a single assertion, or when the speaker wants to tag an element on to the end of the sentence as an afterthought or to disambiguate a potentially confusing message:

- (568) Nyam fa, gàri, sel kwanu, ìm gò du-am dyar, fòr maket nàw.
yam T gari sellF T 3sP–R do-3oP there p market T
‘As for yams, as for gari, as for selling, (s)he will do it (all) there,
I mean, in the market.’

1.12.2.3

Elements left behind by movement under topicalization

1.12.2.3.1–4

Movement processes under topicalization

Dislocation is the only topicalization process that involves movement of constituents. When a noun phrase or adverbial phrase is dislocated, a copy, a pronominal form or nothing can be left behind in its place in the original sentence. When a verb phrase is dislocated, a copy of the verb or the proverb *du* ‘do’ must be left behind. There is some evidence to suggest that topicalizer particles themselves can be used to mark the original position of a dislocated element, but where this appears to occur, a multiple topicalization interpretation is always possible as well:

- (569) Gàri kwanu, ìm sèl (-am) kwanu fòr maket.
 gari T 3sp sellF(-3mP) T p market
 ‘As for the gari, (s)he sold it in the market.’

1.12.3

Optional, obligatory and preferred means of topicalization

Topicalization is always optional, although it could be said that certain environments (such as sentence-initial position) are inherently topicalized. If sentence-initial position is inherently topicalized, then subjects and other sentence-initial constituents could be considered to be topicalized by default. Of the means for signalling topicalization listed in 1.12.1, the use of particles is the most preferred strategy, with left dislocation slightly less frequently selected and right dislocation much less commonly utilized.

1.13

HEAVY SHIFT

1.13.1–5

Heavy shift

Particularly long and/or complex structures are neither more nor less likely to undergo the normal movement processes in the language, which are listed in 1.14.

1.14

MOVEMENT PROCESSES

Movement processes attested in the data include:

- 1 Question word movement (see 1.1.1.2.2.2).
- 2 Extraposition (see 1.1.2.2.2–5).
- 3 Adverbial movement (see 1.2.1.3.2).
- 4 Negative fronting (see 1.4.2).
- 5 Emphatic fronting (see 1.11).

- 6 Left dislocation (see 1.12).
- 7 Right dislocation (see 1.12).

1.15 MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

Minor sentence types attested in the data include:

- 1 Truncated echo questions (see 1.1.1.2.3.1–7).
- 2 Truncated answers (see 1.1.1.2.4.2).
- 3 Special imperative form (see 1.1.1.3.1).
- 4 Exclamations (see 1.1.1.4.1).
- 5 Expressions of affirmation/rejection (see 1.1.1.4.2).
- 6 Channel checks (see 1.1.1.4.3).
- 7 Topic-switching questions (see 1.1.1.4.4).
- 8 Vocatives and salutations (see 1.1.1.4.5).
- 9 Focus introducer *nà* sentences (see 1.2.1.1.6 and 1.11).
- 10 Deleted dummy subject sentences (see 1.2.1.2.1 and 1.4.2).

1.16 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORD CLASSES

Most of the contrastive differences between one word class and another are syntactic, rather than morphological or lexical, in nature (see 1.1.2.2.6 for a discussion of the multifunctionality of lexical items). For this reason, the syntactic slots listed and discussed in 1.2.5.3 will be referred to throughout this section.

1.16.1. Noun

Nouns occupy either the head nominal slot of a noun phrase or the modifier/possessor nominal slot of an associative/possessive construction within a noun phrase. A noun phrase may function as the subject of a verb, as the object of a verb or as a preposition or as an adverbial. A noun may be modified by any element that occupies a slot within the noun phrase. Nouns distinguish themselves from other word classes in that they enter freely into the formation of compound lexical items (see 2.2.6.3).

1.16.2 Pronoun

Syntactically, pronouns have the same distribution as do nouns, but when a pronoun serves as the head of a noun phrase it may never be modified by any of the modifiers that precede head nominals in noun phrases. Although some nouns (such as *tùdê* ‘today’) may constitute an adverbial noun phrase unto themselves, this is disallowed in the case of pronouns. Of the elements that follow head nominals in noun phrases, only emphasis markers, topicalizers and relative clauses may be used to modify a pronoun head. These restrictions do not apply to the possessive pronominal *on* or to pronominalized numerals, which are modified by the same range of elements as are available for noun modification. Morphologically, pronouns

are marked for six persons (or three persons, each with a distinct singular and plural form), for thematic role (subject vs. object vs. possessive) and for syntactic independence or emphasis (emphatic/independent vs. nonemphatic/dependent). Only emphatic pronouns may take modifiers or stand alone in truncated sentences. Only the third-person object pronoun *-am* could be said indisputably to be a clitic or affix. A strong case could be made for considering all of the nonemphatic pronouns (but especially the nonemphatic object pronouns) to be clitics as well (see 2.1.2 and 2.1.8.1.1). Unlike nouns, pronouns are not usually involved in the formation of compound lexical items.

1.16.3

Verb

A verb occupies the head verb slot of a verb phrase and can be modified by any element which may occupy another verb phrase slot, including tense/aspect/modality markers, adverbials and other verbs (such as modal verbs) co-ordinated with it in a serialized verb construction (see 1.3.1.1.4). In most sentence types, verbs are obligatorily present. Verbs normally take a subject and at least one object although objectless and (more rarely) subjectless sentences occur. Verbs may not normally consist of more than two syllables and the range of possibilities for tone-to-syllable linkages is more restricted for verbs than it is for any other class of words (see 3.3.3.8).

1.16.4

Adjective

There is no formal way to distinguish a category ‘adjective’ from the categories ‘noun’ or ‘verb’ (see 2.1.4, 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.5.1.1).

1.16.5

Preposition

Prepositions are obligatorily followed by a noun phrase object to form a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases fill either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final adverbial phrase slot in the sentence. Prepositions always bear low tone and they are never stressed. Although prepositions take objects, they may not take subjects (except in a few acrolectal varieties; see 1.3.1.1.4).

1.16.6

Noun phrase modifiers

Noun phrase modifiers include demonstratives, quantifiers, articles, ordinal numbers, cardinal numbers, the pluralizer, emphasis markers and topicalizers. Each of these may be said to constitute a distinct word class because of the fact that each occupies a distinct slot in the noun phrase.

1.16.7

Verb phrase modifiers

Verb phrase modifiers include auxiliaries, modal verbs, preverbal adverbs, sentential adverbs and ideophones. Although most of these elements may be distinguished from one another by the distinct slot

that each occupies within the verb phrase, there is considerable overlap in form and function among them as well as between all of them and the class of verbs itself (see [1.3.1.1.4](#)).

1.16.8 Sentential elements

Lexical items such as negative markers, clause introducers, the focus introducer *nà*, question-words, yes-no question markers, topic-switching question markers, conjunctions, exclamatory particles and the phrase-final particle *ò* could each be considered to constitute a separate microclass of words by virtue of the distinct sentential environments in which it is found and/or the distinct morphosyntactic and phonological patterns exhibited by each at sentence level.

Chapter 2

Morphology

2.1 INFLECTION

2.1.1 Noun inflection

2.1.1.1 *Means of expressing semantic and syntactic functions of noun phrases*

2.1.1.1.1–3 Bound affixes, morphophonemic alternations and clitic particles

Bound affixes, morphophonemic alternations and clitic particles are not used to express the semantic and syntactic functions of noun phrases in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.1.1.1.4. Prepositions

The general preposition *fòr* is one of the primary means employed to show the semantic and syntactic function of noun phrases, which follow it as objects in prepositional phrases. A few minor prepositions are also used in this way. The number of functions which may be signalled by *fòr* is so great that further specification is often necessary. In such cases, an associative/ genitive noun phrase may be incorporated into the prepositional object noun phrase in order to particularize the relationship indicated by *fòr* (see [1.2.1.3.1.2](#) and [2.1.1.5](#)):

- (570) Dì pìkìn de fòr mòto-pak.
 ar child cvF p terminal
 ‘The child is (in, by, around, etc.) the transport terminal.’
- (571) Dì pìkìn go fòr mòto-pak.
 ar child goF p terminal
 ‘The child went to (into, by, around, etc.) the transport terminal.’

- (572) Dì pìkín go fòr [insâyɔ̀ m̀to-pak].
 ar child goF p [inside terminal]
 ‘The child went into the transport terminal.’

2.1.1.1.5

Word order

Word order is perhaps the most commonly utilized method for indicating the semantic and syntactic function of noun phrases. As shown in 1.2.5.3, word order in sentences as well as in the major sentence constituents is quite regular and predictable. Because of the multifunctional nature of many lexical items which allows a single form to belong to several word classes, word order is often the only means available for determining the function of a given instance of a particular item (see 1.1.2.2.6). Word order is also of crucial importance in the expression of genitival relationships (1.2.5.1.1) and in the differentiation of various types of object arguments from one another (1.2.1.2.2):

- (573) Dì pìkín go insâyɔ̀ m̀tòpák.
 ar child goF inside terminal
 ‘The child went into the transport terminal.’
- (574) Dì man kòm fam tɛl mì lay se ìm màma day.
 ar man comeF+ farm tell+ 1oP lie nCI 3ps mother dieF
 ‘The man came to the farm and lied to me, saying that his mother had died.’

2.1.1.1.6

Derivational processes

Reduplication and compounding are the only derivational processes which are regularly used to express the semantic and syntactic function of noun phrases (see 2.2.6.3 and 1.1.2.2.6):

- (575) Laylay-man kòm tók laylay fòr àwa ples.
 lieR -man comeF+ talk+ lieR p 4ps place
 ‘The professional liar came to tell lies in our village.’

2.1.1.1.7

Other means

Serialized verb constructions play a key role in determining and differentiating the semantic function of noun phrases in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.3.1.1.4 and 2.1.3.7)

Nonemphatic pronouns. In basilectal speech, the nonemphatic third-person object pronoun can be used to signal transitivity and thus can be said to function to some degree as a signal for the objecthood of the following noun phrase (see 1.2.1.2.4). Nonemphatic subject pronouns may be used resumptively or pleonastically in all lects of Nigerian Pidgin. It could be argued that such usage serves to mark the preceding noun phrase as the sentential subject and that the nonemphatic subject pronouns are in fact cliticized elements of the verb phrase (see 1.16.2 and 2.1.2).

- (576) Dì pìkín ìm go mòtòpâk.
 ar child 3sP goF terminal
 ‘The child ((s)he) went to the transport terminal.’

2.1.1.1.8

Combinations of means used for nominal inflection

Any combination of the methods listed in 2.1.1.1.1–7 may be employed to express the semantic or the syntactic functions of noun phrases:

- (577) Laylay-man ìm tɛl mì laylay fɔ̀r ɔ̀nda jùju-tri.
 lieR -man 3sP tellF 1oP lieR p under juju-tree
 ‘The professional liar told me lies under the juju tree.’

2.1.1.2

Expression of syntactic functions

2.1.1.2.1–3

Subjects

All verbal subjects are marked in the same way to show their syntactic role, regardless of whether the verb for which they function as an argument is ‘transitive’, ‘intransitive’ or a ‘copular’ (these categories are largely irrelevant in Nigerian Pidgin, see 1.2.1.2.2). Word order is the main method employed to show subjecthood, with subjects preceding the verb in almost every instance (see 1.2.5.3). Secondary cues for subjecthood include compounding, reduplication and the use of nonemphatic subject pronouns, as discussed and illustrated in 2.1.1.1.6–8. Agheyisi (1971:79–82) lists the following functions for subject noun phrases with the following examples:

- (578) *subject as agent*
 Meri ful dī bag wīt mōni.
 Mary fillF ar bag with money
 ‘Mary filled the bag with money.’

- (579) *subject as causer*
 Mōni ful dī bag.
 money fillF ar bag
 ‘Money filled the bag.’

- (580) *subject as sufferer*
 Dī klot tyar.
 ar cloth tearF
 ‘The cloth tore.’

- (581) *subject as experiencer*

Jon fyar.
 John be afraidF
 ‘John is afraid.’

2.1.1.2.4–7 Objects

The distinction direct vs. indirect object is not very useful in the description or the analysis of verbal arguments in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.2.1.2.3–6). Objects of comparison and equation are objects of serialized verbs and do not differ in any way from other verbal objects in the language (see 1.8 and 1.9). Word order is the main method employed to show objecthood, with objects following the verb in almost every instance (see 1.2.5.3). Secondary cues for objecthood include compounding, reduplication and the use of nonemphatic object pronouns (in basilectal varieties) as discussed and illustrated in 2.1.1.1.6–8. Where more than one noun phrase serve as the object arguments of the same verb, animate objects precede inanimate objects, and if two objects are both animate or inanimate, the recipient object precedes the patient object (see 1.2.1.2.5 for examples and for further discussion). Serialized verb constructions are much more commonly used to accommodate several object arguments pertaining to the same event simultaneously than are multiple object constructions:

- (582) *‘direct/indirect’ objects*
 A want giv yù dì làpa.
 1sP wantF+ give+ 2oP ar wrapper
 ‘I want to give you the wrapper (cloth).’
- (583) *‘direct/indirect’ objects*
 A want tek dì làpa giv yù
 1sP wantF+ takeV+ ar wrapper give+ 2oP
 ‘I want to give you the wrapper (cloth).’
- (584) *comparative objects*
 Im dè tay làpa pas yù.
 3sP –C tie+ wrapper pass+ 2oP
 ‘(S)he wears wrappers more than you (do).’
- (585) *equative objects*
 Im dè tay lapa rich yù.
 3sP –C tie+ wrapper reach+ 2oP
 ‘(S)he wears wrappers as much as you (do).’

As shown in the examples in 2.1.1.2.1–3, it is possible for a noun phrase which occupies the subject slot to have a role function (such as ‘sufferer’) which is normally associated with object arguments. On the basis of the occurrence of such sentences, Agheyisi (1971:80) argues that where the agent is not mentioned the object argument may occupy the subject slot (examples from Agheyisi):

- (586) *object as sufferer*

Nel tyar di klot.
 nail tearF ar cloth
 ‘A nail tore the cloth.’

- (587) *subject as sufferer*
 Di klot tyar.
 ar cloth tearF
 ‘The cloth tore.’

Agheyisi states that it is only a ‘special subset of verbs’ that permits this type of ‘non-specification of both Causer and Agent on surface structure’. It will be argued here that it is not necessary for any special subset of verbs to be created or for any rules to be formulated that allow the assignment of thematic roles to sentential slots with which they are not normally associated under special circumstances. The behavior of predicates in Nigerian Pidgin is much more effectively accounted for by the categorization of verbs according to the feature [\pm stative], rather than by the features [\pm transitive] (see 1.2.1.2.2–3) or [\pm passive] (see 2.1.3.1). The use of either of the latter two features may be avoided completely in this case as well by a thorough understanding of the nature of the [\pm stative] distinction in Nigerian Pidgin and the implications that this distinction has for the Nigerian Pidgin system. If we were to consider *tyar* to be a stative verb like *red* ‘be red’ or *fyar* ‘be afraid’, then we could account for its use with both ‘sufferer subjects’ and ‘sufferer objects’. Instead of glossing *tyar* as ‘tear’, it would be glossed ‘be torn. When used with an object, *tyar* assigns the role of recipient or patient to that object, just as do all other stative (and nonstative) verbs in the language:

- (588) Jon wund.
 John be woundedF
 ‘John is wounded.’
- (589) Jon wund m̀i.
 John be woundedF 1oP
 ‘John wounded me.’
- (590) Jon don red.
 John +C be redF
 ‘John has become red.’
- (591) Jon don red di klot.
 John +C be redF ar cloth
 ‘John has coloured the cloth red.’
- (592) Di klot tyar.
 ar cloth be tornF
 ‘The cloth is torn.’
- (593) Nel tyar di klot.
 nail be tornF ar cloth

‘A nail tore the cloth.’

2.1.1.2.8

Other objects governed by verbs

Verbs can govern objects which play a wide variety of case-related roles in the sentence. Verbs of motion take destinations as objects (see 1.2.1.2.2) copular verbs take locations and many other types of nominals as objects (see 1.2.1.2.2 and 1.2.1.1.1–6) and other verbs take object arguments which have diverse semantic functions (see 1.2.1.2.2.1). Objects with little or no semantic content such as cognate objects (1.2.1.2.2) and dummy objects (1.2.1.2.4) also occur:

- (594) Dì man get stwa dè sèl m̀nì.
 ar man haveF+ store –C sell+ money
 ‘The man has a store and sells (for money).’
- (595) Im gò jòst luk yù ay, yù dòn day bì dat ò.
 3sP –R just look 2oP eye 2sP +C die cvF that f
 ‘(S)he will just look at you (with his/her eyes) and you’re dead is
 what that is.’ OR ‘One look from him/her and you’re dead.’

2.1.1.2.9

Complements of copular constructions

As explained and illustrated in 1.2.1.2.2 and 1.2.1.1.1–6, copulas are best considered to be verbs which behave in the same way as do other verbs in Nigerian Pidgin. In keeping with this generalization, complements of copular verbs are marked in exactly the same way and express many of the same semantic functions as do complements of other verbs in the language. Therefore, all of the observations made in 2.1.1.2.4–8 pertaining to verbal objects pertain as well to the complements of copular verbs.

2.1.1.2.9.1–4 Objects of copular verbs

- (596) *defining verbs* (see 1.2.1.1.6.1)
 Im bì wuman.
 3sP cvF woman
 ‘She is a woman.’
- (597) *identifying verbs* (see 1.2.1.1.6.2)
 Im bì Audu.
 3sP cvF Audu
 ‘He is Audu.’
- (598) *role-identifying verbs* (see 1.2.1.1.6.3)
 Im bì dokta.
 3sP cvF doctor
 ‘(S)he is a doctor.’

- (599) *relationship-identifying verbs* (see 1.2.1.1.6.4)
 Im bì mà sista.
 3sP cvF lps sister
 ‘She is my sister.’
- (600) *verbs of becoming* (see 1.2.1.1.6.5)
 Im don bìkôm mà sista.
 3sP +C become lps sister
 ‘She has become my sister.’
- (601) *verbs of general existence* (see 1.2.1.1.3)
 Nòting de ò pìkín.
 nothing cvF ar child
 ‘There is nothing going on with the child.’ OR ‘There is nothing wrong with the child.’
- (602) *verbs of existence in space* (see 1.2.1.1.6.6)
 Im de tawn.
 3sP cvF town
 ‘(S)he is in town.’
- (603) *verbs of resemblance* (see 1.2.1.1.6.9)
 Im gò bì layk ìm màma.
 3sP –R cv cx 1sP mother
 ‘(S)he will be like her/his mother (in character).’

2.1.1.2.10–11

Subject and object complement constructions

The only constructions in Nigerian Pidgin that resemble subject or object complement constructions in any way are double-object constructions after verbs such as *kol* ‘call’, when they are followed first by a patient object and then by a second object that somehow identifies or defines the first (see 1.2.1.2.5):

- (604) Dèm dè kol dat jùju-man dokta.
 6sP –C call that juju-man doctor
 ‘They call that man who practises juju “doctor”.’

2.1.1.2.12

Objects governed by adjectives

There are no adjectives in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4, 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.5.1.1). Stative verbs and copular verbs (especially the copular extension *layk*; see 1.2.1.1.6.9 and 2.1.1.2.9) may take objects whose function is similar to that of adjectival objects in other languages:

- (605) Ma pìkín de layk yò on.
 lps child cvF cx 2sp ps

‘My child is like (looks like) yours.’

2.1.1.2.13

Agents in impersonal constructions

Agents in impersonal constructions are inflected in exactly the same way as are other subjects in the language (see 2.1.1.2):

- (606) Dèm dè kòl dat jùju-man døkta.
 6sP –C call that juju-man doctor
 ‘They call that man who practises juju “doctor”.’ OR ‘That man who practises juju is called “doctor”.’
- (607) Sikisiki gò kach yù.
 sick/nR –R catch 2oP
 ‘Sickness will catch you.’ OR ‘You will fall sick.’

2.1.1.2.14

Topics

Topicalized noun phrases are marked in the same way as are other noun phrases in Nigerian Pidgin, except that topicalized elements may be followed by topicalizer particles and/or may be dislocated to the left or to the right (see 1.12):

- (608) Sikisiki kwanu, ìm gò kach yù.
 sick/nR T 3sP –R catch 2oP
 ‘As for sickness, it will catch you.’ OR ‘Speaking of sickness, you will fall sick.’

2.1.1.2.15

Elements under emphasis/focus

Noun phrases under emphasis/focus are marked in the same way as are other noun phrases in Nigerian Pidgin, except that emphasized or focused elements may be followed by emphasis markers and may be fronted in cleft or pseudocleft constructions (see 1.11):

- (609) Nà sikisiki ò wẹ gò kach yù sẹf.
 EI sick/nR Ef rcI –R catch 2oP E
 ‘It is disease (not hunger) that will catch even you.’

2.1.1.3
Nonfinite verbs

2.1.1.3.1–4
Noun phrases with nonfinite verbs

In the few constructions which resemble nonfinite structures in Nigerian Pidgin, noun phrases are inflected in exactly the same way as they are inflected when they occur in finite constructions (see 1.1.2.2.6).

2.1.1.4
Expression of nonlocal semantic functions

The nonlocal semantic functions listed below are expressed in the following ways. Each method is listed roughly in the order of its frequency of use to express each function.

2.1.1.4.1
Benefactive

Benefactive relations are rarely expressed as such, but the methods utilized in the examples which follow are possible.

- (610) *serialized verb* giv ‘give’
A bay nyam giv dèm.
1sP buyF+ yam give+ 6oP
‘I bought yams and gave them (some).’ OR ‘I bought yams for them.’
- (611) *general preposition* fòr (*most commonly used in acrolectal varieties*)
A bay nyam fòr dèm.
1sP buyF yam p 6oP
‘I bought yams for them.’

2.1.1.4.2
Source

See 1.1.2.4.2.10. for adverbial source clauses.

- (612) *general preposition* fòr *with or without* hand ‘hand’
A bay nyam fòr yò hand.
1sP buyF yam p 2ps hand
‘I bought yams from you.’
- (613) *minor preposition* fròm ‘from (*mainly in acrolects*)’
A bay nyam fròm yò hand.
1sP buyF yam from 2ps hand
‘I bought yams from you.’

- (614) *serialized valence increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek maket bay nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ market buy+ yam
 ‘I bought yams at the market.’
- (615) *verbs with particular objects* (see 1.2.1.2.2)
 A don sik mälerya.
 1sP +C be sick malaria
 ‘I have become sick with/from malaria.’
- (616) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [source+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[Najirya] [mòto]]
 [[Nigeria] [car]]
 ‘Nigerian car’

2.1.1.4.3
 Instrumental

- (617) *serialized valence-increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek mōni bay nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ money buy+ yam
 ‘I bought yams with money.’
- (618) *general preposition fōr*
 A bit -am fōr wōn big big stik.
 1sP beatF-3oP p one be big/mnR stick
 ‘I beat him/her with a very big stick.’
- (619) *minor preposition wīt ‘with’*
 A bit -am wīt wōn big big stik.
 1sP beatF-3oP with one be big/mnR stick
 ‘I beat him/her with a very big stick.’
- (620) *verbs with particular objects* (see 1.2.1.2.2)
 Dēm don chuk mì nayf.
 6sP +C stab 1oP knife
 ‘They stabbed me with a knife.’

2.1.1.4.3(a) Negative instrumental The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for the affirmative instrumental are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (621) A no tek mōni bay nyam.
 ‘I didn’t buy yams with money.’
 A no bit-am fōr stik.

‘I didn’t beat him/her with a stick.’
 A no bit-am wìt stik.
 ‘I didn’t beat him/her with a stick.’
 Dèm nɛva chuk mì nayf.
 ‘They didn’t stab me with a knife.’

2.1.1.4.4 Comitative

- (622) *serialized verb folo ‘follow’*
 A folo yù bay nyam.
 1sP followF+ 2oP buy+ yam
 ‘I bought yams with you.’
- (623) *minor preposition wìt ‘with’*
 A bay nyam wìt yù.
 1sP buyF yam with 2oP
 ‘I bought yams with you.’

2.1.1.4.4(a) Negative comitative The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for the affirmative comitative are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (624) A no folo yù bay nyam.
 ‘I didn’t buy yams with you.’
 A no bay nyam wìt yù.
 ‘I didn’t buy yams with you.’

2.1.1.4.5 Circumstance

- (625) *serialized valence increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek maket sɛl nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ market sell+ yam
 ‘I sold yams on the market.’
- (626) *general preposition fɔr*
 A sɛl nyam fɔr maket.
 1sP sellF yam p market
 ‘I sold yams on the market.’
- (627) *verbs with particular objects (see 1.2.1.2.2)*
 Dèm dɔn sɛl maket.
 6sP +C sell market
 ‘They sold something on the market.’ OR ‘They have experience selling on the market.’

- (628) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [circumstance+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[maket] [nyam]]
 [[market] [yam]]
 ‘market yams’

2.1.1.4.5(a) Negative circumstance The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for affirmative circumstance are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (629) A no tek maket sɛl nyam.
 ‘I didn’t sell yams on the market.’
 A no sɛl nyam fɔr maket.
 ‘I didn’t sell yams on the market.’
 Dɛm neva sɛl maket.
 ‘They have never sold anything on the market.’ OR ‘They have no experience selling on the market.’
 Dɛm no bi maket nyam.
 ‘They are not market yams.’ OR ‘They are not the type of yams that one finds on the market.’

2.1.1.4.6–7

Possessive (possessor/possessed)

- (630) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [possessor + possessed]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[di wuman] [mòto]] OR [[im] [mòto]] OR [[im] [on]]
 [[ar woman] [car]] OR [[3ps] [car]] OR [[3ps] [ps]]
 ‘the woman’s car’ OR ‘her car’ OR ‘her own’
- (631) *general preposition fɔr*
 Im bi chif fɔr im ples.
 3sP cvF chief p 3ps place
 ‘(S)he is a traditional ruler of her/his village.’

As shown in 1.10.2, the only distinction regularly made between alienably and inalienably possessed entities involves body parts and a few other relatively inalienable items such as *haws* ‘house’, where the use of possessive pronouns to show possession is optional if the possessor is the sentential subject:

- (632) Dɛm gò si dɛm nyam. Dɛm gò si nyam.
 6sP –R see 6sP yam 6sP –R see yam
 ‘They will see their yams.’ ‘They will see yams.’
- (633) Dɛm si dɛm haws. Dɛm si haws.
 6sP seeF 6sP house 6sP seeF house
 ‘They saw their house.’ ‘They saw their house.’

Noun phrase inflection is not affected by the distinction between permanent and temporary possession, which is primarily signalled by the selection of verbs such as *get* to show relatively permanent possession and *hold* to show relatively temporary possession (see 1.10.3). No special marking of any kind is available to express particular tense/aspect/modality features of possessive constructions.

2.1.1.4.8

Quality

- (634) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [quality+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1 and 1.2.1.1.1)

[[big] [mòto]]

[[be big/mnR] [car]]

‘big car’

- (635) *general preposition fòr*

Wì no kuk -am, wì chop-am fòr rò.

4sP ng cookF-3oP 4sP eatF -3oP p be raw/n

‘We didn’t cook it, we ate it raw.’

2.1.1.4.8(a) Negative quality The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for affirmative quality are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (636) Dèm no bì big mòto.
 ‘They are not big cars.’
 Wì no chop-am fòr rò.
 ‘We didn’t eat it raw.’

2.1.1.4.8(b) Reference quality The only constructions in Nigerian Pidgin that resemble reference quality constructions in other languages involve the use of cognate objects of stative verbs (see 1.2.1.2.2, 1.1.2.2.6 and 1.2.1.1.1):

- (637) A hàpi fòr òl dì smat wẹ̀ yù dòn smat fòr
 1sP be happyF p all ar be smart/n rcl 2sP +C be smart p
 skul ò.
 school f
 ‘I am happy about all of the knowledge that you have gained in school.’

2.1.1.4.9

Quantity

- (638) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [quantity+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)

[[plenti] [gàri]]

[[be plenty/mn] [gari]]

‘plenty of gari’

- (639) *serialized verbs and ideophones* trowê ‘overflow’, boku ‘be plenty’, nyàfùnyafu ‘be very many’
 Dì nyam kòm plenti trowê.
 ar yam +R be plenty overflow
 ‘Yams were very plentiful.’

also acceptable:

Dì nyam kòm plenti boku.
 Dì nyam kòm plenti nyàfùnyafu.

- (640) *reduplication of stative verbs* (see 2.2.6.3)
 Dì nyam kòm bokuboku.
 ar yam +R be plentyR
 ‘Yams were very plentiful.’
- (641) *reduplication of modifying nouns* (see 2.2.6.3)
 A si dì smòlsmòl haws.
 1sP seeF ar be small/mnR house
 ‘I saw the small houses.’

2.1.1.4.9(a) Reference quantity

- (642) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [quantity+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[wòn kòp] [gàri]]
 [[one cup] [gari]]
 ‘a cup of gari’

2.1.1.4.10 Material

- (643) *serialized valence increasing verb* tek ‘take’
 A tek stik byud haws.
 1sP takeFV+ stick build+ house
 ‘I built the house with wood.’
- (644) *general preposition* fòr
 A byud haws fòr stik.
 1sP buildF house p stick
 ‘I built the house with wood.’
- (645) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [material+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[stik] [haws]]
 [[stick] [house]]
 ‘wood house’

- (646) *compounds* (see 2.2.6.3):
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| blok -haws | sànsan-ples |
| cement block-house | sand -place |
| ‘cinderblock house’ | ‘sandy place’ |

2.1.1.4.10(a) Negative material The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for affirmative expression of material composition are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (647) A no tek stik byud haws.
 ‘I didn’t build the house with wood.’
 A no byud haws fòr stik.
 ‘I didn’t build the house with wood.’
 Im no bì stik haws.
 ‘It is not a wooden house.’
 Im no bì sànsan-ples.
 ‘It is not a sandy place.’

2.1.1.4.11
 Manner

- (648) *serialized valence-increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek kwikkwik byud haws.
 1sP takeFV+ be quick/nR build+ house
 ‘I built the house quickly.’
- (649) *general preposition fòr*
 A byud haws fòr smòl-smòl.
 1sP buildF house p be small/nR
 ‘I built the house slowly.’
- (650) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [manner+head noun]; see 1.2.5.1.1)
 [[kwik] [wàka]]
 [[be quick/mn] [walk/n]]
 ‘fast walk(ing)’
- (651) *compounds* (see 2.2.6.3)
- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| jìbìti -we | wàyo -fashon |
| cunning-way | cunning-manner |
| ‘cunning way’ | ‘cunning manner’ |

2.1.1.4.11(a) Negative manner The regular negated versions of the constructions listed for affirmative expression of manner are the only structures which may perform this function:

- (652) A no tek kwikkwik byud haws.

‘I didn’t build the house quickly.’
 A no byud haws fòr smòl-smòl.
 ‘I didn’t build the house slowly.’
 Im no bì jìbìti-we.
 ‘It is not a cunning way (to do something).’
 Dat wòn no bì wàyo-fashion.
 ‘That is not cunning.’

2.1.1.4.12

Cause

See 1.1.2.4.2.4 for adverbial cause clauses.

- (653) *general preposition fòr*
 Im day fòr hòngri.
 3sP dieF p be hungry/n
 ‘(S)he died of hunger.’

2.1.1.4.13

Purpose

See 1.1.2.4.2.3 for adverbial purpose clauses.

- (654) *general preposition fòr (mainly in acrolects)*
 @Im kòm fòr tif.
 3sP comeF p steal/n
 ‘(S)he came in order to steal.’

2.1.1.4.14

Function

- (655) *serialized valence increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek stik du mọt̚ar.
 1sP takeFV+ stick do+ mortar
 ‘I used a stick as a mortar (for pounding yam).’

2.1.1.4.15

Reference

- (656) *serialized verbs tel ‘tell’, tok ‘talk’, se ‘say’, etc.*
 A t̚el d̚em t̚ok ɔl d̚i nyus.
 1sP tellF+ 6oP talk+ all ar news
 ‘I told them (about) all the news.’

- (657) *general preposition fôr*
 Im t₀k fôr w₀.
 3sP talkF p war
 ‘(S)he talked about the war.’

2.1.1.4.16

Essive

- (658) *serialized valence increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek ticha -w₀k ste Aba.
 1sP takeFV+ teacher-work stay+ Aba
 ‘I was in Aba as a teacher.’

- (659) *general preposition fôr*
 A k₀m ste Aba fôr ticha -w₀k.
 1sP +R stay Aba p teacher-work
 ‘I was in Aba as a teacher.’

2.1.1.4.17

Translative

- (660) *serialized valence-increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 W₁ tek Ade mek -am chif fôr ples.
 4sP takeFV+ Ade make+-3oP chief p village
 ‘We made Ade traditional ruler of our village.’

2.1.1.4.18

Part/whole

- (661) *associative/possessive constructions* (word order: [part+whole]; see 1.2.5.1.1):
 [[op] [tri]]
 [[top] [tree]]
 ‘top of the tree’

2.1.1.4.19

Partitive

2.1.1.4.19.1–6 Partitive Noun phrase elements are not inflected in any special way to express a partitive function:

- (662) *numerals*
 tre nayf
 three machete

‘three machetes’ OR ‘three of the machetes’

- (663) *quantifiers*
 som nayf
 some machete
 ‘some machetes’ OR ‘some of the machetes’

- (664) *negative quantifiers*
 no (eni) nayf
 ng (any) machete
 ‘no machetes’ OR ‘none of the machetes’

2.1.1.4.20

Price

- (665) *serialized valence-increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek tu nayra bay nyam.
 1sP takeFV+ two naira buy+ yam
 ‘I bought yams for two naira.’

- (666) *general preposition fôr*
 A bay nyam fôr tu nayra.
 1sP buyF yam p two naira
 ‘I bought yams for two naira.’

- (667) *verbs with particular objects* (see [1.2.1.2.2](#))
 A bay nyam tu nayra.
 1sP buyF yam two naira
 ‘I bought yams for two naira.’

2.1.1.4.21

Value

Noun phrase elements are not inflected in any special way to express value.

2.1.1.4.22

Distance

- (668) *serialized valence-increasing verb tek ‘take’*
 A tek long rod folo yù go fam.
 1sP takeFV+ be long/mn road follow+ 2oP go+ farm
 ‘I followed you a long way to the farm.’

- (669) *general preposition fôr*

A kom wàka fòr wòn mayl.
 1sP +R walk p one mile
 ‘I walked for one mile.’

- (670) *verbs with particular objects* (see [1.2.1.2.2](#))
 A kom wàka go wòn mayl.
 1sP +R walk+ go+ one mile
 ‘I walked for one mile.’

2.1.1.4.23

Extent

- (671) *minor preposition sòte ‘until’* (see [1.1.2.4.2.6](#))
 Dì rod gò rich sòte Abuja.
 ar road –R reach until Abuja
 ‘The road will go to Abuja.’

2.1.1.4.24

Concessive

Noun phrase elements are not inflected in any special way to show concessive relations. See [1.1.2.4.2.9](#) for adverbial concessive clauses.

2.1.1.4.25–27

Inclusion, exclusion and addition

Noun phrase elements are not inflected in any special way to show inclusion, exclusion or addition. Emphasis markers may at times be used to signal inclusion (see [1.11](#)), adverbial limit clauses sometimes express exclusion (see [1.1.2.4.2.11](#)) and comitative structures occasionally mark addition (see [1.3.1.4](#) and [2.1.1.4.4](#)).

2.1.1.4.28–30

Vocative, citation and label forms

Vocative, citation and label forms are not inflected in any special way. All vocative, citation and label forms constitute separate stress groups and are assigned both phrase and sentence stress (see [3.3.2](#)). The phrase-final particle ò may optionally mark vocative forms (see [1.1.1.4.5](#)).

2.1.1.5

Expression of local semantic functions

The most commonly employed methods for the expression of local semantic functions include the following.

At rest. A copular verb which expresses existence in space such as *de* or *ste* (see 1.2.1.1.6.6) is followed by an object whose referent is the location under discussion or by a prepositional phrase consisting of the general preposition *fôr* followed by an object whose referent is the location under discussion:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|
| (672) | A <u>de</u> fam.
1sP cvF farm
'I am at the farm.' | OR | A <u>de fôr</u> fam.
1sP cvF p farm |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|

In order to further specify a spatial or directional relationship, the locational object may include an associative/possessive construction in which the modifier noun is a locational noun such as *onda* 'under' or a body part such as *bak* 'back' (see 1.2.1.3.1.2, 2.1.1.1.4 and 1.2.5.1.1):

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| (673) | A <u>de onda</u> di haws.
1sP cvF under ar house
'I am under the house.' | OR | A <u>de fôr onda</u> di haws.
1sP cvF p under ar house |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|

Locational nouns often form compounds with such words as *ples* 'place' or *sayd* 'side' (see 2.2.6.3). Such compound nouns may be used alone as locational objects or may function as one of the elements of a locational associative/possessive construction:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------|
| (674) | A <u>de baksây</u> d.
1sP cvF backside
'I am in back (of something).' | OR | A <u>de fôr baksây</u> d.
1sP cvF p backside |
| (675) | A <u>de baksây</u> d haws.
1sP cvF backside house
'I am behind the house.' | OR | A <u>de fôr baksây</u> d haws.
1sP cvF p backside house |

Motion towards a location. A motion verb which expresses movement towards some destination such as *go* 'go', *rich* 'arrive' or *klam* 'climb' is followed by an object whose referent is the destination under discussion or by a prepositional phrase consisting of the general preposition *fôr* followed by an object whose referent is the destination under discussion:

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|
| (676) | A <u>go</u> fam.
1sP goF farm
'I went to the farm.' | OR | A <u>go fôr</u> fam.
1sP goF p farm |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------|

Locational nouns which express destination may enter into associative/possessive and/or compound constructions in all of the ways just described for other locational nouns:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| (677) | A <u>go onda</u> di haws.
1sP goF under ar house
'I went under the house.' | OR | A <u>go fôr onda</u> di haws.
1sP goF p under ar house |
| (678) | A <u>go baksây</u> d. | OR | A <u>go fôr baksây</u> d. |

1sP goF backside
'I went to the back (of something).'

1sP goF p backside

(679) A go baksây d haws.
1sP goF backside house
'I went behind the house.'

OR A go fôr baksây d haws.
1sP goF p backside house

Motion away from a location. Motion verbs which refer to movement away from some location such as *kom* 'come' or *kômôt* 'evacuate' take destination or patient objects, rather than objects whose referent is the location of the source or point of initiation of the movement under discussion. In order to express the location from which a displacement through space originates, it is necessary to use a prepositional phrase consisting of the general preposition *fôr* or the minor preposition *fròm* 'from' followed by an object whose referent is the point of origin of the movement under discussion. Since *fôr* is much more commonly employed to express the destination of a trajectory than to express its source location, listeners almost always assume that when speakers use *fôr* (even after such verbs as *kom*) the referent of the following noun phrase is the endpoint rather than the origin of movement. For this reason, *fôr* is only sporadically used to signal motion away from a location and when it is utilized in this way, confusion often results:

(680) A *kom* fam.
1sP comeF farm
'I came to the farm.'

(681) A *kom fôr* fam.
1sP comeF p farm
'I came to the farm.' OR (more rarely) 'I came from the farm.'

(682) A *kom fròm* fam.
1sP comeF from farm
'I came from the farm.'

In many lects, *fròm* behaves syntactically much more like a preceding serialized verb than a preposition (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.4 and 1.3.1.1.4). In such cases, *fròm* could be considered to be a verb which expresses motion away from some location and its object would refer to the origin of that motion:

(683) A *fròm* fam *kom* OR A *fròm* fam.
1sP fromF+ farm come+ 1sP fromF farm
'I came from the farm.'

Locational nouns which express the origin of a movement through space may enter into associative/possessive and/or compound constructions in all of the ways described earlier in this section for other locational nouns:

(684) A *fròm ònda* haws (*kom*). OR
1sP fromF(+) under house (come+)
A *kom fròm ònda* haws.

1sP comeF p under house
 ‘I came from under the house.’

- (685) A fròm baksâyđ (kòm). OR A kòm fròm baksâyđ haws.
 1sP fromF(+) backside (come+)
 1sP comeF p backside house
 ‘I came from behind (something).’
- (686) A fròm baksâyđ haws (kòm). OR
 1sP fromF(+) backside house (come+)
 A kòm fròm baksâyđ haws.
 1sP comeF p backside house
 ‘I came from behind the house.’

Motion past. Motion past an object is expressed in the same way as is motion towards an object, except that the verb *pas* ‘pass’ is used instead of a verb of motion towards a destination and the object of *pas* refers to the location being bypassed, rather than to the endpoint of the trajectory:

- (687) A pas baksâyđ haws. OR
 1sP passF backside house
 A pas fòr baksâyđ haws.
 1sP passF p backside house
 ‘I passed behind the house.’

2.1.1.5.1

General locations

- (688) *at rest; verb: de, ste; locative noun: none:*
 A de fam. OR A de fòr fam.
 1sP cvF farm 1sP goF p farm
 ‘I am at the farm.’
- (689) *motion towards; verb: go, rich; locative noun: none*
 A go fam. OR A go fòr fam.
 1sP goF farm 1sP goF p farm
 ‘I went to the farm.’
- (690) *motion away; verb: kòm, fròm; locative noun: none*
 A kòm fròm fam. OR A fròm fam kòm.
 1sP comeF from farm 1sP fromF+ farm come+
 ‘I came from the farm.’
- (691) *motion past; verb: pas; locative noun: none*
 A pas fam. OR A pas fòr fam.
 1sP passF farm 1sP passF p farm

‘I passed by the farm.’

2.1.1.5.2

Proximate locations

- (692) *at rest; locative noun: [noun+sayd] or nyar ‘near’*
 A de famsâyđ. OR A de fôr famsâyđ. OR
 1sP cvF farmside 1sP cvF p farmside
 A de nyar ði fam. OR A de fôr nyar ði fam.
 1sP cvF near ar farm 1sP cvF p near ar farm
 ‘I am near the farm.’
- (693) *motion towards; locative noun: [noun+sayd] or nyar*
 A go famsâyđ. OR A go fôr famsâyđ. OR
 1sP goF farmside 1sP goF p farmside
 A go nyar ði fam. OR A go fôr nyar ði fam.
 1sP goF near ar farm 1sP goF p near ar farm
 ‘I went near the farm.’
- (694) *motion away; locative noun: [noun+sayd] or nyar*
 A kôm frôm famsâyđ. OR A frôm famsâyđ kôm. OR
 1sP comeF from farmside 1sP fromF+ farmside come+
 A kôm frôm nyar ði fam. OR A frôm nyar ði fam kôm.
 1sP comeF from near ar farm 1sP fromF+ near ar farm come+
 ‘I came from near the farm.’
- (695) *motion past; locative noun: [noun+sayd] or nyar*
 A pas famsâyđ. OR A pas fôr famsâyđ. OR
 1sP passF farmside 1sP passF p farmside
 A pas nyar ði fam. OR A pas fôr nyar ði fam.
 1sP passF near ar farm 1sP passF p near ar farm
 ‘I passed near the farm.’

2.1.1.5.3

Interior locations

- (696) *at rest; locative noun: insâyđ ‘inside’*
 A de (fôr) insâyđ haws.
 1sP cvF (p) inside house
 ‘I am in the house.’
- (697) *motion towards; verb: go, enta ‘enter’; locative noun: insâyđ ‘inside’*
 A go (fôr) insâyđ haws. OR A enta (fôr) (insâyđ) haws.
 1sP goF (p) inside house 1sP enterF (p) (inside) house

‘I went in the house.’

- (698) *motion away; verb: kòm, fròm, kòmôt ‘evacuate’; locative noun: insâyd ‘inside’*
 A kòm fròm insâyd haws. OR
 1sP comeF from inside house
 A fròm insâyd haws kòmôt.
 1sP fromF+ inside house evacuate+
 ‘I came out from inside the house.’
- (699) *motion past; locative noun: insâyd ‘inside’*
 A pas (fôr) insâyd haws.
 1sP passF (p) inside house
 ‘I passed through the house.’

2.1.1.5.4

Exterior locations

- (700) *at rest; locative noun: awtsâyd ‘outside’ (opsâyd in some lects)*
 A de (fôr) awtsâyd haws.
 1sP cvF (p) outside house
 ‘I am outside the house.’
- (701) *motion towards; verb: go, rich ‘reach’; locative noun: awtsâyd ‘outside’ (opsâyd in some lects)*
 A go (fôr) awtsâyd haws. OR A rich (fôr) (awtsâyd) haws.
 1sP goF (p) outside house 1sP reachF (p) (outside) house
 ‘I went up to (the outside of) the house.’

Motion away from and motion past exterior locations are expressed in the same way as for general locations (see 2.1.1.5.1).

2.1.1.5.5

Anterior locations

Complex associative/possessive constructions are employed to specify that a particular location is anterior to some point of reference (see 1.2.5.1.1). These constructions consist of the locational point of reference followed first by a possessive pronoun which refers anaphorically back to it and then by a locational noun such as *front* ‘front’ or by a body part noun such as *fes* ‘face’:

- (702) *at rest*
 A de (fôr) [haws [im front]].
 1sP cvF (p) [house [3ps front]]
 ‘I am in front of the house.’
motion towards
 A go fôr haws im front.

‘I went to the front of the house.’

motion away

A kom fròm haws ìm front. OR A fròm haws ìm front kom.

‘I came from the front of the house.’

motion past

A pas (fòr) haws ìm frònt.

‘I passed by the front of the house.’

2.1.1.5.6

Posterior locations

Complex associative/possessive constructions may be employed to specify that a particular location is posterior to some point of reference (see 1.2.5.1.1). These constructions consist of the locational point of reference followed first by a possessive pronoun which refers anaphorically back to it and then by a locational noun or a body part noun such as *bak* ‘back’:

(703) *at rest*

A de (fòr) [haws [ìm bak]].

1sP cvF (p) [house [3ps back]]

‘I am at the back of the house.’

motion towards

A go fòr haws ìm bak.

‘I went to the back of the house.’

motion away

A kom fròm haws ìm bak. OR A fròm haws ìm bak kom.

‘I came from the back of the house.’

motion past

A pas (fòr) haws ìm bak.

‘I passed by the back of the house.’

The compound *baksây* ‘backside, behind’ may be used as well to refer to posterior locations:

(704) *at rest*

A de (fòr) baksây haws.

1sP cvF (p) backside house

‘I am behind the house.’

motion towards

A go (fòr) baksây haws.

‘I went behind the house.’

motion away

A kom fròm baksây haws. OR A fròm baksây haws kom.

‘I came from the back of the house.’

motion past

A pas (fòr) baksây haws.

‘I passed by the back of the house.’

2.1.1.5.7–8

Superior and superior contact locations

The locational noun *op* ‘up, top’ or the compound *opsâyd* are used to refer to superior or to superior contact locations:

(705) *at rest*

A de (fôr) opsâyd haws.

1sP cvF (p) up-side house

‘I am above/on top of the house.’

motion towards

A go (fôr) opsâyd haws.

‘I went above/on top of the house.’

motion away

A kôm frôm opsâyd haws. OR A frôm opsayd haws kôm. ‘I came from above/the top of the house.’

motion past

A pas (fôr) opsâyd haws.

‘I passed over the house.’

2.1.1.5.8(a) Surface locations Surface location is expressed by the same means as is general location (see [2.1.1.5.1](#)).

2.1.1.5.9–10

Inferior and inferior contact locations

The locational nouns *dawn* ‘down, under’ and *onda* ‘below, under’ or the compounds *dawnsâyd* and *ondasâyd* are used to refer to inferior or to inferior contact locations:

(706) *at rest*

A de (fôr) onda haws.

1sP cvF (p) under house

‘I am below/under the house.’

motion towards

A go (fôr) onda haws.

‘I went below/under the house.’

motion away

A kôm frôm onda haws. OR A frôm onda haws kôm.

‘I came from below/under the house.’

motion past

A pas (fôr) onda haws.

‘I passed under the house.’

2.1.1.5.11–12

Lateral locations

Complex associative/possessive constructions are employed to specify that a particular location is laterally related to some point of reference (see 1.2.5.1.1). These constructions consist of the locational point of reference followed first by a possessive pronoun which refers anaphorically back to it and then by a locational noun or a body part noun such as *sayd* ‘side’:

- (707) *at rest*
 A de (fòr) [haws [ìm sayd]].
 1sP cvF (p) [house [3ps side]]
 ‘I am beside the house.’
motion towards
 A go (fòr) haws ìm sayd.
 ‘I went beside the house.’

motion away

A kom fròm haws ìm sayd. OR
 A fròm haws ìm sayd kom.
 ‘I came from beside the house.’

motion past

A pas (fòr) haws ìm sayd.
 ‘I passed beside the house.’

2.1.1.5.13–16

Citerior and ulterior locations

Citerior location is expressed by the same means as is anterior location (see 2.1.1.5.5) and ulterior location is expressed by the same means as is posterior location (see 2.1.1.5.6).

2.1.1.5.17–18

Medial locations

Medial location is expressed by the same means as is general location (see 2.1.1.5.1).

2.1.1.5.19

Circumferential locations

Circumferential location is usually expressed by the same means as is general location (see 2.1.1.5.1) although the verb *rawnd* ‘be around’ may be used in a serialized verb construction to show circumferential relations in space as well:

- (708) *at rest*
 Pìkîn kom rawnd dî mòto.
 child +R be around ar car
 ‘Children were around the car.’

motion towards

Pikîn kôm rawnd dî mòto go tawn.

‘Children surrounded the car and went (with it) to town.’

motion away

Pikîn kôm rawnd dî mòto fròm tawn kòmôt.

‘Children surrounded the car and came (with it) from town.’

motion past

Pikîn kôm rawnd dî mòto pas tawn.

‘Children surrounded the car and passed (with it) by the town.’

2.1.1.5.20

Citerior-anterior locations

Citerior-anterior location is expressed by the same means as is anterior location (see 2.1.1.5.5).

2.1.1.5.21–29

Location in relation to long objects

There are no special means used to refer to location or movement in relation to long objects. The methods listed in 2.1.1.5.1–20 are employed in roughly the same way for objects of all shapes and sizes.

2.1.1.6

Location in time

2.1.1.6.1

General means of expressing location in time

The principal means used to refer to location in time are similar to those used to express semantic functions of noun phrases generally (see 2.1.1.1):

Word order. Most methods for expressing location in time involve the use of either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final adverbial phrase slot (see 1.2.5.3):

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------|
| (709) | Tùdê à gò go maket.
today 1sP –R go market
‘I will go to market today.’ | OR | A gò go maket tùdê.
1sP –R go market today |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------|

Associative/possessive constructions utilizing such nominal adverbials of time as *afta* ‘after’ and *bifô* ‘before’ in modifier noun position may serve to indicate temporal location (see 1.2.5.1.1):

- (710) [Bifô nayt] à gò go maket.
[before night] 1sP –R go market
‘I will go to market before nightfall.’

SundayR 1sP –C go market
 ‘I go to market every Sunday.’

Other means for locating events in time are the use of tense/aspect/modality auxiliaries (see 2.1.2–4) and adverbial clauses (see 1.1.2.4.2.1).

2.1.1.6.1.1 Time of day The European hour, half hour, quarter hour and minute system is used to express the time of day:

- (717) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) tu oklôk à gò go haws. OR
 (p) two o'clock 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) tu oklôk.
 1sP –R go house (p) two o'clock
 ‘I will go home at two o'clock.’
- (718) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek tu oklôk tùdê go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ two o'clock today go+ market
 ‘I will go to market at two o'clock today.’

2.1.1.6.1.2 Period of day The lexical items most commonly used for referring to blocks of time within a 24-hour cycle are: *moning* ‘morning’, *aftanûn* ‘afternoon’, *ivnin* ‘evening’, *nayt* ‘night’ and *midnayt* ‘late night’:

- (719) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) aftanûn à gò go haws. OR
 (p) afternoon 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) aftanûn.
 1sP –R go house (p) afternoon
 ‘I will go home in the afternoon.’
- (720) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek aftanûn go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ afternoon go+ market
 ‘I will go to the market in the afternoon.’
- (721) *compound*
 A gò go haws (fòr) aftanûn -taym.
 1sP –R go house (p) afternoon-time
 ‘I will go home in the afternoon.’

2.1.1.6.1.3 Day of the week The European day names are used: *monde*, *tyuzde*, *wêdnezde*, *tozde*, *frayde*, *sâtode* and *sonde*:

- (722) *word order/preposition*

(Fòr) monde à gò go haws. OR
 (p) Monday 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) monde.
 1sP –R go house (p) Monday
 ‘I will go home on Monday.’

- (723) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek monde go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ Monday go+ market
 ‘I will go to the market on Monday.’

2.1.1.6.1.4 Month of the year The European month names are used: *jânvari, fêbwari, mach, epril, me, jyun, julây, ogost, septemba, oktoba, nofemba* and *dezemba*:

- (724) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) me à gò go haws. OR A gò go haws (fòr) me.
 (p) May 1sP –R go house 1sP –R go house (p) May
 ‘I will go home in May.’

- (725) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek me go ples.
 1sP –R takeV+ May go+ village
 ‘I will go home in May.’

- (726) *compound*
 A gò go haws (fòr) me -taym.
 1sP –R go house (p) May-time
 ‘I will go home in May.’

2.1.1.6.1.5 Year The European year counting system is employed:

- (727) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) nayntinaynti à gò go haws. OR
 (p) 1990 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) nayntinaynti.
 1sP –R go house (p) 1990
 ‘I will go home in 1990.’

- (728) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek nayntinaynti go ples.
 1sP –R takeV+ 1990 go+ village
 ‘I will go home in 1990.’

2.1.1.6.1.6 Festivals Festivals vary locally according to religious traditions:

- (729) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) Ramadan à gò go haws. OR
 (p) Ramadan 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) Ramadan.
 1sP –R go house (p) Ramadan.
 ‘I will go home during Ramadan.’
- (730) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek Ramadan go ples.
 1sP –R takeV+ Ramadan go+ village
 ‘I will go home during Ramadan.’
- (731) *compound*
 A gò go haws (fòr) Ramadan-taym.
 1sP –R go house (p) Ramadan-time
 ‘I will go home during Ramadan.’

2.1.1.6.1.7 Seasons There are two principal seasons: *harmatân* ‘dry season’ and *rênisisin* ‘rainy season’:

- (732) *word order/preposition*
 (Fòr) harmatân à gò go haws. OR
 (p) dry season 1sP –R go house
 A gò go haws (fòr) harmatân.
 1sP –R go house (p) dry season.
 ‘I will go home during the dry season.’
- (733) *object of valence-increasing verb*
 A gò tek harmatân go ples.
 1sP –R takeV+ dry season go+ village
 ‘I will go home during the dry season.’
- (734) *compound*
 A gò go haws (fòr) harmatân -taym.
 1sP –R go house (p) dry season-time
 ‘I will go home during the dry season.’

in some lects (by a process of truncation):

A gò go haws (fòr) harmatây.
 ‘I will go home during the dry season.’

2.1.1.6.2
Frequentative

2.1.1.6.2.1–4 Frequentative Reduplication of the temporal adverbial nominals listed in the preceding sections leads to them a frequentative meaning. A similar result is achieved by using these same nominals after the quantifier *evri* ‘every’, which may itself be reduplicated for emphasis. Nominals that refer to times of the day may not be preceded by *evri* and reduplication of months of the year is not possible:

Time of day

- (735) *reduplication*
Im gò tek tu oklôk-tu oklôk dè baf.
3sP –R takeV+ two o’clockR –C bathe
‘(S)he will bathe at two o’clock every day.’
- (736) *evri construction* (de ‘day or taym ‘time’ used for time of day)
Im gò tek tu oklôk dè baf *evri* taym.
3sP –R takeV+ two o’clock –C bathe every time
‘(S)he will bathe at two o’clock every day.’

Period of day

- (737) *reduplication*
Im gò tek mōning-mōning dè baf.
3sP –R takeV+ morningR –C bathe
‘(S)he will bathe in the morning every day.’
- (738) *evri construction*
Im gò dè baf *evri* mōning.
3sP –R –C bathe every morning
‘(S)he will bathe every morning.’

Day of the week

- (739) *reduplication*
Im gò tek mōnde-mōnde dè baf.
3sP –R takeV+ MondayR –C bathe
‘(S)he will bathe every Monday.’
- (740) *evri construction*
Im gò dè baf *evri* mōnde.
3sP –R –C bathe every Monday
‘(S)he will bathe every Monday.’

Month of the year

- (741) *evri construction*

Im gò dè kom evri ogost
 3sP –R –C come every August
 ‘(S)he will come every August.’

2.1.1.6.3

Punctual future

The punctual future is most often expressed via serialized valence-increasing construction marked by the irrealis auxiliary *gò*:

- (742) A gò tek tu mònt rìtôn.
 1sP –R takeV+ two month return+
 ‘I will return in two months.’

2.1.1.6.4

Punctual past

The punctual past is most often referred to by means of a circumlocutory construction that utilizes the completive aspect auxiliary *dón* together with *(s)te*, a copular verb of existence in time (see 1.2.1.1.6.7). In acrolectal varieties, adverbial clauses introduced by *sins* ‘since’ may also be used (see 1.1.2.4.2.10):

- (743) A dón rìtôn tu mònt wè ì dón (s)te.
 1sP +C return two month rcI 3sD +C cv
 ‘I returned two months ago.’

2.1.1.6.5

Duration

A temporal adverbial noun phrase may be used to indicate duration if the main verb of the clause in which it occurs is *(s)te*, a copular verb of existence in time (see 1.2.1.1.6.7). In such cases, the adverbial noun phrase is optionally preceded by the general preposition *fòr*:

- (744) A (s)te Legos (fòr) tu mònt.
 1sP cv Lagos (p) two month.
 ‘I lived in Lagos for two months.’

2.1.1.6.6–11

Anterior and posterior marking

Anterior marking is usually expressed by means of the temporal modifying noun *bifô* ‘before’. To indicate duration in the past, *bifô* is used with the past auxiliary *bìn* or with a nonstative verb that is factatively past in tense (see 2.1.3). In the future anterior duration is marked by the irrealis auxiliary *gò* plus *bifô*:

- (745) A go Kano bifô mònde.
 1sP goF Kano before Monday

'I went to Kano before (previous to) Monday.'

- (746) No *enibodi* *kɔm* *bifɔ̃* *mɔnde*.
 ng anybody comeF before Monday
 'Nobody came before Monday.'
- (747) No *enibodi* *gò* *kɔm* *bifɔ̃* *mɔnde*,
 ng anybody –R comeF before Monday
 'Nobody will come until Monday.'

Posterior marking is usually indicated by means of the temporal modifying noun *afta* 'after' or by the preposition/verb *fròm* 'from'. To indicate anterior duration in the past, *afta* or *fròm* is used with the past auxiliary *bìn* or with a nonstative verb that is factatively past in tense (see 2.1.3). In acrolectal varieties, *sins* 'since' may also occur here. In the future anterior duration is marked by the irrealis auxiliary *gò* plus *afta* or *fròm*:

- (748) A *gò* go Kano *afta* *mɔnde*.
 1sP –R go Kano after Monday
 'I will go to Kano after (subsequent to) Monday.'
- (749) No *enibodi* *kɔm* *afta* *mɔnde*.
 ng anybody cameF after Monday
 'Nobody came since Monday.'
- (750) *Sɔmbodi* *gò* *kɔm* *fròm* *mɔnde*,
 somebody –R comeF from Monday
 'Somebody will come from Monday on.'

2.1.1.7

Double case marking

2.1.1.7.1–4

Double case marking

There are no conventional cases of double case marking in Nigerian Pidgin. A few cases exist in the language, however, that could be marginally related to double case marking. Most of these cases involve the use of a single lexical item to fill more than one sentential slot (see 1.2.5.3). The coalescence of the object of a verb with the subject of a verb which follows it in a serialized verb construction (see 1.2.1.2.1) and the double role played by question-words when they occur at the beginning of headless relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.6) are good examples of word order being used to mark nominal elements in more than one way for case simultaneously. In complex associative/possessive constructions, a single nominal may serve both as the modifier/possessor nominal of the following nominal and as the modified/ possessed nominal of the preceding nominal (see 1.2.5.1.1). Word order and prepositions may at times be combined to doubly mark a particular nominal for case:

- (751) A tek Ade ìm pikîn bit -am fòr Uche im haws.
 1sP takeFV+ Ade 3ps child beat+-3oP p Uche 3ps house
 'I beat Ade's child in Uche's house.'

The only phonological variation resulting from the juxtaposition of two case markers affects the parsing of the constituents which share the doubly marked element into phrase stress groups or compound stress units (see 3.3.2.3 and 2.2.6.3). In such cases, two noun phrases which might ordinarily have been parsed into different phrase or compound stress units are often combined into the same group for phrase stress assignment.

2.1.1.8

Number marking in nouns

2.1.1.8.1–2

Number marking in nouns

Beside an optionally marked singular-plural distinction, no other number classification system is available for nouns in Nigerian Pidgin. The pluralizer *dèm* is the most commonly utilized means to show plurality in nouns (see 1.2.5.2.6):

- (752) A gò tek dì got go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar goat go+ market
 'I will take the goat(s) to market.'
- (753) A gò tek dì got dèm go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar goat pl go+ market
 'I will take the goats to market.'

Nominals are occasionally reduplicated to mark plural number (see 2.2.6.3 and 2.1.1.8.4). When used without the article *dì*, reduplicated nouns can be utilized to show nonspecific plurality:

- (754) Got-got plenti fòr maket.
 goatR be plentyF p market
 'There are plenty of goats in the market.'

A few human nouns have distinct suppletive singular and plural forms. The plural forms of these nouns may in nearly every instance be replaced by the singular form alone, reduplicated or followed by *dèm*:

- (755) A gò tek dì pikîn go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar child go+ market
 'I will take the child(ren) to market.'
- (756) A gò tek dì chudren go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar children go+ market

‘I will take the children to market.’

- (757) A gò tek dì pìkìn dèm go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar child pl go+ market
 ‘I will take the children to market.’

Plural marking is always optional. Where the specification of number is felt to be relevant in any way to the successful realization of a particular speech act, most nouns are assumed to be in the singular unless otherwise indicated by morphosyntactic or pragmatic/contextual cues. Collective and mass nouns such as *hyar* ‘hair’ and *wòta* ‘water’ are rarely marked in any way to show plurality and are anaphorically referred to by third-person singular pronouns. When marked for indefiniteness, however, mass nouns and collective nouns take the plural ‘article’ *som* rather than the singular *won* (see 2.1.1.11):

- (758) Wòta ì gò ful yò hyar.
 water 3sD –R be full 2ps hair
 ‘Water will fill your hair.’ OR ‘Your hair will be full of water.’
 *Wòta dèm gò ful yò hyar.
 *Wòta gò ful yò hyar dèm.

2.1.1.8.3

Other means of number marking

Besides the reduplication of nouns and their use with the pluralizer *dèm*, there are many other methods available for signalling that the referent of a noun is plural which do not involve marking the noun itself, but the marking instead of some other element of the sentence to which it belongs. These methods include the following:

- (759) *stative verbs, such as* plenti ‘be plenty’, meni ‘be many, etc.
 Got gò plenti fòr maket.
 goat –R be plenty p market
 ‘Goats will be plenty in the market.’ OR ‘There will be plenty of goats in the market.’
- (760) *reduplication of modifier nouns*
 A gò tek dì smòl pìkìn go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar be small/mn child go+ market
 ‘I will take the child(ren) to market.’
 A gò tek dì smòl-smòl pìkìn go maket.
 1sP –R takeV+ ar be small/mnR child go+ market
 ‘I will take the children to market.’
- (761) *quantifiers*
 A gò tek tu fish giv ùnà.
 1sP –R takeV+ two fish give+ 5oP
 ‘I will give you two fish.’

- (762) *reduplication of quantifiers*
 A gò tek tu-tu fish giv ùnà.
 1sP –R takeV+ twoR fish give+ 5oP
 ‘I will give you each two fish.’
- (763) *serialized verbs, such as trowê ‘overflow, etc. (see 1.3.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.4.9)*
 Got de maket nyàfùnyafu trowê.
 goat cvF+ market be very many+ overflow+
 ‘Goats are very plentiful in the market.’ OR ‘There are very many goats in the market.’
- (764) *reduplication of adverbs and ideophones*
 Got de maket welwêl.
 goat cvF+ market ipR
 ‘Goats are very plentiful in the market.’ OR ‘There are very many goats in the market.’

2.1.1.8.4

Collective and distributive plurals

There is no special way to mark collective plurality (see 2.1.1.8.1–2). Reduplication in general and the reduplication of numerals in particular are used to show distributive plurality:

- (765) A gò tek tu fish giv ùnà.
 1sP –R takeV+ two fish give+ 5oP
 ‘I will give you two fish.’
 A gò tek tu-tu fish giv ùnà.
 1sP –R takeV+ twoR fish give+ 5oP
 ‘I will give you each two fish.’
- (766) A gò sèl dì fish nayra-nayra. OR
 1sP –R sell ar fish nairaR
 A gò sèl dì fish wòn-wòn nayra.
 1sP –R sell ar fish oneR nairaR
 ‘I will sell the fish at one naira apiece.’

2.1.1.8.5

Singulative from collective nouns

Singulatives are not usually formed from collective nouns.

2.1.1.8.6

Marking of number distinctions in nouns

The marking of number distinctions in nouns is described in detail in sections 2.1.1.8.1–4.

2.1.1.8.7

Number marking in foreign words

Given the fact that the great majority of lexical items in Nigerian Pidgin are of English origin, it is often difficult to make a clear distinction between 'foreign' and 'native' words in the language. In this work, no attempt will be made to establish the criteria for making such distinctions. Keeping this in mind, the following preliminary generalizations seem to account best for the sample data.

When nonhuman nouns have come into the language, the most commonly occurring form in the donor language has usually been adopted for both singular and plural in Nigerian Pidgin:

(767)	hyar	'hair(s)'
	hed	'head(s)'
	nel	'fingernail(s)'
	BUT	
	bins	'bean(s)'
	sus	'shoe(s)'

For some human nouns, both a singular and a plural form have been borrowed:

(768)	pesin	'person(s)'
	pipul	'people'
	gel 'girl(s)'	
	gels 'girls'	

(769)	A gò tek dì pikîn go maket.
	1sP –R takeV+ ar child go+ market
	'I will take the child(ren) to market.'

(770)	A gò tek dì chudren go maket.
	1sP –R takeV+ ar children go+ market
	'I will take the children to market.'

The English plural /-s/ suffix system as well as the plural demonstratives *diz* 'these' and *doz* 'those' are employed in some acrolectal varieties, especially with items recently borrowed from English.

2.1.1.9

Noun clauses

2.1.1.9.1–5

Tone classes

There are no classes of nouns which are marked by gender morphemes or which determine agreement or concord phenomena in Nigerian Pidgin. Most nouns in the language, however, can be classified into one of three suprasegmental classes: a high tone class, a low tone class and a low-high tone class (other less

common tonal patterns are found over nouns as well, see 3.3.3.8). Monosyllabic nouns belong almost without exception to the high tone class while disyllabic nouns may belong to any one of the three classes:

- (771) *high toned nouns (bearing a single high tone)*
monosyllabic nouns: *fish* ‘fish’, *ay* ‘eye’, etc.
disyllabic nouns: *faya* ‘fire’, *sista* ‘sister’, etc.
- (772) *low toned nouns (bearing a single low tone)*
disyllabic nouns: *wòta* ‘water’, *sista* ‘nurse’, etc.
- (773) *low-high toned nouns (bearing a low tone followed by a high tone)*
disyllabic nouns: *pikîn* ‘child’, *dòmôt* ‘doorway’, etc.

Newly adopted nouns from English are usually assigned to the high tone class. Polysyllabic nouns and nouns recently borrowed from Nigerian languages may bear a wide variety of tonal melodies including (but not restricted to) all of those just mentioned. In some lects low-high nouns are pronounced as if they bore a high-high sequence. Certain tones over loan words from other Nigerian languages do not interact with the stress system in the same way as do other tones. The tonal properties of a noun help to determine the eventual pitch sequence that will occur over the entire phrase stress group to which that noun belongs (see 3.3.2.3).

Noun classes cannot be distinguished from one another on the basis of meaning. It could be argued, however, that low and low-high toned nouns represent a set of words which came into the language via Sierra Leone Krio during the nineteenth century. A more detailed discussion of the suprasegmental systems in Nigerian Pidgin may be found in Faraclas (1985b).

2.1.1.10 Definiteness

2.1.1.10.1–4 Definiteness marking in noun phrases

The principal marker of definiteness is the general article *dì*. Although *dì* may be said to be optional in most cases, the great majority of speakers tend to use it whenever possible, that is, whenever definiteness is even remotely suggested. The spatial relationship between the speaker and the entity under discussion may optionally be indicated by using the demonstratives *dis* ‘this’ and *dat* ‘that’ which also signal definiteness:

- (774) A bay mòto.
1sP buyF car
‘I bought a car.’ OR ‘I bought the car.’ OR ‘I bought cars.’ OR ‘I bought some cars.’
- (775) A bay dì mòto.
1sP buyF ar car
‘I bought the car (the cars).’

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (776) | A bay dis mòto.
1sP buyF this car
'I bought this car (these cars).' | A bay dat mòto.
1sP buyF that car
'I bought that car (those cars).' |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Definiteness may also be expressed by the use of ordinal numbers:

- (777) A bay (dì) fèst mòto.
1sP buyF (ar) first car
'I bought the first car.'

2.1.1.10.5–6

Definiteness, proper names and abstract nouns

Proper names and abstract nouns are not usually marked in any way for definiteness:

- (778) Audu tøk se fayt ì no gud.
Audu talkF ncI fight/n 3sD ng be goodF
'Audu said that conflict is not good.'
*Dì Audu tøk se fayt ì no gud.
*Audu tøk se dì fayt ì no gud.

It is only in instances where a proper noun or an abstract noun serves as the head nominal of a relative clause that it may be optionally marked for definiteness:

- (779) (Dì) Legos wē yù bìn sàbi bìfô no de ègên.
(ar) Lagos rcI 2sP +P know before ng cvF again
'The Lagos that you knew no longer exists.'
- (780) (Dì) gud wē yù du gò swit yò màma.
(ar) be good/n rcI 2sP doF -R be sweet 2ps mother
'The good that you did will please your mother.'

2.1.1.11

Indefiniteness

2.1.1.11.1–6

Indefiniteness marking in noun phrases

Nouns may be preceded by the numeral *won* in the singular or by the quantifier *som* in the plural to show indefiniteness. Indefiniteness is marked with much less frequency than is definiteness although both are optional in nearly every case (see 2.1.1.10):

- (781) A bay bayro.
1sP buyF pen

‘I bought a pen.’ OR ‘I bought the pen.’ OR ‘I bought pens.’ OR
‘I bought some pens.’

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (782) | A bay <u>won</u> bayro.
1sP buyF one pen
‘I bought a pen.’ | A bay <u>som</u> bayro (dèm).
1sP buyF some pen (pl)
‘I bought some pens.’ |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Indefiniteness markers do not vary in any way according to the spatial relationship between the entity under discussion and the participants in the speech act. Indefiniteness is optionally indicated with mass nouns using the plural marker *som*. Singular *won* is not normally found with mass nouns:

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (783) | A bay gàri.
1sP buyF gari
‘I bought gari.’ |
| (784) | A bay <u>som</u> gàri.
1sP buyF some gari
‘I bought some gari.’
*A bay <u>won</u> gari. |

2.1.1.12

Types of indefiniteness

2.1.1.12.1–4

Referential and nonreferential indefiniteness

There is no formal means available to differentiate referential from nonreferential indefiniteness.

2.1.1.13

Genericness

2.1.1.13.1–2

Genericness in noun phrases

A generic interpretation is often available for nouns which occur without articles. Otherwise, there is no special way to mark genericness:

- | | |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (785) | Pikîn gud.
child be goodF
‘Children are good.’ OR ‘Chidren are a joy.’ |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

2.1.1.14 *Importance of actors*

2.1.1.14.1–4 Degree of importance of actors

The only methods utilized for signalling the importance of actors are the regular topicalization and emphasis/focus processes available to most noun phrases in the language (see 1.11 and 1.12). There are no restrictions as to the number or animacy of the actors involved in the various uses of these processes, which are always optional.

2.1.2 **Pronouns**

Pronouns fall into two basic classes in Nigerian Pidgin: the free (independent) pronoun class and the bound (dependent) pronoun class (called the emphatic pronoun and the nonemphatic pronoun classes in Faraclas (1986a)). Bound pronouns are dependent on verbs to the extent that they never occur without the verb for which their referents function as arguments. The occurrence of free pronouns is not limited in this way. Free pronouns often form independent phrase stress groups unto themselves and thus become eligible to receive a phrase stress separate from that received by any other elements in the sentence (verbs and verb phrases included, see 3.3.2.3). Bound pronouns, in contrast, may never receive any type of stress and may never be part of any stress group that does not contain the verb for which they play the role of subject or object. Although much of this section has free pronouns as its principal focus, an attempt will be made to account for all of the salient characteristics of both pronominal sets wherever possible, since it is difficult to fully understand the distribution and behaviour of one set in isolation from the other set. For a full listing of pronominal forms, see 2.1.2.1.10.

2.1.2.1 *Personal pronouns*

2.1.2.1.1 Free pronouns

2.1.2.1.1.1–2 Distribution and obligatoriness/optionality

Pronominal persons. There is both a free and a bound pronoun available for each of six persons (first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third-person singular and plural). No other pronominal persons are expressed by means of pronouns (or any other structure) in the language.

Subject, object and reciprocal pronouns. Both a free and a bound pronoun exist for subject and object arguments for each of the six pronominal persons. For the first, third and fourth persons, object forms differ from subject forms. For the second, fifth and sixth persons, subject and object forms are identical and can only be differentiated by the sentential slot that they occupy (see 1.2.5.3). There is absolutely no distinction made between various types of objects (direct, indirect, oblique, prepositional, etc., see 1.2.1.2.2–6 and 2.1.2.1.10). Reduplicated forms of the free subject pronouns for any of the plural persons may be utilized as

reciprocal pronouns. Reflexive pronouns and invariant pronouns are occasionally used as reciprocal pronouns as well (see 1.7.1.2).

Possessive and reflexive pronouns. There is a single separate possessive pronoun form for each of the six pronominal persons. These forms could be said to be bound forms, in as much as they may not occur without a following possessed nominal in an associative/possessive construction (see 1.2.5.1.1). ‘Free’ possessive pronominals are formed for each of the pronominal persons by following the possessive pronouns with the possessive pronominal form *on* (see 1.2.5.1.1). Reflexive pronouns are derived for each of the six persons by following the possessive pronouns with *bòdi* or *sef* (see 1.6.1.2). Possessive and reflexive pronouns may be used in either subject or object noun phrases.

Obligatoriness/optionality. A bound subject, object or possessive pronoun is obligatorily present wherever its referent serves as an argument for a given verb or preposition or as a modifier for a given nominal element in an associative/possessive construction, except in cases where: (a) a free pronoun with the same referent is present; (b) the referent has been mentioned previously so that pronouns referring back to it are subject to the anaphoric omission processes outlined in sections 1.5.2.1–5; (c) omission of sentence elements under co-ordination occurs (see 1.3.2.1); (d) the special second person singular imperative form is used (see 1.1.1.3.1); (e) special omission processes which affect dummy subjects apply; (f) subject/object argument coalescence takes place in a serialized verb construction (see 1.3.1.1.4. and 1.2.1.2.1); or (g) a possessive pronoun is omitted under identity in reference with the subject of the sentence when it is the inalienable owner of the possessed nominal (see 1.10.2). In the special cases just listed, the use of bound pronouns is optional.

Free pronouns are optional in all cases where the corresponding bound pronoun is present or has been omitted through the application of the processes described above. In all other instances, the use of free pronouns is obligatory. With the exception of the special second-person imperative form, the occurrence of neither free nor bound pronouns is conditioned in any way by the person or number co-ordinates of their referents.

2.1.2.1.1.3 Environments where free pronouns may occur

2.1.2.1.1.3.1–7 Special distribution of free pronouns: Free pronouns are not normally found in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts, regardless of whether the sentence is declarative, imperative or interrogative. Bound pronouns are generally utilized in such cases. It is primarily in sentences where the pronominal referent is topicalized, emphasized or focused that free pronouns are used:

- (786) *as head nominal for a relative clause* (see 1.1.2.3.4)
 A *kòm* aks yu *wè* (yù) no sàbi *èni* ting.
 1sP +R ask 2EP rcI (2sP) ng knowF any thing
 ‘I ended up asking you, who don’t know anything.’
- (787) *as head nominal in a cleft sentence under emphasis/focus* (see 1.11.2.1.4)
 Nà mi *wè* bit dī got.
 EI 1EP rcI beatF ar goat
 ‘It is I who beat the goat.’
- (788) *as head nominal in a pseudocleft sentence under emphasis/focus* (see 1.11.2.1.5)
 Yu bì dī *pèsin* *wè* bit dī got.
 2EP cvF ar person rcI beatF ar goat

‘You are the person who beat the goat.’

- (789) *as head nominal in a truncated sentence under emphasis/focus* (see 1.2.1.1.6.2)

Nà mi (wɛ de).

EI 1EP (rcI cvF)

‘It is I (who am here).’ (answering ‘Who is that?’)

- (790) *dislocated under topicalization* (see 1.12.1.3)

Mi (kwanu), à de bush.

1EP (T) 1sP cvF bush

‘As for me, I am in the forest.’

- (791) *in topic-switching questions* (see 1.1.1.4.4)

Mi nkɔ?

1EP TQ

‘What about me?’

- (792) *in echo questions* (see 1.1.1.2.3.1)

(Yù min) mì ?

(2sP meanF) 1EP Qù

‘(Do you mean) me?’

In this example, the low tone over the first-person emphatic pronoun *mi* is due to yes-no question rising intonation.

- (793) *in vocatives and exclamations* (see 1.1.1.4)

Yu (sef)!

2EP (E)

‘Hey you!’ OR ‘You (of all people)!’

2.1.2.1.1.4 Structure of free and bound pronouns At the segmental level, the only difference between free and bound pronouns is found in the first-person (singular) subject forms, the bound form being *à* and the free form being identical to the object form *mi*. At the suprasegmental level all bound forms bear low tone and can never be stressed, while all of the free forms (with the exception of fifth person *ùnà*, which is invariably low) bear high tone and may be said to be inherently stressed (see 1.11.2.1.1). These differences are illustrated in 2.1.2.1.10.

2.1.2.1.1.5 Distributional restrictions Bound (reduced) subject and object pronouns may not occur after the focus introducer *nà*, before any focus/ emphasis markers or topicalizers or in any of the other environments listed in 2.1.2.1.1.3 where free pronouns are found.

2.1.2.1.2

Person distinctions in pronouns

Three persons (each with a separate singular and plural form) are distinguished. The first person corresponds to the speaker(s), the second person to the hearer(s) and the third person to all others. In some

lects there is a tendency to collapse certain person distinctions (see Faraclas 1986a) but in most varieties all distinctions based on person are maintained.

2.1.2.1.3

Inclusive/exclusive distinctions in pronouns

No distinctions are made in the language on the basis of any type of inclusive/exclusive dichotomy.

2.1.2.1.4

Number marking in pronouns

2.1.2.1.4.1–8 Number distinctions in pronouns The only distinction made on the basis of number in pronouns and all other subsystems of the language is a singular/plural distinction. A separate singular and a separate plural form exists for each of the pronominal persons. In some lects there is a tendency to collapse certain number distinctions, especially in the third person (see Faraclas 1986a) but in most varieties all distinctions are maintained. No other type of overlapping reference is attested in the data. Paucal, collective, distributive, universal set vs. subset, dual and trial distinctions are not made in pronouns. Cardinal numbers of any magnitude may follow subject pronouns or precede possessive pronouns to specify the number of referents concerned:

- (794) Wi tre gò go Opobo.
4EP three –R go Opobo
‘The three of us will go to Opobo.’

- (795) Tu àwa frend dèm gò go Opobo.
two 4ps friend pl –R go Opobo.
‘Two of our friends will go to Opobo.’

2.1.2.1.5

Obviative distinctions in pronouns

Obviative distinctions are not made in pronouns. Emphasis/focus and topicalization are generally used for showing obviative distinctions (see 1.11 and 1.12).

2.1.2.1.6

Proximal distinctions in pronouns

Proximal distinctions are not made in pronouns. Demonstratives are normally used for showing proximal distinctions (see 2.1.2.5).

2.1.2.1.7

Special anaphoric pronouns

Besides the reduced form of the third-person subject pronoun *ì*, which tends to be used in relative clauses (see 1.5.2.3.1), and the use of the possessive pronominal *on* to refer to entire assertions (see 1.5.2.5) there

are no special anaphoric pronouns in Nigerian Pidgin. *We* is not considered to be an anaphoric pronoun in this work, despite the fact that other authors have characterized it so in the past (see 1.1.2.3.4 for more discussion).

2.1.2.1.8

Gender/class distinctions in pronouns

No gender or class distinctions are made in pronouns, except in some acrolectal varieties, where the third-person feminine form *shi* is sporadically used (see Faraclas 1986a).

2.1.2.1.9

Ethnic and family marking in pronouns

Ethnic and family affiliation are not marked by means of pronouns. The pluralizer *dèm*, which is identical in form to the sixth-person bound pronoun, may be employed after proper nouns to indicate the family or some other group of people usually associated with the referent of the proper noun:

(796) B̀oni d̀em gò go Opobo.
Bonny pl –R go Opobo.
‘The people of Bonny will go to Opobo.’

(797) Chidi d̀em gò go Opobo.
Chidi pl –R go Opobo.
‘Chidi’s family will go to Opobo.’

2.1.2.1.10

Personal pronoun forms

Personal pronouns have the following forms:

(798) *personal pronouns*

Person number	Free EP subject	Bound subject	Free EP object	Bound object	Possessive
1	mi	à	mi	mì	mà
2	yu	yù	yu	yù	yò
3	im	ìm	am	-am	ìm
4	wi	wì	os	òs	àwa
5	ùnà	ùnà	ùnà	ùnà	ùnà
6	d̀em	d̀em	d̀em	d̀em	d̀em

2.1.2.1.11

Tense/aspect/modality distinctions in pronouns

Tense/aspect/modality distinctions are not made in pronouns.

2.1.2.1.12

Status marking in pronouns

2.1.2.1.12.1–3 Status distinctions in pronouns and titles Status distinctions are not made in pronouns. Titles are used according to local custom. In some areas, the use of titles is very common, while in others it is relatively rare. Titles may be grouped roughly into two broad open classes: traditional titles, many of which vary regionally, and modern titles, which are used throughout Nigeria:

(799) *some traditional titles*

òga	‘traditional ruler, powerful man’
malam	‘teacher, wise man’
alaji	‘man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca’
alaja	‘woman who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca’

(800) *some modern titles*

sà	‘sir’
màdâm	‘madam’
sista	‘nursing sister’
prof	‘professor’

Despite the complete absence of status distinctions in pronouns in the Port Harcourt data, Obilade (1976:87–9) states that in the midwest, *ùnà* or *dèm* can replace *yù* to show ‘special social distance’.

2.1.2.1.13

Nonspecific indefinite pronouns

2.1.2.1.13.1–3 Nonspecific pronouns There are no special nonspecific indefinite pronouns, although there are nonspecific uses attested for pronouns such as the possessive pronominal *on* when it is used to refer to entire assertions (see 1.5.2.5). Personal pronouns may be employed as nonspecific indefinite pronouns in such cases as the impersonal ‘passive’ construction, where *dèm* functions as an impersonal subject (see 2.1.3.1.1) or where reduced forms of the third-person subject pronouns are utilized as dummy subjects (see 1.2.1.2.1) or as special anaphoric pronouns (see 1.5.2.3.1). The nouns *pesin* ‘person’ and *man* ‘man’ occasionally function as special indefinite pronouns:

(801) *Pesin no dè si wòk ègèn.*
 person ng –C see work again
 ‘One can no longer find any work.’

2.1.2.1.14

Specific indefinite pronouns

Specific indefinite pronouns are usually noun phrases headed by the pronominalized numeral *won* ‘one’, such as: *som won* ‘someone’, *ànode won* ‘another one’, *som oda won* ‘some other one’, *eni oda won* ‘any other one’, etc.

2.1.2.1.15

Emphatic pronouns

2.1.2.1.15.1–3 Special emphatic pronouns Free pronouns may be considered to be emphatic pronouns (see 2.1.2.1.1.3–5). Pronouns may also be used with the emphasis marker *sef* to form emphatic pronouns (1.11.2.1.2). The similarity in form between nonemphatic (bound) pronouns and emphatic (free) pronouns suggests that derivational processes are involved to some degree in the relationship between the two pronominal categories. The inherent stress which differentiates free pronouns from other pronouns could be said to be motivated by their emphatic nature (see 2.1.2) while the low tone that differentiates bound pronouns from other pronouns would be motivated by their semi-clitic status (see 1.16.2). Selective emphatic pronouns do not exist. Selective emphasis is normally expressed by means of contrastive emphasis/focus (see 1.11).

2.1.2.1.16

Special complex pronouns

Special complex pronouns do not occur, although the pronoun object of a verb may be coalesced with the pronoun subject of a following verb in a serialized verb construction (see 1.2.1.2.1).

2.1.2.1.17

[Pronoun+noun] constructions

Any free pronoun may be specified by inserting it into a topic-comment construction where the pronoun is followed immediately by a noun phrase with the same referent:

- (802) Unà onyibo pipul no dè chu kola àtôl.
 5EP white people ng –C chew kola ngE
 ‘You white people don’t chew kola nut at all.’

2.1.2.1.18

Special conjoined pronouns

There are no special conjoined pronominal forms.

2.1.2.1.19

Secondary pronoun systems

2.1.2.1.19.1–3 Secondary pronoun systems No secondary pronoun system exists in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.1.2.1.20

Case and pronouns

2.1.2.1.20.1–5 Case distinctions in pronouns As shown in 2.1.2.1.10, pronouns are segmentally marked for three cases: subject (nominative; see 1.2.1.2.1), object (accusative, dative, oblique and others; see 1.2.1.2.2) and possessive (genitive, associative; see 1.2.5.1.1). Although nouns are not marked segmentally for case, the three pronominal cases correspond to the three nonadverbial sentential slots where noun phrases

may occur: the subject slot, the object slot and the associative modifier/possessor slot (see 1.2.5.3). It may therefore be concluded that, while nouns are marked for case by word order only, pronouns are doubly marked for case (by both word order and segmental differences). Both nouns and pronouns occur as prepositional objects and prepositions play some role in case marking as well (see 2.1.1.1.4).

2.1.2.2
Pronouns and reflexivity

2.1.2.2.1–7
Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are derived for each of the six persons by following the possessive pronouns with *bòdi* ‘body’ or *sef* ‘self’ in an associative/possessive construction (see 1.6.1.2):

(803) *reflexive pronouns*

Person/ number	Reflexive (<i>bòdi</i>)	Reflexive (<i>sef</i>)
1	mà <u>bò</u> di	mà <u>se</u> f
2	yò <u>bò</u> di	yò <u>se</u> f
3	ìm <u>bò</u> di	ìm <u>se</u> f
4	àwa <u>bò</u> di	àwa <u>se</u> f
5	ùnà <u>bò</u> di	ùnà <u>se</u> f
6	dèm <u>bò</u> di	dèm <u>se</u> f

Reflexive pronouns may be used in subject or object noun phrases, but they are marked for case by word order only and do not change their phonological shape to show case distinctions. Reflexive pronouns do not normally occur as the modifier/possessor nominal in an associative construction, except in acrolectal speech, where the possessive pronominal *on* is substituted for *bòdi* or for *sef*.

No semantic or grammatical distinctions beside those just described (person, number and subject vs. object) are made in reflexive pronouns. Other methods available for signalling reflexivity are: (a) the invariable pronoun *bòdi*; (b) the use of certain verbs which have a reflexive meaning when no object follows them, such as *baf* ‘bathe’, *wund* ‘wound’, etc.; and (c) the use of the realis modality auxiliary *kom* (see 1.6.1.4 for examples of these). Reflexive *sef* pronouns are sporadically utilized in place of reciprocal pronouns (see 1.7.1.2). No other uses of reflexive pronouns are attested in the data, although the relationship between reflexivity and emphasis needs further exploration (see 1.6.9.1).

2.1.2.3
Pronouns and reciprocity

2.1.2.3.1–7
Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns are formed by reduplicating the plural emphatic subject pronouns (see 1.7.1.2):

(804) *reciprocal pronouns*

Person/ number	Reduplicated reciprocal
4	wi-wi
5	ùnà-ùnà
6	dēm-dēm

Reciprocal pronouns may be used in subject or object noun phrases, but they are marked for case by word order only and do not change their phonological shape to show case distinctions. Reciprocal pronouns do not normally occur as the modifier/possessor nominal in an associative construction, except in acrolectal speech, where the items *ich oda* ‘each other’ and *won ànoda* ‘one another’ may function in this way (see 1.7.7). No semantic or grammatical distinctions besides those just described (person and subject vs. object) are made in reciprocal pronouns. Other methods available for signalling reciprocity are: (a) the invariable acrolectal forms *ich oda* ‘each other’ and *won ànoda* ‘one another’; (b) the use of certain verbs which have a reciprocal meaning when no object follows them, such as *fayt* ‘fight’, *kos* ‘curse’, etc.; and (c) the occasional use of reflexive *sef* pronouns to indicate reciprocal relations (see 1.7.1 for examples of these). No other use of reciprocal pronouns is attested in the data, although the relationship between reciprocity in particular and the processes of reduplication and compounding in general deserves more attention (see 2.2.6.3).

2.1.2.4

Pronouns and possession

2.1.2.4.1–11

Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns always occur as the modifier/possessor nominal in an associative/possessive construction (see 1.2.5.1.1). The possessive pronouns are marked for all of the person and number distinctions possible in the language. A full listing of the possessive pronouns can be found in section 2.1.2.1.10. Distinctions between different types of possession (alienable vs. inalienable, temporary vs. permanent, etc.) are not marked in any way on possessive pronouns. Deletion of possessive pronouns is possible, however, when the possessed nominal is inalienably owned by the referent of the subject of the sentence (see 1.10.2). Possessive pronouns may be used in subject or object noun phrases, but they are marked for case by word order only and do not change their phonological shape to show case distinctions. Reflexive and reciprocal possessive structures exist, but are rarely used in most lects of Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.2.2–3). Emphasis of possessive pronouns is impossible, but any of the means listed for the emphasis/focus of noun phrases listed in section 1.11 may be employed to emphasize the entire associative/possessive construction in which a given possessive pronoun occurs. Other methods available for signalling possession are: (a) the use of the acrolectal preposition *ɔf* ‘of’; (b) the use of the general preposition *fɔr*, and (c) the use of certain verbs that have a possessive meaning, such as *get* ‘have’, *hold* ‘hold’, etc. (see 1.10 and 2.1.1.4.6–7 for examples of these). Possessive pronouns are used together with *bòdi* or *sef* in an associative/possessive construction to form reflexive pronouns (see 2.1.2.2).

A special invariable possessive pronominal *on* fills the modified/possessed nominal slot of associative/possessive constructions. *On* is not only used to show possession, but may also be utilized to refer anaphorically to an entire assertion (see 1.5.2.5).

2.1.2.5

Pronouns and demonstratives

2.1.2.5.1–8

Demonstrative pronouns

There are two basic demonstrative pronouns: *dis* ‘this’ and *dat* ‘that’. Complex demonstrative pronominals may be formed by using one of the demonstratives to modify a following generic noun or pronominalized numeral: *dis/dat pesin* ‘this/that person’, *dis/dat won* ‘this/that one’, etc.

There are no special neutral demonstrative pronouns apart from the third-person pronouns. The phonological structure of demonstrative pronouns is not altered in any way to show the degree of distance between the referent and any of the participants in the speech act. In general, *dis* is used to refer to entities relatively close to the speaker, while *dat* is employed with reference to entities relatively far from the speaker or on the far side of the hearer from the speaker. When referring to events in the present (actual or narrative) or in the proximal past or future *dis* is utilized, while *dat* usually implies appreciable temporal distance from the present. Entities referred to in previous discourse are normally referred to by *dat*. Demonstrative pronouns may be used in subject or object noun phrases, but they are marked for case by word order only and do not change their phonological shape to show case distinctions. Because they normally serve as modifiers in other positions (see 1.2.5.2.5 and 1.2.5.3) demonstrative pronouns do not occur as the modifier/possessor nominal in an associative construction, except where they serve as part of a complex demonstrative pronoun:

- (805) *Dis pēsīn ìm pìkīn nò dè go skul.*
 this person 3ps child ng –C go school
 ‘This person’s child doesn’t attend school.’
 **Dis ìm pìkīn nò dè go skul.*
 INSTEAD MEANS: ‘This (one), his/her child doesn’t attend school.’
 **Dis pìkīn nò dè go skul.*
 INSTEAD MEANS: ‘This child doesn’t attend school.’

No semantic or grammatical distinctions besides those just described (proximal vs. distal and subject vs. object) are made in demonstrative pronouns. *Dis* may also be used to lend a pejorative or mocking connotation to the referent of a nominal which it modifies, especially when it is followed by an associative construction where *kaynd* ‘kind’ plays the role of modifier noun:

- (806) *Dis (kaynd) pìkīn nò gèt sēs àtôl.*
 this (kind) child ng haveF sense ngE
 ‘This (kind of) child doesn’t have any sense at all.’

2.1.2.6

Interrogative pronouns and other question words

There is no clear distinction between general and selective interrogative pronouns on one hand and between interrogative pronouns and question-words on the other in Nigerian Pidgin. All items which may be substituted for a questioned element in question-word questions together with yes-no question, alternative question, topic-switching question and echo question markers will be treated in this section.

Question-words in question-word questions. Words which replace questioned items in question-word questions are referred to as question-words in this work. Question-words are of three types: simple interrogative pronouns, compound interrogative pronouns and question-word expressions. Simple interrogative pronouns include *haw* 'how?', *hu* 'who?', *way* 'why?', *we* 'where?' and, in acrolectal varieties, *wen* 'when?' Compound interrogative pronouns consist of one of the interrogative markers (*hus-*, *wat-*, *wich-* or, less commonly, *we-* or *wus-*) followed by one of the pronominal bases such as *pesin* 'person', *ples* 'place' or *ting* 'thing' (see 2.2.6.3). The pronominal base *kaynd* 'sort, kind' may precede another pronominal base in a compound interrogative pronoun. Examples of compound interrogative pronouns are *watɪŋ* 'what?', *wetɪŋ* 'what?', *wich kaynd ting* 'which (kind of) thing?', *huskaynd pesin* 'who?' and *wusplɛs* 'where?' Question-word expressions occurring in the data are *for we* 'where?', *watɪŋ mek* 'why', *haw moch* 'how much/many?' and *haw meni* 'how many?' (see 1.1.1.2.2 for examples and further discussion).

Quantifiers within noun phrases may be questioned using the question-word expressions *haw moch* and *haw meni* (these two items are used interchangeably in many cases). All other noun phrase elements except the general article, the pluralizer, topicalizers and emphatic markers may be questioned using compound interrogative pronouns, especially those incorporating the interrogative marker *wich* 'which' and/or the pronominal base *kaynd* 'kind' (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.3 for examples and further discussion). To question elements in prepositional and adverbial phrases which are not included in local noun phrases the following question-words may be employed: (a) the simple interrogative pronouns *haw* 'how', *way* 'why?', *we* 'where?' and, in acrolectal speech, *wen* 'when?'; (b) compound interrogative pronouns containing pronoun bases such as *taym* 'time', *ples* 'place' and *we* 'means, way' (these are often preceded by the general preposition *fɔr*); and (c) the question-word expressions *fɔr we* 'where?' and *watɪŋ mek* 'why?' (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.4 for examples and further discussion).

All question-words are inherently stressed (see 3.3.2.3) and none is marked for any grammatical categories except for case, which is signalled primarily by means of word order and secondarily by the use of prepositions, as is the case for nouns. Question-words may serve to introduce headless relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.6).

Yes-no question markers. Almost any declarative sentence may be transformed into a yes-no question by replacing the normal sentence-final falling into-nation contour by a rising contour. A yes-no question marker *àbi* (*shebi* in the midwest?) may be used (usually together with a sentence-final rising into-nation contour) at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a sentence in order to transform it into a yes-no question. A negative copular construction such as *ì no bì so?* 'isn't it so?' or *ì no bì-am?* 'isn't it so?' may also occur sentence-finally or (more rarely) sentence-initially as a tag-like yes-no question marker (see 1.1.1.2.1 for examples and further discussion).

Alternative question markers. *Weda* 'whether' sometimes functions as a yes-no question marker at the beginning of a sentence, but it more often serves as an alternative question marker. Alternative questions include two or more conjoined sentences in an or-coordination construction (see 1.3.1.1.3). The forms *àbi*, *òr* and *weda* are most often used here, but *ayda* is also attested (see 1.1.1.2.1.3 for examples and further discussion).

Topic switching question markers. The topic of a verbal exchange can be changed by asking a question beginning with *Wat òf...* 'What about...' and/or ending with a variety of particles taken from different Nigerian languages, such as: *nko*, *kwanu*, *fa*, *sha*, *ba*, etc. (see 1.1.1.4.4 for examples and further discussion).

Echo question markers. Most yes-no question markers and question-words may be used to mark echo questions as well. The clause *Yù mín (se)* 'you mean (that)' can be employed to introduce yes-no echo questions, in which case the yes-no question becomes a noun clause. In question-word echo questions a rising intonation contour replaces the usual falling contour (see 1.1.1.2.3.1 for examples and further discussion).

2.1.2.7

Pronouns and relativization

2.1.2.7.1–3

Relative pronouns and other relative words

There are no special relative pronouns in Nigerian Pidgin. The relative clause introducer *we* is invariable in both phonological form and syntactic position, therefore it is never marked in any way for grammatical categories such as number, class/gender, case, etc. *We* may in fact be omitted in most relative clause constructions with little or no semantic or morphosyntactic change resulting (see 1.1.2.3.1). In previous works written on relativization in Nigerian Pidgin, *we* has often been classified as a relative pronoun. On the basis of the evidence and the arguments presented in section 1.1.2.3.4, however, it may be concluded that in most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, *we* is best classified as a relative clause introducer when it occurs in subordinate clauses. There are no means available to distinguish restrictive from nonrestrictive relative clauses besides intonation, which is more likely to be reset over the initial syllables of a restrictive relative clause than over a non-restrictive relative clause (see 1.1.2.3.2).

The regular personal pronouns as listed in 2.1.2.1.10 may be considered to function secondarily as relative pronouns, in as far as they are employed within relative clauses to refer anaphorically to the head nominal as well as to other elements in their superordinate clause. When used as relative pronouns in this sense, personal pronouns are marked for the usual categories that are marked on them in all other environments: person, number and case (see 2.1.2.1). There is a tendency for the reduced third-person subject pronoun *ì* to be utilized in relative clauses, and in basilectal varieties *ì* could even be characterized as an invariant relative subject pronoun along with its third-person object counterpart *-am*. Since both of these are invariable as well, the only grammatical category they could be said to signal would be case (subject vs. object; see 1.1.2.3.4 and 1.5.2.3.1). Question-words may serve to introduce headless relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3.6). Question-words used in this way cannot even be said to signal the only grammatical category normally marked on question-words, case, since question-words are marked for case by virtue of their position in the sentence and the position of question-words in headless relative clauses is invariable.

2.1.3

Verb morphology

Factative tense/aspect/modality. Verb morphology in Nigerian Pidgin cannot be sensibly discussed without an understanding of what has come to be called factative tense/aspect/modality, which is assigned to verbs according to their value for the feature [±stative] (Welmers 1973). If a verb is not otherwise marked for

tense/aspect/modality by auxiliaries, adverbials of time, or other contextual elements, it is assigned factative tense/aspect/modality values by default. If a nonstative (active) verb is not otherwise marked for tense/aspect/modality, it will by default be marked for past tense, completive aspect, and realis modality. If a stative verb is not otherwise marked for tense/aspect/modality, it will by default be marked for nonpast tense, incompletive aspect and realis modality. The factative (default) values for tense/aspect/modality in verbs could be formalized in the following way:

- (807) *factative (default) tense/aspect/modality*
 [–stative] [+past], [+completive], [+realis]
 [+stative] [–past], [–completive], [+realis]
- (808) [–stative] verb kari ‘carry’ with no overt marking has factative tense/aspect/modality marking by default
 A kari nyam.
 1sP carryF yam
 ‘I carried ([+past], [+completive], [+realis]) yams.’
- (809) [–stative] verb go ‘go’ with no overt marking has factative tense/aspect/modality marking by default
 A go Kano.
 1sP goF Kano
 ‘I went ([+past], [+completive], [+realis]) to Kano.’
- (810) [+stative] verb layk ‘like’ with no overt marking has factative tense/aspect/modality marking by default
 A layk nyam.
 1sP likeF yam
 ‘I like ([–past], [–completive], [+realis]) yams.’
- (811) [+stative] copular verb de with no overt marking has factative tense/aspect/modality marking by default
 A de Kano.
 1sP cvF Kano
 ‘I am ([–past], [–completive], [+realis]) in Kano.’

The co-occurrence of particular values for the features [±past], [±completive] and [±realis] in the factative marking of verbs reveals some of the most salient characteristics of the tense/aspect/modality system in Nigerian Pidgin. One value for a given feature regularly corresponds to certain values for other features, even when verbs are overtly marked for tense, aspect and/or modality. For example, when a verb is marked for incompletive aspect by the incompletive auxiliary *dè*, it is assigned a [–past] value for tense and a [+realis] value for modality by default, if there are no overt tense or modality markers present:

- (812) [–stative] verb kari ‘carry’ with [–completive] *dè* is [–past] and [+realis] by default
 A *dè* kari nyam.

1sP –C carry yam

‘I am carrying ([–completive], therefore [–past], [+realis]) yams.’

- (813) [+stative] verb layk ‘like’ with [+past] adverbial bifô is [+completive] and [+realis] by default
 A layk nyam bifô.
 1sP likeF yam before
 ‘I liked ([+past], therefore [+completive], [+realis]) yams before.’

The following default marking patterns generally hold for verbs which are overtly marked for tense only, aspect only or modality only:

- (814) *default marking patterns for partially marked verbs*

If verb is overtly marked only for	Then, by default, it is also
Tense	
[+past]	[+completive], [+realis]
[–past]	[–completive], [+realis]
[–past], ‘future’	[–completive], [–realis]
Aspect	
[+completive]	[+past], [+realis]
[–completive]	[–past], [+realis]
[–completive], ‘abstract’	[–past], [–realis]
Modality	
[+realis]	[+past], [+completive]
[–realis]	[–past]

These patterns define a web of relations that hold between the tense, aspect and modality subsystems in Nigerian Pidgin. A given verb in a given context will situate itself on this web by virtue of its stativity if it is not overtly marked for tense/aspect/modality or, according to the ‘default paths’ that link the various values for tense, aspect and modality, if it is only partially marked by overt means:

- (815) *web of default relations between the tense, aspect and modality subsystems*

Finally, it should be noted that the [+past] tense auxiliary *bin* differs from other auxiliaries in that it represents relations other than those linked by the default paths in the preceding diagram. *Bin* as [+past] marker is much less closely linked to [+completive] aspect than the [+completive] aspect markers are linked to the [+past] tense. In fact, *bin* in many cases brings with it a [–completive] rather than a [+completive] meaning (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.2). *Bin* could therefore be said to represent semantically marked paths on the tense/aspect/modality web, as opposed to the semantically unmarked default paths.

2.1.3.1

Voice

2.1.3.1.1

Passive voice

2.1.3.1.1.1–4 Passive While there is no true passive in Nigerian Pidgin, several constructions exist which express passive meanings to one degree or another. It should be noted that no special agentive marking system is used and that ‘passive’ sentences have the same range of possibilities for tense/aspect/modality marking as do other sentences in the language. There is a tendency, however, for the realis modality auxiliary *kom* to be employed with greater than average frequency in ‘passive’ sentences. This is no accident, given the general propensity of speakers to utilize both passive voice and realis modality to minimize any perception on the part of the listener that the assertion is motivated by personal ambitions or coloured by value judgements, feelings or any attribution of guilt or responsibility for events (see 2.1.3.4 and Faraclas 1987). There is no formal way to distinguish dynamic passivity from static passivity. ‘Passive’ constructions include the following.

Impersonal dèm construction. The sixth-person bound subject pronoun *dèm* may be used impersonally to express a passive meaning (see 1.2.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.13 for more examples):

- (816) Dēm tek layt.
6sP takeF light
'Power has been cut.' OR 'There is a power shortage.'

Impersonal yù construction. The second-person bound subject pronoun *yù* may also be utilized impersonally with a passive meaning, especially in procedural texts:

- (817) Yù tek nayf kòt nyám put fòr faya boyl finish pawnd -am chòp belêfûl.
 2sP takeV+ knife cut+ yam put+ p fire boil+ +C pound+-3oP eat+ be satiated+
 '(To eat yams,) you cut the yams with a knife and put them to boil completely to be pounded
 and eaten to satiation.'

Role reversal verbs. Verbs such as *kach* ‘catch’ and *chop* ‘eat’ may take subjects (often derived from stative verbs) which refer to mental or physical states such as *hongri* ‘hunger’ or *taya* ‘tiredness’ (see example in 2.1.1.2.13). In these constructions, the experiencer is expressed via the element in the object slot, rather than the element in the subject slot:

- (818) A kom hɔŋri.
1sP +R be hungry
'I was hungry.'
- (819) Nyam kom hɔŋri mì.
yam +R be hungry 1oP
'I was hungry (for yams).'

- (820) Hōngri kōm kach mī.
 be hungry/n +R catch 1oP
 ‘Hunger caught me.’ OR ‘I was hungry.’

Obilade (1976:75) records *Chye tu fol mi*, meaning ‘I fall (too) easily from chairs.’

2.1.3.1.2

Decreasing the valence of verbs

2.1.3.1.2.1–4 Means of decreasing the valence of verbs Besides the ‘passive’ constructions described and exemplified in 2.1.3.1.1., the following means are available for decreasing the valence of verbs:

Objectless active verbs. An active verb may be used without an object:

- (821) A kōm chop nyam.
 1sP +R eat yam
 ‘I ate (yam).’
- (822) A kōm chop.
 1sP +R eat
 ‘I ate.’

Verbs which often take more than one object may be used with only one of their objects overtly marked (see 1.2.1.2.3):

- (823) A kōm giv dī man dī nyam.
 1sP +R give ar man ar yam
 ‘I gave the yam to the man.’

also acceptable (where the other object is understood):

A kōm giv dī man.
 A kōm giv dī nyam.

Objectless stative verbs. When a stative verb does not have an overtly marked object, it is the subject, in as much as it is the experiencer of the event, which (by default) could also be said to be the sufferer or recipient of the consequences of that event (see 2.1.1.2.1–8 for more examples and extensive discussion of this phenomenon):

- (824) A kōm spoyl dī sup.
 1sP +R be spoiled ar soup
 ‘I spoiled the soup.’
- (825) Dī sup kōm spoyl.
 ar soup +R be spoiled
 ‘The soup is spoiled.’

Objectless ‘reciprocal’ verbs. Certain verbs, such as *kos* ‘curse’ and *fayt* ‘fight’, have an inherently reciprocal meaning when they are used without an overtly marked object (see 1.7.1.4):

- (826) Snek kòm fayt dì bəd.
 snake +R fight ar bird
 ‘The snake fought with the bird.’
- (827) Dì bəd dèm kòm fayt.
 ar bird pl +R fight
 ‘The birds fought with one another.’

Objectless ‘reflexive’ verbs. Certain verbs, such as *baf* ‘bathe’ and *wund* ‘wound’, have an inherently reflexive meaning when they are used without an overtly marked object (see 1.6.1.4):

- (828) A kòm wund dì bəd.
 1sP +R wound ar bird
 ‘I wounded the bird.’
- (829) Dì bəd kòm wund.
 ar bird +R wound
 ‘The bird hurt itself.’

Dummy subjects and subject omission. A reduced form of the third-person bound subject pronoun *i* is employed as a dummy subject, especially in copular constructions that express existence in time or in quantity (see 1.2.1.1.6.7–8). This dummy subject is semantically empty and is often omitted (see 1.2.1.2.1):

- (830) (I) no bì mi du -am.
 (3sD) ng cvF 1EP doF-3oP
 ‘It is not I who did it.’ OR ‘I am not the one who did it.’
- (831) (I) rìmên tu nayra.
 (3sD) remainF two naira
 ‘There remain two naira.’ OR ‘Two naira are left.’ OR ‘You still owe two naira.’

2.1.3.1.3

Increasing the valence of verbs

Serialized verb constructions. The principal method utilized for increasing the valence of verbs is the use of serialized verb constructions. A fuller listing of some of the possibilities for the use of this very productive process for increasing valence (with examples of each major subprocess) may be found in section 1.3.1.1.4:

- (832) A fray dòdo.
 1sP fryF plantain
 ‘I fried plantain.’

- (833) A kari oyil tek pan fray dòdo giv Akpan.
 1sP carryFV+ oil takeV+ pan fry+ plantain giveV+ Akpan
 ‘I fried plantain in oil with a pan for Akpan.’

Prepositions. Another important method which may be utilized to increase the valence of verbs is the use of prepositions, especially the general preposition *fòr* (see 2.1.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.4–7. for a full listing and more examples):

- (834) A fray dòdo fòr oyil fòr pan fòr Akpan.
 1sP fryF plantain p oil p pan p Akpan
 ‘I fried plantain in oil with a pan for Akpan.’

2.1.3.1.3.1–3 Causative There are two causative constructions which may be used interchangeably. The most commonly employed construction utilizes the verb *mek* ‘make’ followed first by an object whose referent is the causee and then by a verb in series whose subject is the causee. This is one of the few serialized verb construction types where verbs in series do not share the same subject (see 1.3.1.1.4):

- (835) Im gò mek mì go.
 3sP –R make+ 1oP go+
 ‘(S)he will make me go.’

The other construction consists of a superordinate clause containing a verb such as *du* ‘do, make’ or *pòshù* ‘pursue’ which takes the causee as its object, followed by a subjunctive noun clause headed optionally by the noun clause introducer *se* and then obligatorily by the subjunctive clause introducer *mek* (which is identical in form to the verb *mek* ‘make’; see 1.1.1.3 and 1.1.2.2.2). The subject of the noun clause is co-referent with the causee object of its superordinate clause:

- (836) Im gò du mì (se) mek à go.
 3sP –R do 1oP (ncI) SJcI 1sP goSJ
 ‘(S)he will make me go.’

The two constructions just described are the only methods available for expressing the causative voice. Their use is in no way sensitive to the type and/or number of objects usually associated with the verbs they contain:

- (837) Im gò mek mì chop (gàri).
 3sP –R make+ 1oP eat+ (gari)
 ‘(S)he will make me eat (gari).’
- (838) Im gò mek mì giv yù gàri.
 3sP –R make+ 1oP give+ 2oP gari
 ‘(S)he will make me give you gari.’
- (839) Im gò du mì (se) mek à chop (gàri).
 3sP –R do 1oP (ncI) SJcI 1sP eat+ (gari)

‘(S)he will make me eat (gari).’

- (840) Im gò du mì (se) mek à giv yù gàri.
 3sP –R do 1oP (ncI) SJcI 1sP give+ 2oP gari
 ‘(S)he will make me give you gari.’

No formal differences are made depending on the agentivity of the causee. Items that refer to the causee may never be omitted from a causative construction:

- (841) Audu gò mek dì klot kòm wayt.
 Audu –R make+ ar cloth +R be white+
 ‘Audu will make the cloth white.’
 *Audu gò mek kòm wayt.
- (842) Audu gò du dì klot (se) mek dì klot kòm wayt.
 Audu –R do ar cloth (ncI) SJcI ar cloth +R be white
 ‘Audu will make the cloth white.’
 Audu gò du dì klot (se) mek-am kòm wayt. BUT *Audu gò du dì
 klot (se) mek kòm wayt.

2.1.3.1.4

Special reflexive and reciprocal verb forms

There are no special reflexive or reciprocal verb forms in the language (see 1.6 and 1.7).

2.1.3.2

Tense

Where tense is not overtly marked by means of auxiliaries, time adverbials or other contextual cues, factative tense values are assigned by default (see 2.1.3). All of the tense markers described in this section are used optionally rather than obligatorily.

2.1.3.2.1

Formal marking of tense distinctions

In most cases, tense is not formally marked. The future is the most consistently marked tense, but its marker is borrowed from the modality auxiliary system (see 2.1.3.2.1.4 and 2.1.3.4). Time adverbials are employed at least as often as are auxiliaries to specify the location of an event in time:

- (843) Yestàdê à de haws,
 yesterday 1sP cv house
 ‘Yesterday I was at home.’
- (844) Naw à de haws,
 now 1sP cv(F) house

‘Now I am at home.’

- (845) Tùmorò à de haws,
tomorrow 1sP cv house
‘Tomorrow I will be at home.’

2.1.3.2.1.1 Universal tense There is no formal means available to mark universal tense, although incomplete aspect may at times be used for this purpose (see 2.1.3.3):

- (846) [+stative] verb, [–C] by default
Snek bad.
snake be badF
‘Snakes are bad.’
- (847) [–stative] verb, must be marked overtly for incomplete
Snek dè bayt.
snake –C bite
‘Snakes bite.’

2.1.3.2.1.2 Present tense There is no formal means available to mark present tense. Incomplete aspect is normally utilized for this purpose (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.3.3):

- (848) [+stative] verb, [–C] by default
A de haws. A layk nyam.
1sP cvF house 1sP likeF yam
‘I am at home.’ ‘I like yams.’
- (849) [+stative] verb, must be marked overtly for incomplete (present)
A dè go haws. A dè chop nyam.
1sP –C go house 1sP –C eat yam
‘I am going home.’ ‘I am-eating yams.’

2.1.3.2.1.3 Past tense

2.1.3.2.1.3.1–2 Past tense: Factatively, nonstative verbs are past tense by default (see 2.1.3). The past tense marker *bìn* may be used with stative verbs to show past tense:

- (850) [+stative] verb, must be marked overtly for past
A bìn de haws. A bìn layk nyam.
1sP +P cv house 1sP +P like yam
‘I was at home.’ ‘I liked yams.’
- (851) [–stative] verb, [+P] by default
A go haws. A chop nyam.
1sP goF house 1sP eatF yam
‘I went home.’ ‘I ate yams.’

- Past tense in the superordinate clause of a conditional construction is marked by the modal verb *fə* ‘should’ (see 1.1.2.4.2.5):

- 2.1.3.2.1.4.1–3 Future tense: The irrealis modality auxiliary *gò* may be used with any verb either to show irrealis modality (see 2.1.3.4) or to mark future tense:

- The modal verbs *want* ‘want’ and *fə* ‘should’ are often employed to mark events which are about to occur in the immediate future (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.6):

- (858) [-stative] verb
A want go haws. A fo chop nyam.

1sP wantF+ go+ house
 ‘I am about to go home.’

1sP shouldF+ eat+ yam
 ‘I am about to eat yams.’

Future anterior tense/sequence is expressed by using *gò* together with the completive auxiliary *don*:

- (859) [+stative] verb
 A *gò don* de haws f̣ɔ̃r ḍi taym yù *gò* slip.
 1sP –R +C cv house p ar time 2sP –R sleep
 ‘I will have been home (for some time) by the time you (will) go to sleep.’

- (860) [–stative] verb
 A *gò don chop* nyam bìf̣ô yù *gò* rich ḍi haws.
 1sP –R +C eat yam before 2sP –R reach ar house
 ‘I will have eaten yams before you (will) arrive at the house.’

2.1.3.2.2

Reduced tense distinctions

The only auxiliary markers which may be used in imperative sentences (see 1.1.1.3.1.1), in subjunctive clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2) and with noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4) are the realis modality marker *kom*, the incomplete aspect auxiliary *dè* and postverbal completive aspect markers such as *finish* and *taya*. The realis modality auxiliary *kom* is compatible with all other auxiliaries. The irrealis modality marker *gò* (which is also used to mark future tense) may not occur in the same verb phrase with the past tense marker *bìn*.

2.1.3.2.3

Absolute vs. relative nature of tenses

2.1.3.2.3.1–3 Absolute tense vs. relative tense Just as noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions tend to have their tense/aspect/modality properties determined by those of the initial verb in the construction, so do all verbs tend to have their tense/aspect/modality properties determined by those of verbs which precede them in superordinate or co-ordinate structures or even in distinct sentences within the same discourse unit:

- (861) Yestàdê à go tawn. A no de haws.
 yesterday 1sP goF town 1sP ng cv house
 ‘Yesterday I went to town. I wasn’t at home.’

In the preceding example, the stative verb *de* is not in the nonpast tense, as we might expect it to be given the default value for tense assigned to unmarked verbs by factative tense/aspect/modality (see 2.1.3). Instead, *de* is in the past tense because the verb of the previous sentence is marked as [+past], both by the time adverbial *yestàdê* and by the factative assignment of past tense to unmarked nonstative verbs.

2.1.3.3

Aspect

Where aspect is not overtly marked by means of auxiliaries, adverbials or other contextual cues, factative aspect values are assigned by default (see 2.1.3). All of the aspect markers described in this section are used optionally rather than obligatorily. In most cases, aspect is not formally marked. Aspect is, however, more commonly marked than is tense. Adverbials, ideophones and serialized verbs are employed as often as are auxiliaries to specify how an event occurs or unfolds in time (see 1.3.1.1.4):

- (862) [+stative] verb, [–completive] by default
 A sik.
 1sP be sickF
 ‘I am sick.’
- (863) marked [+completive] by auxiliary *dɔn*
 A *dɔn* sik.
 1sP +C be sick
 ‘I have become (completely) sick.’
- (864) marked [+completive] by auxiliary/serial verb *finish*
 A sik *finish*.
 1sP be sick +C
 ‘I have become (completely) sick.’
- (865) marked [+completive] by ideophone *kpakpa*:
 A sik *kpakpa*.
 1sP be sick ipR
 ‘I have become (completely) sick.’

2.1.3.3.1

Perfect/completive aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1 Perfect/completive Past situations with present relevance are indicated in the following ways: (a) by the use of adverbials such as *bɪfɔ* ‘before’ or *sins* ‘(long) since’; (b) by the use of completive auxiliaries such as *don* and *taya*; and (c) by the use of realis modality markers such as *kom* and *ò*:

- (866) A *dɔn kom* (ò).
 1sP +C came (f)
 ‘I have come.’ OR ‘Here I am.’
- (867) A (*dɔn*) *kom sins* (ò).
 1sP (+C) come since (f)
 ‘I have long since come.’
- (868) Yù *don kom ò*!
 2sP +C come f

‘You have come.’ OR ‘You finally understand what I have been trying so long to tell you!’

2.1.3.3.1.2 Perfect/completive aspect and tense/sequence Pluperfect, future perfect and present perfect tense/sequence may be signalled by the use of the completive auxiliaries and/or other perfect markers together with the appropriate tense markers (see 2.1.3.2):

- (869) *pluperfect tense/sequence*
 A bìn dòn layk nyam bìfô yù kòm layk-am.
 1sP +P +C like yam before 2sP +R like -3oP
 ‘I had liked yams before you first liked them.’
- (870) *future perfect tense/sequence*
 A gò dòn chòp nyam bìfô yù gò rich dī haws.
 1sP –R +C eat yam before 2sP –R reach at house
 ‘I will have eaten yams before you (will) arrive at the house.’
- (871) *present perfect tense/sequence*
 Awa taym dòn dè finish.
 4ps time +C –C be finished
 ‘Our time has nearly finished.’

2.1.3.3.1.3 Meanings expressed by perfect/completive aspect

2.1.3.3.1.3.1 A present result of a past situation: A present result of a past situation is most often referred to by means of the use of the completive auxiliary *dòn*. The phrase-final particle/realis modality marker *ò* is also quite commonly employed to express this aspectual relation:

- (872) A dòn chòp.
 1sP +C eat
 ‘I have eaten.’ (in response to: ‘Will you eat now?’)
- (873) A neva chòp ò.
 1sP ng+C eat f
 ‘I haven’t eaten.’ OR ‘I am hungry.’

With [+stative] verbs, perfect/completive marking indicates that the state referred to by the verb has been entered into and continues into the present:

- (874) A dòn veks.
 1sP +C be angry
 ‘I have become angry.’ OR ‘I am angry.’

When the realis auxiliary *kòm* is utilized in this way, it may at times refer to some state that continues into the present, but more often refers to some state that continued until some moment in the past that is of relevance to the discussion at hand. This illustrates the semantic linkage ‘by default’ between [+realis] modality, [–completive] aspect, and [+past] tense:

- (875) A *kòm* *veks*.
 1sP +R be angry
 ‘I had become angry.’ OR ‘I was angry.’

Finally, certain verbs inherently refer to events which occurred in the past but which have present relevance. The verb *si* ‘see’, for example, is more accurately translated as ‘catch sight of. For this reason *si* behaves as a [–stative] verb, and causes great confusion in its usage for speakers of English, where *see* behaves more like a stative verb. This explains as well the use of *si* with the meaning ‘discover, find’, while the verb *faynd* means ‘search (for)’:

- (876) A *bìn* *faynd*-am, *bòt* à no *si* -am.
 1sP +P find -3oP but 1sP ng seeF-3oP
 ‘I looked for it, but I didn’t find it.’

Some verbs straddle the boundary between [+stative] and [–stative] and can be used both to refer to entering a particular state as well as to existing in that state. The verb *get*, for example, usually occurs as a [+stative] verb meaning ‘have’, but it occasionally takes on the [–stative] meaning ‘obtain’, especially where completive auxiliaries or markers for the ingressive aspect such as *kòm* are present (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.6):

- (877) *get* as [+stative], *dè* marking is unnecessary because of factative tense/aspect/modality (see 2.1.3)
 A *get* *mòto*.
 1sP haveF car
 ‘I have a car.’

- (878) *get* as [–stative]
 A *kòm* *get* *mòto*.
 1sP +R obtainF car
 ‘I obtained a car.’ OR ‘I bought a car.’

2.1.3.3.1.3.2 A situation that has held at least once in a previous period: A situation that has obtained at least once in a past period is most frequently indicated by the adverbial *bifô* ‘before’. The completive auxiliary *don* and its negative counterpart *neva* are also quite commonly employed to express this aspectual relation:

- (879) A: Yù *dòn* *sik* *bifô* ? 2sP +C be sick before Qù
 B: A *neva* *sik* (*bifô*). 1sP ng+C be sick (before)
 A: ‘Have you ever been sick?’
 B: ‘(No,) I have never been sick.’

2.1.3.3.1.3.3 A situation that began in the past and is still continuing: A situation that began in the past and is still continuing is usually signalled by the adverbial *sins* ‘(long) since’. The completive auxiliaries *don* and *taya* may be utilized together with the incomplete auxiliary *dè* for this same purpose:

- (880) A (*dè*) *wet* yù *sins*.
 1sP (–C) wait for 2oP since

‘I have been waiting for you for a long time.’

- (881) A dè wet yù taya.
1sP –C wait for 2oP +C
‘I have been waiting for you for a long time.’

- (882) A dòn dè wet yù (sins).
1sP +C –C wait for 2oP (since)
‘I have been waiting for you for a long time.’

2.1.3.3.1.4 Perfect/completive aspect and past tense Besides the default relationship between [+completive] aspect, [+realis] modality and [+past] tense (see 2.1.3) there is no special relationship between the perfect/completive aspect and any particular type of past tense in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.1.3.3.2

Aspect and duration of events

2.1.3.3.2.1 Aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation

2.1.3.3.2.1.1 Perfective/completive aspect: By default (factative tense/ aspect/modality) nonstative verbs refer to events in their totality, unless otherwise marked (see 2.1.3). Stative verbs, however, must be used with completive aspect auxiliaries to express the same aspectual relation:

- (883) [–stative] verb, perfective because of factative tense/aspect/modality (see 2.1.3)
A wòsh plet.
1sP washF dish
‘I washed (the) dishes.’

- (884) [+stative] verb, perfective marked by dòn
A dòn ste fòr Ilorin.
1sP +C stay p Ilorin
‘I (have) lived in Ilorin.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.2 Imperfective/incompletive aspect: By default (factative tense/ aspect/modality) stative verbs refer to events which are viewed with respect to their internal constituency, unless otherwise marked (see 2.1.3). Nonstative verbs, however, must be used with the incompletive aspect auxiliary dè to indicate imperfective/incompletive aspect:

- (885) [+stative] verb, imperfective because of factative tense/aspect/modality (see 2.1.3)
A ste fòr Ilorin.
1sP stayF p Ilorin
‘I live in Ilorin.’

- (886) [–stative] verb, imperfect marked by dè
A dè wòsh plet, bòt dèm no gri klin.

1sP –C wash dish but 6sP ng agreeF+ be clean+
 ‘I am washing (the) dishes, but they aren’t getting clean.’

Since the past auxiliary *bìn* is semantically marked in that it signals [–completive] aspect more readily than [+completive] aspect (see 2.1.3) the use of *dè* is optional when *bìn* marks past tense:

- (887) A *bìn* ste *fòr* Ilorin.
 1sP +P stay p Ilorin
 ‘I was living in Ilorin.’
- (888) A *bìn* (*dè*) *wòsh* plet, *bòt* *dèm* no gri klin.
 1sP +P (–C) wash dish but 6sP ng agreeF+ be clean+
 ‘I was washing (the) dishes, but they wouldn’t get clean.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.3 Habitual/incompletive aspect: In most cases, the habitual/ incompletive aspect is signalled by the use of a reduplicated adverbial of time or an adverbial consisting of the item *evri* ‘every’ followed by a nominal referring to some unit of time together with the incompletive aspectual marker *dè*. In nonpast tenses, *dè* is employed with most verbs (both non-stative and stative) while in the past tense *bìn* may be employed with or without *dè* with verbs of any category:

- (889) A *dè* ste *fòr* Ilorin *evri* taym.
 1sP –C stay p Ilorin every time
 ‘I always stay in Ilorin.’
- (890) A *dè* *wòsh* plet *sonde sonde*.
 1sP –C wash dish SundayR
 ‘I wash (the) dishes every Sunday.’
- (891) A *bìn* (*dè*) ste *fòr* Ilorin *evri* mònt.
 1sP +p (–C) stay p Ilorin every month
 ‘I used to stay in Ilorin every month.’
- (892) A *bìn* (*dè*) tek *sonde sonde* (*dè*) *wòsh* plet. OR
 1sP +P (–C) takeV+ SundayR (–C) wash+ dish
 A *bìn* (*dè*) *wòsh* plet *sonde sonde*.
 1sP +P (–C) wash dish SundayR
 ‘I used to wash (the) dishes every Sunday.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.4–5 Continuous/incompletive and progressive/incompletive aspect: Both the continuous/ incompletive and the progressive/incompletive aspects are indicated by the use of unmarked (factative; see 2.1.3) stative verbs or by nonstative verbs used together with the incompletive aspectual marker *dè*. In the past tense *bìn* may be employed with or without *dè* with verbs of any category to show continuous/ incompletive or progressive/incompletive aspect:

- (893) A ste *fòr* Ilorin.

1sP stay p Ilorin
 ‘I am staying in Ilorin.’

- (894) A dè wòsh plet.
 1sP –C wash dish
 ‘I am washing (the) dishes.’

- (895) A bìn ste fòr Ilorin.
 1sP +P stay p Ilorin
 ‘I was staying in Ilorin.’

- (896) A bìn (dè) wòsh plet.
 1sP +P (–C) wash dish
 ‘I am washing (the) dishes.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.6 Ingressive aspect: The modal auxiliary verbs (see 1.3.1.1.4) *bìgîn* ‘begin’, *want* ‘want’ and *fò* ‘should’ can all be utilized with an ingressive meaning:

- (897) A bìgîn wòsh plet.
 1sP beginF+ wash+ dish
 ‘I began to wash (the) dishes.’

- (898) A want wòsh plet.
 1sP wantF+ wash+ dish
 ‘I am about to wash (the) dishes.’

- (899) A fò wòsh plet.
 1sP shouldF+ wash+ dish
 ‘I am about to wash (the) dishes.’

As noted in the discussion of perfect/completive aspect, when stative verbs are used together with completive aspect or realis auxiliary marker, the reference is to having entered the state in question and many verbs (such as *si* ‘see’) which refer to states in languages like English refer instead to entering into a particular state in Nigerian Pidgin (*si*=‘catch sight of’). Finally, certain verbs such as *get* ‘have, obtain’, *sìdôn* ‘sit (down)’, *stanôp* ‘stand (up)’ and *laydôn* ‘lie (down)’ may be utilized with either a stative or an ingressive meaning (see 2.1.3.3.1.3.1).

2.1.3.3.2.1.7 Terminative aspect: To express terminative aspect any completive aspect auxiliary may be used alongside a verb of any category. Nonstative verbs can occur in the unmarked (factative, see 2.1.3) form to show terminative aspect. Focus on termination of a situation may also be expressed by the use of ideophones (see 1.2.1.3 and 2.1.3.3.2.1.14):

- (900) [–stative] verb
 A (dôn) wòsh plet finish.
 1sP (+C) wash dish +C
 ‘I have already washed (the) dishes.’ OR ‘I have finished washing (the) dishes.’

also acceptable:

A don wosh plet (kpakpa).

A wosh plet.

(901) [+stative] *verb*

A (don) ste for Ilorin finish.

1sP (+C) stay p Ilorin +C

‘I have already lived in Ilorin.’ OR ‘I have finished living in Ilorin.’

also acceptable:

A don ste for Ilorin (kpakpa).

To indicate the completion of another situation prior to one being described in the present tense, a serialized verb construction may be utilized in which the verb that refers to the prior situation is used together with a completive auxiliary and is then followed by the verb that refers to the present situation, which is marked for realis modality:

(902) A don tif kom ritaya.

1sP +C steal +R retire

‘I stole and then retired.’ OR ‘I used to make my living as a thief, but now I’m retired.’

(A past tense interpretation is also possible in (902); see 2.1.3.2.1.3).

To indicate the completion of another situation prior to one being described in the past tense or in the future tense, pluperfect or future perfect tense/sequence may be used. The completive auxiliaries occur together with the appropriate tense markers (see 2.1.3.2) to show pluperfect and future perfect tense/sequence (see 2.1.3.3.1.2):

(903) *pluperfect tense/sequence*

A bìn don layk nyam bífô yù kom chop-am.

1sP +P +C like yam before 2sP +R eat -3oP

‘I had liked yams before you first ate them.’

(904) *future perfect tense/sequence*

A gò don chop nyam bífô yù gò rich dī haws.

1sP –R +C eat yam before 2sP –R reach ar house

‘I will have eaten yams before you (will) arrive at the house.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.8 Iterative/incompletive aspect: Iterative/incompletive aspect is marked in the same way as is habitual aspect: by incompletive auxiliaries (optional with *bìn*), time adverbials with *evri* (especially *evri taym* ‘every time, all the time’) and reduplicated adverbials of time (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3). Verbs are often reduplicated as well to indicate iterative/incompletive aspect:

(905) A wàka-wàka-wàka go tawn.

1sP walkRRF+ go+ town
 'I walked and walked and reached town.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.9–10 Semelfactive/completive and punctual/completive aspect: Events viewed as single occurrences or as temporally unanalysable situations are marked in the same way as are situations which are viewed in their totality: by the use of completive auxiliaries with stative verbs and by default (factive; see 2.1.3) marking with nonstative verbs (see perfective aspect; 2.1.3.3.2.1.1 for examples).

2.1.3.3.2.1.11–12 Durative/incompletive simultaneous/incompletive aspect: Durative/incompletive and simultaneous/incompletive aspects are indicated in the same way as are continuous and progressive/incompletive aspects: by the use of incompletive marking (overt or by default; see 2.1.3) (see also 2.1.3.3.2.1.4–5 for examples).

2.1.3.3.2.1.13 Other aspects: completive and incompletive: The feature [\pm completive] defines the general contours of the aspectual system of Nigerian Pidgin. Almost all of the aspects listed in this section can be subsumed under [+completive] or [–completive] aspect:

Completive aspect covers the semantic space which includes (to one degree or another) the following aspects:

- 1 Perfect aspect (see 2.1.3.3.1).
- 2 Perfective aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.1).
- 3 Terminative aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.7).
- 4 Semelfactive aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.9–10).
- 5 Punctual aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.9–10).

The general markers used to show completive aspect are:

- 1 the completive aspect auxiliary *don*
- 2 the completive aspect auxiliary *finish*
- 3 default marking (factive; see 2.1.3)

Incompletive aspect covers the semantic space which includes (to one degree or another) the following aspects:

- 1 Imperfective aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.2).
- 2 Habitual aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3).
- 3 Continuous aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.4–5).
- 4 Progressive aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.4–5).
- 5 Iterative aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.8).
- 6 Durative aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.11–12).
- 7 Simultaneous aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.11–12).

The general markers used to show incompletive aspect are:

- 1 the incompletive aspect auxiliary *dè*
- 2 default marking (factive; see 2.1.3)

2.1.3.3.2.1.14 Telic marking: To show accomplishment in a telic sense, completive aspectual markers and ideophones may be employed in roughly the same way that they are used to show terminative aspect (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.7). Ideophones are probably the most frequently occurring telic markers (see 1.2.1.3):

- (906) A gò drink dì ogogorogò gològolo kpàtàkpata.
 1sP –R drink ar palm wine ipR ipR
 ‘I will drink up all of the palm wine, enjoying each and every swallow.’

Serialized verbs such as *trowè* ‘overflow’ and *belèfùl* ‘be satiated’ may also convey telic-like meanings:

- (907) A chop dì nyam belèfùl.
 1sP eatF+ ar yam be satiated+
 ‘I ate the yam to satiation.’ OR ‘I ate the yam up.’

2.1.3.3.2.2 Compatibility of aspectual markers

2.1.3.3.2.2.1 Combinations of aspectual values: Almost any conceivable combination of aspectual values is possible. Interesting examples may be found in sections 2.1.3.3.1.2 and 2.1.3.3.1.3.3.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2 Neutralization of aspectual distinctions

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.1–4 Reduced aspect distinctions

The only auxiliary markers which may be used in imperative sentences (see 1.1.1.3.1.1), in subjunctive clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2) and with noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4) are the realis modality marker *kom*, the incomplete aspect auxiliary *dè* and postverbal completive aspect markers such as *finish* and *taya*. Apart from these restrictions, aspectual markers are generally compatible with all other markers of tense, modality and voice in the language (see 2.1.3.3.1.2 for some examples).

2.1.3.4 Modality

2.1.3.4.1

Indicative/realis modality

Indicative/realis modality is indicated by the use of realis modality marking. Both stative and nonstative verbs are by default [+realis] (see factative tense/aspect/modality; 2.1.3). Realis modality may be overtly marked, however, when the speaker wishes to reassure the hearer that what is being said is an accurate statement of objective fact, unaffected by the speaker’s personal ambitions, value judgements, feelings, etc. (see Faraclas 1987). Overt marking of realis modality occurs most often in contexts such as the narration of stories where the hearer tends to assume that what (s)he is being told is not some neutral account of a situation, but rather a highly subjective interpretation of events which is coloured to a significant extent by the speaker’s desires and/or imagination. Besides factative default marking, the most common method employed to signal realis modality is the realis modality auxiliary *kom*. The phrase-final particle *ò* may be utilized as well to show realis modality. The realis force of *kom* explains the fact that it does not normally occur in such environments as question-word questions and negative sentences, where the truth value of an assertion is explicitly questioned or negated:

- (908) [+stative] verb, [+R] by default
 A de haws. A layk nyam.
 1sP cvF house 1sP likeF yam
 ‘I am at home.’ ‘I like yams.’
- (909) [–stative] verb, [+R] by default
 A go haws. A chop nyam.
 1sP goF house 1sP eatF yam
 ‘I went home.’ ‘I ate yams.’
- (910) [+R] marked by *kòm*
 A *kòm* fòdôn (ò).
 1sP +R fall (f)
 ‘I fell down (through no fault of my own).’
 *A no *kòm* fòdôn.

2.1.3.4.2

Conditional/irrealis modality

As explained and illustrated in 1.1.2.4.2.5, the irrealis auxiliary *gò* marks conditional modality in nonpast superordinate clauses in conditional constructions, while the modal verb *fò* ‘should’ indicates conditional modality in past tense superordinate conditional clauses:

- (911) (If layk se) yù de Kano, yù gò si dì Emiya
 (avcI avcI ncI) 2sP cvF Kano 2sP –R see ar Emir
 ‘If you are in Kano, you will see the Emir.’
- (912) (If) yù bìn de Kano, yù fò si dì Emiya.
 (avcI) 2sP –R cv Kano 2sP should+ see+ ar Emir
 ‘If you were in Kano, you would have seen the Emir.’
- (913) Eni ting ìm layk, ìm gò bay-am,
 any thing 3sP likeF 3sP –R buy-3oP
 ‘(S)he will buy anything (s)he likes.’

2.1.3.4.3

Imperative modality

The subjunctive clause introducer *mek* is normally employed to show imperative modality (see 1.1.1.3). *Mek* is identical in form to the verb *mek* ‘make’ which is used both as a main verb and in causative serialized verb constructions (see 2.1.3.1.3.1). While the *mek* imperative construction may be used with any pronominal person, a special subjectless imperative construction is available in the second person (singular) only (see 1.1.1.3.1):

- (914) Mek à go haws!

SJcI 1sP goSJ house
 ‘Let me go home!’

- (915) Mek yù go haws! OR Go haws!
 SJcI 2sP goSJ house goSJ house
 ‘Go home!’

2.1.3.4.4

Optative modality

Optative wish statements are a subtype of the *mek* subjunctive imperative construction described in section 2.1.3.4.3:

- (916) Mek à bòn gel-pikîn!
 SJcI 1sP bearSJ daughter
 ‘Let me have a female child!’ OR ‘My wish is to have a daughter.’
- (917) Mek à no go ègên!
 SJcI 1sP ng goSJ again
 ‘Let me not go there any more!’ OR ‘I never wish to go (there) again.’

2.1.3.4.5

Intentional modality

Intentional modality is indicated by a variety of modality markers, including: (a) the subjunctive marker *mek* introducing an adverbial subjunctive purpose clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.3); (b) the modal verb *want* ‘want’ used in serialized verb constructions to show intention to do something, but not necessarily the resolve to carry the project out; and (c) the irrealis auxiliary *gò* to signal strong intention and resolve:

- (918) A chop nyam (se) mek hongri no chu mì fòr rod.
 1sP eatF yam (ncI) SJcI hunger ng chewSJ 1oP p road
 ‘I ate yam so that I wouldn’t get hungry on the road.’
- (919) A want go skul.
 1sP wantF+ go+ school
 ‘I want to go to school.’ OR ‘I have a desire to go to school.’
- (920) A gò go skul.
 1sP –R go school
 ‘I will go to school.’ OR ‘I have concrete plans to go to school.’

2.1.3.4.6

Debitive

2.1.3.4.6.1–2 Debitative modality Moral obligation is expressed by the use of the modal verb *fo* ‘should’. In acrolectal varieties, the modal verb *mos* ‘must’ may be utilized instead of *fò*:

- (921) A *fò* go skul.
1sP shouldF+ go+ school
‘I should go to school.’
- (922) @A *mos* go skul.
1sP mustF+ go+ school
‘I should go to school.’ OR ‘I must go to school.’

Physical obligation is normally signalled by the use of the modal verb *want* ‘want’:

- (923) A want pis.
1sP wantF+ urinate+
‘I need to urinate.’

Distinctions between degrees of obligation are not usually made, except in some acrolects, where *mos* may be employed (usually inconsistently) with a stronger debitative force than *fò*.

2.1.3.4.7

Potential modality

Both physical ability and permission are expressed by the modal verb *fit* ‘be able’ (with reference to its subject) and by the modal verb *gri* ‘agree, allow’ (with reference to its object):

- (924) A fit go tawn.
1sP be ableF+ go+ town
‘I am physically able to go to town.’ OR ‘I have permission to go to town.’
- (925) Mà màma no gri mì go tawn. OR
lps mother ng agreeF+ 1oP go+ town
Mà màma no gri se mek à go tawn.
lps mother ng agreeF+ nclI SJcI 1sP goSJ town
‘My mother won’t allow me to go to town.’
- (926) Mà leg no gri mì go tawn.
lps leg ng agreeF+ 1oP go+ town
‘My legs won’t allow me to go to town.’ OR ‘I’m too tired to go to town.’

There are a number of other constructions used to express ability, including:

- (927) *get* ‘have’+pawa ‘power’/blod ‘blood’/bòdi ‘body’

A no g_{et} pawa go tawn.
 1sP ng haveF+ power go+ town
 ‘I am not physically able to go to town.’

also acceptable:

A no g_{et} bl_{od} go tawn.
 A no g_{et} b_òdi go tawn.

- (928) hand ‘*hand*’+rich ‘*reach*’
 Mà hand no rich bay mòto.
 lps hand ng reachF+ buy+ car
 ‘I’m not able to buy a car (because I don’t have enough money).’

2.1.3.4.8

Degree of certainty

Degree of certainty may be indicated in the following ways, listed first in order of increasing certainty, then in order of decreasing certainty:

- (929) *neutral, [+realis] by default* (see 2.1.3)
 D_{em} go tawn.
 6sP goF town
 ‘They went to town.’
- (930) *greater certainty with [+realis] auxiliary kom*
 D_{em} k_{om} go tawn.
 6sP +R go town
 ‘(It came to pass that) they went to town.’
- (931) *greatest certainty with [+realis] ò*
 D_{em} go tawn ò.
 6sP go town f
 ‘They went to town (whether we like it or not).’
- (932) *less certainty with [–realis] auxiliary gò*
 D_{em} gò go tawn.
 6sP +R go town
 ‘They will go to town.’
- (933) *less certainty with modal fit ‘be able, maybe’*
 I fit bì se d_{em} go tawn.
 3sD be ableF+ cv+ nCl 6sP goF town
 ‘They might have gone to town.’

also acceptable: *weda* ‘whether, maybe’ and (acrolectal varieties only) *mebi* ‘maybe’:

Weda dem go tawn.

@Mebi dem go tawn.

(934) *less certainty with modal fò ‘should’*

Dem fò don go tawn.

6sP shouldF+ +C go+ town

‘They should have gone to town.’

(935) *least certainty with modal want ‘want’*

Dem want go tawn.

6sP wantF+ go+ town

‘They want to go to town.’

2.1.3.4.9

Authority for assertion

Authority for assertion may be indicated in the following ways, listed first in order of increasing authority, then in order of decreasing authority:

(936) *neutral, [+realis] by default (see 2.1.3)*

Dem go tawn.

6sP goF town

‘They went to town.’

(937) *more authority with sàbi ‘know’+noun clause*

A sàbi (se) dem go tawn.

1sP knowF (ncI) 6sP goF town

‘I know that they went to town.’

also acceptable (in more acrolectal speech) *no* ‘know’:

A no (se) dem go tawn.

(938) *most authority with si+noun clause*

A si (se) dem go tawn.

1sP seeF (ncI) 6sP goF town

‘I saw them going to town.’

(939) *less authority with tink ‘think’+noun clause*

A tink (se) dem go tawn.

1sP thinkF (ncI) 6sP goF town

‘I think that they went to town.’

An air of impartiality and/or objectivity can be added to any of the preceding sentences by using the realis modality auxiliary *kom* and/or the final particle *ò*.

2.1.3.4.10

Hortatory modality

Hortatory statements usually take the form of *mek* subjunctive imperative constructions, as described in section 2.1.3.4.3. Subjectless imperative constructions, however, are sometimes used in an encouraging way, especially when they are punctuated by the phrase-final particle *ò*, which lends a spirit of solidarity between speaker and hearer to the assertion:

- (940) Mek yù tray, ò! OR Tray, ò!
 SJcI 2sP trySJ f trySJ f
 ‘Try your best and don’t be discouraged.’

- (941) Mek yù no fyar ò!
 SJcI 2sP ng be afraidSJ f
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’

2.1.3.4.11

Monitory modality

Warning statements are negated versions of the subjunctive imperative constructions described in section 2.1.3.4.3:

- (942) Mek yù no fòdôn! OR No fòdôn ò!
 SJcI 2sP ng fallSJ ng fallSJ f
 ‘Don’t fall down!’

Monitory statements are often used together with the expressions *Tek taym!* or *Jeje!*, which mean ‘Be careful!’ or ‘Take it easy!’ To express the sentiment that the warning is in the best interest of the hearer, the speaker often utilizes the phrase final-particle *ò*:

- (943) Tek taym ò! Mek yù no fayt ègên! Jeje ò!
 takeSJ time f SJcI 2sP ng fightSJ again easy/ip f
 ‘Be careful! Don’t fight any more! Take it easy!’

2.1.3.4.12

Narrative modality

As mentioned in section 2.1.3.4.1 (where indicative/realis modality is treated), the realis modality auxiliary *kom* is very frequently used in narratives, in a way that resembles the English ‘It came to pass that...’ narrative construction. Since the narrative context is one in which subjectivity and fantasy are the norm, realis markers are employed to stress that what is being related by the speaker is a true, objective fact and that the narrator is in no way attempting to influence or trick the listener:

- (944) A *kòm* si di *mòni fòr* rod *kòm* put -am *fòr* sus ò.
 1sP +R see+ ar money p road +R put+-3oP p shoe f
 A no tif -am ò.
 1sP ng stealF-3oP f
 'It came to pass that I saw the money on the road and put it in my shoe. I didn't steal it!'

The verb *go* 'go' and the adverb *jost* 'just' are sometimes used as markers of a narrative modality that implies a negative value judgement on the part of the narrator concerning the characters or the events in the narrative:

- (945) Im *jost* *tòk* laylay go *ròn* go haws *tèl* mà
 3sP just talkF+ lie/nR go+ run+ go+ house tell+ lps
 màma se à *kòm* tif di *mòni*.
 mother ncI 1sP +R steal ar money
 '(S)he just ran to the house and went and told my mother a lie, saying that I had stolen the money.'

2.1.3.4.13

Consecutive modality

As noted in section 2.1.3.3.1.3.1, the realis modality auxiliary *kom* may be used with stative verbs to mark the point in time at which the experiencer entered the state denoted by the verb:

- (946) Im *kòm* kres.
 3sP +R be mad
 '(S)he went mad.'

In so far as *kom* can be utilized to show the beginning point of a stative event, it can also be used to show sequence when it follows a verb marked for past tense or completive aspect in a serialized verb construction (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.7):

- (947) Im *bìn* fayt *kòm* kres finish.
 3sP +P fight+ +R be mad+ +C
 '(S)he fought and then went completely mad.'

2.1.3.4.14

Contingent modality

Any of the methods used to show lesser degrees of certainty in 2.1.3.4.8 or to show lesser degrees of authority for assertion in 2.1.3.4.9 may be employed as well to signal contingent modality.

2.1.3.4.15

Other modalities: realis, irrealis and subjunctive

The feature [\pm realis] defines the general contours of the modality system of Nigerian Pidgin. Almost all of the aspects listed in this section can be subsumed under [+realis] or [–realis] modality:

Realis modality covers the semantic space which includes (to one degree or another) the following modalities:

- 1 Indicative modality (see [2.1.3.4.1](#)).
- 2 [+certainty] markers (see [2.1.3.4.8](#)).
- 3 [+authority] markers (see [2.1.3.4.9](#)).
- 4 Narrative modality (see [2.1.3.4.12](#)).
- 5 Consecutive modality (see [2.1.3.4.13](#)).

The general markers used to show realis modality are:

- 1 the realis modality auxiliary *kom*
- 2 the phrase-final particle *ò*
- 3 default marking (factive; see [2.1.3](#))

Irrealis modality covers the semantic space which includes future time reference as well as (to one degree or another) the following modalities:

- 1 Conditional modality (see [2.1.3.4.2](#)).
- 2 Intentional modality (see [2.1.3.4.5](#)).
- 3 Debitative modality (see [2.1.3.4.6](#)).
- 4 Potential modality (see [2.1.3.4.7](#)).
- 5 [–certainty] markers (see [2.1.3.4.8](#)).
- 6 [–authority] markers (see [2.1.3.4.9](#)).
- 7 Contingent modality (see [2.1.3.4.14](#)).
- 8 Subjunctive modality, which includes:
 - (a) Imperative modality (see [2.1.3.4.3](#)).
 - (b) Optative modality (see [2.1.3.4.4](#)).
 - (c) Intentional modality (see [2.1.3.4.5](#)).
 - (d) Hortatory modality (see [2.1.3.4.10](#)).
 - (e) Monitory modality (see [2.1.3.4.11](#)).

The general markers used to show irrealis modality are:

- 1 the irrealis modality auxiliary *gò*
- 2 the modal verbs (see [1.3.1.1.4](#) for a full list)
- 3 the subjunctive clause introducer *mek* (see [1.1.1.3](#))

2.1.3.5

Finite vs. nonfinite verbs

2.1.3.5.1–4

Finite and nonfinite forms

In general, there is no clear distinction between finite and nonfinite forms in Nigerian Pidgin (see 1.1.2.2.6 and 1.1.2.3.7). The only auxiliary markers which may be used in imperative sentences (see 1.1.1.3.1.1), in subjunctive clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2) and with noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4) are the realis modality marker *kom*, the incomplete aspect auxiliary *dè* and postverbal completive aspect markers such as *finish* and *taya*. The irrealis modality marker *gò* (which is also used to mark future tense) may not occur in the same verb phrase with the past tense marker *bìn*. Apart from these restrictions, all markers of tense, aspect, modality and voice in the language are generally compatible with one another (see 2.1.3.3.1.2 for some examples).

2.1.3.6

Coding of person, number and other distinctions

2.1.3.6.1–4

Subjects, objects and coding in the verb

Distinctions coded in the verb. Subjects and a wide variety of different types of objects may be coded in the verb (see 1.2.1.2.1–2). All coding of subjects and of objects is marked solely by the use of pronouns which are inserted into syntactic slots according to the role that each plays in the sentence (see 1.2.5.3). Besides the bound third-person object pronoun which takes the form of the clitic *-am*, all other pronouns are nonclitic. Both a free and a bound pronoun exist for subject and object arguments for each of the six persons (first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third-person singular and plural; see 2.1.2.1.10 for a full listing). The use of free pronouns instead of bound pronouns is largely conditioned by topic/comment structure, with free pronouns being employed in topicalized, emphasized or focused environments and bound pronouns being utilized elsewhere (see 2.1.2.1.1.3.1 and 2.1.2.1.1.5). Apart from the distinctions described thus far (subject vs. object, singular vs. plural, first vs. second vs. third person and free vs. bound) no other features of the noun phrase are coded in the verb. Neither the definiteness nor the animacy of a noun phrase is encoded in the verb. The order of objects following verbs which take more than one object, however, is to some degree influenced by the animacy of their referents (see 1.2.1.2.5).

Deletion constraints. A bound subject or object pronoun is obligatorily present wherever its referent serves as an argument for a given verb, except in cases where (a) a free pronoun with the same referent is present; (b) the referent has been mentioned previously so that pronouns referring back to it are subject to the anaphoric omission processes outlined in sections 1.5.2.1–5; (c) omission of sentence elements under co-ordination occurs (see 1.3.2.1); (d) the special second person singular imperative form is used (see 1.1.1.3.1); (e) special omission processes which affect dummy subjects apply; or (f) subject/object argument coalescence takes place in a serialized verb construction (see 1.3.1.1.4. and 1.2.1.2.1). In the special cases just listed, the use of bound pronouns is optional. Free pronouns are optional in all cases where the corresponding bound pronoun is present or has been omitted through the application of the processes described above. In all other instances, the use of free pronouns is obligatory.

2.1.3.6.5

Special coding problems

Among the discrepancies between syntactic and semantic features that have been attested, probably the most important are those which involve the clash and/or coalescence of object and subject argument markers in serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4, 1.2.1.2.1 and 2.1.3.1.3.1). Since there are no distinct agreement classes to which different types of noun phrases belong, there are no restrictions on how noun phrases may be co-ordinated with respect to agreement class.

2.1.3.6.6

Consistency of agreement

All of the coding processes outlined in this section apply in the same way in all voices, tenses, aspects and modalities. There are no truly nonfinite forms in the language (see 1.1.2.2.6).

2.1.3.6.7

Identity of subjects

Identity between subjects of consecutive verbs is signalled primarily by the use of serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4) and secondarily by the omission processes described in 1.5.2.1–5. and 1.3.2.1.

2.1.3.6.8–9

Special reflexive and reciprocal verb forms

No special reflexive or reciprocal verb forms exist. Methods employed to show reflexivity are outlined in section 1.6 and a full discussion of reflexive pronouns may be found in section 2.1.2.2. The various means used to show reciprocity are listed in section 1.7 and a full treatment of reciprocal pronouns appears in section 2.1.2.3.

2.1.3.6.10

Directional distinctions in verbs

2.1.3.6.10.1–7 Directionality The direction of actions is signalled mainly by the use of serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5). To indicate that an action is directed towards the speaker, the hearer or some third person, the verb which refers to that action is followed by another verb such as *kom* ‘come’ or *kòmôl* ‘evacuate’ in a serialized verb construction:

- (948) Im kari dî nyam *kôm*.
 3sP carryF+ ar yam come+
 ‘(S)he brought the yams.’

To refer to an action directed away from the speaker, hearer or a third person, the verb which denotes the action is followed by another verb such as *go* ‘go’ in a serialized verb construction:

- (949) Im kari dî nyam *go*.
 3sP carryF+ ar yam go+

‘(S)he took the yams away.’

Other verbs that may be used in serialized verb constructions to show the directionality of actions include *rich* ‘arrive, reach’, *klam* ‘climb’, *fodôn* ‘fall’, etc.

2.1.3.6.11

Body orientation

Body orientation is expressed principally by means of serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4). To indicate the body orientation that accompanies a particular action, the verb which refers to that action is used together with a verb such as *sîdôn* ‘sit’ or *stanôp* ‘stand’ in a serialized verb construction:

- (950) Im dè stanôp chop.
 3sP –C stand+ eat+
 ‘(S)he eats standing.’

The valence-increasing serialized verb *tek* is very frequently employed to show body orientation:

- (951) Im dè tek stanôp chop.
 3sP –C takeV+ stand/n eat+
 ‘(S)he eats standing.’

- (952) Im dè tek hand chop.
 3sP –C takeV+ hand eat+
 ‘(S)he eats with his/her hand.’

2.1.3.6.12

Incorporation

2.1.3.6.12.1–2 Incorporation Besides marginal cases, such as the omission of dummy subjects (see 1.2.1.2.1) and the cliticization of bound pronouns (the third-person bound object pronoun in particular; see 1.16.2) incorporation into the verb does not occur in Nigerian Pidgin. Elsewhere in the verb phrase, however, two cases are attested: the invariable negative completive marker *neva* and the variable negative irrealis marker *noð*, which is the product of the coalescence of the negative marker *no* and the irrealis auxiliary *gò* (see 1.4.1). Since the irrealis marker always directly follows the negative marker, the fusion of these two elements does not alter the usual sentential word order in any way (see 1.2.5.3). *Neva*, on the other hand, poses some interesting problems, since it replaces *no* and the completive auxiliary *don* wherever they would otherwise have occurred in the same sentence, despite the fact that both the irrealis marker *gò* and the past marker *bin* usually occupy the verb phrase slots in between the *no* slot and the *don* slot. The question to be asked, then, is what happens when *neva* is used together with *gò* or *bin*? Does *neva* precede them in the negative slot, or does it occupy the completive auxiliary slot instead and follow them? There is, in fact, no clear-cut answer to this question, since both orders are possible and in variation in most lects of Nigerian Pidgin, although *neva* seems to follow *gò* and *bin* more often in basilectal and mesolectal varieties than it does in acrolectal speech.

2.1.3.7 *Strings of verbs*

Serialized verb constructions are one of the most frequently used grammatical structures in Nigerian Pidgin. A full description of serialized verb constructions with examples of each major subconstruction involving verb serialization may be found in section 1.3.1.1.4. Each verb in a serialized construction may take its own objects, adverbial modifiers, auxiliaries, etc., but in practice most noninitial verbs in serialized constructions adopt the same subject and polarity/tense/aspect/modality values as the initial verb. Where they are identical, the subject and all polarity and tense/aspect/modality markers are obligatorily marked only on the first verb and then optionally marked for emphasis on verbs which follow it in the series. The irrealis auxiliary *gò*, the past auxiliary *bín* and the completive auxiliary *don* may only occur before the initial verb of a serialized verb construction. Verbs in serialized constructions all normally share the same subject, with two exceptions: (a) in causative constructions the object of the verb *mek* ‘make’ is the subject of the verb that follows it in a serialized construction (see 2.1.3.1.3.1); and (b) the object of one verb in series may coalesce with the subject of the following verb when they share the same referent (see 1.3.1.1.4).

2.1.4 **Adjectives**

There is no motivation for any separate category ‘adjective’ in Nigerian Pidgin.

‘*Adjectives*’ as *stative verbs*. Almost all lexical items whose meanings correspond to items classified as adjectives in many Indo-European languages and whose function is to describe certain qualities of nouns may occupy the same sentential slot normally occupied by verbs and may take any and all of the auxiliaries, modals, objects, adverbial modifiers, ideophones, etc., normally taken by verbs in the language (see 1.2.5.1–3. and 2.1.1.2):

- (953) *item*: wayt=‘white’ (*adjective*) or ‘be white’ (*verb*)?
 Blich gò bígín jòst dè wayt ò klot fyay.
 bleach –R begin+ just –C (be) white+ ar cloth ip
 [s] [aux/modal] [av] [aux] [adj? v?] [o] [ip/av]
 ‘The bleach will just start whitening the cloth brightly, in a flash.’

These same ‘adjective-like’ lexical items are assigned values for factative tense/aspect/modality which are identical to those assigned to stative verbs (see 2.1.3) and they may be employed in serialized verb constructions in exactly the same way as are all other verbs (see 1.3.1.1.4):

- (954) *item*: big=‘big’ (*adjective*) or ‘be big’ (*stative verb*)?
 Dì mòto big.
 ar car (be) big(F?)
 [s] [adj? v?]
 ‘The car is big.’ (tense: [–past], aspect: [–completive], modality:
 [+realis]=factative values for [+stative] verb)
- (955) *item*: big=‘big’ (*adjective*) or ‘be big’ (*verb*)?
 Dì mòto big pas òl big rich lóri sèf.
 ar car (be) big+ pass+ all (be) big+ reach+ truck E

[s] [adj? v?] [v] [o] [adj? v?] [v] [o] [E/av]
 ‘The car is bigger than any other, (it’s even) as big as a truck.’

Finally, the roles assigned to subjects and objects of these ‘adjective-like’ items are in no way different from the roles normally assigned by stative verbs to their arguments. These role assignments also show the same variation patterns with ‘adjectives’ as they do with stative verbs (see 2.1.1.2):

- (956) *item: fyar=‘be afraid’ (stative verb)*
 Dì man fyar.
 ar man be afraidF
 [s] [+stative]
 ‘The man is afraid.’
- (957) *item: fyar=‘be afraid’ (stative verb)*
 Dì man fyar mì.
 ar man be afraidF 1oP
 [s] [+stative] [o]
 ‘The man fears me.’
- (958) *item de=locative/existential copular (stative) verb*
 Dì m̀òni de.
 ar money cvF
 [s] [+stative]
 ‘The money exists.’ OR ‘The money is there.’
- (959) *item: de=locative/existential copular (stative) verb:*
 Dì m̀òni de mì. OR Dì m̀òni de mà hand.
 ar money cvF 1oP ar money cvF 1ps hand
 [s] [+stative] [o] [s] [+stative] [o]
 ‘The money is (with) me.’ OR ‘The money is (in) my hands.’
- (960) *item: swit=‘tasty’ (adjective) or ‘be tasty’ (stative verb)?*
 Dì sup swit.
 ar soup (be) sweet(F?)
 [s] [adj? v?]
 ‘The soup is tasty.’
- (961) *item: swit=‘tasty’ (adjective) or ‘be tasty’ (stative verb)?*
 Dì sup swit mì.
 ar soup (be) sweet(F?) 1op
 [s] [adj? v?] [o]
 ‘The soup pleases me.’

On the basis of the arguments just presented, it seems reasonable to conclude that lexical items whose characteristics might lead one to classify them as adjectives are in fact stative verbs in Nigerian Pidgin.

'Attributive adjectives' as nominalized stative verbs. As soon as the class of 'adjectives' is subsumed under the category of stative verbs, it becomes readily apparent that no special lexical classes, syntactic slots or morphological devices are necessary to accommodate them, beyond those already necessary to account for the behaviour of stative and nonstative verbs in general. The multifunctional properties of many lexical items in Nigerian Pidgin allow them to function in different grammatical classes, according to the syntactic slot into which they are inserted (see 1.2.5.3 and 1.1.2.2.6):

- (962) *multifunctional use of the verb kot 'cut'*
 A si ò dì kòt-kòt klot wẹ kòt-kòt man òn tek
 1sP seeF ar cut/mnR cloth rcI cut/mnR man +C takeV+
 kòt mashìn kòt -am kòtkòtkòt.
 cut/mn machine cut+-3oP ipRR

'I saw the shredded cloth that the shredder shredded with the shredding machine, shred-shred-shred.'

As illustrated in the preceding example, it is very common for a verb to be utilized multifunctionally as a modifier noun in an associative/possessive construction (see 1.2.5.1.1). The same process could be said to yield what might otherwise be classified as 'attributive adjectives' from stative verbs. In this manner, the entire category of 'attributive adjective' is eliminated, not by inventing any new grammatical apparatus, but rather by fully exploiting processes and categories already established for the language:

- (963) *multifunctional use of the stative verb old 'be old'*
 A si ò dì old-old klot wẹ òn old fòr old man ìm bọdi.
 1sP seeF ar old/mnR cloth rcI +C be old p old/mn man 3ps body
 'I saw the old cloth that had become old on the old man's body.'

'Predicate adjectives' as nominalized stative verbs. Multifunctionality does not only allow verbs to function as modifier nouns, but also allows them to fill the head noun slot:

- (964) *multifunctional use of nonstative verb pawnd 'pound'*
 A hyar ọl dì pawnd wẹ ùnà bìn tek dẹ pawnd
 1sP hearF all ar pound/n rcI 5sP +P takeV+ -C pound+
 dat nyam.
 that yam
 'I heard all of the pounding that you (all) did to pound that yam.'
- (965) *multifunctional use of the stative verb old 'be old'*
 A si ọl dì old wẹ ìm òn old fòr old man ìm fes.
 1sP seeF all ar old/n rcI 3sP +C be old p old/mn man 3ps face
 'I saw all of the oldness that age had brought to the old man in his face.'

As shown in section 1.2.1.1, copular verbs behave exactly as do other verbs in Nigerian Pidgin and their nominal complements behave exactly as do objects of other verbs in the language (see 1.2.1.2.2):

- (966) A si Oyo. A go Oyo. A de Oyo.

1sP seeF Oyo. 1sP goF Oyo 1sP cvF Oyo
 ‘I saw Oyo.’ ‘I went to Oyo.’ ‘I am in Oyo.’

Any verb can take a truncated nominal as its object (see 1.2.1.1). Truncated nominals usually take the form of a pronominalized demonstrative, numeral or other noun phrase modifier:

- (967) A si ɔl dɪ nyam. A si ɔl.
 1sP seeF all ar yam 1sP seeF all/P
 ‘I saw all the yams.’ ‘I saw all (of them).’
- (968) A ɣet tu nyam. A ɣet tu.
 1sP haveF two yam 1sP haveF two/P
 ‘I have two yams.’ ‘I have two (of them).’
- (969) Mɑ nyam bɪ dat nyam. Mɑ nyam bɪ dat.
 1ps yam cvF that yam 1ps yam cvF that/P
 ‘My yam is that yam.’ ‘My yam is that (one).’

As a modifier element of a noun phrase, it is reasonable to assume that a modifier noun in an associative construction could be pronominalized, isolated and used as a truncated nominal object. If this is so, all instances of what might otherwise be considered to be ‘predicate adjectives’ could be considered instead to be pronominalized modifier nouns derived multifunctionally from stative verbs and used as truncated nominal objects of copular verbs:

- (970) Mɑ pɔt bɪ smɔl. pɔt. Mɑ pɔt bɪ smɔl.
 1sP pɔt cvF be small/mn pɔt 1ps pɔt cvF be small/mn/P
 ‘My pot is a small pot.’ ‘My pot is small.’
- (971) Mɑ pɔt de smɔl pɔt. Mɑ pɔt de smɔl.
 1ps pɔt cvF be small/mn pɔt 1sP pɔt cvF be small/mn/P
 ‘My pot is a small pot.’ ‘My pot is small.’

The distinction between *bɪ* as an identity copular verb (see 1.2.1.1.1) and *de* as a locative/existential copular verb (see 1.2.1.1.3) is reflected in the semantics of sentences in which they are followed by pronominalized modifier noun objects derived from stative verbs. The state denoted by the nominalized stative verb is conceived of as an inherent or relatively permanent state when it is the object of *bɪ*, while the same state is conceived of as an ephemeral or relatively temporary state when it is the object of *de* (see 1.2.1.1.1). More precise readings of the copular sentences with truncated nominalized stative verb objects in the preceding set of examples would look something like the following:

- (972) Mɑ pɔt bɪ smɔl.
 1ps pɔt cvF be small/mn/P
 ‘My pot is small.’ OR ‘My pot is a small one.’ OR ‘My pot is one of smallness.’

- (973) M̀a pɔt de smɔl.
 1ps pot cvF be small/mn/P
 ‘My pot is small.’ OR ‘My pot exists/is located in a state of smallness.’

The *bì-* permanent/*de-* temporary distinction which follows from the semantic properties just discussed is illustrated in the following examples:

- (974) M̀a pìkìn bì big.
 1ps child cvF be big/mn/P
 ‘My child is a big one.’ OR ‘My child is one of bigness.’ OR ‘My child is big (in stature).’

- (975) M̀a pìkìn de big.
 1ps child cvF be big/mn/P
 ‘My child is a big one.’ OR ‘My child exists/is located in a state of bigness.’ OR ‘My child is big (in age).’

‘Predicate adjectives’ as serialized stative verbs. Sentences where truncated modifier nouns derived from stative verbs are objects of copular verbs may also be analysed as serialized verb constructions in which a copular verb is followed by a stative verb:

- (976) M̀a pɔt de smɔl.
 1ps pot cvF+ be small+
 ‘My pot is small.’

This analysis is in many ways as satisfactory as the [copular verb+pronominalized modifier noun] analysis, in that it involves the use of no syntactic or morphological devices which are not necessary for the analysis of other subsystems in the language. The only possible drawback stems from the fact that the usual range of auxiliaries available to noninitial verbs in serialized verb constructions (*kom*, *dè*, and the postverbal auxiliaries; see 1.3.1.1.4) is further restricted to postverbal auxiliaries only when the initial verb is a copular verb and the noninitial verb is a stative verb:

- (977) M̀a pɔt de smɔl finish.
 1ps pot cvF+ be small+ +C
 ‘My pot is very small.’
 *M̀a pɔt de kɔm smɔl.
 *M̀a pɔt de dè smɔl.

To deal with such exceptional behaviour, either the category ‘copular verb’ or the category ‘stative verb which can follow copular verbs’ would have to be specially marked as exceptional, which, to some extent, would simply mean the resurrection of the category ‘copula’ and/or the category ‘adjective’ for the sole purpose of making the serialized verb analysis workable.

‘Adjectives’: a summary. It is very likely that in different lects of Nigerian Pidgin different systems or combinations of systems are involved in generating the forms that would otherwise be called ‘adjectives’. Serialized verb constructions, associative/possessive constructions, the stative/nonstative dichotomy,

multifunctionality and even (for acrolectal varieties) some notion of a separate category ‘adjective’ would all have to be cited as motivating forces in a full account of all realizations in all lects.

2.1.4.1

Predicative vs. attributive ‘adjectives’

As shown in detail in [section 2.1.4](#), ‘attributive adjectives’ are best considered to be modifier nouns derived from stative verbs in associative/possessive constructions:

- (978) [Dì sup] [swit] .
 [ar soup] [be tastyF]
 [s] [+stative v]
 ‘The soup is tasty.’

- (979) [dì [[swit] [sup]]]
 [ar [[be sweet/mn][soup]]]
 [np[[mn] [n]]]
 ‘the tasty soup’

‘Predicate adjectives’ are best considered to be truncated associative/ possessive constructions, consisting solely of a pronominalized modifier noun derived from a stative verb which serves as the object of a copular verb:

- (980) [Dì sup] [de] [swit].
 [ar soup] [cvF] [be tasty/mn]
 [s] [v] [mn/n/oP]
 ‘The soup is tasty.’

2.1.4.2

Permanent vs. temporary states

As shown in detail in [section 2.1.4](#), when a pronominalized modifier noun derived from a stative verb serves as the object of the identity copular verb *bì*, it denotes an inherent or relatively permanent state, while when it serves as the object of the locative/existential copular verb *de*, it refers to a relatively temporary state:

- (981) Dì sup bì swit.
 ar soup cvF be tasty/mn
 ‘The soup (that they make back home) is tasty.’

- (982) Dì sup de swit.
 ar soup cvF be tasty/mn
 ‘The soup (that is in front of us now) is tasty.’

2.1.4.3 *'Adjectival' agreement*

2.1.4.3.1–3 Agreement patterns

As shown in [section 2.1.4](#), what might be called 'adjectives' in another language are in fact verbs, modifier nouns or pronominal objects in Nigerian Pidgin, and the agreement patterns exhibited by them in a particular sentence conform in every way to those of the particular category to which they belong in that sentence (for agreement in verbs, see [2.1.3](#); for modifier nouns, see [1.2.5.1.1](#) and [2.1.1](#); for objects, see [1.2.1.2.2](#) and [2.1.1](#)).

2.1.4.4 *Degrees of comparison*

Equative, comparative and superlative relations are almost exclusively signalled by the use of serialized verb constructions in which a verb that sets the parameter for comparison is followed by a verb (either *pas* 'pass' for the comparative and superlative or *rich* 'reach' for equatives) whose object sets the standard for comparison.

2.1.4.4.1 Equatives

As explained in detail in [section 1.9](#), the following serialized verb construction containing the verb *rich* 'reach' is normally employed to show equative relations:

- (983) [Dì sup] [swit] [rich] [dì nyam].
 [ar soup] [be tastyF+] [reach+] [ar yam]
 [parameter] [standard]
 'The soup is as tasty as the yams.'

2.1.4.4.2 Comparative

As explained in detail in [section 1.8](#), the following serialized verb construction containing the verb *pas* 'pass' is normally employed to show comparison:

- (984) [Di sup] [swit] [pas] [di nyam].
 [ar soup] [be tastyF+] [pass+] [ar yam]
 [parameter] [standard]
 'The soup is tastier than the yams.'

2.1.4.4.3 Superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1–4 Superlative As explained in detail in [section 1.8](#), the following serialized verb constructions containing the verb *pas* ‘pass’ are normally utilized to show superlative relations.

Superlative in relation to other entities. In order to indicate a superlative in relation to other entities, the standard-setting object position is usually filled by a noun phrase whose referent is the entire set of relevant candidates for the standard. The pronominalized quantifier *ol* ‘all’ is commonly used for this purpose:

- (985) [Dì sup] [swit] [pas] [ol].
[ar soup] [be tastyF+] [pass+] [all/oP]
[parameter] [standard]
‘The soup is tastier than anything else.’

Superlative in relation to the entity itself. In order to indicate a superlative with reference to the same entity, the standard-setting object position is usually left empty or filled by an adverbial specifying the standard:

- (986) [Dì sup] [swit] [pas] .
[ar soup] [be tastyF+] [pass+]
[parameter]
‘The soup is tastier than ever.’ OR ‘The soup is the best I have ever tasted.’

- (987) [Dì sup] [swit] [pas] [bifô] .
[ar soup] [be tastyF+] [pass+] [before]
[parameter] [standard]
‘The soup is tastier than before.’

2.1.4.5 *Degrees of quality*

2.1.4.5.1 Quality in large measure

Quality in large measure can be expressed in the following ways:

- (988) *postverbal completive aspect auxiliary finish*
Dì sup swit finish,
ar soup be tasty +C
‘The soup is very tasty.’
- (989) *serialized verbs such as plenti ‘be plenty’, tumôch ‘be very much’ or mo ‘be very much’*
Dì sup swit tumôch.
ar soup be tastyF+ be very much+
‘The soup is very tasty.’

- (990) *ideophones such as welwêl, or nyafünyafu*
 Dì sup swit welwêl.
 ar soup be tastyF+ ipR
 ‘The soup is very tasty.’
- (991) *reduplicated modifiers*
 Dì swit-swit sup dòn spoyl.
 ar be tasty/mnR soup +C be spoiled
 ‘The very tasty soup has become sour.’
- (992) *nominalized stative verb bèta ‘be very good’*
 Dì bèta sup dòn spoyl.
 ar be very good/mn soup +C be spoiled
 ‘The very good soup has become sour.’

2.1.4.5.2

Quality in superabundance

Quality in superabundance is usually expressed by the use of the preverbal adverb *tu* (see [1.2.1.3.1](#)):

- (993) Yù tu tink.
 2sP too much thinkF
 ‘You think too much.’
- (994) Yù tu big.
 2sP too much be bigF
 ‘You are too big (tall, old etc.).’

2.1.4.5.3

Quality in small measure

Quality in small measure is most frequently expressed by the use of a stative verb denoting the quality in question followed by the verb *smol* ‘be small’ in a serialized verb construction:

- (995) Dì sup swit smol.
 ar soup be tastyF+ be small+
 ‘The soup is a bit tasty.’

2.1.4.6
Predicate ‘adjectives’

2.1.4.6.1–2
Verbal morphology and ‘predicate adjectives’

As shown in detail in section 2.1.4, ‘predicate adjectives’ are best considered to be truncated associative/possessive constructions, consisting solely of a pronominalized modifier noun derived from a stative verb which serves as the object of a copular verb:

- (996) [Dì sup] [de] [swit] .
[ar soup] [cvF] [be tasty/mn/oP]
[s] [v] [mn/n/oP]
‘The soup is tasty.’

In such cases, the copular verb itself expresses the categories that characterize the verbal morphology of the language (tense/aspect/modality, etc.; see 2.1.3). When, however, stative verbs are utilized as main verbs in the sentence (often with ‘adjectival’ meanings) they themselves express these same categories:

- (997) [Dì sup] [swit] .
[ar soup] [be tastyF]
[s] [+stative v]
‘The soup is tasty.’

2.1.5
Prepositions

2.1.5.1–4
Prepositions

Prepositions do not agree for any grammatical category with the nouns that they govern, nor do they combine in any way with personal pronouns or articles, with the minor exception of the third-person bound object pronoun *-am*, which is a clitic and derives its tonal properties from the preceding verb or preposition.

In addition to the prepositional usages listed and exemplified in section 2.1.1, the following are attested in the data:

- (998) *general preposition fòr marks existence in a state*
Nà dì taym à bìn de fòr smòl pìkîn.
EI ar time 1sP +P cv p be small/mn child
‘It was when I was a small child.’
- (999) *general preposition fòr marks participation in an action*
A joyn -am fòr kòm.
1sP joinF-3oP p come/n
‘I joined her/him in coming.’

- (1000) *general preposition fôr marks involvement in process*
 Im de fôr chop.
 3sP cvF p eat/n
 ‘(S)he is in the process of eating.’
- (1001) *general preposition fôr marks role*
 Wî go put-am fôr prêzident.
 4sP –R put-3oP p president
 ‘We will elect him/her as president.’
- (1002) *general preposition fôr with particular objects* (see 1.2.1.2.2):
 A no si -am fôr ay.
 1sP ng seeF-3oP p eye
 ‘I didn’t see it (myself).’
- (1003) *general preposition fôr with dative object of tok ‘talk’*
 Yù no tok -am fôr mì.
 2sP ng talkF-3oP p 1oP
 ‘You didn’t tell me.’

2.1.6.

Numerals and quantifiers

2.1.6.1–3

Cardinal numerals

Only one set of cardinal numerals exists. These may be used both for counting and as attributes. No special set of objects triggers the use (either attributively or for counting) of any special set of cardinal numerals. The cardinal numbers are as follows:

(1004)	<i>cardinal numerals</i>			
	1	won	17	sevintîn
	2	tu	18	etîn
	3	tre	19	nayntîn
	4	fô	20	twenti
	5	fayv	30	teti
	6	sis	40	foti
	7	sevin	50	fifti
	8	et	60	sisti
	9	nayn	70	sêvinti
	10	ten	80	eti
	11	îlevin	90	naynti
	12	twef	100	(won) hondred
	13	têtîn	200	tu hondred

14	fòtín	1,000	(wón) taws <u>end</u>
15	fiftín	2,000	tu taws <u>end</u>
16	sìstín	1,000,000	(wón) mily <u>on</u>

Combinations of the numerals listed above bear polytonal compound stress patterns (see 2.2.6.3):

- (1005) sevinti-won ‘71’
 won hondred-sevinti-won ‘171’
 won tawsend-won hondred-sevinti-won ‘1,171’

When they are used as attributes, cardinal numbers fill the cardinal number slot in the noun phrase (see 1.2.5.3):

- (1006) twenti nyam
 twenty yam
 ‘twenty yams’

Only two fractions of whole numbers are regularly referred to: *haf* ‘(one) half’ and *kwota* ‘(one) quarter’. These are mainly utilized for telling time (see 2.1.1.6.1.1). When fractions are used attributively, they normally do not combine with whole numbers and they occupy the modifier noun slot rather than the cardinal numeral slot in the noun phrase (see 1.2.5.3):

- (1007) haf pas sevin
 half pass seven
 ‘7:30’
- (1008) haf nyam tu haf nyam
 half yam two half yam
 ‘one half of a yam’ ‘two yam halves’

2.1.6.4 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are polytonal compounds consisting of the item *nomba* ‘number’ followed by a cardinal number and fill the ordinal numeral slot in the noun phrase (see 1.2.5.3 and 2.2.6.3):

- (1009) *ordinal numerals*
 1st nomba-won 17th nomba-sevintín
 2nd nomba-tu 100th nomba-won hondred
 7th nomba-sevin
- (1010) dī nomba-sevin nyam
 ar seventh yam
 ‘the seventh yam’

A few items such as *fest* ‘initial’, *last* ‘final’, *hol* ‘whole’ and *sekond* ‘second’ may also fill the ordinal numeral slot (see 2.1.6.6):

- (1011) A don sel dī fest nyam.
 1sP +C sell ar first yam
 ‘I have sold the first yam.’

2.1.6.5

Derivatives of numerals

Besides methods such as compounding and reduplication (see 2.1.6.6.1–2) the following may be employed to form derivatives from numerals:

- (1012) *compounds of two cardinal numbers for approximation*
 A sel tu -tre nyam.
 1sP sellF two-three yam
 ‘I sold two or three yams.’
- (1013) *compounds of free plural pronoun plus cardinal number*
 A si dem-tu for mòto-pak.
 1sP seeF 6EP-two p terminal
 ‘I saw the two of them at the transport terminal.’

Cardinal numerals may be pronominalized by using them without a head noun in a truncated noun phrase:

- (1014) A sel tre nyam. A sel tre.
 1sP sellF three yam 1sP sellF three/P
 ‘I sold three yams.’ ‘I sold three (of them).’

Ordinal numbers followed by *won* ‘one’ may also be used pronominally:

- (1015) A don sel dī fest won.
 1sP +C sell ar first one
 ‘I have sold the first one.’

2.1.6.6

Quantifiers

Some quantifiers occupy the quantifier slot in the noun phrase while others occupy the ordinal number slot (see 1.2.5.3). Pronominalized quantifiers occur alone or followed by *won* ‘one’ in a truncated noun phrase. Quantifiers include the following.

Quantifiers which occupy the quantifier slot

- (1016) ol ‘all’
 A sel ol dī nyam. A sel ol.

1sP sellF all ar yam 1sP sellF all/P
 ‘I sold all of the yams.’ ‘I sold all (of them).’

- (1017) som ‘some’; *also used as an article* (see 1.2.5.2.4)
 A sel som nyam. A sel som.
 1sP sellF some yam 1sP sellF some/P
 ‘I sold some yams.’ ‘I sold some (of them).’
- (1018) evri ‘every’
 A sel evri nyam. A sel evri won.
 1sP sellF every yam 1sP sellF every one
 ‘I sold every yam.’ ‘I sold every one.’
- (1019) eni ‘any’; *usually used with [–realis] modality* (see 1.4.2 and 2.1.3.4)
 A no gò sel eni nyam. A no gò sel eni won.
 1sP ng –R sell any yam 1sP ng –R sell any one
 ‘I won’t sell any yam.’ ‘I won’t sell any one.’
- (1020) ich ‘each’ (*used mainly in acrolectal speech*)
 @A sel ich nyam. A sel ich won.
 1sP sellF each yam 1sP sellF each one
 ‘I sold each yam.’ ‘I sold each (of them).’
- (1021) bot ‘both’ (*used mainly in acrolectal speech*)
 @A sel bot nyam. A sel bot.
 1sP sellF both yam 1sP sellF both/P
 ‘I sold both yams.’ ‘I sold both (of them).’

Quantifiers which occupy the ordinal numeral slot

- (1022) oda ‘other’
 A sel dì oda nyam. A sel dì oda won.
 1sP sellF ar other yam 1sP sellF ar other one
 ‘I sold the other yam.’ ‘I sold the other one.’
- (1023) sem ‘same’
 A sel dì sem nyam. A sel dì sem won.
 1sP sellF ar same yam 1sP sellF ar same one
 ‘I sold the same yam.’ ‘I sold the same one.’
- (1024) last ‘final’
 A sel dì last nyam. A sel dì last won.
 1sP sellF ar last yam 1sP sellF ar last one
 ‘I sold the last yam.’ ‘I sold the last one.’

- (1025) hol ‘whole’; *pronominalized with ting ‘thing’ instead of wɔn*
 A sɛl di hol nyam. A sɛl di hol ting.
 1sP sellF ar whole yam 1sP sellF ar whole thing
 ‘I sold the whole yam.’ ‘I sold the whole thing.’

Other quantifiers. The negative marker *no* could be considered to be a quantifier when it is used in constituent negation (see 1.4.2):

- (1026) No nyam wɛ à no gò fit sɛl -am
 ng yam rcI 1sP ng -R be able+ sell+-3oP
 ‘There is not a yam that I won’t be able to sell.’

The pluralizer *dèm* is the only quantifier that follows the noun that it quantifies (see 1.2.5.3). *Dèm* may only be pronominalized by replacing it by the sixth person pronoun (see 2.1.2.1) with which it is identical in form:

- (1027) A sɛl di nyam dèm. A sɛl dèm.
 1sP sellF ar yam pl 1sP sellF 6oP
 ‘I sold the yams.’ ‘I sold them.’

2.1.6.6.1

Quantifier compounds

Any of the quantifiers listed in 2.1.6.6 except for *dèm* may be followed by a generic noun such as *pesin/pipul* ‘person/people’, *ples/sayd* ‘place’, *taym* ‘time’, *ting* ‘thing’, *welfashon* ‘manner’, *man/wuman* ‘man/woman’, etc., to form a pronominalized compound (see 2.2.6.3):

- (1028) A faynd -am ɛvri ples, bɔt à no si -am.
 1sP searchF-3oP every place but 1sP ng seeF-3oP
 ‘I looked for it everywhere, but I didn’t find it.’

Only *som*, *evri*, and *eni* may combine with *-bodi* to form a high-toned compound [+human] pronoun. Sometimes items such as *ting*, *taym*, *ples* and *sayd*, which usually function as separate words, may also combine with these quantifiers to form compounds (see 2.2.6.3):

- (1029) A kɔs sɔmbɔdi fɔr makɛt.
 1sP curseF somebody p market
 ‘I swore at someone in the market.’
- (1030) A bay sɔmtɪŋ fɔr makɛt.
 1sP buyF something p market
 ‘I bought something in the market.’

Dèm may follow a proper noun to refer to the family or some other group of people associated with the referent of the noun (see 2.1.2.1.9):

- (1031) Ade dēm kōm kōs mī fōr makēt.
 Ade pl +R curse 1oP p market
 ‘Ade’s people swore at me in the market.’

2.1.6.6.2

Other means for expressing quantification

Other means for expressing quantification include the following (see also 2.1.1.8):

- (1032) *stative verbs such as* meni ‘be many’, plenti ‘be plenty’, smol ‘be small, be few’, etc.
 Yò pikîn dōn plenti.
 2ps child +C be plenty
 ‘Your children have become plenty.’ OR ‘You have many children.’
- (1033) *reduplication of stative verbs* (see 2.2.6.3)
 Yò pikîn boku-boku.
 2ps child be plentyRF
 ‘Your children are very plentiful.’
- (1034) *modifier nouns derived from stative verbs*
 Yù get plenti pikîn.
 2sP haveF be plenty/mn child
 ‘You have many children.’
- (1035) *reduplication of modifier nouns derived from stative verbs* (see 2.2.6.3)
 Yù get fayn-fayn pikîn.
 2sP haveF be beautiful/mnR child
 ‘You have some beautiful children.’
- (1036) *distributive reduplication of quantifiers* (see 2.2.6.3)
 Dēm get tre-tre pikîn.
 6sP haveF three child
 ‘They have three children each.’
- (1037) *ideophones such as* nyafūnyafu
 Yò pikîn plenti nyafūnyafu. OR Yù get pikîn nyafūnyafu.
 2ps child be plentyF ipR 2sP haveF child ipR
 ‘You have very many children.’
- (1038) *adverbials such as* tu ‘very, too much’
 Yò pikîn tu plenti. OR Yù tu get pikîn.
 2ps child too much be plentyF 2sP too much haveF child
 ‘You have too many children.’

2.1.7 Adverbs

2.1.7.1 *Degrees of comparison*

Because ‘adjectives’ are verbs in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4) all of the patterns described and illustrated in 2.1.4.4 for ‘adjectival’ comparison are the same patterns as are employed to signal adverbial comparison. Equative, comparative and superlative relations are almost exclusively signalled by the use of serialized verb constructions in which a verb that sets the parameter for comparison is followed by a verb (either *pas* ‘pass’ for the comparative and superlative or *rich* ‘reach’ for equatives) whose object sets the standard for comparison

2.1.7.1.1 Equality

As explained in detail in section 1.9, the following serialized verb construction containing the verb *rich* ‘reach’ is normally employed to show equative relations:

- (1039) [Ade] [chop nyam] [rich] [Adu].
 [Ade] [eatF+ yam] [reach+] [Adu]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate (yams) as much as Adu (did).’
- (1040) [Ade] [chop kwik] [rich] [Adu].
 [Ade] [eatF+ be quick+] [reach+] [Adu]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate as quickly as Adu (did).’

2.1.7.1.2 Comparative

As explained in detail in section 1.8, the following serialized verb construction containing the verb *pas* ‘pass’ is normally employed to show comparison:

- (1041) [Ade] [chop nyam] [pas] [Adu].
 [Ade] [eatF+ yam] [pass+] [Adu]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate (yams) more than Adu (did).’
- (1042) [Ade] [chop kwik] [pas] [Adu].
 [Ade] [eatF+ be quick+] [pass+] [Adu]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate more quickly than Adu (did).’

2.1.7.1.3 Superlative

As explained in detail in section 1.8, the following serialized verb constructions containing the verb *pas* ‘pass’ are normally utilized to show superlative relations.

Superlative in relation to other entities. In order to indicate a superlative in relation to other entities, the standard-setting object position is usually filled by a noun phrase whose referent is the entire set of relevant candidates for the standard. The pronominalized quantifier *ol* ‘all’ is commonly used for this purpose:

- (1043) [Ade] [chop nyam] [pas] [ol].
 [Ade] [eatF+ yam] [pass+] [all/oP]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate (yams) more than anyone else (did).’
- (1044) [Ade] [chop kwik] [pas] [ol].
 [Ade] [eatF+ be quick+] [pass+] [all/oP]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate more quickly than anyone else (did).’

Superlative in relation to the entity itself. In order to indicate a superlative with reference to the same entity, the standard-setting object position is usually left empty or filled by an adverbial specifying the standard:

- (1045) [Ade] [chop nyam] [pas].
 [Ade] [eatF+ yam] [pass+]
 [parameter]
 ‘Ade ate (yams) more than ever.’
- (1046) [Ade] [chop nyam] [pas] [bifô].
 [Ade] [eatF+ yam] [pass+] [before]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate (yams) more than before.’
- (1047) [Ade] [chop kwik] [pas].
 [Ade] [eatF+ be quick+] [pass+]
 [parameter]
 ‘Ade ate more quickly than ever.’
- (1048) [Ade] [chop kwik] [pas] [bifô].
 [Ade] [eatF+ be quick+] [pass+] [before]
 [parameter] [standard]
 ‘Ade ate more quickly than before.’

2.1.7.2

Degree of quality

Because ‘adjectives’ are verbs in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4), many of the patterns described and illustrated in 2.1.4.5 for showing degrees of ‘adjectival’ quality are the same patterns that are employed to signal degrees of adverbial quality.

2.1.7.2.1

Quality in large measure

Quality in large measure can be expressed in the following ways:

- (1049) *ideophones such as wel-wel or nyafunya*
 Aya chop nyam wel-wel.
 Aya eatF+ yam ipR
 ‘Aya ate (yams) plentifully.’
- (1050) *postverbal completive aspect auxiliary taya*
 Aya chop nyam taya.
 Aya eatF yam +C
 ‘Aya ate (yams) plentifully.’
- (1051) *serialized verbs such as plenti ‘be plenty’, tumôch ‘be very much’ or mo ‘be very much’*
 Aya chop nyam tumôch.
 Aya eatF+ yam be very much+
 ‘Aya ate (yams) plentifully.’
- (1052) *reduplication of stative verbs (see 2.2.6.3)*
 Ade chop nyam kwik-kwik.
 Ade eatF+ yam be quickR+
 ‘Ade ate (yams) very quickly.’
- (1053) *reduplication of nominalized stative verbs (see 2.2.6.3)*
 Ade tek kwik-kwik chop nyam.
 Ade takeFV+ be quick/nR eat+ yam
 ‘Ade ate (yams) very quickly.’

2.1.7.2.2

Quality in superabundance

Quality in superabundance is usually expressed by the use of the preverbal adverbial *tu* (see 1.2.1.3.1.1):

- (1054) Ade tu chop nyam.
 Ade too much eatF yam
 ‘Ade ate (yams) too much.’

- (1055) Ade tu kwik chɔp.
 Ade too much be quickF+ eat+
 ‘Ade eats too quickly.’

2.1.7.2.3

Quality in small measure

Quality in small measure is most frequently expressed by the use of a serialized verb construction containing the verb *smol* ‘be small’:

- (1056) Aya chɔp nyam smɔl.
 Aya eatF+ yam be small+
 ‘Aya ate (yams) a bit.’
- (1057) Aya chɔp kwik smɔl.
 Aya eatF+ be quick+ be small+
 ‘Aya ate a bit quickly.’

2.1.7.2.4

Other ways of expressing degree of modification

Many adverbials can be reduplicated to intensify their modifying force:

- (1058) A gò du dì wɔk tude-tùdê.
 1sP –R do ar work todayR
 ‘I will do the work this very day.’

2.1.8

Clitics

The criteria for cliticization utilized in this section are the following:

- 1 *Dependency*: prototypically, clitics do not occur alone, but always co-occur with a particular class of word.
- 2 *Attachment*: prototypically, no nonclitic element may be inserted between a clitic and the item upon which it is dependent.
- 3 *Marginality*: prototypically, clitics always serve to modify another element and may not themselves be modified.
- 4 *Phonological incorporation*: prototypically, the boundary between a clitic and the item upon which it is dependent is in no way different from the boundaries that normally divide one syllable from another in the words of the language.

2.1.8.1 *Types of clitics*

2.1.8.1.1 Personal pronouns

A case could be made for the clitic status of all bound pronouns on the basis of these facts: (a) they may never stand alone without a verb; (b) they may in no instance be modified; and (c) they bear an unstressable low tone. It is not possible, however, to consider bound subject pronouns to be cliticized because nonclitic elements such as the negative marker, auxiliaries, etc. may be inserted between a bound subject pronoun and the following verb. This is true as well of the dummy subject pronoun *ì*, despite the fact that it may undergo phonetic reduction or be deleted altogether (see 1.2.1.2.1). The bound object pronouns are better candidates for clitic status, since they follow the verb for which their referent serves as an argument almost without exception. The only remaining argument against classifying the bound object pronouns as clitics is a phonetic one: consonants that are normally deleted in word-final position (see 3.4.4.1) are still deleted before all of the bound object pronouns, with the exception of the third-person *-am*. The third-person bound object pronoun *-am* has in fact been written with a ligature and without a tone mark throughout this work to show that it could be said to derive its tonal properties to some extent from the preceding verb (which is true of all bound object pronouns; see 3.5.2.3) and that word-final consonants that are normally deleted are conserved when *-am* follows.

2.1.8.1.2 Possessive pronouns

A case could be made for the clitic status of possessive pronouns on the basis of the same arguments put forward for bound pronouns in general: (a) they may never stand alone without a possessed object; (b) they may in no instance be modified; and (c) they bear an unstressable low tone. It is not possible, however, to consider possessive pronouns to be cliticized because of the fact that nonclitic elements such as numerals may be inserted between a possessive pronoun and its object (see 1.2.5.3).

2.1.8.1.3–4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

There is little evidence to suggest that either reflexive or reciprocal pronouns are cliticized (see 2.1.2.2–3).

2.1.8.1.5 Auxiliaries

While all auxiliaries never occur without the verb which they modify and many auxiliaries undergo phonetic reduction or incorporation (see 3.4.4.1 and 2.1.3.6.12), all but the incomplete aspectual auxiliary *dè* may be separated from the main verb by a nonclitic adverbial (see 1.2.5.3). *Dè* bears an unstressable low tone and is often reduced to *è* in rapid speech. *Dè* and the main verb which follows it are used in a proto-nonfinite construction in acrolectal speech in which *dè* becomes even more completely dependent, attached and marginal in relation to the verb that it modifies (see 1.1.2.2.6). For all of these reasons, it would not be

unreasonable to classify *dè* as a clitic or an item which is currently undergoing cliticization. Given its unclear status, however, *dè* is written as a separate word in this work, rather than as part of a larger word.

2.1.8.1.6

Sentence particles

Modal particles. There is little evidence to suggest that either the subjunctive clause introducer *mek* or the phrase-final particle *ò* is cliticized (see 2.1.3.4) even though *mek* is subject to phonological reduction (see 3.4.4.1).

Interrogative particles. The interrogative markers *hus-*, *wat-*, *wich-*, *we-* and *wus-* meet all of the criteria for cliticization listed above when they are used to form compound interrogative pronouns (see 1.1.1.2.2). Since none of these interrogative markers can be used in any other environment, compound interrogative pronouns are written as single unhyphenated words in this work (see 2.2.6.3).

Negative particles. Despite the fact that the negative particle *no* does undergo incorporation in some cases (see 2.1.3.6.12) there is no other evidence to suggest that it is cliticized in any way (see 1.4).

2.1.8.1.7

Sentence connectives

There is little evidence to suggest that sentence connectives are cliticized (see 1.3).

2.1.8.1.8

Anaphoric particles

In so far as the third-person bound object pronoun *-am* and the other bound object pronouns function as anaphoric pronouns (see 2.1.2.7.1) a case may be made for the clitic status of anaphoric pronouns (see 2.1.8.1.1).

2.1.8.1.9

Other clitics

There are no other clitics in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.1.8.2–5

Position and relative order of clitics

Bound object pronouns immediately follow the verb, while the incomplete auxiliary immediately precedes (see 1.2.5.3). The interrogative particles precede generic nouns to form compound interrogative pronouns (see 1.1.1.2.2 and 2.2.6.3). Because the positions occupied by these clitic elements are noncontiguous, there are no restrictions related to their relative order or co-occurrence:

- (1059) *Hus(-)sây yù dè(-)tek dè(-)giv -am dî mòni?*
 where? 2sP –C takeV+ –C give+-3oP ar money
 ‘Where do you give her/him the money?’

2.2

DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The principal derivational processes in Nigerian Pidgin are the following, listed roughly in order of their frequency of use for this purpose:

- 1 Word order (multifunctionality) (see 1.1.2.2.6, 1.2.5.3 and 2.1.1.1.5).
- 2 Reduplication (see 2.2.6.3 and 2.1.1.1.6).
- 3 Compounding (see 2.2.6.3 and 2.1.1.1.6).
- 4 Prepositions (see 1.2.1.3.1.2, 2.1.1.5 and 2.1.1.1.4).
- 5 Serialized verb constructions (see 1.3.1.1.4).

2.2.1

Derivational processes

2.2.1.1

Nouns from nouns

- (1060) *word order to derive modifier nouns from other nouns (very productive)*
 A si Ade. A si Ade (im) mòto.
 1sP seeF Ade 1sP seeF Ade/mn (3ps) car
 ‘I saw Ade.’ ‘I saw Ade’s car.’
- (1061) *reduplication to show distributive plurality (productive)*
 A si mòto-mòto fòr rod.
 1sP seeF carR p road
 ‘I saw many cars all over the road.’
- (1062) *compounding using generic nouns such as ples ‘place’, p_{esin} ‘person’, etc. (productive)*
 A si mòto-man fòr rod.
 1sP seeF car -man p road
 ‘I saw the driver (and/or owner) of the car on the road.’

2.2.1.2

Nouns from verbs

- (1063) *word order to derive nouns from verbs (productive)*
 Dì wòsh w_e à wòsh no bì smòl ò.
 ar wash/n rcI 1sP washF ng cv be small/mn/o f
 ‘The washing that I washed was not small.’ OR ‘The washing that I did was no small chore.’

reduplication also possible here (fairly productive):

Dì wòsh-wòsh wē à wòsh no bì smòl ò.

- (1064) *compounding using generic nouns such as ples ‘place’, pēsin ‘person’, etc. (productive)*

Dì wòsh -ples no smòl ò.

ar wash/n-place ng be small F f

‘The washing area is not small.’ OR ‘The washing area is surprisingly big.’

reduplication also possible here (fairly productive):

Dì wòsh-wòsh-ples no smòl ò.

- (1065) *general preposition fòr (limited to a few items)*

A joyn -am fòr kòm.

1sP joinE-3oP p come/n

‘I joined her/him in coming.’

- (1066) *serialized verb constructions (fairly productive)*

A gò tek wòsh klin dì haws.

1sP -R takeV+ wash/n be clean+ ar house

‘I will clean the house by washing it.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

A gò tek wòsh-wòsh klin dì haws.

2.2.1.3

Syntax of deverbal nouns

The syntax of deverbal nouns is exactly the same as that of nonderived nouns, even in cases where nouns are derived from ‘adjectival’ stative verbs (see 2.1.4). The only possible exception to this pattern is the focalization construction described in 1.1.2.2.6.

2.2.1.4

Nouns from adverbs

Although noun phrases are often used adverbially (see 1.2.1.3.1.3) nouns cannot be derived from adverbs.

2.2.1.5

Nouns from other categories

Nouns from ideophones

- (1067) *word order to derive nouns from ideophones (fairly productive)*

Dì kpm wē à kpm-am kpm kpawây no smòl.

ar ip/n rcI 1sP ip/v -3oP ip ip ng be small

‘The beating that I beat him/her was not small.’ OR ‘The beating that I gave him/her was not small.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

Dì k_{pam}-k_{pam} w_e à k_{pam}-am no bì sm_{ol} ò.

(1068) *serialized verb constructions (fairly productive)*

A gò tek k_{pam} bit yù.

1sP –R takeV+ ip/n beat+ 2oP

‘I will beat you heavily.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

A gò tek k_{pam}-k_{pam} bit yù.

2.2.2

Derivation of verbs

2.2.2.1

Verbs from nouns

(1069) *word order to derive verbs from nouns (fairly productive)*

A fyar l_{oya}. Im k_{om} l_{oya} mì taya.

1sP be afraidF lawyer 3sP +R lawyer/v 1oP +C

‘I fear lawyers.’ (S)he argued with me.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

Im k_{om} l_{oy}àl_{oya} mì taya.

(1070) *compounding using generic nouns such as ples ‘place’, p_{esin} ‘person’, etc. (limited to a few items)*

Mek yù no l_{oya} -man mì ò.

SJcI 2sP ng lawyer-man/vSJ 1EP f

‘Don’t lawyer me!’ OR ‘Don’t try to convince me with your clever arguments!’

2.2.2.2

Verbs from verbs

(1071) *word order to derive auxiliaries from verbs (limited to a few items)*

A k_{om} haws. A k_{om} go haws.

1sP comeF house 1sP +R goF house

‘I came home.’ ‘I went home.’

- (1072) *reduplication to show repetition or duration (very productive)*
 A r̄on-r̄on-r̄on f̄or rod.
 1sP runRR p road
 ‘I ran and ran down the road.’
- (1073) *serialized verb constructions to increase the valence of a verb (see 2.1.3.1.3), to make verbs causative (see 2.1.3.1.3.1) etc. (see 1.3.1.1.4) (extremely productive)*
 A gò mek yù tek nayf kari go giv Audu.
 1sP –R make+ 2s/oP takeV+ knife carry+ go+ give+ Audu
 ‘I will make you go and give the knife to Audu.’

2.2.2.3

Verbs from adjectives

As explained in sections 2.1.4 and 1.2.1.1.2, there are no adjectives in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.2.2.4

Verbs from adverbs

Although verbs may be derived from adverbial noun phrases, it is not possible to derive verbs from adverbs (see 2.2.2.1):

- (1074) Mek yù no tùmoro mi ègên ò.
 SJcI 2sP ng tomorrow/vSJ 1EP again f
 ‘Don’t tomorrow me again!’ OR ‘Don’t keep putting off doing
 what you should already have done for me.’

2.2.2.5

*Verbs from other categories**Verbs from ideophones*

- (1075) *word order to derive verbs from ideophones (fairly productive)*
 A k̄om kpam-am kpam kpawây.
 1sP +R ip/v -3oP ip ip
 ‘I beat him/her heavily.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

A kpam-kpam-am kpam kpawây.

Verbs from prepositions. In some lects, prepositions (especially the preposition *f̄rom* ‘from’) behave more like serialized verbs than like prepositions (see 2.1.1.5, 1.3.1.1.4 and 1.1.1.2.2.1.4).

2.2.3

Derived modifier nouns ('adjectives')

As explained in sections 2.1.4 and 1.2.1.1.1, there are no adjectives in Nigerian Pidgin. In place of adjectives, items which may fill the modifier noun slot will be considered here (see 1.2.5.1.1). It should be noted that there is no distinct class of lexical items which might be categorized as the set of modifier nouns: all modifier nouns are derived from some other class.

2.2.3.1

Modifier nouns from nouns

(1076) *word order to derive modifier nouns from other nouns (see 1.2.5.1.1) (very productive)*

A get flawa. A get flawa dres.

1sP haveF flower 1sP haveF flower/mn dress

'I have flowers.' 'I have flowered clothing.'

reduplication also possible here (fairly productive):

A get flawa-flawa dres.

2.2.3.2

Modifier nouns from verbs

(1077) *word order to derive modifier nouns from verbs (see 2.1.4 and 1.2.5.1.1) (very productive)*

A dɔn sik. A get sik pikîn.

1sP +C be sick 1sP haveF be sick/mn child

'I have become sick.' 'I have a sick child.'

reduplication also possible here, often with plural meaning (fairly productive):

A get sik-sik pikîn.

'I have some sick children.'

2.2.3.3

Modifier nouns from modifier nouns

Apart from the complex associative/possessive constructions described and illustrated in section 1.2.5.1.1, modifier nouns are not usually derived from other modifier nouns.

2.2.3.4

Modifier nouns from adverbs

Although modifier nouns may be derived from adverbial noun phrases, they may not be derived from adverbs (see 2.2.2.1):

- (1078) Nà yêstâdê sup wê yù dè lik ò.
 EI yesterday/mn soup rcl 2sP –C lick f
 ‘That’s yesterday’s soup that you are eating.’

2.2.3.5

Modifier nouns from other categories

Modifier nouns from ideophones

- (1079) *word order to derive modifier nouns from ideophones (fairly productive)*
 Nà zawây slap wê à gò tek slap yù.
 EI ip/mn slap/n rcl 1sP –R takeV+ slap+ 2oP
 ‘It will be with a stinging slap that I will slap you.’

reduplication also possible here (not very productive):

Nà zaway-zawây slap wê à gò tek slap yù.

2.2.4

Derivation of adverbs

2.2.4.1

Adverbs from nouns

- (1080) *word order to derive adverbs from nouns (very productive)*
 Yù get wòn awa. Im kòm slip wòn awa.
 2sP haveF one hour 3sP +R sleep one hour
 ‘You have one hour.’ ‘(S)he slept for one hour.’
- (1081) *reduplication to show repetition (productive)*
 Mònde-mònde à dè go fam.
 MondayR 1sP –C go farm
 ‘Mondays, I go to the farm.’
- (1082) *compounding using generic nouns such as ples ‘place’, taym ‘time’, etc. (very productive)*
 Mòning taym à dè go fam.
 morning time 1sP –C go farm
 ‘Mornings, I go to the farm.’
- (1083) *prepositions (very productive)*
 Fòr moning (taym) à dè go fam.
 p morning (time) 1sP –C go farm
 ‘Mornings, I go to the farm.’

- (1084) *serialized verb constructions (very productive)*
 A dè tek mɔ̃ning (taym) go fam.
 1sP –C takeV+ morning (time) go+ farm
 ‘Mornings, I go to the farm.’

2.2.4.2

Adverbs from verbs

- (1085) *word order and/or reduplication (fairly productive)*
 Smɔ̃l-smɔ̃l à gò go fam.
 be small/nR 1sP –R go farm
 ‘I will go slowly to the farm.’

- (1086) *serialized verb construction (fairly productive)*
 A gò tek smɔ̃l-smɔ̃l go fam.
 1sP –R take+ be small/nR go+ farm
 ‘I will go slowly to the farm.’

2.2.4.3

Adverbs from adjectives

As explained in sections 2.1.4, 1.2.1.1.1 and 1.2.5.1.1, there are no adjectives in Nigerian Pidgin.

2.2.4.4

Adverbs from adverbs

- (1087) *reduplication (a few items only)*
 A no gò go fam àtol-àtòl.
 1sP ng –R go farm at allR
 ‘I will under no circumstances go to the farm.’

At times it is difficult to distinguish adverbs from serialized verbs (see 1.3.1.1.4).

2.2.4.5

Adverbs from other categories

Adverbs from ideophones. As shown in sections 1.2.1.3.1.1 and 1.3.11.4, the division between the categories ‘adverb’ and ‘ideophone’ is not always clearly defined.

2.2.5

Other possibilities

Reduplication and compounding are not restricted to the word classes treated in this section. For a full listing of the possibilities for reduplication and compounding, see section 2.2.6.3. A demonstrative, a

cardinal numeral or a modifier noun can be pronominalized and used alone in a truncated noun phrase (see 1.2.1.1 and 2.1.4). More complete descriptions of the wide range of uses for prepositions and serialized verb constructions may be found in sections 2.1.1 and 1.3.1.1.4, respectively.

2.2.6 Derivation of prepositions

2.2.6.1 *Complex prepositions*

2.2.6.1.1–5 Complex prepositional structures

Series of two or more prepositions are not attested in the data. [Verb+preposition] constructions occur with greatest frequency and variety in acrolectal speech, while they are limited to the use of [verb+*fòr*] to express locative and other case relations in other lects (see 2.1.1.4–6). Prepositions are quite often followed by associative/possessive constructions, however, which serve to specify the meaning of the preposition (see 1.2.1.3.1.2 and 2.1.1). The modifier noun in these [preposition+associative/possessive construction] structures is a locational noun or a body part, such as *bak* ‘back’, *insây* ‘inside’, *onda* ‘under’, etc. (see 2.1.1.5–6):

- (1088) A de *fòr* [insây mòto].
 1sP cvF p [inside car]
 ‘I am inside the car.’

2.2.6.2 *Derived prepositions*

2.2.6.2.1–4 Derived prepositions

Denominal prepositions. It is not uncommon for the preposition to be omitted from a [preposition+associative/possessive construction] structure, leaving the modifier noun to play a role which suggests that it be classified as a denominal preposition (see previous section and example):

- (1089) A de insây mòto.
 1sP cvF inside car
 ‘I am inside the car.’

This omission process is especially common before locational/temporal nouns *bifò* ‘before’ and *afta* ‘after’ (see 2.1.1.6.1). It should be noted, however, that in instances where such ‘denominalized prepositions’ occur, *fòr* may optionally precede them.

Deverbal prepositions. The verb-like behaviour of prepositions (especially *fròm*) and the preposition-like meanings assigned to some serialized verbs (such as comparative *pas* and directional *go*) indicate that the

demarcation between the categories ‘verb’ and ‘preposition’ is in some cases unclear (see 1.3.1.1.4). A general class (or even a specific instance) of ‘deverbal prepositions’, however, is not to be found in the data.

De-adjectival prepositions. There are no adjectives in Nigerian Pidgin (see 2.1.4). The use of the copular extension *layk* ‘like’ is illustrated in section 2.1.1.

2.2.6.3

Compounds and reduplication

In this work, reduplicated items are subsumed under the general category ‘compounds’, since ‘classical’ compounds and reduplicated items share the following characteristics:

- 1 *Complexity*: prototypically, compounds are composed of two or more lexical entities that can occur independently as separate words in other contexts.
- 2 *Attachment*: prototypically, no item can be inserted between the lexemes that make up a compound, unless that item itself is integrated into the compound structure to form a more complex compound.
- 3 *Phonological incorporation*: compounds behave phonologically as if they were simple lexical items.

Compounds and reduplicated items fall into two general morphological classes: monotonal compounds and polytonal compounds, which are distinguished by their suprasegmental properties. Monotonal compounds bear a single tone and are written as single words, while polytonal compounds bear at least one tone over each component lexeme, each of which is separated from the other component lexemes by a hyphen in its graphemic representation.

Monotonal compounds and reduplicated compounds. Monotonal compounds are of two types: low-toned reduplicated verb compounds and high-toned nominal compounds.

Low-toned reduplicated verbal compounds. The class of low-toned reduplicated compounds may only be formed from verbs. A single low tone is assigned to the final syllable of the penultimate lexical building block of the reduplicated compound. By the stress rules outlined in section 3.3.2, this tonal configuration yields a sequence of low tones over all syllables of all of the nonfinal lexical components of the compound and a sequence of high tones over all syllables of the final component. This type of reduplicative compounding adds a durative, repetitive or intensifier force to the basic meaning of the verb:

- (1090) *Verb low-toned reduplicated form:*
 bend ‘be bent’ bēndbend ‘be twisted’
 gōsip ‘gossip’ gōsipgōsip ‘gossip constantly’
 wàka ‘walk’ wakàwaka ‘walk constantly’

High-toned nominal compounds are a restricted set of items composed of two lexical units which form a single word that bears one high tone over its initial syllable. By the stress rules outlined in section 3.3.2, this tonal configuration yields a single initial high tone followed by a sequence of low tones. All high-toned nominal compounds function pronominally in the sentences where they occur. The initial element of a high-toned nominal compound may be any one of the following demonstratives or quantifiers: *dat* ‘that’, *dis* ‘this’, *som* ‘some’, *eni* ‘any’, *evri* ‘every’, and *oda* ‘other’. The final element is restricted to the items *ting* ‘thing’, *won* ‘one’ and *bòdi* ‘body’:

- (1091) disting ‘this thing’

êvriting ‘everything’
 datwon ‘that one’
 ôdawon ‘other one’
 sômbodi ‘somebody’

Dis, dat, and oda may not be used with *bôdi*.

Polytonal compounds and reduplicated compounds. As noted above, each component lexeme in a polytonal compound is normally assigned one tone. The final lexeme within a polytonal compound is usually assigned a single high tone, although a low tone or a low-high tone sequence occasionally occurs here as well. When stress is assigned to a polytonal compound, it is only this final tone that is stressed and only the syllables of the final lexical component of the compound are available for stressed tone spreading (see 3.3.2). The result of this set of circumstances is a final falling pitch over polytonal compounds whose spread is most often restricted to one or two syllables. To show the limits for tone spreading, polytonal compounds are not written as single words as are monotonal compounds, but as hyphenated words instead:

- (1092) bèle ‘belly’+ful ‘be full’=bèle-ful ‘be satiated’
 Legos ‘Lagos’+sayd ‘side’=Legos-sayd ‘near Lagos’

It should be noted here that the set of associative/possessive constructions (see 1.2.5.1.1) and the set of nonreduplicated polytonal compounds overlap to a great extent. When it is possible to interpret a sequence of words as a modifier-modified or possessor-possessioned sequence, it is classified as an associative/possessive construction and its component lexemes are written as separate words. It is only when associative constructions are considered to be a type of polytonal compounding, however, that the full productivity of this process can be appreciated. Modifier nouns can be derived from nouns, verbs, adverbials and ideophones (see 2.2.3.1–5). Modified nouns may also be derived from any of these classes, making the combinatory possibilities quite numerous. The modifier noun slot is often occupied by one of a set of words that gives the construction a pronominal or generic meaning. According to the stress rules for polytonal compounds and noun phrase constructions, these items regularly attract phrase stress when they appear in this position. For these reasons, these items could be termed ‘pronominal bases’ or inherently stressed nominals:

- (1093)
- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| <i>pronominal bases</i> | |
| <i>Personal</i> | |
| bôdi | ‘body’ |
| boy | ‘boy’ |
| gel | ‘girl’ |
| pikîn | ‘child’ |
| man | ‘man’ |
| wuman | ‘woman’ |
| pesin | ‘person’ |
| pipul | ‘people’ |
| <i>Place</i> | |
| ples | ‘place’ |
| sayd | ‘side’ |
| kontri | ‘country’ |

land	‘land’
<i>Manner</i>	
we	‘way’
fash <u>on</u>	‘manner’
<i>Other</i>	
ting	‘thing’
taym	‘time’
kaynd	‘kind, sort’

The clitic interrogative markers *hus-*, *wat-*, *wich-*, *we-* and *wus-* (see 2.1.8.1.6) combine with these items to form compound interrogative pronouns (see 1.1.1.2.2).

Polysyllabic loan words from English often behave suprasegmentally as if they were polytonal compounds, that is, they tend to bear a falling pitch contour over their final syllables:

- (1094)
- | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| agrìkocha | ‘agriculture’ |
| ejgrêd | ‘age grade’ |
| envelôp | ‘envelope’ |
| wotàprûf | ‘waterproof (raincoat)’ |

Polytonal reduplicated compounds may be composed of two or more iterations of elements from the following categories:

- (1095)
- | <i>Nouns</i> | | <i>Polytonal reduplicated form</i> | |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| fish | ‘fish’ | fish-fish | ‘many fish’ |
| k <u>o</u> p | ‘cup’ | k <u>o</u> p-k <u>o</u> p | ‘by the cup’ |
| mòto | ‘car’ | mòto-mòto | ‘many cars’ |
| tùdê | ‘today’ | tude-tùdê | ‘this very day’ |
| <i>Pronouns</i> | | | |
| d <u>e</u> m | ‘they/them’ | d <u>e</u> m-d <u>e</u> m | ‘themselves (reciprocal)’ |
| <i>Modifier nouns</i> | | | |
| sm <u>o</u> l | ‘be small’ | sm <u>o</u> l-sm <u>o</u> l | ‘many small (plural)’ OR
‘very small’ |
| tyar | ‘be torn’ | tyar-tyar | ‘shredded up’ |
| wàka | ‘walk’ | wàka-wàka | ‘walking’ |
| <i>Cardinal numbers:</i> | | | |
| w <u>o</u> n | ‘one’ | w <u>o</u> n-w <u>o</u> n | ‘one each (distributive)’ |
| <i>Verbs</i> | | | |
| w <u>o</u> sh | ‘wash’ | w <u>o</u> sh-w <u>o</u> sh | ‘wash repeatedly or with effort’ |
| mek | ‘make, do’ | mek-mek | ‘scheme, plot’ |
| trowê | ‘overflow’ | trowe-trowê | ‘overflow profusely’ |
| <i>Adverbs (rare)</i> | | | |
| àtôl | ‘at all’ | àtol-àtôl | ‘under no circumstances’ |
| <i>Ideophones</i> | | | |
| gbùdùm | ‘heavily’ | gbùdum-gbùdùm | ‘very heavily’ |

Complex compound and reduplicated forms. Triplicated and quadruplicated forms occur:

- (1096) A ron-ron-ron fôr rod.
 1sP runRR p road
 'I ran and ran down the road.'

Complex compound forms are also attested in the data:

- (1097) A de fôr môtô-pak -sayd.
 1sP cvF p car -park-side
 'I am near the terminal.'

Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1

PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

3.1.1

Distinctive segments

(1098) *the consonantal system of Nigerian Pidgin (orthographic symbols in parentheses, where these differ from the IPA symbols)*

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Post-alveolar</i>	<i>Velar/ glottal</i>	<i>Labial-velar</i>
Plosives/ affricates	vl	/p/ /t/	/t ʃ/ (ch)	/k/	/kp/
	vd	/b/ /d/	/dʒ/ (j)	/g/	/gb/
Fricatives	vl	/f/ /s/	/ ʃ / (sh)	/h/	
	vd	/v/ /z/			
Nasals		/m/ /n/		/ / (ng)	
Tap		/r/			
	central		/j/ (y)	/w/	
Approximants					
	lateral	/l/			

Questionable segments and minimal pairs. Faraclas *et al.* (1984) list /k^w/, /g^w/ and /ŋ/ as phonemes, but since clusters such as /sw/, /wj/ and /fj/ exist (see 3.2) these are perhaps best analysed as clusters as well. Some sets of minimal pairs of words which provide evidence for the phonemic status of the consonant sounds in the preceding table are listed here:

(1099)	<i>sets of minimal pairs showing consonant phonemes</i>			
	/paj/	pay ‘pie’	/bit/	bit ‘beat’
	/baj/	bay ‘buy’	/fit/	fit ‘be able’
	/taj/	tay ‘tie’	/mit/	mit ‘meat’
	/daj/	day ‘die’	/tit/	tit ‘tooth’
	/kaj/	kay exclamation	/ it/	shit ‘defecate’

/gaj/	gay 'dandy'	/hit/	hit 'heat'
/t aj/	chay exclamation	/wīt/	wīt 'with'
/waj/	way 'why'		
/laj/	lay 'lie'	/lajt/	layt 'light'
		/rajt/	rayt 'write'
/pik/	pik 'pick'	/najt/	nayt 'night'
/pig/	pig 'pig'	/wajt/	wayt 'white'
/pil/	pil 'peel'	/fajt/	fayt 'fight'
/pin/	pin 'pin'	/bajt/	bayt 'bite'
/pis/	pis 'urinate'		
		/tɔ̃k/	tok 'talk'
/tɔ̃t /	toch 'touch'	/tʃn/	tong 'tongue'
/t ɔ̃t /	choch 'church'	/tɔ̃n/	ton 'turn'
/d3ɔ̃d3/	joj 'type of cloth'		
		/kpakpa/	kpakpa ideophone
/it /	ich 'each'	/àgbà/	àgbà 'lady'
/iz/	iz 'be easy'	/àwa/	àwa 'our'

(1100) *the vocalic system of Nigerian Pidgin (orthographic symbols in parentheses, where these differ from the IPA symbols)*

	<i>Front/unrounded</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back/ rounded</i>
High	/i/		/u/
High-mid	/e/	/N/ (m, n) (syllabic nasal)	/o/
Low-mid	/ / (e)		/ɔ̃/ (o)
Low		/a/	

Questionable segments and minimal pairs. There is some question as to whether vowel nasalization is significant in Nigerian Pidgin. For midwestern dialects, Elugbe and Omamor (ms. 88–90) agree with Oyeade (1983) that 'a feature of significant vowel nasalization' exists, and propose an underlying segment /N/ to follow nasalized vowels. In the eastern dialects which supplied the data on which this work is based, however, all vowel nasalization can be traced to adjacent nasal consonants which actually occur at the surface. Some sets of minimal pairs of words which provide evidence for the phonemic status of the vowel sounds in the preceding table are listed here:

- (1101) Sets of minimal pairs showing vowel phonemes:
- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| /sa/ sa 'sir' | /pat/ pat 'part' |
| /se/ se 'say' | /pɔ̃t/ pot 'pot' |
| /si/ si 'see' | /put/ put 'put' |
| /so/ so 'sew' | |

The orthographic system used in this work to represent the distinctive sounds of Nigerian Pidgin is that recommended by Faraclas *et al.* (1984):

- (1102) Orthographic equivalents of the distinctive sounds of Nigerian Pidgin:

/a/	a	/m/	m
/b/	b	/n/	n
/t /	ch	/ /	ng
/d/	d	/o/	o
/e/	e	/ɔ/	o
/ /	ē	/p/	P
/f/	f	/r/	r
/g/	g	/s/	s
/gb/	gb	/ /	sh
/h/	h	/t/	t
/i/	i	/u/	u
/dʒ/	j	/v/	v
/k/	k	/w/	w
/kp/	kp	/j/	y
/l/	l	/z/	z

3.1.2

Distinctive segments and their allophones

All of the distinctive sounds of Nigerian Pidgin involve the use of a pulmonic egressive air stream mechanism and no special glottal closure is employed besides the closure utilized for ordinary voicing.

3.1.2.1

Nonsyllabic segments and their allophones

Phonetically conditioned variation. Word-final plosives tend to be omitted before a pause or another consonant, while word-final fricatives and sonorants tend to be omitted in all environments. It should be noted that in past analyses of Nigerian Pidgin many fewer word-final consonants are posited underlyingly than in the present study. All of the final consonants included here do in fact occur in the data in the (sometimes quite rare) cases where omission does not take place. If these consonants are ignored in phonemic representations, there is absolutely no way to predict which consonant will appear at the end of which word when omission does not occur. For this reason, it is necessary to incorporate these sounds into underlying forms, despite the fact that many of them are more often than not eliminated before they take concrete phonetic form:

(1103)	Put!	/pút=/	[pû]/[pût]
	putSJ		
	‘Put (some)!’ OR ‘Dish out (some)!’		
	Put sup!	/pút+súp=/	[pú súp]/[pút súp]
	putSJ soup		
	‘Put soup!’ OR ‘Dish out some soup!’		
	Put eg!	/pút+ég=/	[pú tég]
	putSJ egg		
	‘Put eggs!’ OR ‘Dish out some eggs!’		

(1104)	Boyl!	/bójl=/ boilSJ	[bój]/[bôjl]
	‘Boil (some)!’		
	Boyl sup!	/bòjl+súp=/ boilSJ soup	[bój súp]/[bójl súp]
	‘Boil the soup!’		
	Boyl eg!	/bójl+ég=/ boilSJ egg	[bój êg]/[bój leg]
	‘Boil the eggs!’		

Undeleted word-final obstruents may be devoiced:

(1105)	Muv dì mòto!	/múv+dì+mòto=/ moveSJ ar car	[múf/múv dì mòtó]
	‘Move the car!’		

Voiceless word-final plosives may be unexploded:

(1106)	Put!	/pút=/ putSJ	[pû]/[pût]/[pût]
	‘Put (some)!’ OR ‘Dish out (some)!’		

Voiceless word-final fricatives may be lengthened:

(1107)	Boyl rays!	/bójl+rájs=/ boilSJ rice	[bójl râjs:/râjs]
	‘Boil the rice!’		

Undeleted nasal consonants are normally homorganic to following consonants:

(1108)	Klam tri!	/klám+trí=/ climbSJ tree	[klán/klám trí]
	‘Climb the tree!’		

[t] and [k] are often aspirated word-initially and sometimes word-finally under stress:

(1109)	Tek!	/ték=/ takeSJ	[t ^h ék ^h]/[ték]
	‘Take (some)!’ OR ‘Have some!’		
	Tek sup!	/ték+súp=/ takeSJ soup	[t ^h ék/ték súp]
	‘Take some soup!’ OR ‘Have some soup!’		

[b], [d] and [g] are sometimes tapped or fricated in intervocalic position:

- (1110) oda 'other' /ɖda=/[ɖrà]/[ɖdà]

Morphophonologically conditioned variation. All word-final consonants which are otherwise subject to omission according to the rules just outlined tend to be preserved when either the third-person bound object pronoun *-am* or the phrase-final particle *ò* follows:

- (1111) Hyar wod! /hyár+wɖd=/[hyá wɖd]
 hearSJ word
 'Hear the word(s)!' OR 'Listen (to me)!'
 Hyar -am! /hyár+-am=/[hyá ràm]
 hearSJ-3oP
 'Hear (it)!' OR 'Listen!'
 Hyar ò! /hyár+ò=/[hyá rǒ]
 hearSJ f
 'Hear (it)!' OR 'Listen!'

The initial consonants of words which serve to signal grammatical categories, such as auxiliaries, determiners, etc., may be tapped, fricated, approximated or deleted entirely:

- (1112) A gò slíp. /à+gò+slíp=/[à ò/wò/ɣò/gò slíp]
 1sP -R sleep
 'I will sleep'
 (1113) A dè go. /à+dè+gó=/[à è/jè/rè/dè gò]
 1sP -C go
 'I am going.'

Socially and geographically conditioned variation. Acrolectal varieties often show variation between [d] and [ð], [t] and [], [w] and [ʰw] and/or [] and [ʒ] in words where [ð, , ʰw and ʒ] occur in Nigerian Standard English. Basilectal varieties often show variation between [h] and [ʔ], [t] and [], and/or [z] and [s] in areas where local languages do not have [h, t , or z]:

- (1114) tozde 'Thursday' /tɖzde=/[tɖzdè]/@[ɖzdè]/#[tɖsdè]

In southern Cross River State, voicing distinctions are often not made in obstruents, reflecting the lack of such distinctions in the Lower Cross languages of that region. In the midwest some non-nasal consonants are nasalized when they occur in a word that contains a nasal consonant (Elugbe and Omamor ms.)

Free variation. Some speakers sporadically use a uvular [R] or a lamino-alve-olar approximant [ɹ] instead of the usual alveolar tap [r] for /r/. This variation could not be correlated with any linguistic or sociolinguistic conditioning factors and could very well represent the initial or final stages of a sound change.

3.1.2.1.1 Plosives and affricates

For allophones, see the rules listed under [3.1.2.1](#).

<i>labio-labial</i>			
voiceless	/p/	voiced	/b/
<i>lamino-alveolar</i>			
voiceless	/t/	voiced	/d/
<i>lamino-postalveolar</i>			
voiceless	/t /	voiced	/d3/
<i>dorso-velar</i>			
voiceless	/k/	voiced	/g/
<i>labial—velar</i>			
voiceless	/kp/	voiced	/gb/

3.1.2.1.2 Fricatives

For allophones, see the rules listed under [3.1.2.1](#).

<i>labio-dental</i>			
voiceless	/f/	voiced	/v/
<i>lamino-alveolar</i>			
voiceless	/s/	voiced	/z/
<i>lamino-postalveolar</i>			
voiceless			/ /
<i>glottal</i>			
voiceless			/h/

3.1.2.1.3 Nasals

For allophones, see the rules listed under [3.1.2.1](#).

<i>labio-labial</i>		
voiced		/m/
<i>lamino-alveolar</i>		
voiced		/n/
<i>dorso-velar</i>		
voiced		/ /

3.1.2.1.4 Liquids

For allophones, see the rules listed under 3.1.2.1.

lamino-alveolar (central)

voiced tap /ɾ/

lamino-alveolar (lateral)

voiced /l/

3.1.2.1.5 Glides

For allophones, see the rules listed under 3.2 and 3.1.2.1.

high front unrounded

plain /j/

high back rounded

plain /w/

3.1.2.2

Syllabic segments and their allophones

Phonetically conditioned variation. Vowels are nasalized by adjacent nasal consonants before any omission of final consonants takes place (see 3.1.2.1):

(1115) won boy ‘one boy’ /wɔ̃n+bój=/ []

Vowels are normally lengthened when they bear a gliding tone due to stress (see 3.3.2):

(1116) Go fam! Go! /gó+fám=gó=/ [gó fâ:m gô:]
goSJ farm goSJ
‘Go to the farm! Go!’

[i] is often slightly lowered and centralized to [ɪ] closed syllables:

(1117) Giv mi! /gív+mí=/ [gív/gív mî:]
giveSJ 1EP
‘Give (it) to me!’

Morphophonologically conditioned variation. The vowels of some words which serve to signal grammatical categories, such as auxiliaries, determiners, etc., are centralized in some cases, while at other times they take on the quality of neighbouring vowels:

(1118) A dè wok. /à+dè+wɔ̃k=/ [àdà/dɔ̃/dè wɔ̃k]
1sP –C work

‘I am working.’

Elugbe and Omamor (ms.:117) report that in the midwest the negative marker *no* is pronounced with a higher vowel [o] when a higher vowel follows and with a lower vowel [ɔ] when a lower vowel follows. A low-mid vowel occurs in all instances of the negative marker in Obilade’s (1976:95) midwestern data set.

Socially and geographically conditioned variation. Elugbe and Omamor record /o/ in many midwestern words where /u/ is found in the east:

(1119) East: *tùdê* ‘today’ midwest: *tòdê* ‘today’

Nasalization seems to be more prominent in midwestern dialects than it is in eastern dialects (see 3.1.1). Basilectal speakers of vowel harmony languages often pronounce the narrow pharynx (retracted tongue root) counterparts of /i/ and /u/ ([ɪ] and [ʊ]) in words where other narrow vowels occur:

(1120) *gàri* ‘gari’ /gàri= / [gà rɪ] /#[gà rɪ]

Free variation. In individual words, cases of variation between any given vowel quality and an adjacent vowel quality can be found:

(1121) *watîng* ‘what?’ /wati /=[w tɪ] / [w ɿtɪ] / [wátɪ]

(1122) *wunch* ‘witch’ /wúnt /=[wînt] / [wûnt]

3.1.2.2.1

Vowels

For allophones, see the rules listed under 3.1.2.2.

high front unrounded

plain /i/

high-mid front unrounded

plain /e/

low-mid front unrounded

plain /ɪ/

low central neutral rounding

plain /a/

high back rounded

plain /u/

high-mid back rounded

plain /o/

low-mid back rounded

plain /ɔ/

3.1.2.2.2

Other syllabic segments

Syllabic nasals. In words borrowed from other Nigerian languages, a nasal may occur alone in a syllable and thus constitute by itself the syllable nucleus, in which case it is called a syllabic nasal /N/ (see 3.2). Most syllabic nasals are found word-initially and followed by a syllable with a consonantal onset. Syllabic nasals have no underlying place of articulation and are completely homorganic to the consonant that follows (see 3.1.2.1). The orthographic symbol *m* is used in this work to represent all syllabic nasals which are followed by consonants which involve any type of labial articulation, while *n* is employed to represent all other occurrences of syllabic nasals:

(1123) mkpùrùndù ideophone /Nkpùrùndù/ [m kpù rùn dù]

(1124) ngwa 'OK' / gwá/ [gwá]

Other sonorants may be syllabified when they follow another consonant in a cluster, especially in stressed environments. This phenomenon has more to do with syllable structure patterns than with any underlying syllabicity associated with non-nasal sonorants and will be discussed in greater detail in section 3.2.4.

3.1.2.3–4

Segments restricted to loan words or to particular word classes

The segments /z/, /kp/, /gb/ and the syllabic nasal /N/ are largely restricted in occurrence to loan words and ideophones (see 4.1). There are enough items containing /z/ and /kp/ that form part of the basic lexicon of Nigerian Pidgin, however, to justify their inclusion in the consonantal system of the language. The case for the inclusion of /gb/ and /N/ is weaker, given the fact that these sounds are mainly utilized in ideophones and no more than a few sporadically employed loan words. It is argued in this work that ideophones are an integral part of the language and the phonological and grammatical systems of Nigerian Pidgin cannot be understood without taking into account their ideophonic components. It is this argument that provides the main basis for considering /gb/ and /N/ to be part of the basic sound system.

3.2

PHONOTACTICS

Syllable and word structure. The following elements may be included in a syllable:

(1125) Possible syllable structures in Nigerian Pidgin:

(C ₁)	(C ₂)	(C ₃)	V/N	(C ₄)	(C ₅)	Examples
			V			à 'I'
			N			ngwa 'OK'
C ₁			V			si 'see'
C ₁			V		C ₅	won 'one'
C ₁			V	C ₄	C ₅	want 'want'
C ₁	C ₂		V			ste 'stay'

(C ₁)	(C ₂)	(C ₃)	V/N	(C ₄)	(C ₅)	Examples	
C ₁	C ₂		V		C ₅	ston	'stone'
C ₁	C ₂		V	C ₄	C ₅	plant	'plant'
C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	V			styu	'stew'
C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	V		C ₅	klyar	'clear'
C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	V	C ₄	C ₅	strayk	'strike'

Conditions:

1 V: V must be included in all syllable structures except N structures.

2 N: N must always stand alone as a syllable.

3 C₁: C₁ alone may be any consonant except *ng*.

4 C₁C₂ clusters:

(a) C₂ may be *y* if C₁ is any consonant except *v, m, z, r, l, j, y, ng, kp* or *gb*.

(b) C₂ may be *r* if C₁ is *p, b, f, t, d, k* or *g*.

(c) C₂ may be *l* if C₁ is *p, b, f, s, k* or *g*.

(d) C₂ may be *w* if C₁ is *s, k* or *g*.

(e) C₂ may be *p, m, t, n* or *k* if C₁ is *s*.

5 C₁C₂C₃ clusters include *spr, spy, str, sty, stw, skr, skw, swy* and *kly*.

6 C₅: C₅ alone may be any consonant except *h, kp* or *gb*.

7 C₄C₅ clusters:

(a) C₅ may be *p, t, d, s, ch, j, k* or *g* if C₄ is a homorganic nasal consonant.

(b) Other C₄C₅ clusters include: *yp, yt, yd, ys, yl, yk, wt, wd, ws, lt* and *ld*.

3.2.1–2

Consonant clusters

Any of the consonants or consonant clusters described in section 3.2 may occur word-initially, word-medially or word-finally, as long as they obey the syllable structure conditions listed there.

3.2.3

Vowels

Any vowel may occur in any position in a word. While *u* is relatively rare in occurrence word-initially, *e* and *o* are less likely to be found word-finally than are other vowels. Underlying sequences of syllabic segments are not permitted, although syllabification in stressed environments sometimes results in such sequences at the phonetic level (see 3.2.4). It should be noted that in most works on Nigerian Pidgin to date, what are analysed as glide-vowel or vowel–glide sequences here are handled as vowel–vowel sequences. Arguments for or against the analysis adopted in this work are numerous, but none is conclusive.

3.2.4–5 Syllabification

In connected speech, phonologically conditioned processes tend to reduce many of the complex syllable structures listed in 3.2 to CV structures. The following processes should be cited in this connection.

Deletion. As described and exemplified in section 3.1.2.1, word-final consonant omission eliminates a great number of syllable-final consonants.

Epenthesis. Vowels are often inserted between two consonants in sequence, especially at word boundaries:

- (1126) Stik de f̥ɔr haws. [sì tì kǐ dé f̥ɔ̌ hâws]
stick cvF p house
'There is a stick at the house.'

y is sometimes inserted before a syllable-initial vowel when a front vowel precedes it, while *w* may be inserted before a syllable-initial vowel when a back vowel precedes it:

- (1127) Nà yu ò. No bì mi ò. [nà jú wǒ nó bì mí jǐ]
 EI 2EP f ng cvF 1EP f
 ‘It is you. It is not me.’

If a verb ends in a front vowel and the third-person bound object pronoun *-am* follows, *y* is sometimes inserted, while *w* or even *r* may be inserted if the verb ends in a back vowel:

- (1128) A folo -am go. [à fó ló wám/rám/ám gô]
 1sP followF+-am go+
 'I went with him/her.'

h is sometimes inserted before a word-initial vowel:

- (1129) A ɛnta haws. [à h n/ n tá hâws]
 1sP enterF house
 'I entered the house.'

Syllabic sonorants. Sonorants may become syllabic when they follow other consonants in clusters, especially in stressed environments (see 3.3.2.3):

- (1130) A dè fyar. [à dè fí jà/fyâ]
 1sP –C be afraid
 ‘I am afraid.’

- (1131) Nà flawa.
EI flower
‘It is a flower.’

Assignment of medial units and clusters to syllables. In connected speech, medial units and clusters are often separated from the syllables to which they normally belong, in order to allow the utterance to be parsed as much as possible into CV syllables. This process does not depend on morphological structure in any way, since it occurs across all types of boundaries except for pauses:

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (1132) | A faynd -am taya.
1sP searchF+-am +C
'I really looked for it.' | [à fáy ⁿ dá ⁿ tá jà] |
| (1133) | Nà sɔlt ò.
EI salt f
'It is salt.' | [nà sɔ̌l tɔ̌] |

In general, the structure of lexical morphemes corresponds with the possibilities outlined in this and the previous sections for word structure.

3.2.6 Phonotactics

3.2.6.1–7 *Other phonotactic restrictions*

There are no co-occurrence restrictions on adjacent units, nonadjacent units or clusters in the language besides those outlined in 3.1.2.1. Vowel harmony plays a very limited role in some basilectal varieties, as illustrated in 3.1.2.2. The only word class that does not conform to all of the phonotactic patterns described thus far is the class of ideophones (see 4.1).

3.3 SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.3.1 Length distinctions

Length plays no distinctive role in Nigerian Pidgin, except perhaps as a secondary cue for stress (see 3.3.2). Under various conditions, the following may be lengthened nondistinctively in connected speech: word-final voiceless fricatives (see 3.1.2.1) stressed vowels (see 3.1.2.2) and stressed sonorants (see 3.2.4).

3.3.2 Stress

3.3.2.1 *Role of stress*

Alongside tone and intonation, stress plays a major role in determining the pitch-related suprasegmental patterns found in Nigerian Pidgin. For a more detailed account of the stress and tone systems of the language, see Faraclas (1985b).

3.3.2.2 *Phonetic correlates of stress*

The phrase stress group is the basic unit to which stress is assigned. All types of stress have the same phonetic cues. The primary cues for stress are change in pitch and the height of the resulting peak of pitch prominence: stressed high tones become falling tones which fall from a higher than usual pitch level and stressed low tones become rising tones which rise to a higher than usual level. Secondary cues for stress include extra length of stressed syllables (see 3.1.2.2) or of a sequence of stressed syllables (see 3.2.4) and an increase in perceived loudness. Despite the fact that stressed syllables are more prominent than others, reduction of unstressed syllables is minimal, and Nigerian Pidgin can safely be said to be a syllable-timed language.

3.3.2.3 *Types and levels of stress*

Grammatically controlled stress. All sentences in Nigerian Pidgin consist of one or more phrase stress groups, each of which has a main (head) verb, an adverbial or a non-subject noun phrase as its nucleus. Each phrase stress group is assigned a single stress, which is signalled by a falling pitch contour if the final tone of the phrase stress group is high or by a rising tone if the final tone of the phrase stress group is low:

- (1134) *stressed high tone over a single syllable becomes a falling tone*
 Go! /'gô=/ [gô]
 goSJ
 'Go!'
- (1135) *stressed low tone over a single syllable becomes a rising tone*
 Mì tù. /mì+'tù=/ [mì tǔ]
 1sP also
 'Me also.'

Stress-derived falling and rising tones spread from the final tone-bearing syllable of the stress group to any following syllables in the group, creating high-low(-low) and low-high(-high) sequences, respectively. All toneless syllables copy the tone of the syllable to the left after stress is assigned:

- (1136) *stressed high tone becomes a falling tone, then spreads to create a high-low sequence*

Nà mà fada. /nà+mà+'fáda=/ [nà mà fá dà]
 EI 1ps father
 'It is my father.'

- (1137) *stressed low tone becomes a rising tone, then spreads to create a low-high sequence*
 Nà mà màma. /nà+mà+'màma=/ [nà mà mà má]
 EI 1ps mother
 'It is my mother.'

- (1138) *stressed high tone becomes a falling tone, then spreads to create a high-low-low sequence*
 A folo -am. /à+'fólo-am=
 1sP followF -3oP [à fó lò àm]
 'I followed her/him.'

- (1139) *stressed low tone becomes a rising tone, then spreads to create a low-low-high-high sequence*
 Im day kpatàkpata. /(im+'dáj=)kpa'tàkpata=
 3sP dieF ipR [(im dâj) kpà tá kpá tá]
 '(S)he dropped dead.'

Speaker controlled stress (emphasis). As explained in section 1.11.2.1.1, any major sentence constituent can be focused either contrastively or noncontrastively by separating it off from the rest of the sentence as a separate phrase stress group that receives its own phrase stress:

- (1140) Mà fada go tawn.
 1ps father goF town
 'My father went to town.'
 a. *normal stress pattern (subject noun phrase not separated from verb phrase stress group)*
 /mà+'fáda+gó+'táwn=/ [mà fá dá gó tâwn]
 b. *subject focused (subject noun phrase separated from verb phrase stress group)*
 /mà+'fáda=gó+'táwn=/ [mà fá dà gó tâwn]

This type of stress is controlled by the speaker (who chooses to focus or emphasize a particular part of the utterance) rather than being assigned automatically by the sentence-parsing rules described for grammatically controlled stress.

Lexically controlled stress. Some words may be said to be lexically (inherently) focused or stressed, due to the fact that they bear stress in nearly every environment in which they occur. Lexically stressed words coincide rather neatly with those words which are used to signal categories which are likely to attract grammatically and/or speaker controlled stress, such as interrogation (see 1.1.1.2.2.2.4–5), negation (see 1.4), the imperative (see 1.1.1.3), other subjunctive relations (see 1.1.2.2.2), emphasis/non-boundedness in pronouns (see 2.1.2), associative/possessive constructions (see 1.2.5.1.1), compounds, certain reduplicated forms and recent loans from Standard English (see 2.2.6.3). Lexically stressed items either attract the prominence peak of the phrase stress group to which they belong or they separate themselves from the rest of the sentence to form a distinct stress group:

- (1141) *lexically stressed question words*
 Huspəsin go tawn? /hus'p sin=gó+'táwn=
 who? goF town [hús p sín gó táwn]
 'Who went to town?'
- (1142) *lexically stressed negative markers*
 Mà fada no go tawn. /mà+fáda+'nó=gó+'táwn=
 1ps father ng goF town [mà fá dá nô gó táwn]
 'My father didn't go to town.'
- (1143) *lexically stressed imperative forms*
 Go tawn! /'gó='táwn=
 goSJ town [gô táwn]
 'Go to town!'
- (1144) *lexically stressed subjunctive marker mek*
 A rən mek à go tawn. /à+rɿn+'mék=à+gó+'táwn=
 1sP runF SJcI 1sP goSJ town [à rɿn mēk à gó táwn]
 'I ran in order to get to town.'
- (1145) *lexically stressed free (emphatic) pronouns*
 Mi à go tawn. /'mí=à+gó+'táwn=
 1EP 1sP goF town [mî à gó táwn]
 'It is I who went to town.'
- (1146) *lexically stressed generic noun used in an associative construction*
 Aba man dən go. /àba+'mán=dɿn+gó=
 Aba man +C go [à bà mân dɿn gô]
 'The man from Aba has gone.'

Unstressable items. Certain grammatical words never attract pitch prominence or any other stress-related marking, due to the fact that they always occur in the same phrase stress group with an item that regularly attracts stress or because by position they may never contain the final tone-bearing syllable of a stress group. Such unstressable words include bound pronouns (see 2.1.2), the general preposition *fər* (see 1.2 1.3.1.2), the general article *dì* (1.2.5.2.4), the pluralizer *dèm* (see 1.2.5.2.6), the focus introducer *nà* (see 1.2.1.1.6) and the identity copular verb *bì* (see 1.2.1.1.1). Other items are exempt from stress rules because they have been borrowed into Nigerian Pidgin from other Nigerian languages, including some ideophones (see 4.1), most topicalizers and the topic-switching question marker *nko* (1.12.1.1):

- (1147) *lexically unstressable topic-switch question marker*
 Mà fada nko? /mà+fáda+ kɿ=
 1ps father TQf [mà fá dá ɿ kɿ]
 'What about my father?'

3.3.2.4–6

Position of stress

Stress is normally assigned to the final tone-bearing syllable of a phrase stress group. Occasionally the stress will be attracted to some other tone-bearing syllable in the group, especially if that syllable belongs to a lexically (inherently) stressed item (see 3.3.2.3). When this occurs, all of the syllables following the stressed syllable usually lose their tones. In a very few cases, tonal distinctions are still maintained after the stressed syllable, but only within a reduced range or envelope of pitch change. The phonotactic structure of words has no bearing on the assignment or position of stress. Stress is only predictable in terms of the tonal structure of phrases. Forms which are exempt from either the scope or the application of stress rules are listed at the end of section 3.3.2.3.

3.3.3**Tone**

3.3.3.1

Role of tone

Alongside stress and intonation, tone plays a major role in determining the pitch-related suprasegmental patterns found in Nigerian Pidgin. For a more detailed account of the stress and tone systems of the language, see Faraclas (1985b).

3.3.3.2–3

Tone used for lexical distinctions

A few items are distinguished lexically from one another only by differences in the tones that they bear:

- (1148) *minimal tone pairs*
 High tone Low tone
 sista ‘sister’ sista ‘nurse’
 awa ‘hour’ àwa ‘our’
 fɔr ‘four’ fɔr preposition
 tu ‘two, very much’ tù ‘also’
 de ‘day’ dè incomplete

3.3.3.4

Tone used for morphological distinctions

In several cases, pitch is used to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same word. Most of the bound pronouns may be distinguished from their free (emphatic) counterparts only by the low tone that the former bear as opposed to the high tone borne by the latter (see 2.1.2). As put forward in section 1.2.1.1.3, a strong argument can be made for the lexical identity of the high-toned locative/existential copular verb *de* and the low-toned incomplete aspect auxiliary *dè*. A weaker argument could be advanced to show that the low-toned irrealis modality auxiliary *gò* is a low-toned version of the high-toned verb *go* ‘go’.

3.3.3.5

Types of distinctive tone and their allotones

The basic tone-bearing unit in Nigerian Pidgin is the syllable (more specifically, a vowel or a syllabic sonorant). Underlyingly, syllables may bear a high tone, a low tone or no tone at all. High tone has two allotones: (a) a spreading falling tone or high-low sequence which is borne by stressed syllables: and (b) a level high tone which occurs in all other environments. Low tone has two symmetrically opposite allotones: (a) a spreading rising tone or low-high sequence which is borne by stressed syllables: and (b) a level low tone which occurs in all other environments (see 3.3.2.3 for examples of stressed and unstressed high and low tones):

- (1149) ànòda ‘another’ *stressed high tone becomes high-low*

A si ànòda. /à+sí+à+n̩ da=/
 1sP seeF another [à sí à n̩ dà]

‘I saw another (one).’

- (1150) ànòda ‘another’ *unstressed high tone becomes high-high*

A si ànòda wòn. /à+sí+à+n̩ da+w̩n=/
 1sP seeF another one [à sí à n̩ dá w̩n]

‘I saw another one.’

- (1151) màma ‘mother’ *stressed low tone becomes low-high*

A si mà màma. /à+sí+mà+m̩ma=/
 1sP seeF 1ps mother [à sí mà mà má]

‘I saw my mother.’

- (1152) màma ‘mother’ *unstressed low tone becomes low-low*

A si mà màma mòto. /à+sí+mà+m̩ma’mòto=/
 1sP seeF 1ps mother car [à sí mà mà mà mò tò]

‘I saw my mother’s car.’

Despite the fact that neighbouring Cameroonian Pidgin is generally recognized to have a tonal system, there has been some reluctance among researchers to say the same about Nigerian Pidgin. While Eze (1980) and Agheyisi (1971) do not mention tone at all, Oyebade (1983) calls Nigerian Pidgin a pitch-accent system. Elugbe and Omamor (ms: 138) dispute Oyebade’s claim, and deny that the language has either pitch-accent or tone. Only Ofuani (1979) and Obilade (1976) posit tone underlyingly. Obilade seems to have given the most attention to pitch configurations in general, and his observations are usually quite compatible with the machine analyses performed by the present author. Obilade (1976:31) sets up four distinct tonal units; (a) level high, (b) falling, (c) level low and (d) rising, each with level and contour allotones in word-medial and word-final position. The analysis presented in this work accounts for all of the phenomena observed by Obilade with only two basic tones, each with an unstressed level allotone and a stressed contour allotone. This avoids the complicated rules with over-lapping environments that Obilade must formulate to accommodate a four-tone system, while explaining other non tonal suprasegmental processes such as the lengthening of stressed syllables, which Obilade does not mention at all.

3.3.3.6–7

Restrictions on the occurrence of tones

Tones are not restricted in any way by the segmental composition of the units that bear them.

3.3.3.8–9

Possible sequences of tones over words

Phonemically, a lexical item may not be assigned more tones than it has syllables, with no more than two tones being assigned to any underlying form. As a result of these constraints, most words of more than one syllable bear fewer tones than the number of syllables they contain. Lexical items may differ from one another not only by the number and sequence of tones that they bear, but also by which syllables bear these tones and which remain toneless. In non-compound forms, a low tone can never follow a high tone. Verbs may not consist of more than two syllables and disyllabic verbs may only bear high tone over their final syllable, and then only if that tone is preceded by a low tone. Therefore, only three possible tonal configurations may be found over verbs: a high configuration, a low configuration or a low-high configuration. The class of nouns and the class of verbs may each be subdivided into tone classes (see 2.1.1.9):

(1153) *possible tonal configurations (x indicates a toneless syllable)*

<i>Number of syllables</i>	<i>Tone patterns</i>	<i>Noun classes</i>	<i>Verb classes</i>	<i>Other words</i>
1	H L	h <u>e</u> d ‘head’	si ‘see’	sins ‘since’ tù ‘also’
2	H-x x-H H-H L-x L-L L-H	br <u>o</u> da ‘brother’ hedm <u>a</u> n ‘chief man’ l <u>ó</u> yl <u>ó</u> y ‘casava’ b <u>è</u> l <u>e</u> ‘belly’ pìk <u>i</u> n ‘child’	kari ‘carry’ sàbi ‘know’ sìd <u>o</u> n ‘sit’	<u>e</u> ni ‘any’ fif <u>t</u> in ‘fifteen’ kpákpá ipR àbi YNQ ù <u>n</u> à 5P èg <u>e</u> n ‘again’
3	H-x-x x-H-x x-x-H x-L-x L-H-x x-L-H	fà <u>m</u> ili ‘family’ hedwuman ‘chief woman’ langatr <u>ò</u> t ‘greed’ onyìbo ‘European’ wàhala ‘trouble’ maskùr <u>ê</u> d ‘masquerade’		sômb <u>o</u> di ‘somebody’ à <u>n</u> o <u>d</u> a ‘another’

For some speakers, the class of low-toned and low-high-toned forms is shrinking at the expense of the class of high-toned forms. For example, the words *mòto* ‘car’ and *sìdôn* ‘sit’ are sometimes pronounced [mó tò] and [sí dɔ̃n] respectively, as if their underlying forms were /móto/ and /sìdon/. Words of more than three

syllables are in nearly every case compounds, reduplicated items or words recently loaned into the language (see 2.2.6.3).

3.3.3.10

Interaction between tone and stress

The interaction between tone and stress is considerable, as explained and illustrated in sections 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.3.5.

3.3.3.11

Tonal processes

3.3.3.11.1–2

Downdrift and other tonal processes

Downdrift. High tones and sequences of high tones are lowered by a preceding low tone in the same intonation unit. Low tones are sometimes lowered by preceding low tones as well:

- (1154) *downdrift*
 Mi ba à want plant ànoda nyam
 1EP T 1sP wantF+ plant+ another yam
 ‘As for me, I want to plant another yam.’
 /mí+bá+à+’wánt=’plánt=ànǎda +’njám=/
 [mí bá à wân plan à nǎ dá njâm]

Elugbe and Omamor (ms.: 138) attribute this pattern to statement intonation rather than to downdrift. It is true that the distinction between downdrift and intonational lowering is unclear in many languages, but the fact that low tone in particular causes this type of lowering in Nigerian Pidgin would seem to suggest a tonal rather than an intonational explanation. The rate of downdrift is not changed by the occurrence of any other segmental or suprasegmental sequences.

Updrift is not attested in the data.

Uphitch. High tones are often raised by following low tones. The pitch peak of a falling tone is in most cases at a higher level than a high tone not followed by a low tone. Since a falling tone could be said to consist of a sequence of a high tone followed by a low tone, a case could be made for attributing this phenomenon to uphitch. Because falling tones are associated with stress, however, it is unclear whether this higher than normal pitch is due to uphitch or to stress-related prominence (see 3.3.2.2).

Downstep and upstep. Any high-low-high sequence may be simplified to a high-downstepped high sequence in connected speech. Since the phrase-final particle ò almost always occurs at the end of a phrase stress group, its low tone should normally be realized as a rising (low-high) tone (see 3.3.2.3). But when the syllable preceding ò bears a high tone, a high-low-high sequence is created, which almost invariably is reduced to a high-downstepped high sequence. The result is that ò is commonly pronounced with a downstepped high tone. Some speakers have made this pattern invariable, and pronounce ò at downstep level in all cases, even when a low tone precedes it. In such instances, the low tone preceding ò is itself ‘upstepped’ to a high tone, in order to conform with the normal high-downstepped high pattern (see 3.5.2.4.1–2).

Assimilation to high tone. A low tone is sometimes slightly raised between two high tones.

Final falling low. A low tone tends to fall in pitch before a pause.

3.3.4 Intonation

3.3.4.1–2

Declarative and yes-no question intonation

Declarative intonation. Under normal declarative intonation, the pitch register remains constant or slopes slightly downwards until the final stressed syllable or series of syllables is reached. At this point the intonation melody reaches its peak of prominence (in terms of both pitch and perceived loudness) and then rapidly falls or fades away:

- (1155) Dèm want go.
6sP wantF+ go+
'They want to go.'
- (1156) Dèm want go tawn.
6sP wantF+ go+ town
'They want to go to town.'
- (1157) Dèm want go tawn tùmoro.
6sP wantF+ go+ town tomorrow
'They want to go to town tomorrow.'

Yes-no question intonation. Under normal yes-no question intonation, the pitch register remains constant or slopes slightly downwards until the final stressed syllable or series of syllables is reached. At this point the intonation melody rapidly falls and then rises almost as rapidly to a pitch level equal to or higher than the pre-fall level:

- (1158) Dèm want go ?
6sP wantF+ go+ Qù
'Do they want to go?'
- (1159) Dèm want go tawn tùmoro ?
6sP wantF+ go+ town tomorrow Qù
'Do they want to go to town tomorrow?'

3.3.4.3–4

Emphatic intonation and contrastive stress

Contrastive and noncontrastive emphasis/focus can be signalled by sentence stress, clause stress, constituent stress or inherent stress (see 1.11.2.1.1 for a full description of these processes). Any item or set of items

stressed in any of these ways usually becomes the peak of the intonation contour (instead of the final stressed syllables in the sentence, which usually mark the intonation peak; see 3.3.4.1):

- (1160) Dèm want go tawn tùmoro.
 6sP wantF+ go+ town=tomorrow
 ‘They want to go to *town* tomorrow (not to school).’

If more than one element in a given sentence is stressed, each can be made a separate intonation peak, resulting in an undulating contour:

- (1161) Dèm want go tawn bay nyam fòr maket tùmoro.
 6sP wantF+go+town=buy+yam= p market=tomorrow
 ‘They want to go to *town* (not to school) to buy *yams* (not casava) in the *market* (not at the store) tomorrow.’

3.3.4.5

Intonational subtypes

Other types or subtypes of intonational contours are not attested in the data, although further machine analysis might reveal a richer system than that outlined above.

3.3.4.6

Hierarchy of interaction between suprasegmentals

When there is a conflict between a marker of one suprasegmental system and a marker for another suprasegmental system, intonational contours normally supersede stress markers, and stress markers usually pre-empt tonal configurations. The yes-no question intonation contour, for example, often completely erases the stress and tone markers over the final syllables of the sentence (see 3.3.4.1). The stress-induced downstep/upstep mechanism described for the phrase particle ò in section 3.3.3.11 can result in the replacement of low tone by a high tone.

3.3.4.7

Effect of intonation on segments

Stress-induced effects, such as the lengthening of vowels (see 3.1.2.2) and the syllabification of sonorants (see 3.2.4), are also attested in segments which form part of the peak of an intonation contour. Since all intonation peaks consist of stressed elements, it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate effects due to stress from those due to intonation in such cases.

3.4 SEGMENTAL MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.4.1 Segmental and morphophonological processes

3.4.1.1 *Assimilatory processes*

The following segmentally-based assimilatory processes have been attested in the data:

- 1 Homorganicity of nasal consonants and syllabic nasals to following consonants (extremely productive; see 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2.2).
- 2 Nasalization of vowels by adjacent nasal consonants (extremely productive; see 3.1.2.2).
- 3 Vowel quality assimilation in grammatical words (not very productive; see 3.1.2.2).
- 4 Basilectal vowel harmony (see 3.1.2.2).

The tapping, frication, approximation and deletion of intervocalic consonants and of initial consonants in grammatical words (moderately productive; see 3.1.2.1) could conceivably be interpreted to be instances of assimilation of these consonants to the less occluded quality of the adjacent vowels. Likewise, word-final consonant omission and devoicing (extremely productive; see 3.1.2.1) could be conceived of as instances of assimilation of those consonants to the voiceless, featureless nature of the pause that serves at times as a signal for word boundaries.

3.4.1.2–3 *Dissimilatory processes and other segmental alternations*

Regular patterns of dissimilation and other segmental alternations have not been attested in the data.

3.4.2 Metathesis

Regular occurrences of segmental metathesis have not been attested in the data.

3.4.3 Coalescence and split

No widespread patterns of coalescence or split are to be found in the data. The reduction of consonants and vowels in words which serve to signal grammatical categories (see 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2) can, however, lead to such phenomena as the use of a low-toned central vowel in place of both the irrealis modality marker *gò* and the incompletive aspect marker *dè* in the same utterance.

3.4.4 Deletion and insertion processes

3.4.4.1 *Deletion processes*

The following segmentally based deletion processes have been attested in the data:

- 1 Word-final consonant deletion (extremely productive; see 3.2.1.2).
- 2 Deletion of word-initial consonants in grammatical words (moderately productive; see 3.2.1.2).

As noted in section 3.4.1.1, these processes could be interpreted as cases of assimilation as well.

3.4.4.2 *Insertion processes*

The epenthesis processes listed below are described in greater detail in section 3.2.4:

- 1 Epenthetic vowel insertion (fairly productive, especially in basilectal varieties). There is probably some link between this process and the use of the dummy subject *ì* (see 1.1.2.3.4 and 1.2.1.2.1).
- 2 Insertion of glides and *r* between a syllable-final vowel and a syllable-initial vowel that follows it (very productive).
- 3 Insertion of *h* before word-initial vowels (not very productive).

As noted in section 3.2.1.2, past analyses of Nigerian Pidgin often included elaborate sets of insertion rules to account for the occasional occurrence of some word-final consonants. In the present study, these consonants are assumed to be part of the basic forms of the lexical items in which they are found.

3.4.5 Reduplication processes

The following reduplication processes are attested in the data:

- 1 Low-toned reduplicated verbal compounds (very productive; see 2.2.6.3).
- 2 Polytonal reduplicated compounds (extremely productive; see 2.2.6.3).
- 3 Reduplication of ideophones (extremely productive; see 4.1).

Both types of compound reduplication involve complete reduplication only. Though the reduplication of ideophones usually involves complete forms as well, partial reduplication of ideophones is not uncommon.

3.4.6 Other segmental processes

The onomatopoetic use of segments is widespread and very productive in Nigerian Pidgin. For further discussion of these processes, see section 4.1.

3.5 SUPRASEGMENTAL MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.5.1 Morphophonological processes involving stress

3.5.1.1–2 *Morphophonologically induced stress changes*

Stress is extremely sensitive to morphological and syntactic structure. The basic units for stress assignment are grammatically defined (compounds, phrase stress groups, sentences, etc.) rather than lexically defined. The details of stress assignment, the means used to signal stress and changes which stress patterns can undergo are discussed in sections 3.3.2, 3.3.3.5, 3.3.4.3, and 1.11.2.1.1. The interaction of stress with the process of compounding is treated in section 2.2.6.3. Intonational contours may interfere with the normal realization of stress patterns (see 3.3.4.6).

3.5.1.3–4 *Predictability of the position of stress*

The position of stress is predictable, if both lexical and morphosyntactic criteria are considered. Stress is assigned to the final tone-bearing syllable (lexical criterion; see 3.3.3.8) of a stress group (morphosyntactic criterion; see 3.3.2.3). A restricted set of stressed positions is associated with compounds (see 2.2.6.3) and intonational contours may interfere with the normal realization of stress patterns (see 3.3.4.6).

3.5.2 Morphophonological processes involving tone

3.5.2.1–2 *Interaction between tone and stress*

There is no way to predict the tonal pattern which will be realized over a given word without first knowing that word's position in a compound, in a phrase stress group and/or in a sentence. While lexically assigned tones are only occasionally altered by stress-related phenomena (see 3.3.4.6), the allotones which are used to express these underlying tones at the surface are almost entirely determined by their interaction with the stress system (see 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.3.5). Compounding often involves the utilization of particular tone and stress patterns (see 2.2.6.3).

3.5.2.3 *Irregular tonal behaviour*

As noted in section 3.3.3.8, for some speakers the classes of low-toned and low-high-toned forms are collapsing into the class of high-toned forms. The focus introducer *nà* and the copular identity verb *bì* are occasionally pronounced with a high tone, while the adverbial clause introducer *if* sometimes bears low tone. These fluctuations in the tonal configuration over *nà* and *if* could be due to the fact that these markers

often occur at sentence boundaries, and are therefore very likely to have their tonal properties superseded by the intonational properties of the sentence (see 3.3.4 and 3.3.4.6). The high-toned variant of *bì* is almost exclusively found before the copular extension *layk* (see 1.2.1.1.6.9).

Some tone-bearing units are exempt from stress, as explained in section 3.3.2.3. Some semi-toneless items also occur, such as the bound object pronouns (the third-person bound object pronoun *-am* in particular, see 1.16.2 and 2.1.8.1.1):

- (1162) *toneless -am after a high-toned verb*
 A folo -am. A folo -am go.
 1sP followF-3oP 1sP followF+-3oP go+
 'I followed him/her.' 'I went with him/her.'
 /à 'fólo-am=/ /à fólo-am+'gó=/
 [à fó lò àm] [à fó ló ám gô]

- (1163) *'semi-toneless' -am after a low-toned verb*
 A sàbi -am. A sàbi -am taya.
 1sP knowF-3oP 1sP knowF-3oP +C
 'I know it.' 'I know it very well.'
 /à 'sàbi-àm=/à 'sàbi-am='tája=/
 [à sà bí àm] [à sà bí ám tá jà]

In the preceding example, *-am* behaves as if it were toneless in all cases except in sentence-final position after a low-toned verb, where it bears a low tone instead of the high tone which should have spread from the stressed low-derived rising tone over *sàbi*. In the example, a low tone appears over the underlying representation of this phrase-final instance of *-am*, but it should be noted that the syllable which bears this 'low tone' is not stressed, even though it is the final tone-bearing syllable of the stress group and the sentence. The peculiar behaviour of *-am* in this case could be explained by the fact that it is in sentence-final position and therefore the final falling intonation contour that typifies declarative statements pre-empts stress-related contours (see 3.3.4.6).

3.5.2.4

Tonal terracing processes

3.5.2.4.1–2

Downstep and upstep

As explained in section 3.3.3.11.1, many high-low-high sequences are simplified to high-downstepped high sequences. There is no limit on the number of downstepped tones that can occur in series. Sequences of downstepped high tones are in fact very common in serialized verb constructions, where speakers often opt to assign a separate stress to each verb in the series. If most of the verbs in the sequence bear high tone, a string of alternating highs and lows results, which is frequently realized as a series of downstepped highs instead. A very particular type of 'upstep' occurs as well, but only in connection with special downstep properties of the phrase-final particle *ò* (see 3.3.3.11 for details).

3.5.3

Suprasegmentally induced changes in segmental units

As noted in section [3.3.4.7](#), the only changes in segmental elements that seem to be caused by suprasegmentals are the vowel lengthening and the syllabification of sonorants which are associated with intonation and/or stress (see [3.1.2.2](#) and [3.2.4](#)). Tone has no apparent effect on segmental units.

Chapter 4

Ideophones and interjections

4.1 IDEOPHONES

Ideophones play an important role in Nigerian Pidgin. It is impossible to understand the phonological and grammatical systems of the language without an understanding of the ideophonic components of those systems. Since ideophone generation is a productive process, it is impossible to list all members of the class of ideophones. As mentioned in section 1.3.1.1.4, there is some overlap between the categories ‘ideophone’, ‘adverb’, ‘auxiliary’ and ‘verb’ (especially ‘serialized verb’). The following criteria define the most important characteristics that serve to demarcate the class of ideophones from other word classes.

Phonological characteristics. Ideophones are often onomatopoeic and either fully or partially reduplicated (see 2.2.6.3). The phonemes /gb/ and /N/ are almost entirely restricted in their use to the set of ideophones, as are the majority of the attested occurrences of /kp/ and /z/ (see 3.1.2.3). Syllable structures with clusters of consonants and vowels that are otherwise not permitted are sometimes employed in ideophones (see 3.2). Ideophones often belong to one of the less commonly occurring tone classes (see 3.3.3.8) and are frequently exempt from stress rules (see 3.3.2.3):

- (1164) Bed kòm dè sing mkprikpririririi.
 bird +R –C sing ipRRRRR
 ‘The bird started to sing.’

Syntactic characteristics. Ideophones normally occupy the postverbal adverb slot or (more rarely) the preverbal adverb slot (see 1.2.5.3 and 1.2.1.3.1). An ideophone may also appear as the nominalized object of a valence-increasing serialized verb (see 1.3.1.1.4) or as the focused item in a cleft or pseudocleft focus construction (see 1.11.2.1.4–5.):

- (1165) A gò bit yù mkpùrùndù.
 1sP –R beat 2oP ip
 ‘I will beat you heavily.’

also acceptable

Semantic characteristics and co-occurrence restrictions. An ideophone usually serves to intensify or dramatize the event(s) described by the verb(s) that it modifies. Some ideophones may only be used with a particular verb or with a small number of verbs with a similar meaning. The ideophone *zàwây*, for example,

can only be used with verbs such as *slap* ‘slap’ or *wayp* (fes) ‘wipe (face), slap’. Other ideophones, such as *kpatàkpata* ‘completely’ can be utilized with almost any verb.

- (1166) A gò mkpùrùndù bit yù.
 A gò tek mkpùrùndù bit yù.
 1sP –R takeV+ ip/n beat+ 2oP
 ‘I will beat you with heaviness.’
- (1167) Nà mkpùrùndù we à gò tek bit yù.
 EI ip/n rcI 1sP –R takeV+ beat+ 2oP
 ‘It is with heaviness that I will beat you.’

4.2 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections usually take the form of exclamations (see 1.1.1.4.1) but the topicalizing particles (see 1.12.1.1) and the phrase-final particle ò (and its variant form è; see 2.1.3.4) could also be considered to belong to the class of interjections.

Exclamations. Exclamatory words usually separate themselves off from the rest of the sentence to form a phrase stress group unto themselves (see 3.3.2.3). Otherwise, exclamations conform to all of the normal phonological patterns outlined in chapter 3:

- (1168) *exclamatory words*
 chay
 cheyi
 he
 kai
 jeyi
- (1169) *exclamatory phrases*
 Nà wa ò!
 EI exclamation f
 ‘Wow!’

Topicalizing particles. The topicalizing particle *nàw* shows no exceptional phonological behaviour at all, while the other topicalizers are aberrant only to the extent that they bear high tone over all of their syllables (see 3.3.3.8) and they are exempt from stress rules (see 3.3.2.3).

Phrase-final particle ò. The phrase-final particle ò (and its alternate form è) is phonologically exceptional only in as far as it often sets into motion the peculiar downstep/upstep process described in section 3.3.3.11. The meanings associated with ò are best described as part of the modality-marking system (see 2.1.3.4.1, 2.1.3.4.8–12 and 2.1.3.4.15):

- (1170) Yù go Legos, yù go Kano, yù go Aba ò, if yù nak
 2sP go Lagos 2sP go Kano 2sP go Aba f avcI 2sP knock
 pijin, dèm gò hyar-am ò.
 Pidgin 6sP –R hear-3oP f

‘You go to Lagos, you go to Kano, you go to Aba, if you speak Pidgin, they will understand it.’
OR ‘No matter where you go in Nigeria, if you speak Pidgin, you will be understood.’

Chapter 5

Lexicon

5.1 STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1 Kinship

5.1.1.1–7 *Kinship terminology*

No distinctions are normally made between kinship by blood vs. marriage vs. adoption vs. fostering vs. affiliation, etc. Same-age cousins, good friends or people from the same village, school, religious organization, etc., may all be referred to as brothers/sisters, no matter if the relationship is temporary or permanent. The following terms are used to express the meanings indicated:

(1171)	<i>kinship terms</i>	
	<i>Parents/elders</i>	
	pàpa/fada	‘(grand)father, older male associate’
	màma/mòda	‘(grand)mother, older female associate’
	onkul	‘uncle, older male associate’
	antî	‘aunt, older female associate’
	màma-pàpa	‘parents, elders’
	pàpa (îm) pàpa	‘grandfather’ (rarely used)
	màma (îm) màma	‘grandmother’ (rarely used)
	<i>Siblings/spouses</i>	
	sista	‘sister, same-age female cousin/associate’
	broda	‘brother, same-age male cousin/associate’
	sinyo	‘older sibling, older associate/co-spouse’
	juno	‘younger sibling, younger associate/co-spouse’
	wayf	‘wife’
	hozband	‘husband’
	met	‘co-wife’
	inlô	‘inlaw’

5.1.2

Colour terminology

Four general colour terms (stative verbs) are commonly used in basilectal and most mesolectal varieties: *blak* ‘(be) black, blue, green, purple’, *red* ‘(be) red, orange, yellow, brown’ and *wayt/yelo* ‘(be) white’ (*wayt* and *yelo* can be used interchangeably). In acrolectal speech, more specific colour terms are freely borrowed from Nigerian Standard English, while periphrasis including the basic colour terms is used for this purpose in the other lects: *red layk bànana* ‘(be) red like a banana, (be) yellow’.

5.1.3

Body part terminology

(1172) *body parts and bodily fluids**Upper body, external*

h <u>è</u> d	‘head’
h <u>e</u>	‘hair’
f <u>e</u> s	‘face’
a <u>y</u>	‘eye’
y <u>e</u> r	‘ear’
no <u>z</u>	‘nose’
ma <u>w</u> t	‘mouth’
ti <u>t</u>	‘tooth’
to <u>n</u> g	‘tongue’
ne <u>k</u>	‘neck’
bres/bòbi	‘breast’
ba <u>k</u>	‘back’
ha <u>n</u> d	‘arm, hand’
fi <u>n</u> g	‘finger’
ne <u>l</u>	‘finger(nail)’

Lower body, external

b <u>è</u> l <u>e</u>	‘belly’
nyash	‘buttocks’
pri <u>k</u>	‘penis’
blòk <u>o</u> s	‘scrotum’
ko <u>n</u> t	‘vagina’
le <u>g</u>	‘leg, foot’
fi <u>n</u> g	‘toe’
ne <u>l</u>	‘(toe) nail’

Internal organs and bodily fluids:

ha <u>t</u>	‘heart’
li <u>v</u> a	‘liver’
kà <u>t</u> a	‘pus, snot’
bl <u>o</u> d	‘blood’
yùr <u>in</u> /pis	‘urine’

5.1.4

Cooking terminology

(1173) *Cooking terms**Verbs*

k <u>u</u> k	‘cook’
bo <u>y</u> l	‘boil’
fray	‘fry’
slay <u>z</u>	‘slice’
pi <u>s</u> is	‘chop’
pa <u>w</u> nd	‘pound’
pi <u>l</u> /k <u>ò</u> mòt	‘peel’
ko <u>t</u>	‘cut’
bucha <u>r</u>	‘butcher’

Utensils

po <u>t</u>	‘pot’
bezi <u>n</u>	‘basin’
na <u>y</u> f	‘knife’
mo <u>t</u> a	‘mortar’
pe <u>s</u> il	‘pestle’
ple <u>t</u>	‘plate’
spu <u>n</u>	‘spoon’
fo <u>k</u>	‘fork’
ba <u>g</u>	‘sack’

por
grawnd

pour
'grind'

5.1.5

Other structured semantic fields

(1174) *human consumption of various substances*

lik	'consume soup'
sok	'consume fruit'
drink	'consume fluids, medicine, tobacco'
chu	'consume meat, fish, nuts'
blo	'consume small balls of starchy foods'
chop	'consume starchy substances, general term for consuming, enjoying'

5.2

BASIC VOCABULARY

1	all	ol	26	count	kawnt
2	and	ànd	27	cut	kot
3	animal	âanimal, nama, mit	28	day	de
			29	die	day
4	ashes	chàkôl	30	dig	dig
5	at	fôr	31	dirty	dèti (v)
6	back	bak	32	dog	dog
7	bad	bad (v)	33	drink	drink
8	bark	kànda, skin	34	dry	dray (v)
9	because	mek (SJCI), bìkôs	35	dull	taya (v), spoyl (v)
10	belly	bèle	36	dust	dèti, sànsan
11	big	big (v)	37	ear	yér
12	bird	béd	38	earth	grawnd, @et
13	bite	bayt	39	eat	chop (see 5.1.5.)
14	black	blak (v)	40	egg	eg
15	blood	blod	41	eye	ay
16	blow (v)	blo	42	fall	fôdôn, @fol
17	bone	bon	43	far	fawê (v), far (v)
18	breast	bòbi, brēs	44	fat/grease	oyel, fat
19	breathe	brid	45	father	pàpa, fada
20	burn	bôn	46	fear	fyar
21	child	pikín	47	feather	feda
22	claw	nel	48	few	som, tu-tre
23	cloud	smok	49	fight	fayt
24	cold	kold (v)	50	fire	faya
25	come	kôm	51	fish	fish

52	five	fayv	95	live	de, ste, @liv
53	float	flot	96	liver	liva
54	flow	go	97	long	long (v)
55	flower	flawa	98	louse	kròkro
56	fly	flay	99	man/male	man
57	fog	smok	100	many	plenti (v), meni (v)
58	foot	leg	101	meat, flesh	nama, mit, skin
59	four	for	102	moon	mun
60	freeze	friz	103	mother	màma, mōda
61	fruit	frut	104	mountain	mawnten, hil
62	full	ful (v)	105	mouth	mawt
63	give	giv	106	name	nem
64	good	gud (v)	107	narrow	smol (v)
65	grass	bush, @gras	108	near	nyar (v)
66	green	blak (v), @grin (v)	109	neck	nek
67	guts	insâyd	110	new	nyu (v)
68	hair	he	111	night	nayt
69	hand	hand	112	nose	noz
70	he/she	im	113	not	no
71	head	hed	114	old	old (v)
72	hear	hyar	115	one	won
73	heart	hat	116	other	oda
74	heavy	hevi (v)	117	person	pesin
75	here	hyar	118	play	ple
76	hit	bit	119	pull	pul
77	hold/take	hold/tek	120	push	push
78	horn	bon	121	rain	ren (n), fol (v)
79	how	haw	122	red	red (v)
80	hunt	kil, hont	123	right/ correct	wel (v), gud (v)
81	husband	hozband			
82	I	à	124	rightside	raytsâyd
83	ice	ays	125	river	riva
84	if	if	126	road	rod
85	in	fòr (insâyd)	127	root	rut
86	kill	kil	128	rope	rop, string
87	knee	leg	129	rotten	spoyl (v), rotin (v)
88	know	sàbi, @no			
89	lake	wōta, si	130	round	rawnd (v)
90	laugh	laf	131	rub	rob
91	leaf	lif	132	salt	solt
92	leftside	leftsâyd	133	sand	sànsan
93	leg	leg	134	say	se, tok
94	lie	slip	135	scratch	skrach

136	sea	si	176	three	tre
137	see	si	177	throw	tro, tròwê
138	seed	sid	178	tie	tay
139	sew	so	179	tongue	tong
140	sharp	shap (v)	180	tooth	tit
141	short	smol (v)	181	tree	stik, tri
142	sing	sing	182	turn	ton
143	sit/ be seated	sìdôn	183	two	tu
			184	vomit	vòmî
144	skin	skin, #kànda	185	walk	wàka
145	sky	op	186	warm	hot (v)
146	sleep	slip	187	wash	wosh
147	small	smol (v)	188	water	wòta
148	smell/ be smelly	hyar, smel	189	we	wì
			190	wet	wet (v)
149	smoke	smok	191	what	watîng
150	smooth	fayn (v)	192	when	wichtây, hustây
151	snake	snek			
152	snow	sno	193	where	hussây, (fòr) wê
153	some	som			
154	spit (v)	por	194	white	wayt (v), yelo (v)
155	split	brok			
156	squeeze	skwiz	195	who	hu, huspesin
157	stab/pierce	chuk	196	wide	wayf
158	(a) be standing	stand	197	wife	big (v)
	(b) stand up	stànôp	198	wind	briz
159	star	star	199	wing	hand, wing
160	stick	stik	200	wipe	wayp
161	stone	ston	201	with	folo (v), wît
162	straight	stret (v)	202	woman	wuman
163	suck	sok	203	woods	bush
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