LEXICAL ELABORATION IN NAIJA

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CERTIFICATION

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To the Supreme Consciousness and Intelligence of the universe; the One who Is.

and

My mother, Isioma 'Miumsie' Juliet Onwuegbuzia.

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ABSTRACT

Lexical elaboration, a strategy in which new lexical items are developed, is a manifest feature of languages, including Naija. Extant linguistic studies on Naija focused mainly on the sociological and attitudinal dimensions, with little attention paid to strategies for vocabulary expansion. This study was, therefore, designed to investigate lexical elaboration in Naija, with a view to describing its lexical features and morphological processes.

Uche Oyali's model of Language Elaboration was adopted as the framework, while the ethnographic design was employed. Edo and Delta States were purposively selected based on prominence of usage of Naija. Four cities were conveniently sampled on account of being part of the old Bendel State, known for prominent usage of Naija: Benin (Edo) and Sapele, Warri, and Ughelli (Delta). Natural speeches were recorded from 19 participants (Benin─6, Sapele─6, Ughelli─4, Warri─3). Additional data were sourced from NaijaSyncor project, which comprised a spoken (31-hour long recorded speeches from 321 participants from 10 cities: [Lagos (Lagos State), Onitsha (Anambra State), Ibadan (Oyo State), Benin (Edo State), Abuja (Abuja-FCT), Jos (Plateau State), Kaduna (Kaduna State), Port-Harcourt (Rivers State) and Kano (Kano State)] and textual corpora. The data were subjected to morphological analysis.

English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Portuguese, Edo, Efik, Urhobo, Kalabari, French, Estako, Hindi, Wolof and Batonum are major lexical sources for Naija. Two main lexical features were identified: initial non-high prosody and multifunctionality. Initial non-high prosody occurs in non-monosyllabic words, while multifunctionality is evident in lexical items performing different functions without overt morphological change. Nine morphological processes were identified: borrowing/lexification, clipping, blending, affixation, reduplication, compounding, conversion, grammaticalisation and acronymisation. Lexification results in phonological and semantic changes. Clipping manifests in the truncation of the final syllable of the source word but adds an epenthetic vowel if the clipped word ends in a closed syllable. Blending selects words from any two lexical sources: hybrid blends or from one lexical source: non-hybrid blends. Twenty-one affixes were identified: eighteen suffixes ([-a], [-e], [-i], [-aly], [-o], [-ed], [-est], [-ful], [-ie], [-ing], [-s], [-is], [-ite], [-ito], [-late], [-licious], [-koko]) and three prefixes ([dis-], [re-], [mis-]). Twenty of the affixes identified are derivational, one is inflectional. Suffixes yield nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Prefixes yield verbs. Reduplication operates by copying whole or part of a word resulting in intensification or creation of lexical items There are two classes of compounds. Class 1 compounds have an initial high, while class 2 compounds have an initial non-high prosody. Lexical category conversion results in the change of word class without any overt morphological change. Words in Naija may become grammaticalised, transforming from lexical words to functional words grammaticalised (*ím*$_{PART}$ /ĭ/ (< *ím*$_{Pro}$ /ím/)*, máke*$_{AUX}$ /mék/ (< *máke*$_{VERB}$ /mék/)*, táke*$_{AUX}$/ték/ (< *take*$_{VERB}$ /ték/), *con*$_{AUX}$ /kɔ̆/ (< *come*$_{VERB}$ / /kɔ́m/). Acronymisation manifests in the formation of lexical items from acronyms *(itk* /aĭtĭké/ (< *I too know), oyo* /ŏwaĭó/ (<*on your own)*.

Lexical elaboration in Naija is driven by morpho-phonological processes which are employed to create new words.

Keywords: Naija, Lexicon, Morphological processes, Corpus, Naijasyncor

Word count: 495

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[1] Cited from Seifart (2015:511)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

L   Low tone

H   High tone

R   Rising tone

F   Falling tone

//   end of intonational phrase

//]   end of a reported direct speech

//+   end of intonational phrase with syntactic relation to the following intonation unit

?//   End of Question intonation phrase

[beginning of a quotative or subordinate clause

[eng   English

]   end of a quotative or subordinate clause

{   beginning of pile

|| corrections, reformulations

|a   apposition

|c   conjuncted

|r   reduplication

}   end of pile

<   pre nucleus

>   Post nucleus

1PL   First person Plural

1SG   First person single

2SG   Second person plural

3SG   Third person singular

COMP Complementizer

CONJ   Coordinate conjunctions

CONS   cons

COP   Coplula

DEF   Definite determiner

DEM   Demonstrative

DISC	Discoursive Particles
EMPH	Emphatic particle
FUT	Future tense
IPFV	Imperfective
NEG	Negative particle
PFV	Perfective
POSS	Possesive
REL	Relativize clause marker
SCONJ	Subordinate conjunction
Unkw	unknown etymology
X	incomplete word

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This thesis concerns lexical elaboration in Naija. It studies the lexical categories elaboration takes place in and the processes involved. Lexical elaboration, a concept derived from Language elaboration (Oyali, 2019), is the process where a language expands its lexicon which involves "creating new lexical items to give new meanings or changing the meaning of existing lexical forms to accommodate new meanings all geared towards making the language function adequately in its new role." Oyali (2019:65). Also, Siegel (2004) citing Valdman (1977:158-159) explains that language elaboration involves the development of complex syntax and grammatical morphology.

Najia, formerly known as Nigerian Pidgin (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991; Faraclas, 1996) and before then Nigerian Pidgin English (Eze, 1980) is the language that has evolved from being a language spoken primarily for trade purposes, initially with the Portuguese and then the English, to becoming a language spoken also in family environments, and now to a language used in a variety of domains and with as many functions and capabilities as any language found within Nigeria.

Speakers of Naija who now use Naija in various domains and for various purposes have innovated new words and expressions to allow them express the realities of the world around them. This work, therefore, studies the processes Naija speakers have adopted in the creation of these new words and expressions and the lexical outcomes of these innovations.

1.1.1 Naija Origins and Variation

Trade contact was said to first be between the coastal peoples of the Niger Delta, in the south of what eventually became Nigeria and the Portuguese no farther back than 1469 (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991:2). Mensah (2011:212) states that by historical accounts this points towards Calabar, which was the first administrative capital of Nigeria. Eventually,

the English dominated the trade, and colonised what became Nigeria. It is the assumption that some kind of communication arose between both parties for the purpose of their trade relations (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991:2). Mazzoli (2013:24) states that Naija although being a contact English-based language, probably grew out of a previous "bastard Portuguese. Elugbe and Omamor (1991:3) refer to the form that must have arisen between the 'Nigerian' hosts and the Portuguese as "some kind of very limited Portuguese; some pidgin kind of Portuguese. Huber (1999) remarks that even though the Portuguese lost control, many words of Portuguese origin can be found in Naija. Clearly, Naija today does not have Portuguese as its superstrate language.

This is obviously because the English became the trading partners from the beginning of the 17th century. The Dutch got involved with trade with the eastern Niger Delta peoples, but didn't stay for an extended period, nor did they have the monopoly over those trading routes (Elugbe and Omamor 1991: 8). Elugbe and Omamor (1991) hypothesise that trading with the English forced the 'Nigerians' to gradually replace the Portuguese jargon with words from English like "buy, carry/take, yes and no, and the names of many trade items would soon become commonplace" (Elugbe and Omamor 1991:9).

1.1.2 Naija Today

The language now referred to as Naija is a result of innovation and elaboration. One can draw parallels between the calls for a change of nomenclature and the nature of innovation and elaboration in the language. It is important to state this, because current research into Naija shows that there are remarkable changes that exist between, for instance, Elugbe and Omamor (1991) and Faraclas (1996) and current research such as Mensah (2011), Mensah (2012), Mowarin (2010), and even Aziza (2015) who referenced a 'modern Nigerian Pidgin'. It is this '*modern Nigerian Pidgin'* that this work refers to as Naija.

Abonyi (2018:400) explains the rationale behind the adoption of Naija by the Ibadan school as the nomenclature.

1)   It has creolised in the Naija Delta

2)   It far outpasses the functions of a pidgin insofar as it is now used by poets, novelists, singers, rappers, comedians, filmmakers, journalists, publicists, students and the educated in general.

3)   The term pidgin has helped promote derogatory connotations about the language whereas the term Naija espouses the language's distinct identity as a language in its own right as well as the Nigerian spirit (IFRA Newsletter 2009:6)

Thus, this work adopts and continues in the tradition of the Ibadan conference, providing its own reasons:

1)   Naija is also used to refer to Nigeria

2)   Naija is a label used not just for the country, but for the 'brotherhood' and 'family' of Nigerians.

3)   Naija as a label, will not be associated with a tribal group.

4)   Likewise, the re-labelling of Nigerian Pidgin to Naija will continue even more radically to publicise the national status of the language. Because as stated by Amao (2012:45), it is still regarded in some quarters to be Broken, a distorted language form.

6)   The expression Naija used to refer to Nigeria is itself a 'native' Naija expression.

Elugbe and Omamor (1991:50) making remarks on Hall (1966) state that a language can start off as pidgin, but evolve to a point where it can no longer be called a referred to as a pidgin, because it cannot be distinguished from any other natural language. Naija apart from probably being Nigeria's most widely spoken language (Mazzoli, 2013:7; Egbohkare 2016) demonstrates a high level of internal development (Mensah, 2012; Mowarin 2010; Mensah, 2011; Egbokhare 2016). Egbokhare (2016) provides enlightenment on the current state of Naija, stating that Naija is the most spoken language in Nigeria, is the lingua franca for over 100 million speakers, and although it has no formal recognition by the Nigerian government, it is thriving more than other Nigerian languages, especially on social media and in pop culture. Naija is even the preferred language where mixed audiences are involved, and it is very well accepted among students of tertiary institutions and is used in every other sphere except in the classroom and for official business (Egbokhare 2016).

Emenanjo (1985) classifies Nigerian Pidgin as one of the four commonly spoken languages in Nigeria, the other three are the so-called national languages: Hausa, Igbo and

Yoruba. Elugbe and Omamor (1991:122) state that Nigerian Pidgin is no longer a makeshift language, but is one that is used in "every conceivable aspect of daily life". Elugbe and Omamor (1991:122) go on to state that if Naija cannot yet cope with domains such as modern mathematics, it is a characteristic that it shares with some Nigerian Languages, which have not been developed to cope with these ideas.

In Deuber (2002), we see that broadcasts in Naija, in television and radio, were introduced in the 1980's in the Niger Delta area. We also see that Radio Nigeria 3 was set up by the Federal government to broadcast in Naija because of the heterogeneity of the Lagos metropolis which attracts migrants from all over the country.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010:50) states that it is quite interesting to note that Naija has moved from a contingency language between merchants, and the indigenous population to becoming a language used by university students. Especially at meeting points where students are relieved of their academic routines: common rooms, kiosks, gossip centres and rally grounds,. The position held by Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010: 59) is that the language has moved from being viewed with contempt, and now has a growing interest especially among the new elitist generation.

According to Mensah (2011:211-212), Naija has thrived in spite of antagonism and an overwhelmingly negative and degrading attitude towards it. It was considered to be 'broken English', 'unruly jargon', 'vulgar' and a 'corrupt' form of expression. Mensah (2012:212) continues by saying that Naija is acquiring new roles in various domains of the country, and thus, has come to stay, as it cannot any longer be seen as "a restricted mode of interlingual communication with limited lexicon, but as a language with its own vitality and essence".

Naija has also been found useful in the electronic media, public enlightenment, mass mobilisation and education, pop culture, church sermons and songs. This has positioned it as a language that is capable of bridging ethnic gaps and fostering a new identity, because of its political, ethnic, religious and social detachment. The growth of Naija has been such that there have been calls by linguists (Essien 1993, Egbokhare 2003, Emenanjo, 1985) to adopt Naija as the National language in Nigeria (Mensah, 2011:213).

Egbokhare (2016) provides insight into the qualities that have empowered Naija:

a. Its relationship with English and Nigerian Languages

b. Its accessibility across class, geography and language group for the very fact that it lacks a prescribed standard variety as well as official government spelling.

c. Its quality of not being regimented by not only democratizes access but enhances participation by limiting the tyranny of being regimented.

d. Its *lack* of a standard enhances innovation, linguistic production and participation in shaping the language.

In Amao (2012:45) we can see that Naija has been proven to be a complete language in its own right by renowned scholars (Jowitt, 1991; Faraclas, 1996; Egbokhare, 2003, and Igboanusi 2008), and not a "distorted or bastardized' form of language". Amao (2012) aligns itself with the position that before any efforts are made for the official recognition of Naija as Nigeria's official language, its position in different domains must be empirically established. To do this, Amao (2012) studied the place of Naija among students in the Osun State University, a University in South-Western Nigeria. The findings in Amao (2012) show quite clearly that a little more than half of the students speak Naija regularly (52-56%), and another 28-30% speak the language at least tentatively. Amao (2012:45) also in a review of works of renowned scholars of Naija (Jowitt, 1991; Faraclas, 1996; Egbokhare, 2003 and Igboanusi, 2008) summarises their opinions that Naija is a complete language in its own right and not some "distorted or bastardised" language form; that would allow people to refer to it to as Broken. Amao (2010) states that Naija registers its way in the Nigerian music scene; as a predominant language of expression, identity and solidarity among multi-ethnic young people Christian Pentecostal circles and the Nigerian film-making industry.

However, there is, in some quarters, a negative attitude to Naija:

1) The lack of a standard variety and orthography

2) The perceptions that Naija has a negative influence on English learners.

3) The lack of recognition by the government

4) The association with the so-called *marginal* class and illiterate population

Egbokhare (2016) in response to these, states that "all that is said to be wrong with Naija, is everything that is right with it". Egbokhare (2016) provides the following arguments in this regard:

1)   Naija has attracted academic attention in spite of the negative stereotypes.

2)   Naija, without any political baggage, functions as the most credible language for national political campaigns and discourse.

3)   Naija has continually spread into new domains, new territories and spaces.

4)   Naija continues to displace other languages assuming power and influence

5)   Naija is now the dominant language of advertising.

1.2 Problem Statement

Speakers of Naija have continued to use Naija for various purposes and in various domains besides trade which was Naija's initial domain of use in its emergence as a pidgin. These domains of use have expanded into schools (Amao:2012; Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2010,) media (Deuber, 2005; Fasan, 2010) and even the diaspora. These studies affirm that Naija's growth has not just been in terms of use, but also its geographical spread. As an oral language, Naija has no official status, no official orthography, no formal recognition by the government and no language policy. The emergence of efforts to codify and provide of all these for Naija situates Naija in a post creole continuum. The question arises as to how Naija speakers are able to use Naija in these newer domains and for these newer purposes.

The question can only be answered when the strategies that speakers utilize to solve these problems are extensively investigated.

Elugbe and Omamor (1991 state that languages need some form of internal development to cope with new ideas" Elugbe and Omamor (1991:ix). Elugbe and Omamor go on to exemplify this with the problem that may arise with rendering the word *'contact'* in Naija. Elugbe and Omamor (1991:ix) as if it should be rendered as:

1.   kontak

Contact

'contact'

Or

2.   di ste we pipul de ste togeda

DET stay REL people IPFV together

'People staying together'

This work therefore studies the strategies and processes speakers of Naija have adopted in their day-to-day communications using Naija to expand the lexicon to deal with communication in those various domains where Naija is now used.

Studies like Elugbe and Omamor (1991), Faraclas (1996), Deuber (2005), Egbohare (2003), Mazzoli (2012), Mensah (2011), Mensah (2012) have carried out investigations about Naija. However, (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991; Faraclas, 1996) have been at least two decades old. Faraclas (1996), which is the only comprehensive grammar published, only used data from Port Harcourt. Recent works like Deuber (2005) only studied Naija in the Lagos metropolis. This is the same case with Mazzoli (2013), data used for Mazzoli (2013) was 100,000 words, but of speakers based in the Lagos metropolis area. Also very notable is Mensah (2011) and Mensah (2012), only that those works were based on data from the Calabar variant of Naija (*Una*). This work on the other hand, takes into account the national spread of Naija, and thus draws data from all the geo-political zones. Also, this work used data that was elicited from different people in different social classes and in different genres.

This work, therefore, studies these strategies with data drawn from nationally widespread corpora to account for Naija as a truly national language.

1.3 Research Objectives

Naija is a language that is constantly expanding in scope and geography; this expansion in scope or domain will result in the need for linguistic innovation, as words and sentences will need to emerge to allow the speakers refer to referents in the real world, provide a coherent explain their existential realities and This work aims to examine the linguistic

innovations speakers of Naija. In doing this, this work aims to achieve the following objectives:

Investigate the behaviour of lexical items in Naija

Investigate the behaviour of lexical categories in Naija

Investigate the processes of lexical elaboration In Naija

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions will guide this work:

1.   What is the behaviour of lexical items in Naija

2.   What is the behaviour of lexical categories in Naija

3.   What are the processes involved in Lexical elaboration

1.5 Scope and Limitations of Study

This work studies lexical elaboration in Naija. This study focuses on the morphological processes Naija speakers employ in the creation of Naija words. In doing this, this study will also consider broadly the lexical categories these words are created into.

The data for this work is sourced from:

1.   The NaijaSynCor[2] corpus: a five hundred thousand token (500KW) corpus of oral data collected from 10 of the 36 states of Nigeria. The states are thus: Oyo State, Lagos State, Edo State, Rivers State, Enugu State, Anambra State, Kano State, Kaduna State, Plateau State, and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory;

2.   The NaijaLexElab Corpus: 39,334 Naija tokens from 36 samples recorded of 3 hours natural (non-elicited) speech purposively collected from Benin City in Edo state, Nigeria and Sapele, Ughelli and Warri in Delta state. 4440s tokens from 7 samples of 13 minutes video content purposively selected from Instagram.

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[2] http://naijasyncor.huma-num.fr/

3. The Naijionary database is a collaborative dictionary of Nigerian pidgin of 1541 entries. The Naijionary database has ≈120KW.

1.6 Significance of Study

This work is significant because it descriptively studies a phenomenon in Naija in the way it is actually spoken, not the way the informed language expert thinks or expects it to behave. In recent times, there has been increased efforts to expand the scope of Naija in the media, in the sciences and in the arts. Books and translations of books have been published in Naija. It is imperative therefore that we study the organic linguistic behaviour of Naija speakers, therefore providing the people interested in Naija with the true picture of Naija.

This work will provide a descriptive insight into the nature of Naija words and will aid studies on lexicology. Consequently, this work studies the morphological behaviour of speakers of Naija in natural environment. This work will provide information that will be useful for the development of Naija, and the development of educational materials in Naija. This work satisfies the truly national scope of Naija as it uses data collected from all the geo-political areas of the country.

1.7 Delimitation of study

Naija has been the subject of debate regarding its standardization, its status in Nigeria, and its orthography. With regard to the standardisation and official recognition of Naija, Osoba (2021:299) reports that various linguists and anthropologists through their works recommended the adoption of Naija as an official lingua franca in Nigeria. Some of these scholars as reported by Osoba (2021:299) include Rebecca Aigheyisi, Ben Elugbe, Augstus Omamor, F. Niyi Akinnaso, ABK Dadzie, David Esizimetor, Francis Egbokhare, Akinmade Akande and Joseph Osoba. Osoba (2021:300) goes on to state that the issues that prevent Naija from becoming an official national language includes: the attitudes of the educated and professional who view the language as a substandard variety of English, its lack of a standard orthography, its association with individuals at the "lowest rung of the Nigerian social ladder", the size of people for whom the language is a first language are negligible in terms of size and political worth. Thus, following Osoba (2021), if the

metalinguistic issues mentioned above are resolved, Naija may be selected officially as a national language.

Faraclas (2021:10) remarks that the classification of Naija under the "problematic and contradictory categories of 'pidgin' and 'creole' has resulted in its lack of an official recognition, and no serious attempt by governmental or non-governmental actors to count the speakers of Naija, the geographical spread of Naija, or the importance of Naija in their daily lives. Faraclas (2021:11) also states that there have not been very many efforts in regards to standaisation both by linguists, policy makers or educational authorities. Osoba (2021:309) also reports that the process of standardisation of Naija is only constrained because of issues of acceptance for official use, a uniform orthography and the selection of a standard variety.

In a bid to provide a solution to the orthography debate Mensah, Ukaegbu and Nyong (2021:177) state that many authors and writers use arbitray symbols to represent Naija sounds; while some users may prefer the alphabetic-based script, others may prefer the phonetic-based script. Mensah, Ukaegbu and Nyong (2021:179) sugest an orthpgraphy that relies on 'crowd wisdom' (Egbokhare 2021). In a similar vein, Ofulue (2017) highlights orthography development as an important step towards standardisation. Ofulue (2017) also agrees that a functional orthography for Naija will be based on frequency on forms of use.

Despite this lack of standardisation, Egbokhare (2021:71) remarks that the government deploys Naija as a language of mass mobilization, public education and youth engagement. Egbokhare (2021:71) also goes to assert that the language is fast becoming the rallying point of national consciousness and identity. Egbokhare (2021:96) 91) continues to say that Naija represents an ethos that is an aggregate of the diverse cultures of Nigeria.

This work acknowledges the debates and ongoing conversations on the issues of orthography and standarstion on Naija. However, this work delimits its concerns to lexical elaboration in Naija.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has introduced the concept of Naija and lexical elaboration. It has also discussed the aim of the work, which is to uncover the strategies Naija speakers employ when they have to create words to deal with the demands of the new functions that Naija now has to perform. It also states the data that will be used to answer these questions. The next section will discuss the theoretical framework used for thus study and also discuss the state of the art of lexical elaboration in West African (English-lexified) Creoles.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Chapter overview

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework: Lexical Elaboration, introduced in Chapter one. This chapter will also discuss the strategies other languages of the world have adopted to increase their lexicon. This chapter will also consider previous studies on grammaticalization and lexicalization in Naija

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Lexical Elaboration

 In our times, and to some people, The English language may have always contained words for the ideas it can express, including modern Mathematics, or technology (*avatar* < Sanskrit; *data* < Greek; *justice* < Latin; *tsunami* < Japanese; *grenade* < French)[3]. However, it had to expand to cope with these realities, and it continues to expand, and Naija can certainly follow suit (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991: 123). This undergirds the position that every language will continue to evolve to meet modern demands and realities that abound in our human experience.

Elaboration in Language is certainly not a new phenomenon, it is part of the creative use of language. (Pollard, 1984:1). Language is essentially a tool for communication and every communication is done in a particular shared context, spatial or temporal, by the interlocutors. The subject matter of the communication and the comments following are situated in that context. Therefore, the language used in the said communicative transaction needs to have the means to express the things that need to be said in that context. Due to contact, concepts have been introduced to people-groups that hitherto did not exist, and the need to communicate such concepts will compel speakers of the said

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[3] https://www.dictionary.com/e/borrowed-words/

language to devise a means from their repertoire of linguistic strategies, to communicate that concept. There may also be some change in the way the language deals with some already existing concepts. Pollard (1984:3) giving the example of the *Rastafari*, explains that the Jamaican creole innovated as a response to the religious, social and cultural needs.

Oyali (2019) explains that the concept of language elaboration developed from the four stages of the language development model by Haugen (1966, 1972 and 1983) where language elaboration is defined as the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world, which may also involve the establishing of innovated terms, like word classes as well as spellings. Oyali (2019) however, expands this notion to mean two things. First, Oyali (2019:65) considers that elaboration in the sense of function. In this case, Oyali (2019:65) considers that languages can be elaborated where words are given new functions by using it to express ideas in domains it was not previously used in In a second sense, Oyali (2019:65) considers elaboration in terms of the expansion of the lexicon and meaning, which in this case entails the creation of new lexical forms to give new meanings, or to change the meanings of already existing lexical items to express new meanings. Thus, lexical elaboration. Oyali (2019:65) explains that in this sense of elaboration, language modernization and language engineering are incorporated.

2.2 Review of Literature

2.2.1 Lexical Elaboration in Languages of the World

Filatkina (2018:15) States that, "Speakers of any Language generally enjoy considerable freedom in selecting lexical and grammatical items/tools of a given language in order to achieve their communicative goals most effectively."

In addition, to the perspective by Filatkina (2018) above, Anesa (2019:35) also succinctly states that

> "The dynamic and evolving aspect of languages is now a truism and can be summarized with de Saussure's oft-quoted statement: "Time changes all things; there is no reason why language should escape this universal law" (de Saussure 1959: 78)."

The possibility of elaborating or innovating in the lexicon of a language is available to any speaker. As Mackenzie (2015:91) puts it "Inventing new words is easy, anyone can

do it and perhaps everybody does." These acts of elaboration are universal in all languages of the world because the existential realities of humanity continue to change, humanity therefore needs to create *new* lexical items or expressions that express these new 'realities.' Guralink and Pavlova (2019:170) report that the vocabulary of a language may change in any of the following four ways: "1) the current form is used to denote a new referent (thing, object, event, idea, concept); 2) a new name is used to denote the referent which already has the name in the language; 3) a new name is given to a new referent; 4) the name ceases to be used because the referent lost its significance (e.g. ceased to exist)."

There may be various sources thorough which the vocabulary of a language may be elaborated. Guralink and Pavlova (2019:170) state that social media and new information technologies have resulted in new ways of communication. Guralink and Pavlova (2019:170) also state that these new lexical items created as a result of new information technologies like social media include words created out of processes like abbreviations, acronyms, graphical modifications and others. Guralink and Pavlova (2019) also refer to language play as a source of innovation in language.

Asadu (2020) explains that through the indigenous music of the Igbo people, new words have entered the Igbo lexicon.

Jowitt (2019:107) provides two broad categories of the categorization of Nigerian English lexis. Jowitt (2019:107) mentions the Jowitt (2014) reviews of existing categories provided by Adegbija (1989), Bamiro (1994) and Adegbija (2004). The major derivational system for Nigerian English includes processes such as: i). coinage, ii). extension, iii). transfer. Jowitt (2019:107) reports that these processes are considered to be major because a large percent of the words that dictionaries and related works have listed belong to this category. On the other hand, Jowitt (2019:107) reports that the minor derivational system includes processes such as: i). ellipsis, ii) pleonasm or redundancy, iii) conversion, iv) reduplication, v). clipping, vi) acronymization vii) back-formation viii) hybridization, ix). generic trade names and prepositional usage. Obasi (2022) in a study of new words in Nigerian English, explains that the introduction of new words and the processes that create them are as result of the "transfer of meaning and culture, coinages analogical creations, and direct borrowings from indigenous languages.

2.2.2 Lexical Elaborations in Creoles

Creoles generally inherit a considerable percentage of their lexicon "from their source languages in forms virtually identical to those of the standard variety" (Holm, 2004:107), some may even be indistinguishable from their source. Holm (2004:122) explains that this is the most important source for a creole's lexicon.

Regarding the survival of archaic lexical items, Holm (2004:108) remarks that for Haitian Creole French the lexicon has 16% of what may be referred to as regional or archaic French lexical items, Seychellois is said to have about 9% of the same. Holm (2004:109) also highlights cases where from some English-based Atlantic creoles still possess words that are derived from archaic and regional English.

Words that are regarded as slangs and which have vulgar usages in superstrates have gained appropriate usage in some creoles (Holm, 2004:112). Holm (2004:112) presents the case of *piss* in Krio Creole English, which was a slang in English, that has gained appropriate usage, and can be found in related terms such as "*switpis* (Diabetes), *pisbag (bladder)*, *pisol* (Urethra)" (Holm 2004:112).

Holm (2004:116) also states that although not as many words in the creole lexicon are from the substrate, the semantic range of the lexical items are largely from the substrate. This has been reported to be done by relexification (Alleyne, 1980:109)[4]

Holm (2004:142) also discusses the substrate influence on the syntactic structure of creoles. An impact of this being the shift of formclass. Hancock (1980:78) (cited from Holm 2004:118) reports that this phenomenon is common in creoles. Citing an example from Krio CE, Hancock (1980:78) explains that *ɔt* may be a preposition that means out as a verb that means 'put out/extinguish'. (Holm 2004:118). Also, the situation where adjectives in European languages have been reanalysed as verbs in creoles. Holm (2004:119) mentions that the reason for this may be the case that in most West African languages.

Calques are also a strategy found in creoles. Holm (2004:119) states that this was an important factor in the early stages of Atlantic creoles. Calques are word for word translations of words or idioms from one language to the other (Holm 2004:119). Holm

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[4] CF Holm (2004:116)

(2004:119) states that two-morpeheme calques are more easily identified, Holms (2004:119) cites examples like the widespread metaphor 'big eye' for greedy in Africa: Twi, *ani bre*; Igbo *anya ukwu*; In Bahamian CE, Haitian CF and Brazilian Portuguese, big-eye translates as greedy.

Reduplication is a process that Holm (2004:121) identifies as mechanism for forming new words. Holm (2004:121) explains that in European languages, reduplication is not very productive expect in baby talk or hypocorism, but states that it is very productive in Atlantic Creoles. Holm (2004:121) explains that this case seems likely because of the substrate models. Holms (2004:121-122) also states that reduplication may be used to signify intensification, accumulation and reiteration.

Typifying lexical expansion in creoles with Hawai'I Pidgin (HP), Siegel (2008:59) states that there was the development of grammatical morphemes in instances where lexical morphemes or Ø were found. Giving a clear case of lexical expansion in HP, Siegel (2008:59) remarks on the tense system of HP developing where there was none. The tense markers that developed include "*bin, go/gon, stei, waz and yutsu*" Siegel (2008:59). Siegel (2008:61) remarks that other grammatical morphemes such as *ste, get, fo, nat, neva,* were also present.. Siegel (2008:61) remarks that the expansion of HPE led to the adoption of grammatical words and in some cases, inflections.

2.2.3 Lexical Elaboration in Some English Lexified Pidgins and Creoles of West Africa

In their functional expansion, pidgins and creoles use various devices to face their new needs and develop their vocabulary. These include compounding, reduplication, clipping, blending, affixation and conversion. Before studying the uses of these various devices in Naija, the following section presents the state of the art in the study of these mechanisms in English language lexified West African Pidgins and Creoles: Ghanaian Pidgin English (GhPE), Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), Krio and Pichi. Ghanian Pidgin is spoken in Ghana, Cameroon Pidgin is spoken in Cameroon, Krio is spoken is Sierra Leone and Pichi is spoken in Equatorial Guinea.

2.2.3.1 Compounding

2.2.3.1.1 CPE

Ayafor and Green (2017:80) in discussing compounds in Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), state that gender can be indicated by compounding (3).

3.   Man-pikin

      Male- child

Ayafor and Green (2017:95) also state that the prenominal modifier in CPE "is a precursor to compounding". Ayafor and Green (2017:95). Ayafor and Green (2017) do not make any remarks about the tonal behavior of compounds in CPE.

2.2.3.1.2 Pichi

In Pichi (Spoken in Equiorial Guniea), Yakpo (2009:129) explains that nouns, verbs and personal pronouns may be derived by compounding, which involves specific tone rules.

Yakpo (2009:130) states that compound nouns are further-on on the path of lexicalization and they form single phonological words. Yakpo (2009) distinguishes compounds from associative constructions which Yakpo (2009:130) states, is related to compounds. Yakpo (2009:130) presents the case that while compounds from a compound word, associative constructions form a syntactic phrase.

In Pichi, when compounds are formed, the lexical H tone of the first component of the compound is deleted and as a result of its tonelessness, it assumes a L tone. (4) and (5) (Yakpo, 2009:93).

4.   Fulis   Man

      H.L   H

      Foolish   man

      'Foolish man

      Simplex noun

5.   Màred-man

    L.L-H

    Marry.CPD-man

    'married man

This is not the position we hold in Naija. We do not consider it a reduplication. We hypothetically present a canon prosodic shape for compounds. This is because in Naija, bisyllabic words mosly have a non-high initial prosodic value. So instead of a H tone deletion, we consider a phonotactic constraint imposed on the compounds.

Yakpo (2009:132) goes on to state that the tonal behaviour of compounds and verb-object phrases differ. (6)

6.

(a). è òpin.yày   3SG.OBJ open.eye   s/he is enlightened, cultivated

(b). è opin yay   3SG.SBJ open eye   s/he opened her eye(s)'#

(6a) presents the lexicalized compound (òpin.yày), while (6b) is a verb object relationship. The tone on the first part of the compound Iin (6a) *òpin.yày* is lowered while in (6b) it retains it's lexical shape.

Yakpo (2009:138) also identifies compound verbs. Yakpo (2009:138) states that there are three types of compounds that may function as verbs in a clause: verb-verb reduplications, adverb-verb degree compounds, and verb-noun property compounds. (7) (Yakpo 2009:141)

7   Yéstàdé wi kan waka-waka mo

    Yesterday 1PL PFV go RED.CPD-walk more

    'Yesterday we went walking around again.' [ye 07fn 044]

Verbs in Pichi may form a compound with the multifunctional word *ova* 'over'. Yakpo (2009:138) however states that they are formed with verbs that denote properties such as

dray 'be dry; lean) (8) or verbs whose meaning contains gradation like *dring* 'drink (alcohol in large quantities)'.

8a.   Di gel pikin ɔ̀va-dray o.

        This girl child over.CPD-be.dry SP

        'This girl is really too lean.' [dj07ae 207]

Yakpo (2009:139) recognizes another category of compounds that may be found: property compounds; which are "lexicalised structures consisting of a property item and a noun.(8b)"

8b.   Den no lek person den tu badhat

        3PL   NEG like person 3PL too be.mean

        'They do not like people, they're too mean.' [ma03hm 012]

2.2.3.2 Reduplication

2.2.3.2.1 Krio

Finney (2002:8) explains that iterative reduplication and compound reduplication are very productive in Krio (9). Finney (2002:8) provides a distinction between iterative reduplication and compound reduplication: iterative reduplication is used to mark emphasis or intensity while compound reduplication is used to derive exocentric compounds.

9.   ala ala (V)   'To shout intensively' (IR)

        HLHL

        ala-ala (N)   'A quarrel'; (A) 'Quarrelsome' (CR)

        LL HL

2.2.3.2.2 GhPE

Huber (1999) recognizes reduplication as a very productive word formation process in GhPE. Huber (1999:240) states that nouns, verbs and adverbs may be reduplicated. However, personal pronouns, particles and focus markers may not be reduplicated (10). Naija on the other hand may reduplicate some personal *we* (11) and *dem*[5] pronouns.

10.   ol de jam we de plant-plant no

       all DEF yamCPL 3PB plant-plant EM P

       'all the yams that they planted'

11.   Dat level na **wewe**. You suppose know. No be everybody wey

       DEM level COP RED.1PL. 2SG should know. NEG COP everybody REL

       come ask you question you go yarn as tings be.

       Come ask 2SG question 2SG FUT tell as things COP

       That thing is exclusive to us. You should know. You can't just tell everyone about these things.

Huber (1999:241) explains that reduplication of verbs may yield the following meanings: plurality, both in verbs and nouns. (12) and (13).

12.   dé dé mari-mari traibs

       3PB NPU marry-marry tribe-PL

       'they married into tribes'

Huber(1999:242) also explains that verbal reduplication may be used to establish one of the few instances of formal concord in GhPE. In GhPE reduplication may also be used as a means to achieve conversion, thus verbs may become nouns by reduplication. (13)

13.   ì bì pu -pu dè mek jù dé go bus

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[5] There is no case of *dem dem* in the corpora sets used, but it is attested to.

3SB COP poor-poor NPU AU 2 SB NPU go booze

'it is poverty that makes you drink'

Huber (1999:246) expresses another form of reduplication, this time at the phrasal, clausal or sentential levels: repetition. Huber (1999:246) considers repetition a discourse pragmatic strategy. Repetition in GhPE operates a reset of the tonal patterns, where the repeated element has a lower pitch than the previous repeated element. (13)

2.2.3.2.3 Pichi

Yakpo (2009) considers reduplication as a sub process under the umbrella process: iteration. (Yakpo 2009:140). Yakpo (2009:140) considers that the second process under iteration is repetition. Yakpo (2009:140) explains that reduplication consists of iteration and derivation; acts on verbs, and are only duplicated, while repetition consists of iteration, may act on any major word class and may be duplicated, triplicated and more.

2.2.3.3 Clipping

This process is not very productive in Pichi and GhPE. Yakpo (2009) and Huber (1999) do not report clipping in Pichi and GhPE.

Ayafor and Green (2017:50) report clipping as a process in CPE (14)

14.   embe (< Eng./Fr. imbecile) n. 'idiot'

       doki (< Eng. document) n. 'documents'

       mbut (< IL mbutuku) n. 'idiot, fool'

2.2.3.4 Blending

Yakpo (2009) and Huber (1999) also do not identify blending in Pichi and GhPE. A type of blending is identified by Ayafor and Green (2009:50) where they explain novel morpheme combinations in CPE which includes the combination of etymologically English expressions that not do not occur in English (15a-d).

15.   a. dai-man n. 'corpse' (lit. 'die-man')

       b. kona-wata n . 'shore' (lit. 'side-water')

21

c. kotin-gras n . 'cane rat' (lit. 'cutting-grass')

d. chuku-chuku-bif n. 'porcupine' (lit. 'spiky animal')

2.2.3.5 Conversion

Huber (1999:232) makes a general comment about WAPEs, stating that the boundaries between different word classes are loose and conversion is a common process

2.2.3.5.1 GhaPE

Huber (op.cit.) states that a word in GhaPE may occur as a noun, a stative or a transitive or intransitive verb (16)-(19)

16. l mà bus f à fes ol de k m t-k m t laik dat (noun)

    ll 1 SP booze for 1 SP face all NPU come-out-come-out like that

    'all the mucus is coming out of my face'

17. taksidraiva sef ì bus   (stative verb)

    taxi-driver FOC 3sB booze

    'even a taxi-driver was drunk'

18. ì bì - dé mekju dé go bus   (intransitive action verb)

    3SB COP poor-poor NPU CAU 2SB NPU go booze

    'it is poverty that makes you go and drink'

19. ì no gò bus beta dri k tu   (transitive action verb)

    3SB NEG IRR booze better drink EMP

    'he will not drink quality alcohol'

2.2.3.5.2 Pichi

Yakpo (2009) Identifies conversion as occurring in Pichi (Yakpo 2009:128). Words in Pichi may change their word class when they occur in positions syntactically reserved for

another word class. Yakpo (2009:128) states that conversion may be unidirectional or bi-directional. In Pichi, verb to noun conversion, predicative adjective to verb conversion and noun to adverbial conversion are unidirectional. While verb (property item) to attributive adjective is bidirectional (Yakpo 2009:128). Also, another form of conversion exists in Pichi albeit one that does not result in a change of word class; in this situation, inchohative stative verbs may convert to dynamic verbs and Nouns may convert to modifier nouns.

2.2.3.5.6 CPE

Ayafor and Green (2017) consider this process as category change. Ayafor and Green (2017:52) consider word class category change as the process where a "pidgin/creole reanalyses an expression from the superstrate as a different lexical category." Ayafor and Green (2017:52) provide an example (20) that shows *tori* (Verb) derived from the English noun 'story'.

20.   dey tori abaut dem-sef

        3PL.SBJ talk PREP 3PL-REFL

        'They talk about themselves:

2.2.4 Grammaticalization and lexicalization in Naija

This section will investigate works by Mowarin (2010), Mensah (2011) and Mensah (2012) that have studied lexico-semantic processes and grammaticalization in specific variants of Naija. These studies have been chosen because they describe in some detail the area where the data for their studies was collected. This is useful for our study because we present Naija as a national language, and thus comparisons can be made between what forms are used in certain areas as opposed to other areas in a bid to show convergence or divergence.

According to Mowarin (2010), in an effort to suit the communicative demands of its speakers, Naija's elaboration and creolization have resulted in an expansion in its vocabulary. Naija has evolved from a low prestige language to a high prestige language, according to Mowarin (2010:10), and can now encode notions that it previously couldn't. The Warri/Sapele variation of standard Naija, which Mowarin (2010:1) claims is already

creolizing, is the source of the data used in Mowarin (2010). In a lexico-semantic study of lexical items in Naija, Mowarin (2010) takes into account lexico-semantic processes such polysemy calquing, syntactic circumlocution/paraphrase, compounding, and reduplication. According to Mowarin (2010), these processes exhibit substrate impacts.

Mensah (2011) studies lexicalisation in Nigerian pidgin spoken around Calabar and Ikom. Mensah (2011:216) explains that NP as a language of wider communication has experienced progressive cycles of internal innovation through various techniques. Mensah (2011:216) states that NP has adopted morphological, phonological and semantic strategies to acquire new words and expressions. Mensah (2011:216) states that this process of acquisition of new words and expressions increases the lexicon of Nigerian Pidgin.

Mensah (2012) in a study of grammaticalization in Nigerian Pidgin, states that grammaticalization as a process has been defined to be one that is language-internal and is slow, diachronic, progressive and unidirectional (Mensah, 2012:168). As NP has continued to develop, there has been changes and innovations that have been ongoing, these changes may be contact induced or self-renewing (Mensah, 2012:168). Mensah (2012:172) explains that in the historical development of NP a number of lexical verbs in NP have undergone changes in use, form, meaning and function in the historical development of NP. Mensah (2012:172) states that grammaticalization can be seen as the gradual historical development of function morphemes from content morphemes (Fintel, 1995)." Traugott (2004:140), who describes this circumstance as a "shift from lexical to grammatical, or a shift from grammatical to further grammatical," is cited by Mensah (2012). Mensah (2012) takes into account the grammaticalization of verbs that become auxiliary components, complementizers, tense markers, and aspectual markers. Mensah (2012) also studies grammaticalization in nouns, in cases where they function as plural markers. Data for Mensah (2012) were collected from the Calabar variety of NP, which Mensah (2012:169) refers to as the Una variety. According to Mensah (2012:169) the Una variety is a stable variety with Efik as its primary substrate, in addition to other Nigerian languages like Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Mensah (2012:171) notes that in the Calabar variety of NP, there is the absence of inflectional and derivational morphology, which is symptomatic of pidgin languages. Mensah (2012:171) also states that "the most striking peculiarity if this variety is that some of the speakers use the objective singular pronoun

me for both subjective and objective positions, as well as the objective plural personal pronoun we for both subjective and objective positions".

Mensah (2011) provides a number of strategies that Nigerian Pidgin adopts for lexicalisation. Mensah (2011:216) considers that while English constitutes the superstrate source of borrowing in NP, Portuguese, French, Nigerian English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, among others constitute substrate sources.

Mensah (2012:178) also agrees with the opinion in Hooper and Traugott (1995) that these changes in synchronic language development are not predetermined, but are opportunistic. Mensah (2012:178) also states that NP lexical elements that acquire new functionalities independent of their superstrate's motives and capable of self-renewal are inadvertently leading to its creolization and the evolution of a unique grammar.

2.2.4.1 Multifunctionality/Polysemy

Mowarin (2010:2) states that multifunctionality/polysemy is one of the ways the language has made attempts to compensate for the few lexical items borrowed from English. In this case, according to Mowarin (2010:2), the words borrowed from English tend to be given more than one role to play in Naija.

21. English loanword Naija English translation

a.   for (prep.)   fọ (prep.)   for, in, beside; inside, on

b.   fowl (n.)   fao (n.)   chicken, cock, hen, chick

c.   one (num., art.)   wọn (det.)   a(n), one (num.), a certain

d.   plenty (quant.)   plẹnti (quant.)   a lot of, much, several, plenty of

These words in (21), above are all assigned multiple roles in Naija. In (21a) above, one can see that the five prepositions found in the English translation of (21a) are contained in the Naija translation for fọ, even though the phonetic shape clearly shows that it was borrowed from the English language. Mowarin (2010) states that pragmatic context is used to identify the specific function fọ, whereas for fao, Mowarin (2010:2) states that the speakers resort to circumlocution or calquing. Mowarin (2010:3) states that Polysemy is extensively used in Naija.

22. Chọp

a.　　(N) food

b.　　(V) to eat

c.　　(Adj) enjoyment.

Mowarin (2010:6) also states that the use of polysemy in Naija is not limited to words gotten from the superstrate, there are also cases where words from substrate languages are given polysemous value:

23.　　dágbó (Yoruba)

a.　　(N) a dupe:

b.　　(Adj) fake:

c.　　(V) to dupe someone:

(Mowarin 2010:3)

Mensah (2012:171) states that there is a great degree of multifunctionality of lexical items in the Calabar variety, where a lexical item can belong to more than one grammatical class or part of speech. Mensah (2012:171) quotes Muhlhauser (2008:81) who states that in mixed languages, the elimination of formal distinctions between word classes is expected. Mensah (2012:171) gives examples using two lexical items *runs* which can be multifunctional as nouns, transitive and intransitive verbs and adjectives:

24. Runs

a. Noun

b. Adjective

25. Runs

a. Transitive verbs

26. Runs

a. Intransitive verbs

Mensah (2012:171) states that in cases where these lexical items are used as verbs without cognate objects (9) "a pragmatic reading is required to interpret the intensity of the action described by the verb" (Mensah, 2012:171).

2.2.4.2 Compounding

In Mowarin (2010:6) compounding as a lexico-semantic strategy of lexical expansion. Mowarin (2010:6) focuses on endocentric compounds, which are compounds where one of the words in the compound is a head. Mowarin (2010:6) goes further to note that these endocentric compounds are always right headed, with a relationship of a modifier and a modified, existsing between them. Mowarin (2010:6) gives examples on how compounding can be productive in Naija, using eria (N) "area, territory" which functions as a modifier interacting with other free forms to derive compounds with various meanings:

27.   a.   eria boi (N) (area boy) a boy residing in a community

        b.   eria boi (N) (area boy) a group of notorious boys residing in a
                neighbourhood who engage in drug addiction, stealing and extortion;

        c.   eria bàbà (N) (area barber) an itinerant barber who plies his trade shuttling
                from one home to another;

        d.   eria skata (N) (area scatter) a young man who rapes girls in a community.

Mowarin (2010:7) also gives other examples, using bad (Adj), "bad, unsatisfactory, wrong" as the modifier:

28.   a. bad hẹd (N) (bad head) unlucky person

       b. bad dud (N) (bad dude) notorious person

       c. bad makẹt (N) (bad market) a failed enterprise

       d. bad neim (N) (bad name) a person who have a negative image

       e. bad wẹda (N) (bad weather) a time of financial difficulty

f. bad węda (N) (bad weather) a disastrous period

g. bad bęlę (N) (bad belly) envious

Mensah (2011:223) also considers compounding to be productive in NP. Mensah (2011:223) considers the presence of endocentric and exocentric structures in NP. These compounds, according to Mensah (2010:223) may have lexical, metaphorical or idiomatic meanings.

29.   a. A+N

long throat 'glutton'

bad belle 'jealousy/envy'

b. N+N

God pikin 'christian'

house boy 'male servant'

c. N+V

heart cut 'shock'

liver melt 'surprise'

d. V+N

make mouth 'boast'

make eye 'wink'

e. V+V

sidon look 'indifferent'

komot stand 'outstand'

2.2.4.3 Calquing

Mowarin (2010:7) reports that calquing is a productive measure found in In this case, this is a kind of compounding that uses superstrate words, but in a substrate pattern.

The following are some of the examples given in Mowarin (2010:8)

30.   shuk maut put (V) (shook mouth put)

       insert mouth put

       'interfere'

Mowarin (2010:8) states that an equivalent translation can be found in Urhobo, a South-Western Edoid language spoken in the Warri/Sapele speech community where data for Mowarin (2010) was collected.

31.   Wó   dúgh   ùnú   Vwì   yó   tá   mè.

       you   NEG   insert mouth in   matter me

       Do not interfere into my matter.

2.2.4.4 Syntactic Paraphrase

Syntactic paraphrase is another strategy Mowarin (2010) mentions. Mowarin (2010:8) states that there is a syntactic paraphrase where a phrase or a clause functions as a single lexical item in terms of its denotation. Mowarin (2010:8) states that these concepts in Naija, are concepts that may be described with a single lexical item in English language

32.   a. chọp klin maut (eat clean mouth) a deceptive/hypocritical woman

       b. chọp dọg lẹg (eat a dog's leg) a restless person

       c. du am strọng tin (do him/her harm) injure

It is important to note however, that these meanings have an idiomatic value.

2.2.4.5 Reduplication

Mowarin (2010:9) states that reduplication in another process that is productive in Naija. According to Mowarin (2010:9), a whole word can be a material for reduplication. Mowarin (2010:9) states that the main function of reduplication in Naija is as an intensifier.

33.

a. họri họri (ADV) (hurry hurry) hurriedly, fastly

b. kọna kọna (Adj) (corner corner) windy

c. kọna kọna (N) (corner corner) very secretive love officer

Mensah (2011:219) considers reduplication as one of the strategies of lexicalisation. Reduplication is considered as an affixation process where some part of a base is repeated all the left or to the right, or sometimes in the middle. Mensah (2011:219) states that in NP, reduplication is an important device in the forming of verbs, adjectives and nouns. Mensah (2011:210) also states that only partial or complete reduplication is found in NP.

34.

(a)   small small 'gently'

        wélu wélu 'very well'

        kúlú kúlú 'calmly'

        sharp sharp 'fastly'

Mensah (2011:22) explains that some examples (112) and (112c) are frozen reduplications, which are non-derived, because each of the 'reduplicated constituents' do not have meanings in isolation. Mensah (2011:220) explains that reduplication may signal increase in size, frequency and intensity. Reduplication, according to Mensah (2010:22) is partly predicable, regular and productive, and mainly has aesthetic effects.

Mensah (2010:220) provides examples to show that reduplication in NP may also be employed for grammatical purposes

35.   Person wey cry cry still dey see road.

        person who cry PROG still PROG see road

        'A person who is crying is still seeing.'

There may also be cases in NP where reduplications can also be used for emphasis,
Mensah (2011:220) states that this is a feature also found in Efik

36.

talk talk 'quarrelsome'

 play play 'lively/funny'

Mensah (2011:220) states that the major configuration of reduplications are cases where
verb reduplications result in adjectives.

2.2.4.6 Clipping

Mensah (2011:225) also considers clipping as another process of lexicalization in NP.
Mensah (2011:225) explains that clipping, also referred to as truncation is the shortening
of borrowed lexical items from the superstrate, but results in the situation where the lexical
items retain their full content and meaning. Mensah (2011:225) argues that these clipped
lexical items form essential constituents of the lexicon; which is contrary to the opinion
held by Marchand (1969), who argues that clipped words do not belong to the standard
vocabulary of a language but for special groups. Regarding the systematic nature of
clipping, Mensah (2010:225) states that clipping in NP is arbitrary, as there is no pattern
for clipping.

37.

pámy 'palm wine'

demo 'show off or use style on someone'

cáf 'cafeteria'

ugh 'ugly'

31

2.2.4.7 Metaphor

Mensah (2011:226) states that these metaphors can only be understood in a particular context, and that they elicit cognitive rather than literary interpretations. Mensah (2011:256) cites the conceptual metaphor theory perspective (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff and Turner 1989) where a domain, or source domain is only understood in the context of another domain.

Mensah (2011:221) also considers metaphorical extensions as a lexicalisation in NP. In this case, the meanings of the lexical items borrowed from a source language is extended, in which case, the correspondence of meaning of two or more words is understood in a related and recognised way . Mensah (2011:222) posits that in this situation, metaphors are uses to extend the meaning of words and forms as single symbolic formations:

38.   water don pass gari 'a bad situation'

        tókúmbò 'a fairly used good'

        yaradua 'prolonged absence'

        grammar 'long sounding English word/unachievable feat'

        home and abroad '(last pint of) cash'

Mensah (2011:222) explains that in water don pass garri for instance, gari represents a stable staple meal, and a source of carbohydrate, and when it is being prepared, there is a care and caution is necessary for water not to submerge the gari. In NP, Mensha (2011:222) states that this expression depicts a hopeless and helpless situation.

2.2.4.8 Ideophones

Ideophones are also word formation process in NP (Mensah, 2011:230). Mensah (2011:230) states that this happens when the meaning of an object is derived directly from the sound it is associated with. According to Mensah (2011:230) the ideophones may describe emotions, sight, smells, sensations, or movements.

39.

(shine) wáá 'brighter'

(dey) brêkété 'plenty'

(get) nyáfú nyáfú 'in abundance'

Mensah (2011:230) cites Nadarajan (2010:45) who posits that these sort of ideophones attempt to direct imitation of naturally occurring sounds or natural occurrence between the sounds and the senses.

2.2.4.9 Acronyms

There are cases in NP when acronyms and abbreviations become part of the stable lexicon of a language. Mensah (2011:229) provides examples of this kind in NP:

40.   K   'okrika (fairly used items like cloths, shoes and bags)'

IOU   'l owe you'

TDB   'till day break'

K   'a thousand (e.g 5k means five thousand) naira'

24/7   'twenty four hours a day and seven days a week'

1-0-1   (one-zero-one) 'regularity or otherwise of daily meals (where 1 indicates the presence and 0 the absence of a meal).'

JJC   '(Johnny just come) a novice'

2.2.4.10 Grammaticalization

In investigating the grammaticalization of verbs in Una, Mensah (2012:172) considers that these verbs may undergo certain changes from lexemes to auxiliaries, complementizers, tense and aspect markers.

In discussing the grammaticalization of say and make, Mensah (2012:172) states that *say* is a verb of communication which focuses on the communication of a message by a subject rather the illocutionary force. Say has two arguments, a subject argument an object argument which is a direct object:

41.   (a) Oga say e wan see you.

master say 3SG want see pro

Master says (that) he wants to see you

42.   I say you be mumu.

1SG say 2SG COP fool

I am saying (that) you are a fool

The verb *say* in Una has *talk* and *yarn* as its near synonyms

43.

(a)   Yarn me the tin wey happen.

yarn me DET tin DET happen

Tell me the thing that happened

(b)   Make I yarn you the tin wey I see.

Make 1SG yarn 2SG DET tin DET 1SG see

Let me tell you the thing that I saw.

While *say* and *yarn* may seem similar on a level, one cannot use *say* in place of *yarn* in 14(a) and (b), rather *tell* is closer to the semantics of *yarn* (Mensah, 2012:173). Having shown that *say* can have a stable lexical meaning as a verb, Mensah (2012:173) also states that *say* can function as a complementizer, justifying Nicolle's (2007:49) claim that lexical source constructions may also continue to be used with the lexical item that derives from it. Mensah (2012:173) gives examples of *say* as a complementizer:

44.

 (a) You think say me dey craze?

2SG think COMP ISG PRES craze

Do you think (that) I am crazy?

(b)   Chairman wan see say you do am well

Chairman want see COMP 2SG do it well

(The) boss wants to ensure (that) you do it well

Mensah (2012:173) states that say as a complementizer "is closely associated to the verb it modifies". Mensah (2012:173) also states that the complementizer is a mandatory requirement for subcategorization in NP. Mensah (2012:173) cites Millar (2007) who posits that complement constructions are historically syntactically dependent. Following this, Mensah (2012:173) states that the implication of this is that they may have historically been two sentences, and with time, they have been combined into one, with say functioning as the head of the subordinate clause or complementizer phrase. It is important that the subcategorization frame is mentioned because not all verbs in Una can choose say as their complement; say "mainly subcategorizes for verbs of cognition and not verbs of perception" Mensah (2012:173).

(c)   Me wonder say me go come

        ISG wonder COMP ISG FUT come

        I wonder whether I will come

(d)   Allman dey prepare say dem to come

        Allman PROG prepare COMP for them

        to come Everyone is preparing for them to come

Mensah (2012:173) proposes the syntactic behaviour of say as a complementizer:

(a)   it must have an agentive subject.

(b)   it agrees with a non-finite complement clause.

(c)   it topicalises the complement at the expense of the main clause.

Mensah (2012:174) also states that the irregular verb mek can also function as a complementizer in NP, even though it "lends relatively little semantic content to the embedded command". It however

45.

(a)   Me wan mek you come

      1SG want CAUSE 2SG come

      I want you to come

(b)   Me say mek you come

      1SG say COMP 2SG come

      I say (that) you should come

Mek in Naija is preceded by the subject and the main verb of the predicate phrase. Mensah (2012: 12) explains that this means that it connects a matrix clause with a subordinate clause.

Mensah (2012:174) also discusses the grammaticalization of go and bin as tense markers. With regard to go, Mensah (2012:174) states that the verb go is tending towards losing its basic meaning as a deitic movement verb, and it now functions as a future tense marker, and that the acquisition of the property of future tense is because the verb go is occasioned by the complex interplay between the need for expressivity and creativity on the one hand, and regularization and routinization on the other hand. Mensah (2012:174) argues that "the movement verb does not demonstrate the semantic component of physical movement, rather it shows an ability to stack with a main verb as its auxiliary in the grammaticalization process". Mensah (2012:174) goes ahead to cite Bruyn (1995:4) who states that a grammaticalizing verb like go does not express actual motion but rather an intention for a near future.

Mensah (2012:174) cites Millar (2007) who argues that the grammaticalization of a verb like go results in a situation where what is expressed is not actual motion but rather an intention for the near future.

The NP auxiliary verb *bin* is sourced from the English copular verb 'be', has undergone functional renewal, which entails using an old structure for a new purpose, and has become grammaticalized as a past tense marker. (Mensah, 2012:175).

46.

(a)   I bin chop rice

        ISG PAST chop rice

        I ate rice

Mensah states that bin functions as a neutral perfect past which states what happens without a particular emphasis on any word or phrase in the sentence. Bin indicates that the action described by the verb occurred prior to the time of speech.

The need to fill functional gaps is explained by Mensah (2012:175) to be the reason why there is a need for the grammaticalization of go and bin. Mensah (2012:175) rationalises this 'need' to create categorises as deficiency of NP that created morphosyntactic vacuums, which this case is succeed not fun contact, but the language's internal mechanisms.

Mensah (2012 also considers the grammaticalisation of fit. Mensah (2012:175) considers that fit is grammaticalized as a modal maker and it grammaticalizes two different degrees of the speaker's commitment towards the reality or truth or what the speaker is saying"; fit can be used to indicate that the action of the verb is possible, or it can indicate factual probability or epistemicity of the verb.

47.

(a)   I fit slap you now

        1SG AUX slap you now

Sourced from English, suppose and try like have modal and modal uses in NP; functioning as semi-auxiliaries. Semantically suppose has a close meaning of 'ought to' or 'should', while try in some contexts have the meaning of the English ward 'dare (Mensah, 2012:176).

48.

(a)   I suppose see chairman early momo

1SG AUX see chairman ADJ morning

I ought to/should see the chairman early in the morning'

(b)   You wan try me?

2SG want AUX pro

Do you want to dare me?

Mensah (2012) identifies *for* as the most mutable leave item in NP. Mensah (2012:127) explains that for can be used for what will ordinarily be various prepositions in the superstrate.

49.

(a)   E dey for the table

It's on the table.

(b)   I live for school domot

I live at the school compound.

(c)   No be for mouth

It's not by boasting.

(d)   I put am for your bag

I put it in/inside your bag.

(e)   E good for you

It's good for you.

(f)   Hú be gofnor for Lagos?

Who is the governor of Lagos (State)?

(h)   Wáká for legedis.

Walk with your legs.

Mensah (2012:127 also states that for may also perform on auxiliary tension, and as an aspect marker.

50.

(a)   We for like come

       1PL AUX like come

       We would like to come

Mensah (2010:218-219) also provides some 'slangs' peculiar to the Calabar variety of NP.

51.

(a)   óbóñ ówò 'an elderly person'

(b)   ñdìtò 'children (used to refer to Agaba boys)'

(c)   ébói 'a wayward child'

With regard to their representation Mensah (2010:224) States that there is no agreed convention to represent compounds orthography.

Mensah (2010:224) explains that the adjective-noun compounds, and the noun-noun compounds are endorentive, implying that they have dominant elements, where the primary meaning resides, the other element in the compound has the value of modifier, attributing properties to the dominant/lead element.

Some may have unexpressed heads, (others, in 119, except 119c and 119d), and in this case, they are exocentric, having no head in the noun-noun or adjective-nouns compounds. These compounds according to Mensah (224) may have idiomatic or metaphorical values. In this case they do not have collective meanings that can be predicted from the parts.

2.2.4.11 Affixes

Mowarin (2010:6) also states that there may be cases where the derivation may be the result of superstate suffixes on substrate borrowed words. Examples such as dagborist (N), (a person who dupes) is derived from dagbo (V), and wayorist (N), (a person who cheats), derived from wayo (N, the act of dupin, borrowed from Hausa),, are given.

Affixation is another process that is productive in NP. According Mensah (2010:221). The suffix -y can be added to adjectives to derive nouns:

51.

a.   short shorty 'a short person'

black blacky 'a dark person'

left lefty 'a left-handed person'

sweet sweety 'a dear one'

long longy 'a tall person'

Mensah (2011:221) also considers that there are cases of prefixation in NP:

52.   yarn vs. misyarn 'communicate/miscommunicate'

fire vs. misfire 'talk aggressively/say something stupid or irrelevant'

Mensah (2011:221) notes that the expression of intensity with this suffix and use for the prefix signifies that NP continues to evolve towards creolization. Mensah (2011) takes this position because some pidgins lack "morphological alternations, which Holm (2000:11) refers to as "unnecessary complications" (Mensah, 2010:221.

2.2.4.12 Semantic extensions

Mensah (2011:225) considers that there are cases where lexical items derived from the superstrate language denote different meanings from those conveyed in NP in an analogical sense. Mensah (2011:225) states that thus new meaning in NP is socially constructed, thus, it may be markedly different from the source lexical item.

53.   obstacle 'meat'

download 'defecate'

breaklight 'shadow'

(one) yarsh 'a seat (in a bus)'

tank 'to drink'

I beta pass my nebor 'a portable generating set'

up nepa 'light is restored'

babangida '(type of) ulcerated disease'

abdulmutallab 'misplaced opportunity'

pure water 'cheap (of goods)'

Mensah (2011:226) remarks that these expressions began as slangs and eventually became stable lexical items in NP through frequency of use. Mensah (2011:256) states that these varieties, invented meanings seem to spread from the Warri variety to other areas. Mensah (2011:256) gives a vivid example with I beta pass my nebor. Mensah (2011:256) explains that the expression was invented in NP due to the constant power supply outage in Nigeria, resulting in the situation where having an alternative source of power supply became a necessity.

2.2.4.13 Borrowing

Mensah (2011:216) cites Chimhundu (1983) who explains that a major characteristic of borrowing includes adoption and adaptation by integrating them into the linguistic structure of the recipient language. Mensah (2010:216) adds to this, and states that faithfulness is shown to source word in loanword adaptation, while trying to conform these loanwords into the phonatactics, and morphology of the native segmental inventory of the recipient language.

Mensah (2011:218) explains that from the data collected for Mensah (2011) it is shown that nouns are most affected by borrowing because nouns are the freest category meaning-wise. Mensah (2011:218) also states that other lexical items like verbs and adjectives may be borrowed only from the superstrate or lexifier language.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed lexical elaboration and the state of the art of lexical elaboration in Engligh lexified creoles of West Africa. This chapter has also discussed works that have studied processes of elaboration found in varieties of Naija spoken in parts of Nigeria.

As this work has stated in section 1.4, there are two major reasons why some more work is needed despite the very remarkable works of the works by Mowarin (2010), Mensah (2011) and Mensah (2012): scope of the data and time-frame of the research.

The data used for the researches mentioned above have been drawn mostly from a comparatively small portion of both Naija speakes and the locales where Naija is spoken. The conclusions reached in those works need to be juxtaposed with Naija spoken in other locales and with a wider sociological sample size.

The time frame of Mowarin(2010), Mensah (2011) and Mensah (2012) have been at least two decades old. A spoken non-standardised language like Naija, which is easily susceptible to frequent change and innovations needs to be studied in real-time over reasonable periods of time.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology for this study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter overview

This chapter discusses the methodology, datasets used, methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis for this work.

3.1 Research design

This study adopted a descriptive design. The data collection procedure was designed to ensure that the datasets were representative of accurate speech forms of Naija speakers. The research employed the use of primary and secondary data.

3.2 Datasets

Three datasets were used for this study. The NaijalexElab Corpus was the primary data used for this work. The Naijasyncor and the Naijionary database were the secondary data used for the study. The NaijaLexElab corpus and the NaijaSyncor corpus were selected because they represent the largest spoken and geographically representative datasets on Naija. The Naijionary dictionary dataset was selected because it is the largest and most recent dictionary effort on Naija.

3.2.1 NaijaLexElab Corpus

The NaijaLexElab corpus consists of

i.   39,334 naija tokens from 36 samples recorded of 3 hours natural (non-elicited) speech recorded from 19 respondents, purposively collected from Benin City in Edo state, Nigeria and Sapele, Ughelli and Warri in Delta state. The data was transcribed using ELAN, and annotated for Macrosyntax.

ii.   4440s tokens from 7 samples recorded of 13 minutes video content purposively selected from Instagram. The data was transcribed using ELAN, and annotated for Macrosyntax.

3.2.1.1 Metadata of respondents

Here the metadata of respondents are reported.

Fig. 3.3 reports the age of respondents, Fig. 3.4 reports the place of birth of respondents, Fig. 3.5 reports the place of residence of respondents, Fig. 3.6 reports the Duration of respondent's residence in current place, Fig. 3.7 reports the education of respondents, Fig. 3.8: reports the first language (L1) of respondents, Fig. 3.9 reports the second language of the respondents, Fig. 3.10 reports the third language of the respondents and Fig. 3.11 reports the fourth language of the respondents. The competence of the respondents in Naija is reported in Fig. 3.12, the profession of the respondents and their place of residence is reported in Figures 3.13 and 3.14 respectively.
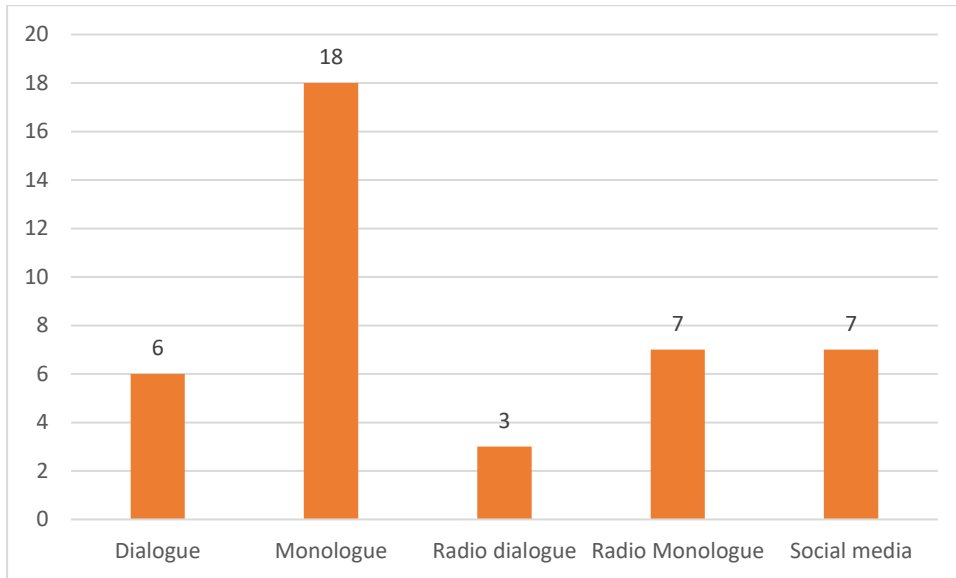
Fig. 3.1: Type of recording
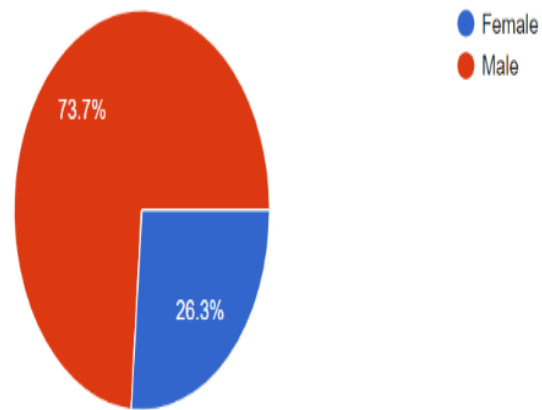
Fig. 3.2: Gender of respondents

Age

19 responses
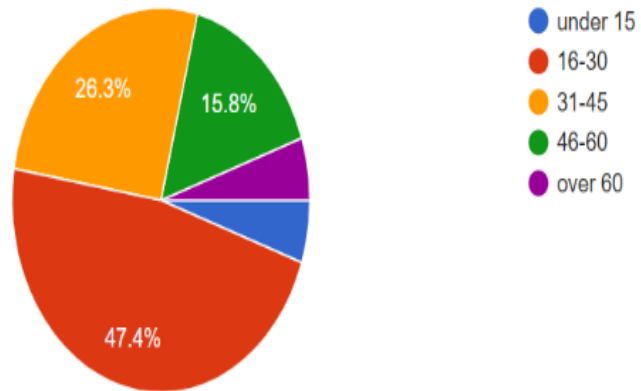
Fig. 3.3: Age of respondents

Where de for born you?

19 responses

Fig. 3.4: Place of Birth of Respondents
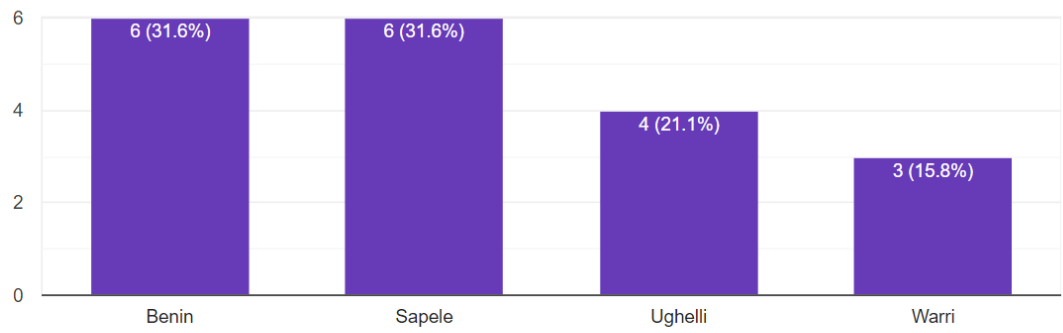
Fig. 3.5: Place of Residence of respondents
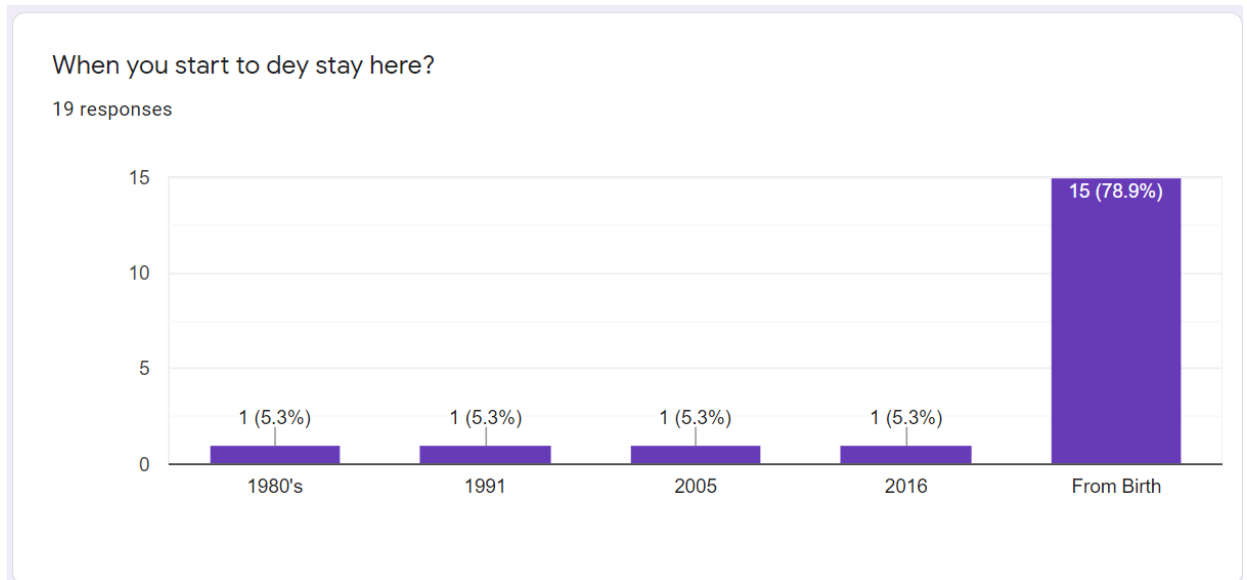
Fig. 3.6: Duration of residence in current place
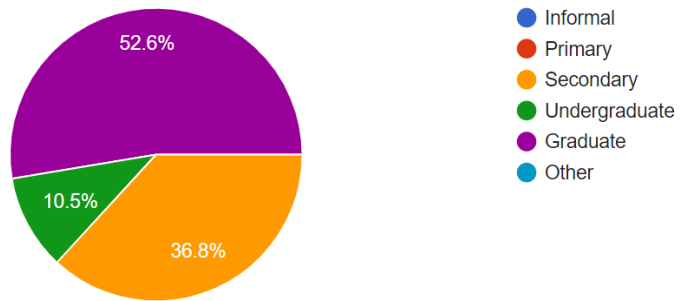
Fig. 3.7: Education

Person Language

Which Language you first sabi speak for small pikin? L1

19 responses

Language	Count
English	3 (15.8%)
Pidgin	10 (52.6%)
Urhobo	1 (5.3%)
Yoruba	0 (0%)
Itsekiri	2 (10.5%)
Igbo	0 (0%)
Hausa	0 (0%)
Ijaw	1 (5.3%)
Edo	2 (10.5%)
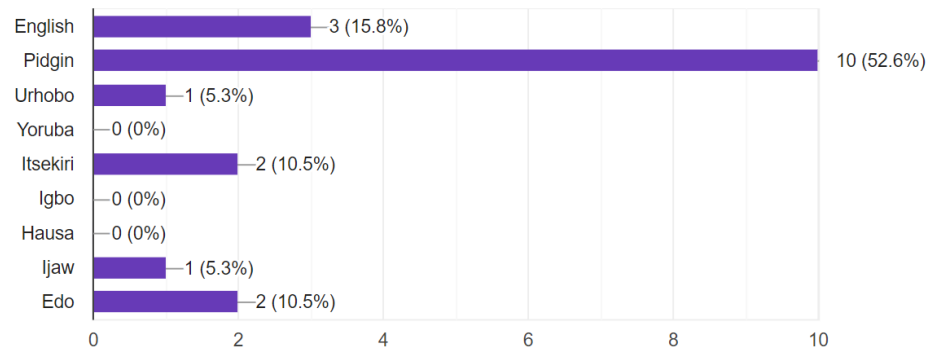
Fig. 3.8: Respondent L1

Which Language you sabi speak follow di first one? L2

19 responses

Language	Count
English	4 (21.1%)
Pidgin	7 (36.8%)
Urhobo	2 (10.5%)
Yoruba	1 (5.3%)
Itsekiri	1 (5.3%)
Igbo	0 (0%)
Hausa	0 (0%)
Ijaw	0 (0%)
Edo	2 (10.5%)
Olukumi	1 (5.3%)
N/A	1 (5.3%)
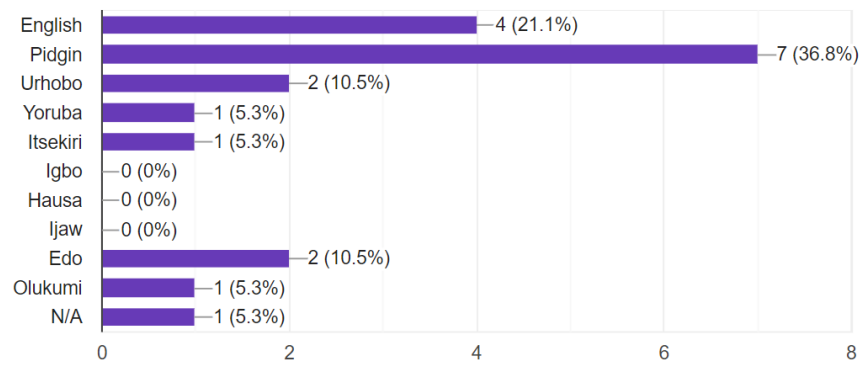
Fig. 3.9: Respondent L2

Which Language you sabi speak follow di oder language dem? L3

19 responses

Fig. 3.10: Respondent L3

Language wey you sabi speak. L4

19 responses
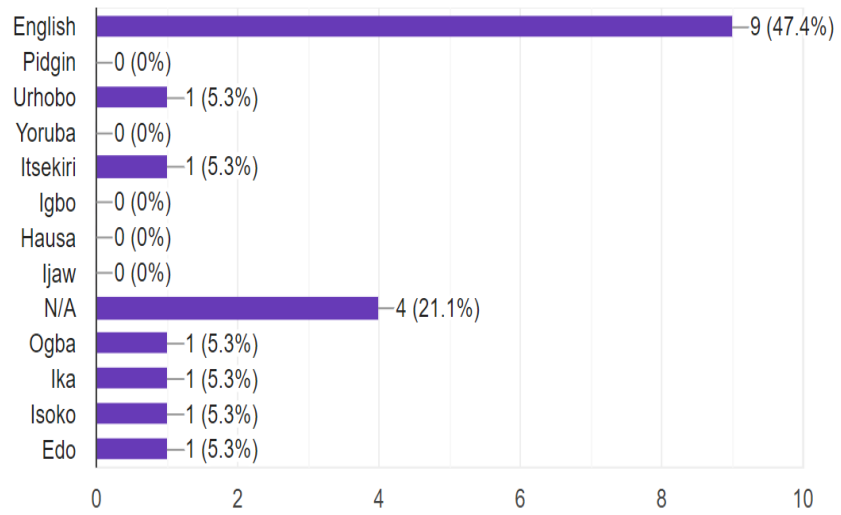
Language	Count
English	2 (10.5%)
Pidgin	0 (0%)
Urhobo	0 (0%)
Yoruba	0 (0%)
Itsekiri	1 (5.3%)
Igbo	0 (0%)
Hausa	0 (0%)
Ijaw	0 (0%)
N/A	14 (73.7%)
French	1 (5.3%)
Edo	1 (5.3%)
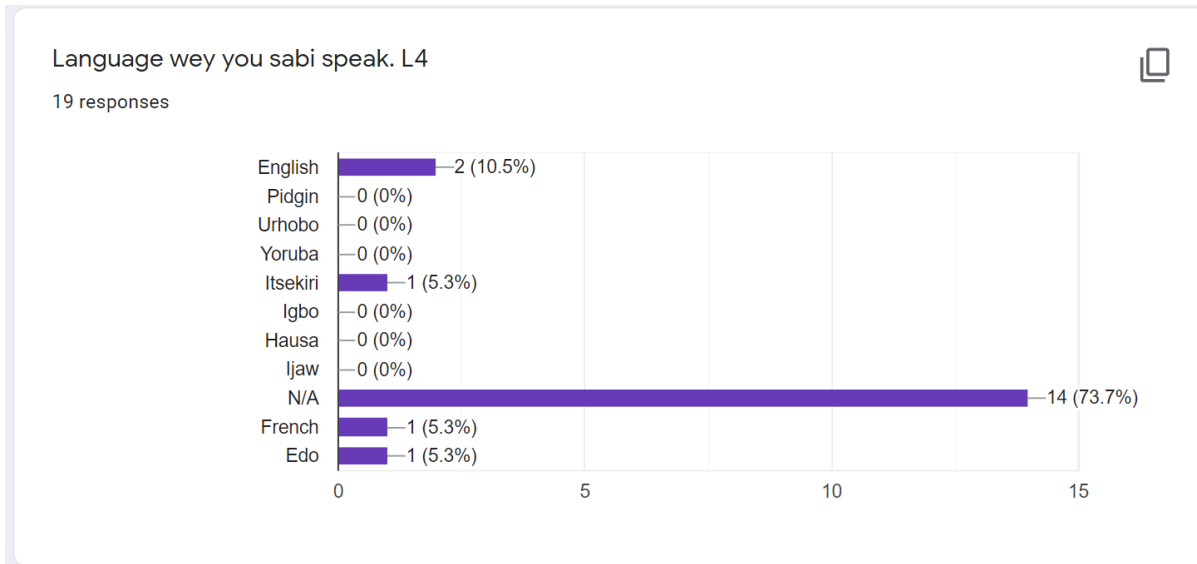
Fig. 3.11: Respondent L4
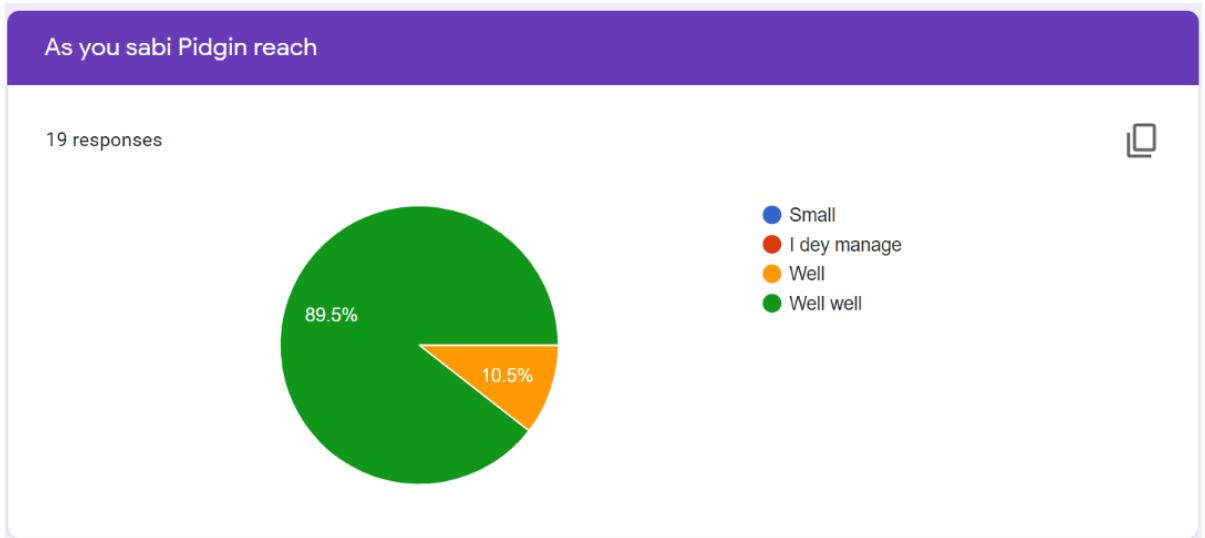
Fig. 3.12: Respondent competence

Count of Wetin be your work?
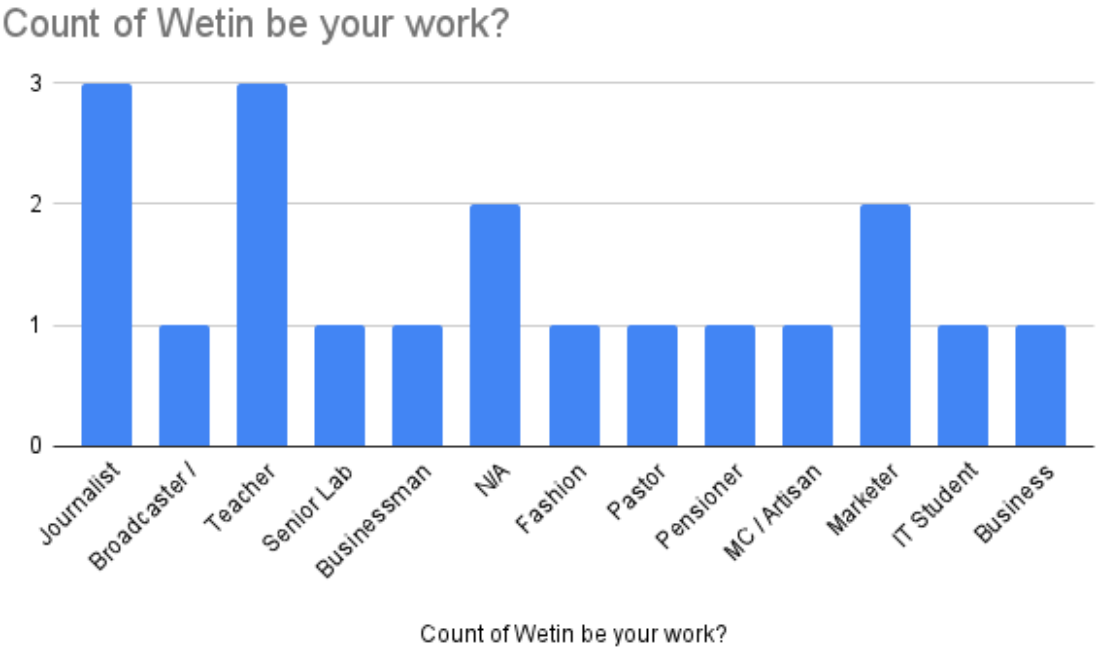
Fig. 3.13: Profession of respondents
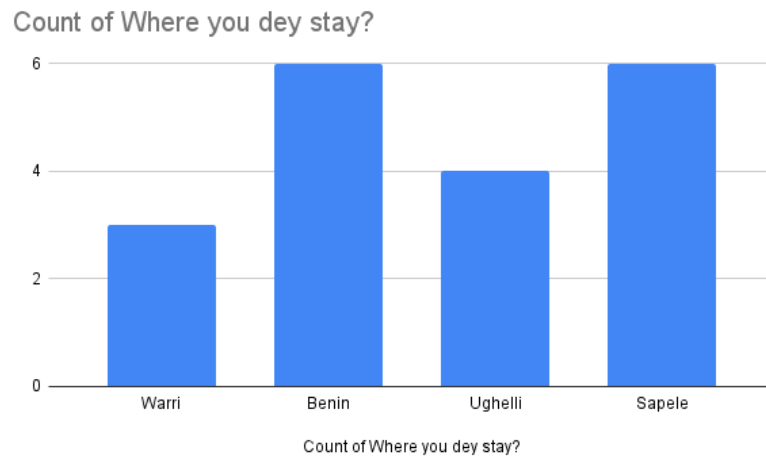
Fig. 3.14: Place of residence of respondents

3.2.2 NaijiaSynCor Corpus

The NaijaSyncor Corpus is an output of the NaijaSynCor Project, a corpus based macro-syntactic study of Naija[6][7] . Data for the NaijaSynCor project natural (non-elicited) speech were purposively collected from ten states in Nigeria: Oyo State, Lagos State, Edo State, Rivers State, Enugu State, Anambra State, Kano State, Kaduna State, Plateau State, and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. The data consists of 300 samples of spontaneous speech recorded of 31 hours in 2017; resulting in a 500, 000-word corpus.

3.2.2.1 Metadata of respondents

The metadata for the corpus is reported thus:

The age of respondents is reported in Fig. 3.15, the spread of files by regions is reported in Fig: 3.16, and the education of respondents is reported in Fig. 3.17.

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[6] Caron, B. 2017. NSC Presentation. Paper presented at IFRA-Nigeria organised workshop for prosodic and syntactic annotation, at the University of Ibadan.
[7] The project is a collaborative venture between Llacan (Langue, langues et cultures d'Afrique noire), Modyco (Modèles, Dynamiques, Corpus), and leading Nigerian experts in Naija (F. Egbokhare and C. Ofulue).
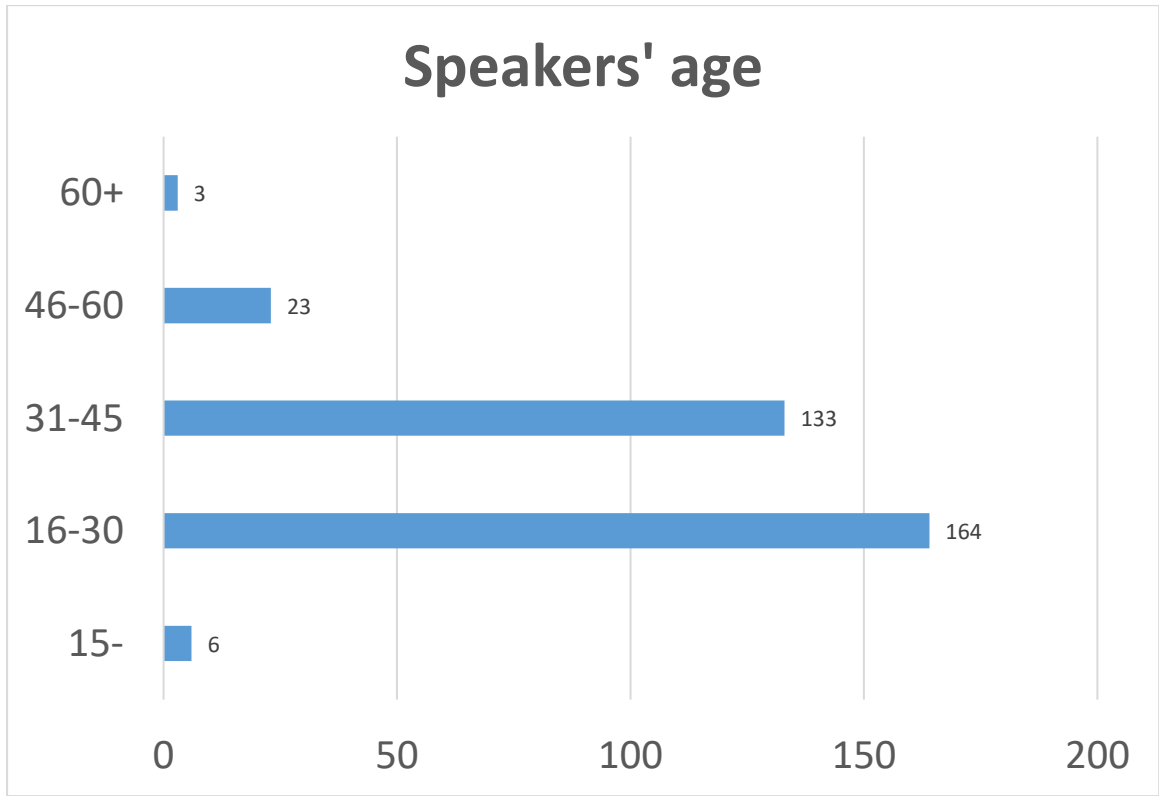
Fig. 3.15: Age of Speakers
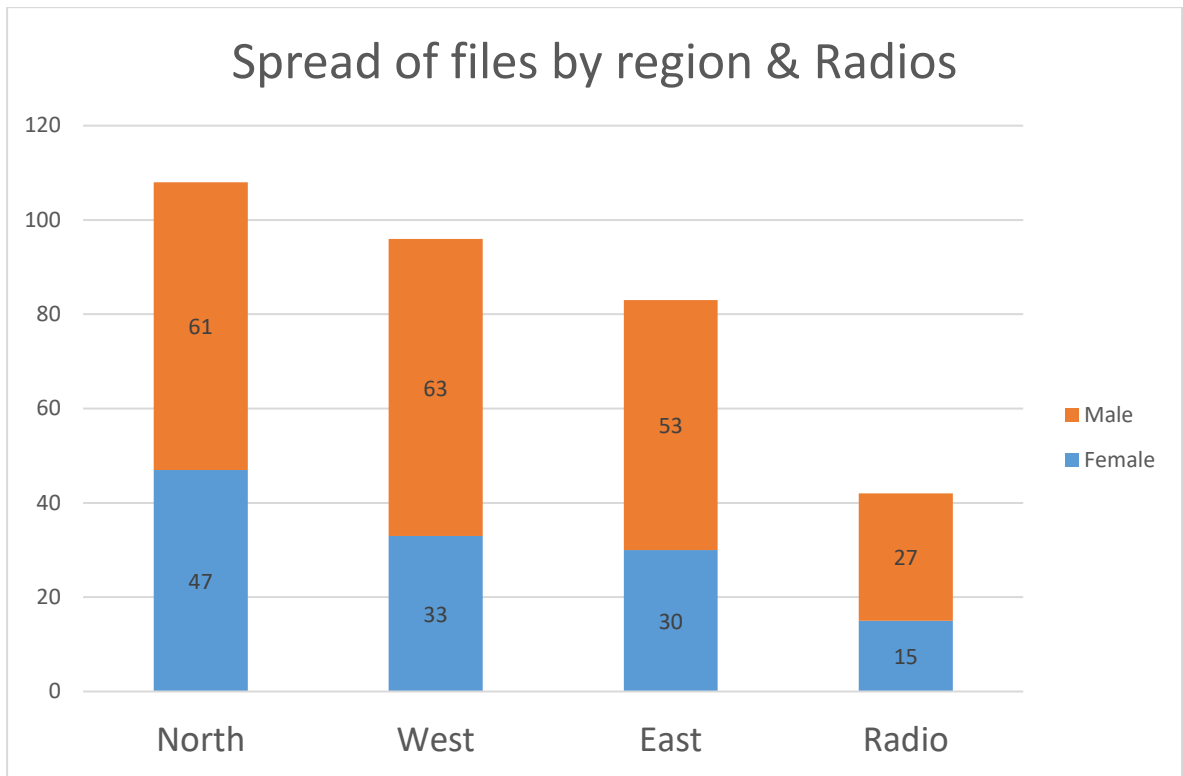
Fig: 3.16: Spread of file by regions, Radio and Gender
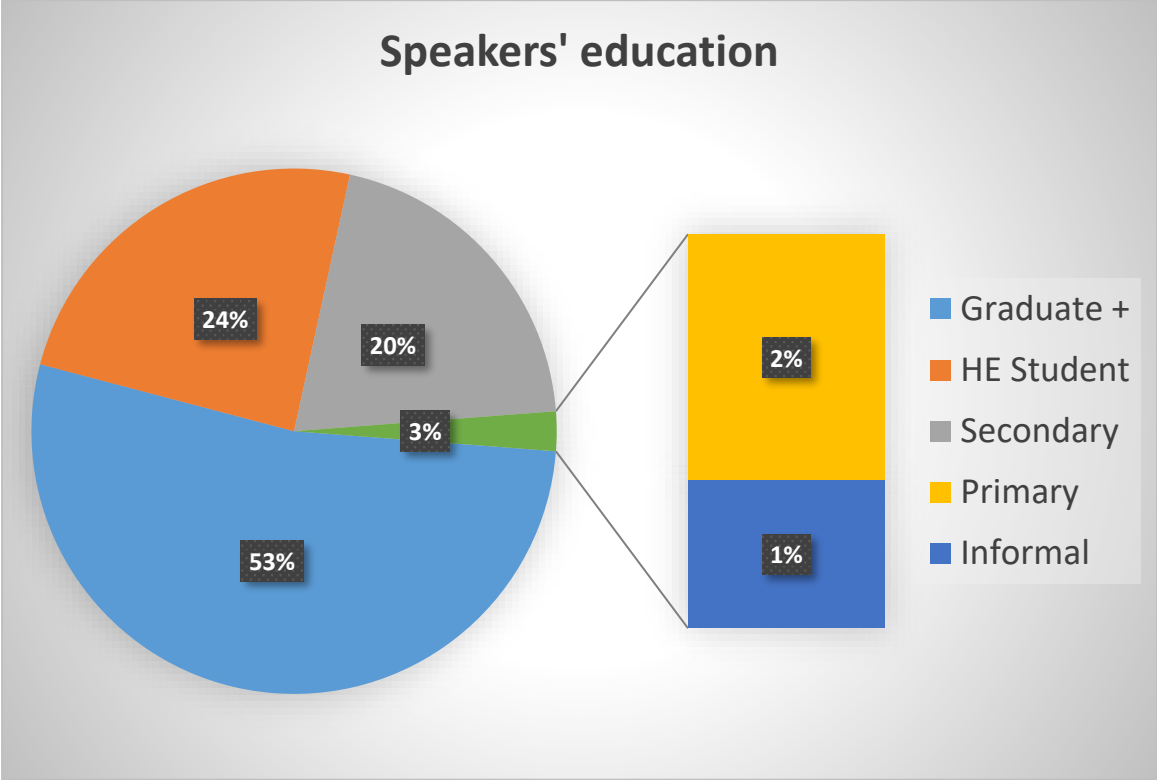
Fig. 3.17: **Speakers Education**

3.2.3 Naijionary database

The Naijionary database is a collaborative dictionary of Nigerian pidgin of 1541 entries. The data for the Naijionary database consists of:

(a) Entries from the NaijaSynCor corpus selected by frequency[8];

(b) Manuscript of a Naija dictionary by Professor Francis Egbokhare;

(c) Text from data scrapped from the internet and from published or translated Naija material.

The Naijionary database has ≈120KW.

3.3 Method of analysis

The data from the NaijaLexElab corpus and the NaijaSynCor corpus were time aligned, transcribed, translated, macro-syntax annotated and POS tagged using ELAN as seen in Figure 3.18, and also annotated for syntax using arborator as seen in Figure 3.19.

3.4 Orthography

The orthography for the primary and secondary data used for this work is etymologically-English and use-normative. The orthography is based loosely on patterns used by Naija speakers on internet platforms. This is following the convenience and familiarity basic principles of orthography (Williamson:2006).

Examples[9]:

Father = fader; Mother = moder; Though = dough; This= dis; These = dese; Brother= broder; Throw = trow; That = dat;

The use of final 'er' in English is retained:

Mother= moder; Father = fader; Brother= broder; Sister= sister.

There are also some words that are distinguished:

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[8] This Selection was done by Professor Kim Gerdes
[9] This text is from the NaijaSyncor training manual.

Come = verb / con= Auxillary; Dey = verb / dey = auxillary; De = pronoun; Sey = complementizer/ say = Verb; Go = Future tense marker / go = verb;

Also, some of the words borrowed from indigenous Nigerian languages and their renderings: Pali = Kpali (<Yoruba); Patapata = kpatakpata (Yoruba).
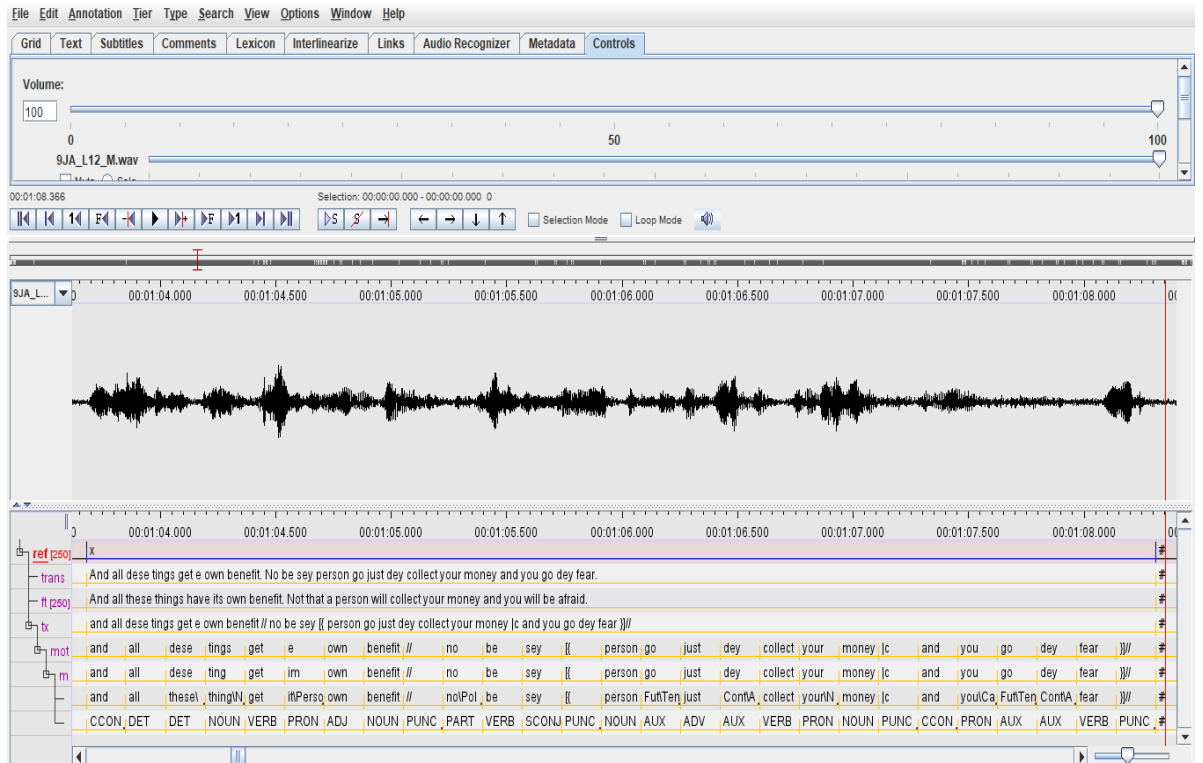
Fig. 3.18: Image of Elan interface
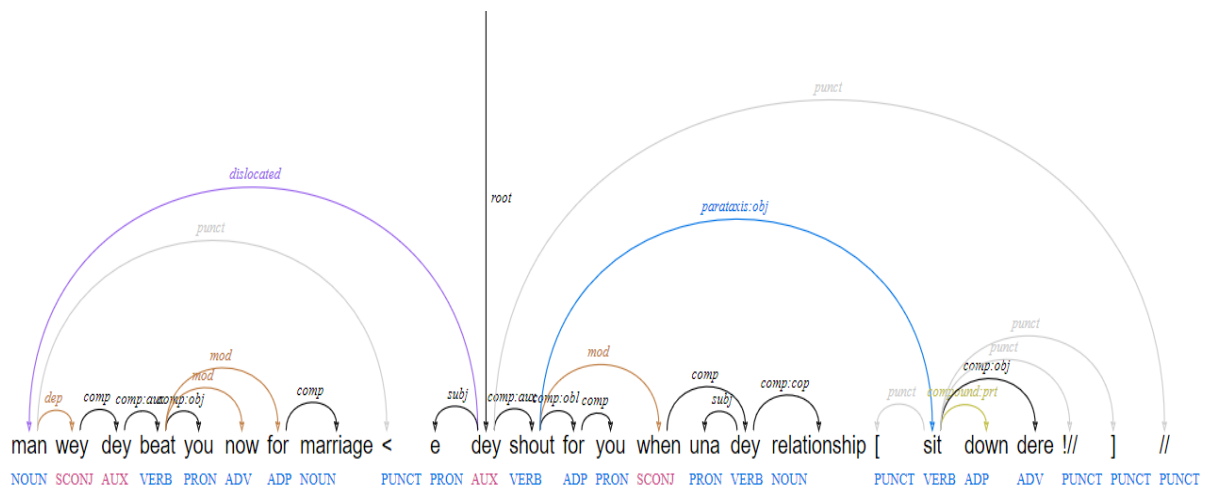
Fig. 3.19: Image of Treebank (Arborator) interface

The data from the datasets corpora was descriptively analysed for this work.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodology used for this study; the datasets used, the method of collection, the method of analyses and the system of organization.

The next chapter will examine the data used for this study in a bid to:

Investigate the behaviour of lexical items in Naija,

Investigate the behaviour of lexical categories in Naija,

Investigate the processes of lexical elaboration In Naija.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Chapter overview

This chapter will examine the data used for this study in a bid to: Investigate the behaviour of lexical items in Naija, Investigate the behaviour of lexical categories in Naija and investigate the processes of lexical elaboration In Naija.

4.1 The Naija lexical item

In this section, the behaviour of lexical items in Naija will be investigated along the lines of etymology, prosody, and multifunctionality.

4.1.1 Etymology

Naija is primarily English lexified. However, there are other languages that have also contributed lexical items to the vocabulary of Naija. From 1541 words, extracted from the Naijionary database, English accounts for 57.6% of words, other lexical sources: Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Edo, Kalabari, etc. account for 29.66, while grammatical Naija lexical items account for the remaining 27.9%.

Words in Naija like *soak and travel*, *ajebutter*, and *oversabi* have individual lexical items elements borrowed from English, and in the case of *ajebutter* a hybrid from Yoruba and English. However, the output of the morphological operations on the words yield novel lexical items unique to Naija.

Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 shows the language sources for Naija lexical items, in percentage and by count.
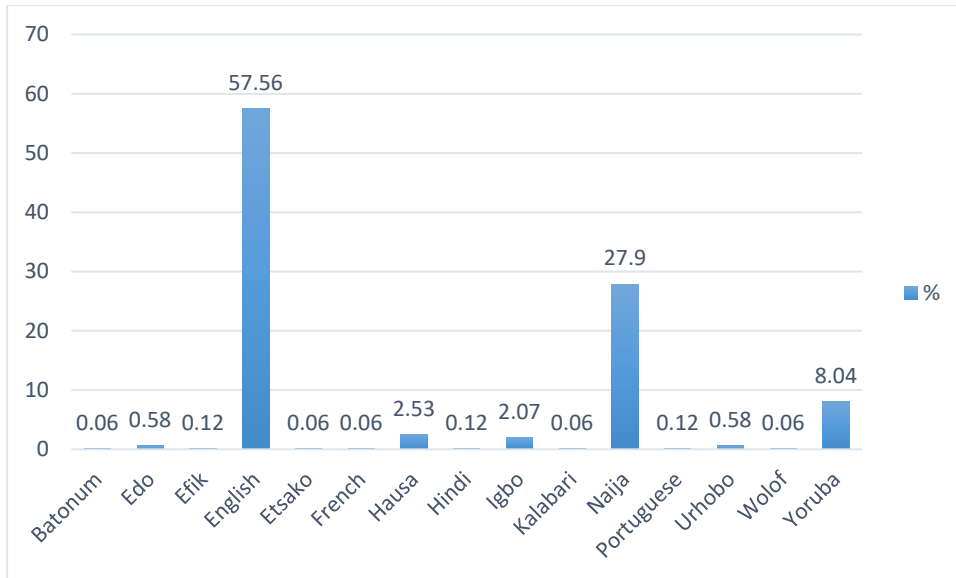
Fig. 4.1: Percentage of Etymological sources: Data from Naijionary
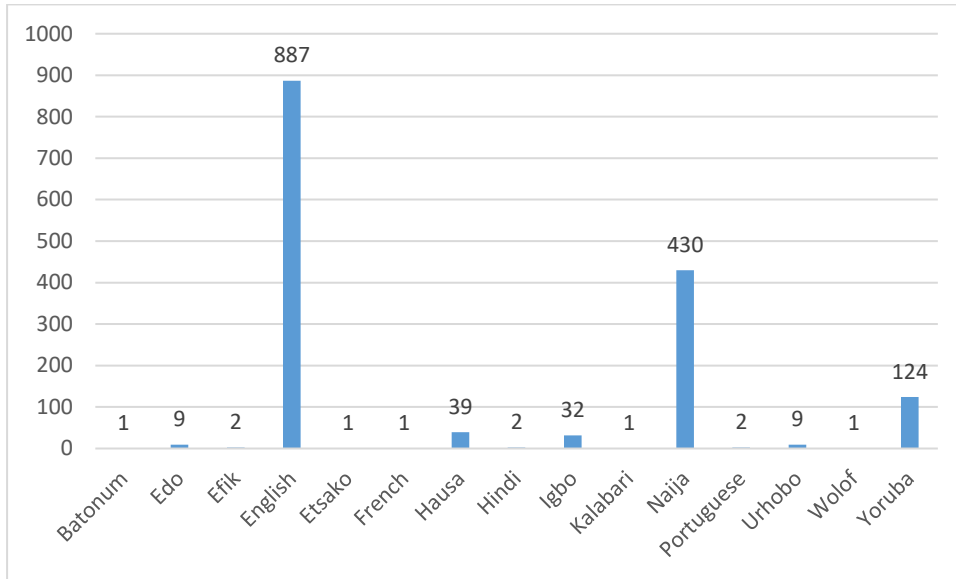
Fig. 4.2: Etymological sources of Naija lexical items in numbers

4.1.2 Naija lexicon and Prosody

Prosodic morphology is concerned with the interactions of morphology and prosody, (Aronoff and Fudeman, 2011:78). The concerns of prosodic morphology, the relevant units are mostly with word or syllable timing and vowel length. However, for this work, the consideration is made for lexical pitch as the relevant unit for prosodic morphology investigation.

Naija exhibits features consistent with tone languages. This position has been held by various scholars, including Oyebade (1983) and Elugbe and Omamor (1991). This work aligns with that position. From the data used for this work, there are lexical items distinguished by pitch on each syllable.[10][11][12][13]

54a.	Mama /mama^{LH}/	'Mother'
b	Mama /mama^{HL}/	'(Honorific) Mother'
55a.	Fada /fada^{HH}/	'Catholic priest'
b	Fada /fada^{HL}/	'Father'
56a.	Go /go^{H}/	'Go'
b	Go /go^{L}/	'Future Tense marker' – 'will'
57a.	Dey /de^{L}/	AUX
b	Dey /de^{H}/	COP
58a.	Carry (HL /kari^{HL}/	Carry (V)
b	Carry (LL) /kari^{LL}/	carelessly/merely (ADV)

---

[10] Lappy a clipping of laptop, has the LH pattern

[11] It appears that a greater number of the words may have the initial non high pattern also. In a viral social media clip, a person said bùmbûm, for what we have as búmbùm. It increasingly appears that Naija is leaning towards a predominantly initial low pattern. Also, whatsapp (LF) and Facebook (LF) have been heard.

[12] In Monosyllabic words, having the prosodic pattern R is good for the hypothesis that at of syllable 1, Naija has a non-high prosodic pattern

[13] There is also a prosodic distinction between Leg^{F} (Noun) / Leg^{H} (Verb).

i. Someting bite me for **leg**^{F} (Something bit me on my leg.)

ii. E no too far, make we **leg**^{H} am (It's not too far let's walk there.)
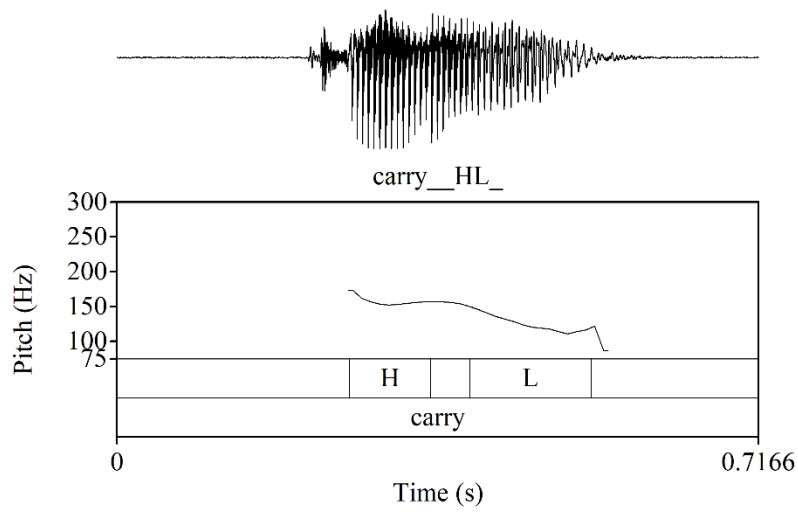
Fig. 4.3a: Wave form and pitch track image of CarryHL
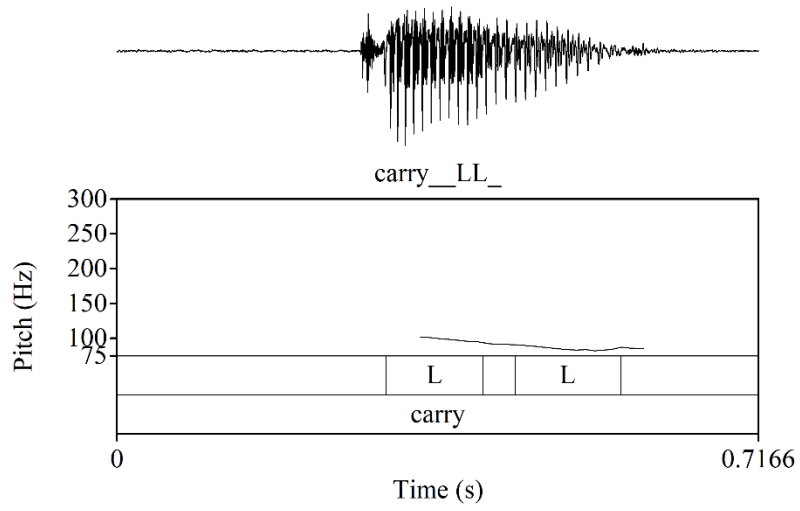
Fig. 4.3b: Wave form and pitch of Carry^{LL}

The spectrograph images, Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4, show the contrast between the two lexical items in (58).

59a.   Now /naw^F/   Now (ADV)

              Now /naw^R/   Please [appeal] (INTJ)

60a.   Boy /bɔɪ^F/   Boy (N)

b   Boy/bɔɪ^R/   Servant/male-servant (N)

61a.   Baby /bebi^{HL}/ Baby (N)

b   Baby /bebi^{LH}/ doll/damsel (N)

4.1.2.1 General Prosodic Patterns:

The tonal patterns of lexical items in Naija (4.1.2.1, 4.1.2.1.1, 4.2.1.1.2 , 4.2.1.1.3) show a tendency towards an initial non high prosodic pattern in lexical items with more than one syllable. This is important because a high number of reduplicatives and compounds have an initial non-high, and it is the distinction between compounds and verb phrases, noun phrases or adjectival phrases.

The figures below show the general prosodic patterns in Naija lexical items.

In monosyllabic words as shown in Figure 4.4, the initial High prosodic (H and F) value accounts for about 89% of all monosyllabic words, and the initial low (L and R) account for about 11% of all monosyllabic words.

In bisyllabic words as shown in Figure 4.5, the initial non-high prosodic values account for 57.37% of bisyllabic words, and non-high prosodic initial prosodic values account for 41.91% of bisyallbic words.

Trisyllabic words on the other hand (as shown in Figure 4.6), have a 63.16% of words with an initial non high, and 36.07% of words with an initial high. Pentasyllabic words

(as shown in Figure 4.8) have an initial non-high 56.25% of the time and initial high 43.75% of the time.

In quadrisyllabic words as shown in Figure 4.7, words with an initial non-high prosodic value have a 75.02%, and words with a non-high prosodic value have a 24.98%.

Words in Naija that have hexasyllables have initial high prosodic values 25% of the time, and non-high prosodic values 75% of the time. This is shown in Figure 4.8.
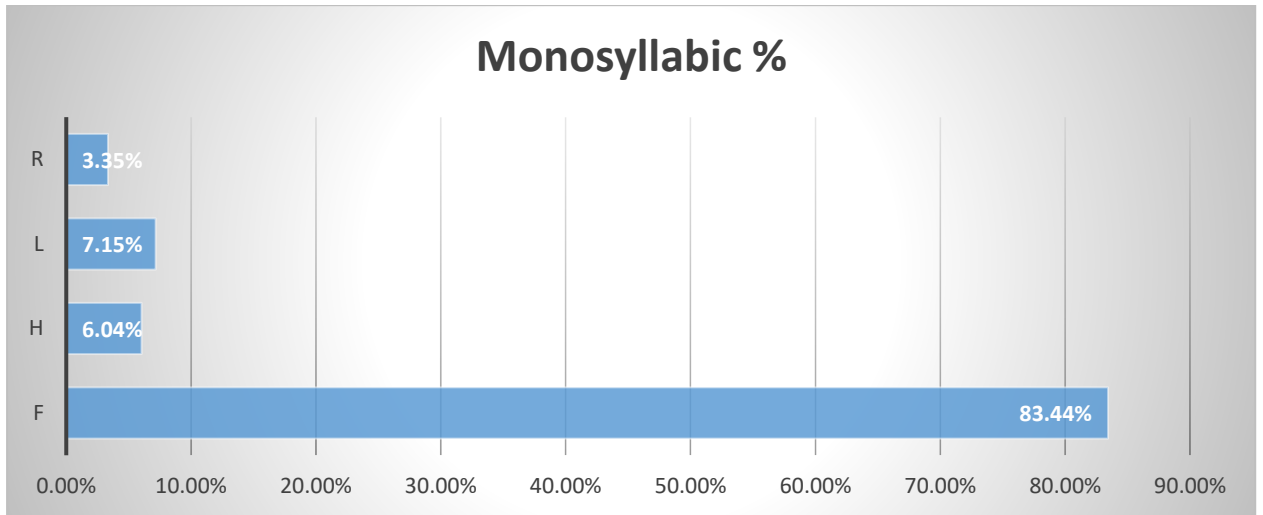
Fig. 4.4: Percentage of general prosodic patterns in monosyllabic words
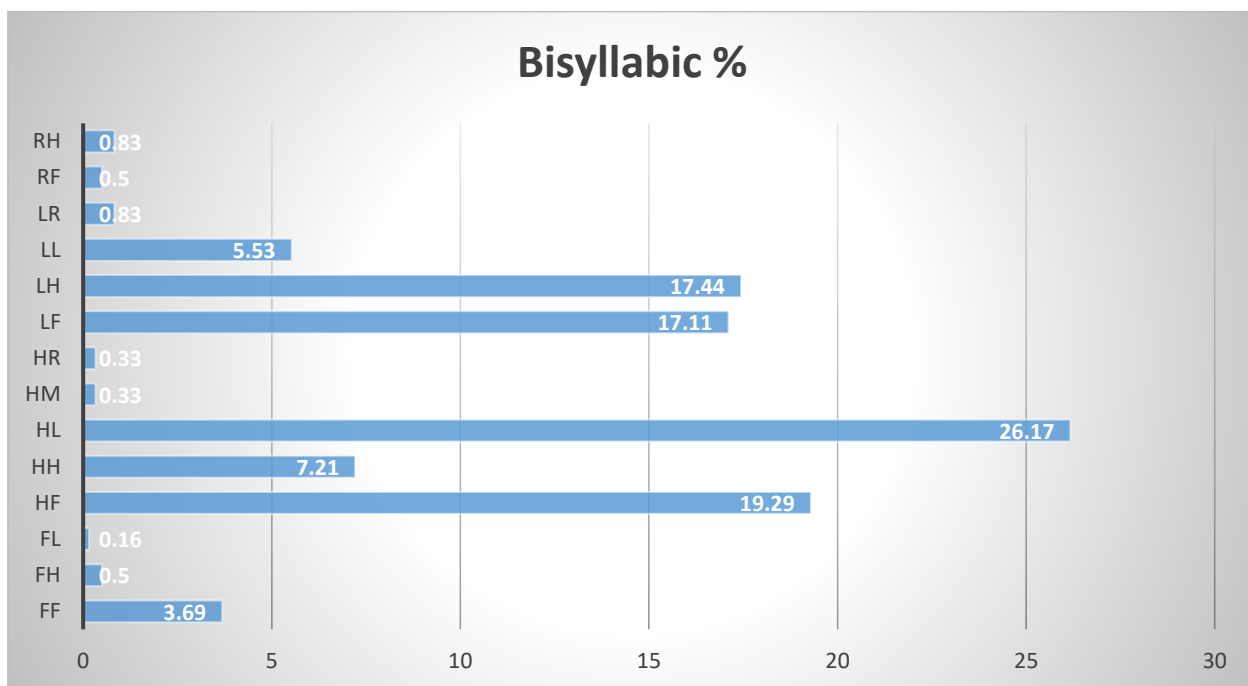
Fig. 4.5: Percentage of general prosodic patterns in bisyllabic words
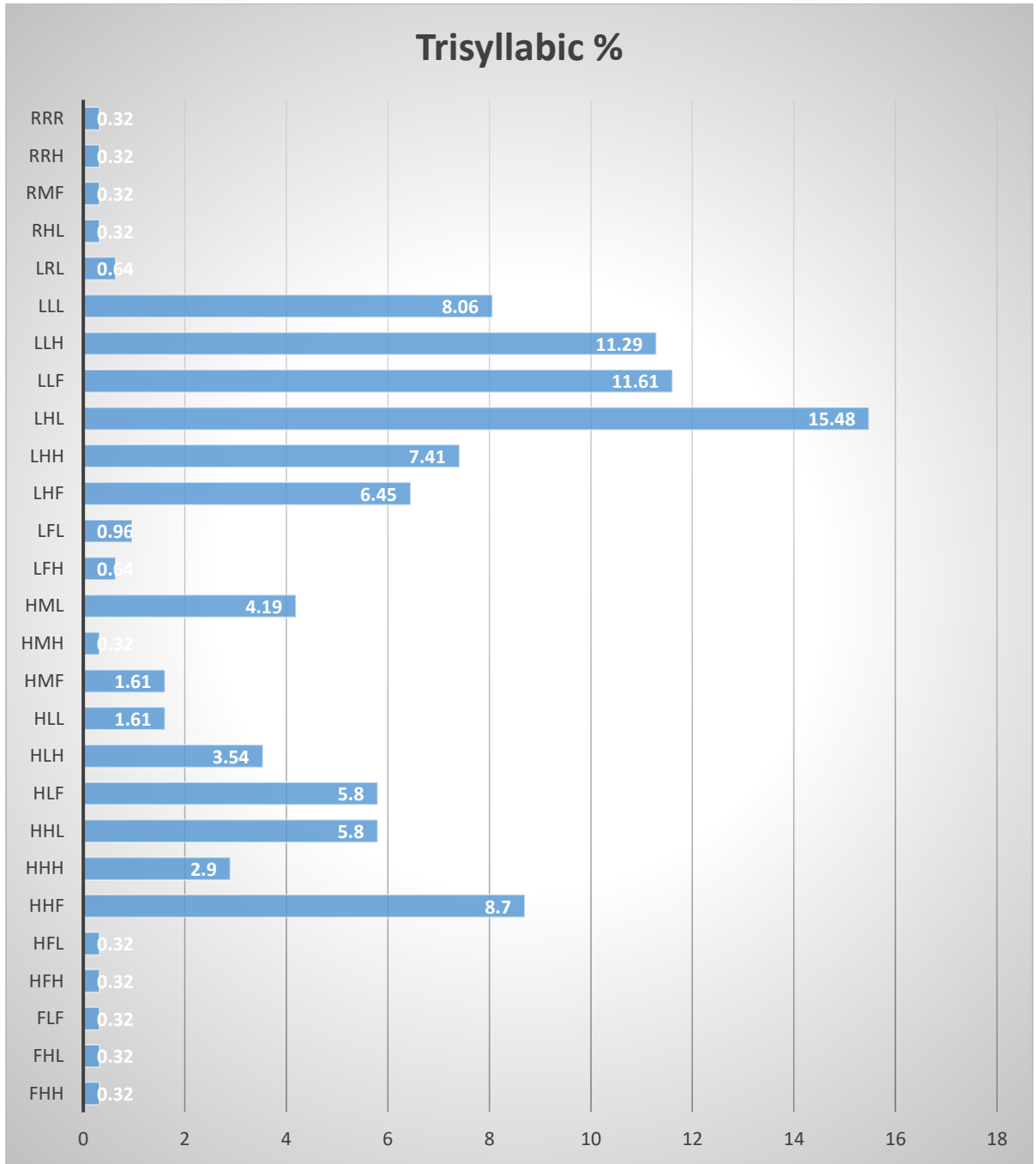
Fig. 4.6: Percentage of general prosodic patterns in Trisyllabic words
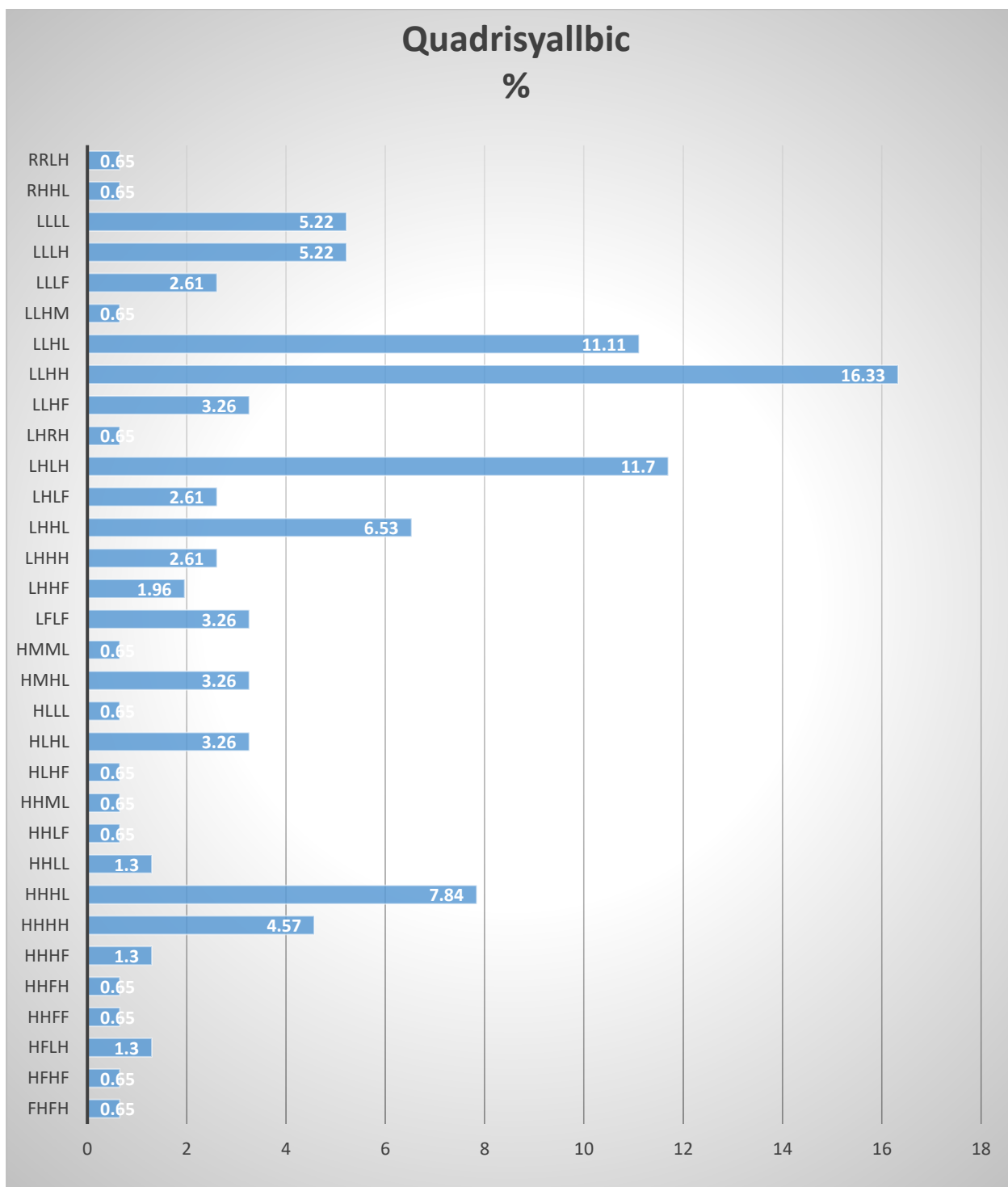
Fig. 4.7: Percentage of general patterns in Quadrisyllabic words
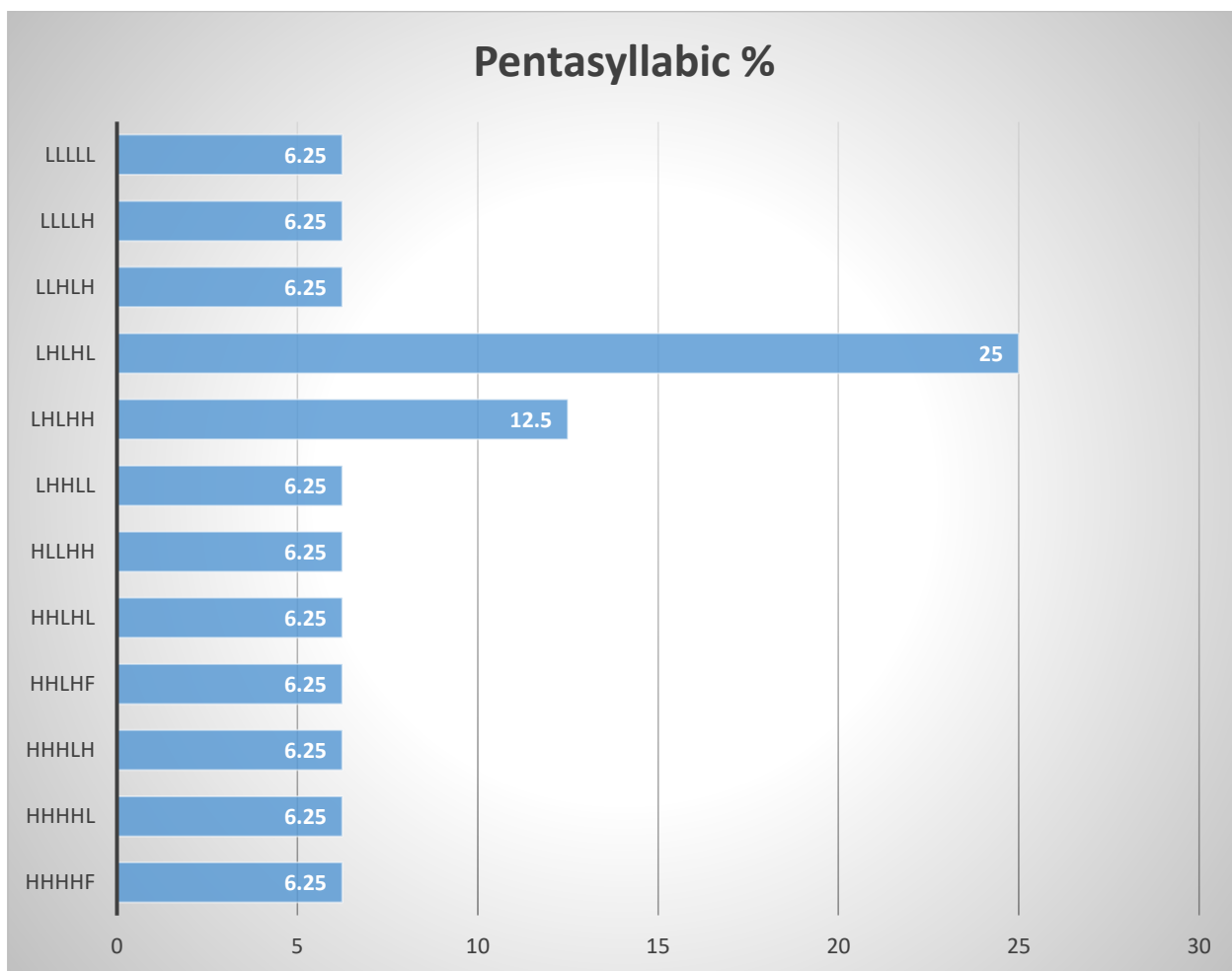
Fig. 4.8: Percentage of general patterns in pentasyllabic words
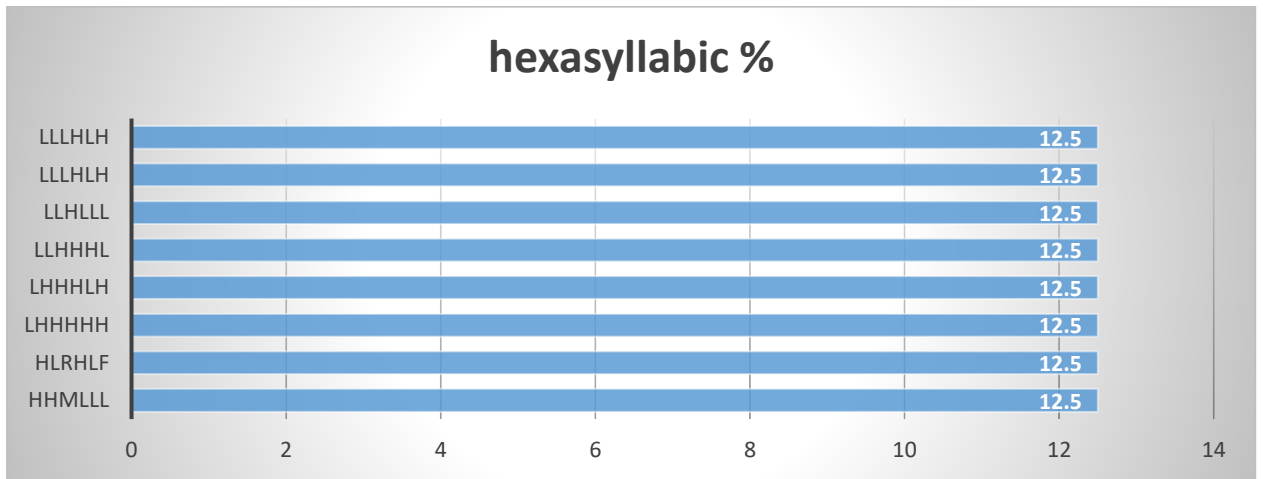
Fig. 4.9: Percentage of general patterns in hexasyllabic words

4.1.2.1.1 Prosodic patterns (<English)

This section will describe the prosodic patterns of Naija lexical items with English etymology.

With English providing 84% of monosyllables, and the resulting Naija lexical items retaining the prosodic pattern of the parent-English monosyllables, it does appear that in the lexicalizaton processes, tendency is for Naija to retain the prosody of parent-English monosyllables. Figure 4.10 shows that 330 of the 370 identified monosyllabic words lexicalized from English have a falling prosodic value. Bisyllabic words with English etymologies also generally retain their etymological prosodies as shown in Figure 4.11. However, Table 4.3 shows that there appears to be a set of Naija lexical items that show a markedly different prosodic pattern from their etymological parents. Figure 4.12 shows that regard to prosody in trisyllabic, there is not a lot of change in etymologically English words in the Naija lexicon. Figure 4.13 shows that quadrisyllabic words in Naija with English etymologies (super story, heavyduty, everybody, anybody) may also retain their parent prosody.
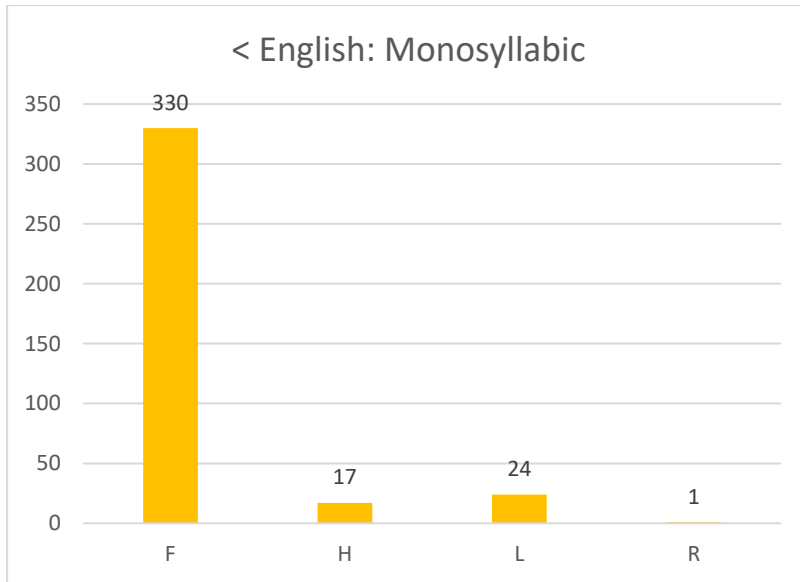
Fig. 4.10: Prosody of Monosyllabic words in Naija – (English etymology)
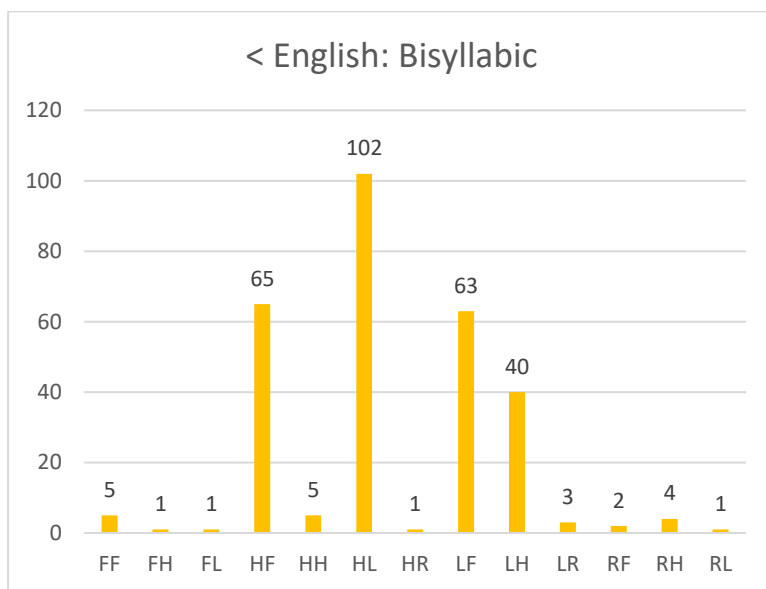
Fig. 4.11: Prosody of bisyllabic words in Naija – (English etymology)
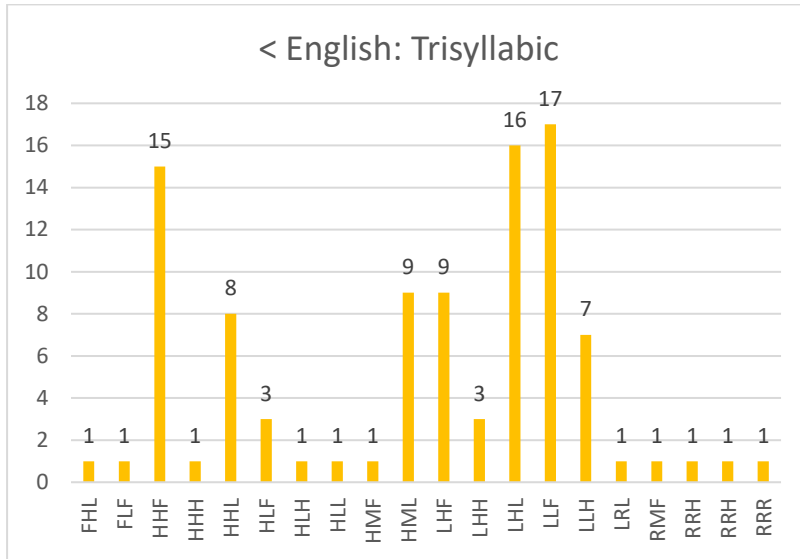
Fig. 4.12: Prosody of trisyllabic words in Naija – (English etymology)
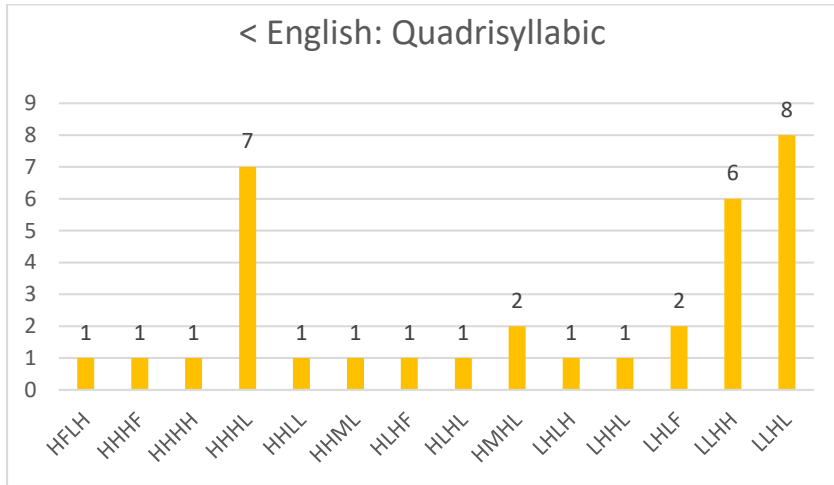
Fig. 4.13: Prosody of quadrisyllabic words in Naija – English etymology

4.2.1.1.2 Prosodic patterns (<Benue Congo Languages)

(Ẹdo, Efik, Etsako, Hausa, Igbo, Isoko, Kalabari, Kalabari, Urhobo Yoruba)

This section will describe the prosodic patterning of lexical items in Naija with Benue Congo languages as their etymological source.

Figure 4.14 shpws that monosyllabic words from Benue Congo sources, are mostly interjections and exclamations (shuo^{F}, gbam^{L}, ehn^{R}), and they mostly have a rising prosodic contour. Figure 4.15 shows that bisyllabic words in Naija that have Benue Congo languages as their source retain the prosodic values of their etymological source. There is also some evidence for this is Table 4.4 and Table 4.5. The Trisyllabic words shown in Figure 4.16, (agbada, agbero, agogo, aka gum, akowe, amebo ,garawa, kukuma nkwobi) from Benue Congo are also prosody maintaining.
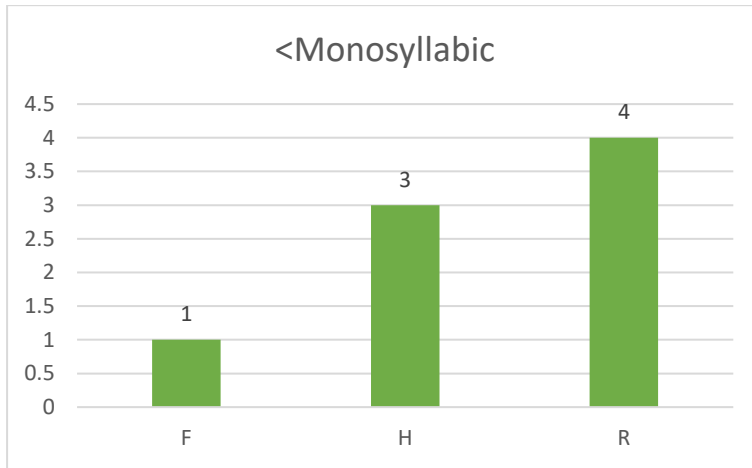
Fig. 4.14: Prosody of monosyllabic words in Naija – Benue Congo etymology
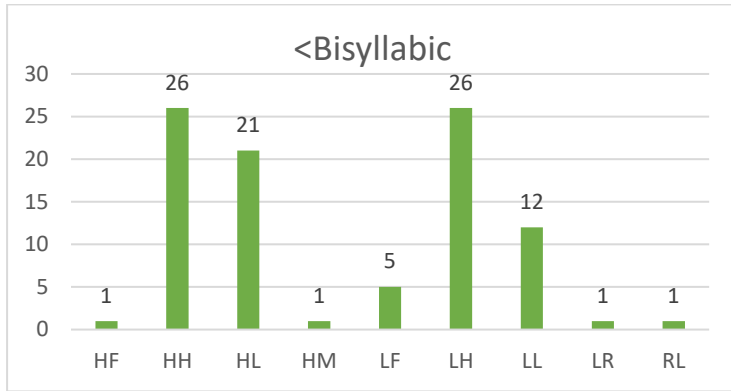
Fig. 4.15: Prosody of bisyllabic words in Naija – (Benue Congo etymology)
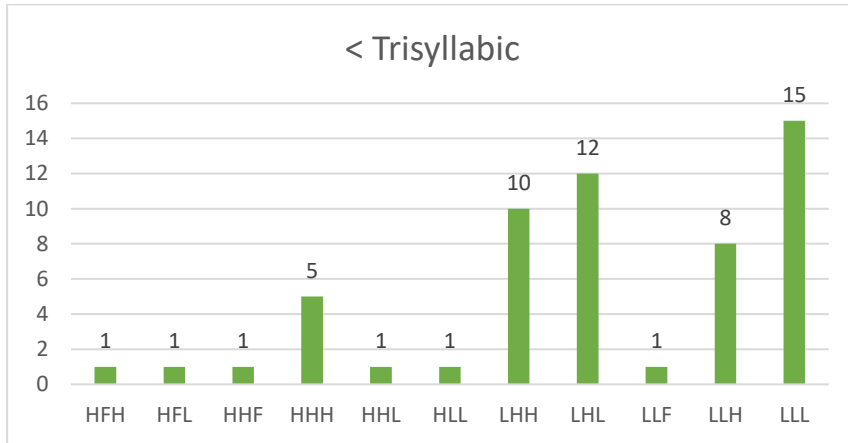
Fig. 4.16: Prosody of trisyllabic words in Naija – (Benue Congo etymology)
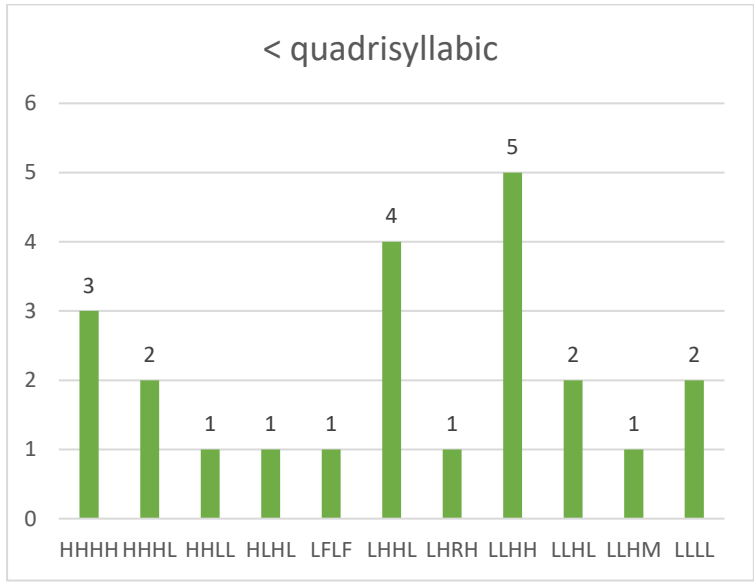
Fig. 4.17: Prosody of quadrisyllabic words in Naija – (Benue Congo etymology)

Quadrisyllabic words in Naija from Benue Congo sources (akpuruka, dogoyaro, farabale, kpatakpata, kulikuli) in Figure 4.17 are also prosody maintaining.

4.2.1.1.3 Prosodic patterns (Naija novel lexical items)

This section will describe the prosodic patterns of novel Naija lexical items. These are lexical items that are not found in any of the source languages, or lexical items that have undergone some morphological process in Naija. (see Section 4.3). Monosyllables for novel Naija lexical items (bam, doke, gbab, gbes, kpuf, lem) in Figure 4.18 have a mostly falling Prosody. Bisyllabic lexical items in Naija shown in Figure 4.19 have a higher initial high prosdy (Falling or High). However, lexical items with the [-ing] (yarning[HL], pressing[HL], wording[HL], lashing[HL], nyashing[HL]) suffix have an initial high and a final low). This is the only predictable bisyllabic pattern in our corpus sets. In trisyllabic words in Naija as shown in Figure 4.20, there is a nearly equal percentage of words with initial non high prosody and words with initial high prosody. Type 2 compounding contributes to yield trisyllabic words that have an initial non-high prosodic value. Type 2 compounds in Naija have a fairly stable pattern, with the initial non high prosody providing the distinction between compounds and phrases (See section 4.3.6). In Quadrisyllabic words as shown in Figure 4.21 reveal a more consistent pattern emerges due to higher number of reduplicatives and compounds occurring here. Reduplicatives and type 2 compounds have an initial non-high prosodic value. Pentasyallbic lexical items in Naija as shown in Figure 4.22 have an equal distribution between initial non-highs and initial highs. Figure 4.28 shows that hexasyallbic lexical items in Naija (sharparly shaparly[HHHLLL], adomeadobody[LLLHLH]) have a higher tendency to have initial non-high prosodic value.
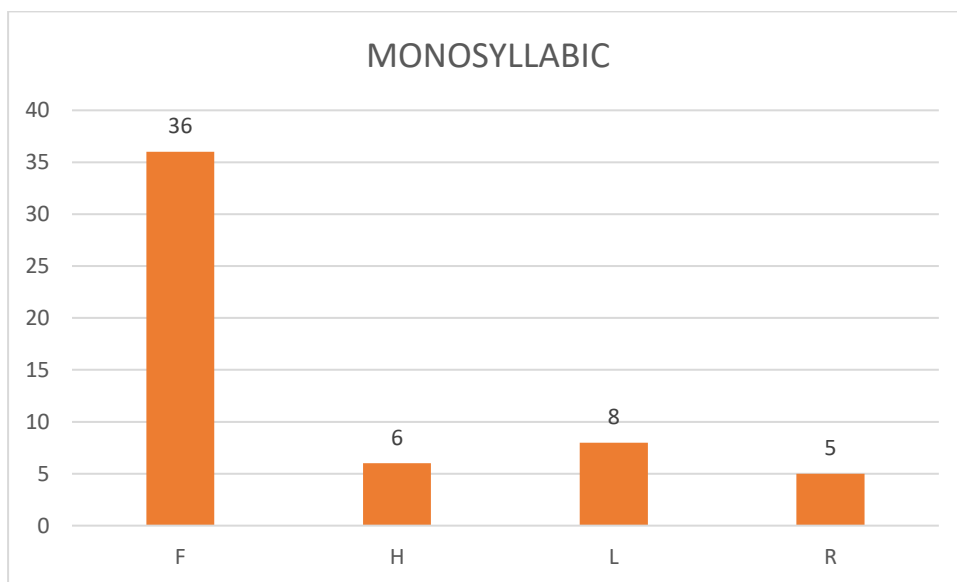
Fig. 4.18: Prosody of novel monosyllabic words in Naija
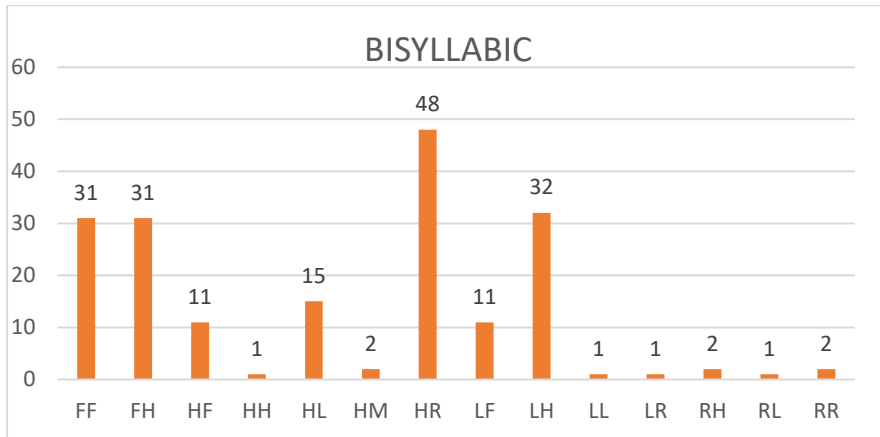
Fig. 4.19: Prosody of novel bisyllabic words in Naija
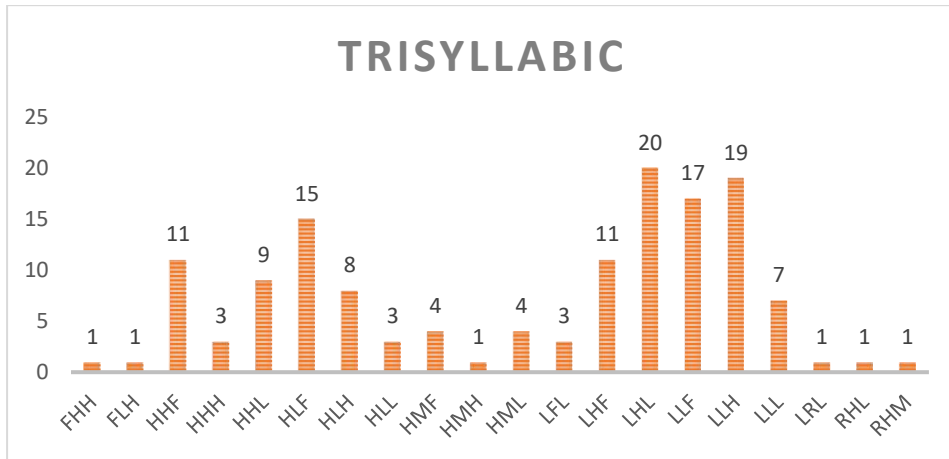
Fig. 4.20: Prosody of novel trisyllabic words in Naija
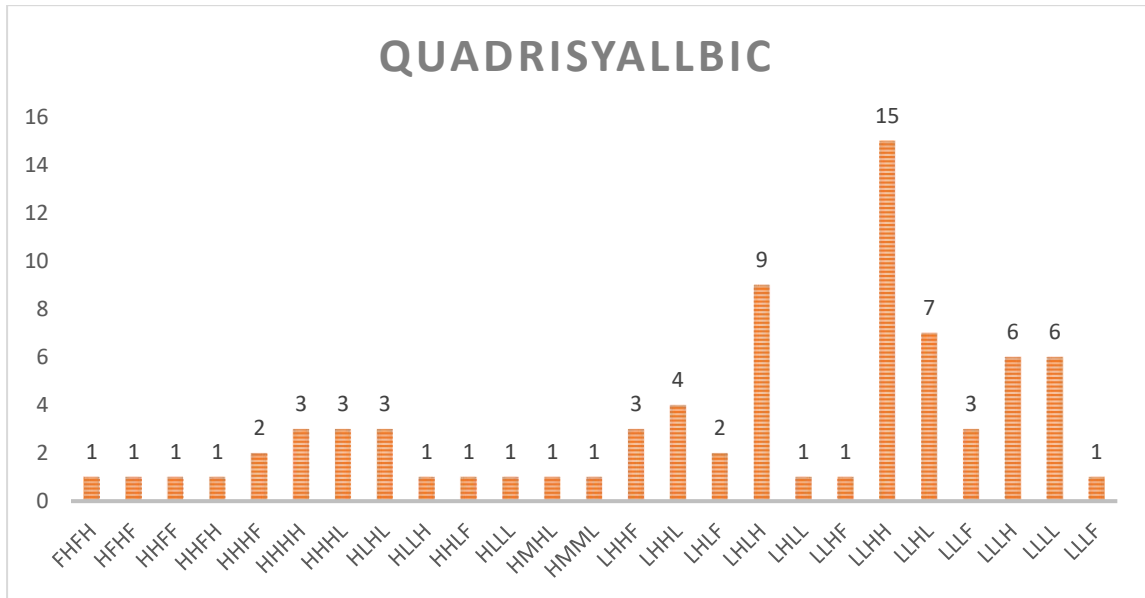
Fig. 4.21: Prosody of novel quadrisyllabic words in Naija
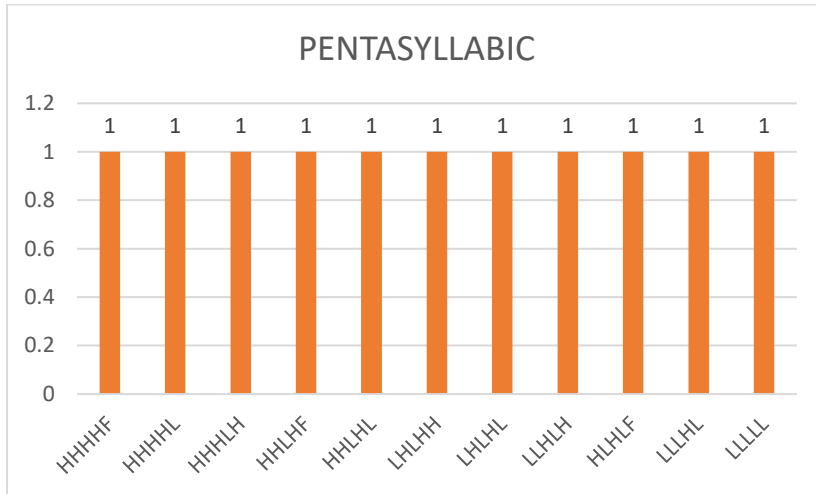
Fig. 4.22: Prosody of novel pentasyllabic words in Naija
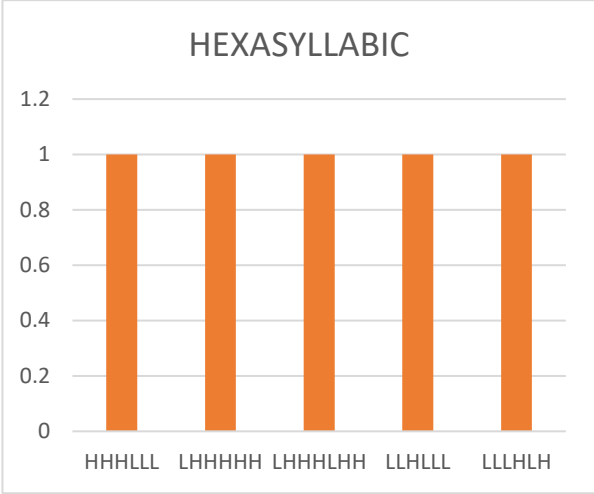
Fig. 4.28: Prosody of novel hexasyllabic words in Naija

4.1.2.2 Section Summary

Naija retains the lexical prosodic patterns in English etymological words, except for a growing set of bisyllabic words that have an altered prosody. There are various ideas why this may be the case. While this may appear to be a simple case of stress shift, and then a stress to tone mapping, further research may be needed to confirm if this is the case.

Words lexicalized from Benue-Congo languages are prosody preserving, because there is often no change in prosody between the etymology parent and the Naija lexical item.

Naija novel lexical items have a decipherable pattern in bisyllabic lexical items: the bisyllabic lexical items that have the [-ing] suffix, have an initial prosodic high and final prosodic low. The presence of type 2 compounds which have a predictable pattern, results in the nearly nearly equal percentage of words with initial non high prosody and words with initial high prosody in trisyllabic lexical items. These compounds types and reduplicatives yield a consistent pattern of initial non-highs resulting a greater number of initial non-highs in quardisyallbic lexical items.

4.1.3. Multifunctionality and Word Order

In Naija, words may change their categories without any overt changes in the morphology. In cases where Naija words exhibit multifunctionality, the words occur in various syntactic positions. One may rely on syntactic positions to determine the category of the word (Faraclas, 1996:32). Therefore, the said word will have different subcategorization frames and functions when it occurs in different syntactic positions.

16.07% of lexical items may be used in at least two categories, 1.03% in at least 3 categories and 0.1% in at least four categories.

More discussions on this in Section 4.3.8

4.1.4 Summary

This section has investigated features of the Naija lexical item along the lines of etymology, prosody and multifunctionality.

4.2 Lexical categories in Naija

The background for what identifies the different lexical categories are useful for this study. Since we seek to establish in this chapter that word morphological processes may yield words in different categories, it is important to establish what the identifiers of those lexical categories are.

Following the Universal Dependency framework, a number of word classes present in languages of the world are presented. These are referred to as Universal parts of speech (POS) They include: Adjectives, Adverbs, Interjections, Nouns, Proper Noun, Adposition, Adverb, auxiliary verb, conjunction, Determiner, Numeral, Particle, Pronominal, Subordinate conjunction.

There is however no compulsion for a language to have all of these categories. Languages may parameterize on the presence or absence of these POSs.

There are however clues to aid the determination of what may fall into various categories. From those universal clues, the features of lexical categories in Naija in the next section is advanced.

4.2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Naija are identifiable by their syntactic and distributional characteristics. In a noun phrase, nouns occur in the following order: (determiner) (cardinal), ordinal, possessive, adjective, NOUN, particle, relative clause marker.

4.2.1.1 Determiners

Huddleston and Pullum (2016:54-55) explain that the determiner is a type of dependant found in the noun phrase which serves to mark the NP as definite or indefinite. Definiteness, as contrasted with indefiniteness, is used to refer to the function of delineating a "specific identifiable entity" (Crystal, 2008:133).

Nouns in Naija are preceded by determiners. In Naija, *di* is a definite determiner; while *one* is a non-specific determiner. *Some kind* may also be used to mark indefiniteness.

4.2.1.1.1 Definite Determiner

The definite determiner in Naija *di* may occur with: Proper nouns (62) – (63), count nouns (64), mass nouns (65)-(66)

4.2.1.1.1.1 Proper Nouns

62.
I know sey [if I still { enter em em **di** Sapele |c or enter **di** Delta } |c
1SG know COMP [if 1SG still { enter X X DEF Sapele |c or enter DEF
Delta } |c

speak Pidgin < I go fit relate to people for dere |c but if I speak English
speak Pidgin < 1SG FUT relate to people PREP there |c CONJ if 1SG speak
English

< de go dey look me like sey [ah bros we no dey speak dis language
< 3PL FUT IPFV look 1SG.ACC like COMP [DISC bros 1PL IPFV speak
this language

for here now //] // na Uhrobo we dey speak now //
PREP here now //] // COP Urhobo IPL IPFV speak now //

 why you no speak di one wey we know ?//
why 2SG NEG speak the one REL 1PL know ?//

"I know that if I go to Sapele or Delta and I speak Pidgin, I can relate with
people there, but if I speak English they will say "brother, we do not speak
this language here. We speak Urhobo. Why didn't you speak the language
we know""

P_WAZL_08_Edewor-Life-Story_89-95

63
di Ughelli wey we dey so < e get some nonsense wey be sey
DEF Ughelli REL 1PL COP so < 3SG COP some nonsense REL COP
COMP

 [de take bring us up sha] |c but we no get choice //=
 [3PL take bring 1PL up PREP DISC] |c CONJ 1PL NEG get choice //=

we gat have to follow //
1PL have have to follow //

"In this Ughelli, we were raised with a lot of rubbish, but we did not
have a choice, we had to follow."

War012_@SP10_002-004

The use of the definite determiner for proper nouns (62) and (63) seems to be a feature found in data collected from Warri and Sapele. It's sparsely used in data collected from other areas[14]. It also appears to present as some sort of topicalization or focalization[15]

4.2.1.1.1.2 Count nouns

64.
but God now < don dey bless me // **di** guy wey I dey date now <
CONJ God now < PFV IPFV bless 1SG // DEF guy REL 1SG date now <

e head dey skip sha o // but e dey normal // e straight pass
2SG head IPFV skip DISC DISC // CONJ 2SG COP normal // 2SG straight pass

di rest people own //
DEF rest people own //

'But God is now blessing me. The guy I am dating now, he has some issues. But it's okay. It's better than the rest."

war011_@SP9_272-274

Count nouns (64) may take the definite determiner and this occurs generally in the data without any exceptions.

4.2.1.1.1.3 Mass Nouns

65.
when di man don see sey [I don do di work finish] <
When DET man PFV see COMP [1SG PFV do DET work finish <

di man swallow **di money** //
DET man swallow DET money //

When the man had seen that I had finished the work, the man spent all the money.

ABJ_GWA_06_M_183

66
when de dey build house upon &// even **di** water now dey vex //
when 3SG IPFV build house upon &// even DET water now IPFV vex //

'when they build house on… Even the water now is angry.

war013_@SP10_033

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[14] This seems to be a result of the Urhobo language spoken in those areas. The Urhobo language modifies every noun the definite determiner *na*.
[15] This topicalization seems to be marked. It appears there may be a prosodic difference between For Warri and For **DI** Warri.

4.2.1.1.2 Indefinite Determiner

4.2.1.1.2.1 Non-specific indefinite determiner

The non-specific indefinite determiner for Naija is *one*. The determiner is used when the entity being referred to is not known by the addressee. (67) – (68)

67.
  I say **one** man ehn < e dey carry im pikin (you know sey [{ small |r small }
  1SG say INDF.DET DISX 3SG IPFV carry 1SG.POSS child (2SG know COMP [small |r small

  children of dis days de dey carry dis ehn ehn { water bottle || { bas || basket } }] //
  children of this days 3SG IPFV carry this DISC DISC { water bottle || { X || basket }}} //

  im papa hold basket //= pikin dey one side //) < e dey carry pikin dey go school o //
  3SG.POSS father hold basket //= child hold one side //) < 3SG IPFV carry child IPFV go school //

  eight o clock < dem argue reach eleven forty four //
  eight o clock < 3PL argue reach eleven forty four //

  I am telling you that a certain man was taking his child to school. You know that little children these days carry these water bottle, basket, the father held the basket, and the child was on the other side. He was taking the child to school. They argued from eight oclock till eleven forty four.
  D_IBA_35@Sp414_19-23

68
  so dat moment <naim my uncle con come from Abuja //
  so DEM moment < then 1SG.POSS uncle CONS come from Abuja //

  con do **one** building for **one** of our uncle like dat //
  CONS do INDEF building for INDEF of 1PL.POSS uncle like DEM //

  So at that moment, my uncle came from Abuja. And was doing a building for an uncle of ours.
  ABJ_GWA_08_M_093-101

Indefinite determiners may only occur with count nouns. (67) and (68)

4.2.1.1.3 Demonstrative determiner

Dis (69) and (70) and *dat* (71) and (72) may occur prenominally.

69.
        Alfred < how far now ?// how **dis** Easter go be now ?//
        Alfred < how far now ?// How DEM Easter FUT COP now ?//

        I hear sey [you dey flex di area well] //
        1SG hear COMP [2SG IPFV enjoy DET area well] //

        'Hello Alfred. What is the Easter celebration going to go? I hear that you are enjoying yourself well."
                                    D_LAG_14@Sp228_001-003

70.
        { omo boys |c and Omo girls } eh < on how e take dey " eh "
        { PART boys |c CONJ girls } DISC on how 3SG take COP DISC

        (eh ?//) < I no con dey understand wetin dey happen for
        (DISC ?//) < 1SG NEG IPFV understand what IPFV happen PREP

        dis my Ogberaga industry o //
        DEM 1SG.POSS prostitute industry EMPH //
        'Boys and girls, the way things are going, I don't understand what is happening in this prostitution industry;

                                      SMD006_001-002

71.
        where Peace dey sef ?// { dat || **dat** } una class rep ?//
        where Peace COP even ?// { DEM || DEM } 2PL.POSS class representative ?//

        e get as dat girl dey behave o haha //
        1SG COP as DEM girl IPFV behave EMPH X //
        " Where is Peace? That your class representative? There is a way she behaves haha."

72.
        you know **dat** one ?//
        2SG know DEM one ?//
        "You know that one?"
                               D_BEN_21@Sp53_21

The demonstrative determiner may occur as pronominal subjects of the copula *na*[16] (73)-(75)

73.   **dis** na di problem wey I see sey [dey worry us as a country] //
       DEM COP problem REL 1SG see COMP [IPFV worry 1PL as a country] //
       'This is the problem I see that beguiles us as a country'
                                   M_JOS_16@Sp133_29

74.   **dis** na super story o //
       DEM COP super story EMPH //
       'This is a fable.'
       D_WAZK_05@Sp304_62

75.   if you go hospital < de must check dat your BP first //
       if 2SG go hospital < 3PL must check DEM your blood.pressure first //

       before de go do anything < **dat** na di normal procedure //
       before 3SG FUT do anyting < DEM COP DEF normal procedure //

       If you go to the hospital, your blood pressure will have to be checked first. That's the normal procedure before they do anything.
                                     D_BEN_23@Sp49_21-22

The demonstrative determiner may also occur as complements of the copula *'be'* (76) – (77)

76.   una carry dey talk anyhow sey [dis one na twenty twenty] //
       2PL merely IPFV talk reckless COMP [DEM one COP twenty twenty] //

       make girls dem < make dem do quick < make dem go marry //
       SBJV girls PART < SBJV 3PL do quick < SBJV 3PL go marry //

       I no understand // make we go carry ring come meet una sey
       1SG NEG understand // SBJV 1PL go carry ring come meet 2PL COMP

       [[eng will you marry me eng] ?//] no be fooling be **dat** ?//
       [[eng will you marry me eng] ?//] NEG COP foolish COP DEM ?//

       "You all talk very recklessly, that this is twenty twenty. And girls should hurriedly get married. I don't understand. Should we bring rings to meet you and say "will you marry me"? Isn't that a stupid thing?"
                                      SMD007_003

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[16] A major structural difference between Naija and Ghanaian Pidgin is the use of the copula *be* and *na*

77.   na so >+ you just forget your boy be **dat** //

                COP so >+ 2SG just forget 2SG.POSS COP DEM //

                'That's how you jusy forgot about your boy"

<div align="right">D_JOS_21@Sp139_05</div>

The demonstrative determiner may also occur as a complement of the preposition 'like' (78)

78.   old citizens // people wey don stay di country { well |r well }

                old citizens // people REL PFV stay DET country { well |r well }

                < de dey give dem small allowances because de know sey

                < 3PL IPFV give 3PL small allowances SCONJ 3SG know COMP

                [de no fit too hustle like **dat**] //

                [3PL NEG can too hustle like DEM] //

                "Old citizens. People who have spent a long time in the country, they give them small allowances because they know that they can't really make a living for themselves"

<div align="right">ABJ_INF_12_M_113</div>

4.2.1.2 Number

Nouns In Naija may be marked for plurality. Faraclas (1996:13) states that there is a postposed pluralizer, *dem*. However, Aziza (2015: 12) states that "the structure of the plural noun is **N + -s (+ dem),** as opposed to the earlier version of **N + dem** by Manfeni (1971:110). Our data closely aligns with the position held by Aziza (2015) (79-82); however, there may also be a pluralizer *dem* (dem + Proper Noun) that may precede proper nouns (83). Morphemic alternations. (87) – (89) may also be used in Naija to mark plurality.

Another particle which has emerged, although in restricted use is *omo*^{LL},(< Yoruba ; 'child of') 'child of', this particle can be used to mark plurality in [+human] nominals.

79.   kai our   mama **dem** < de dey   try   // de dey try   { well |r well } //
         oh   1PL. POSS mother **PL** < 3PL IPFV try EMPH // 3PL IPFV try { good |r
         good } //
         'Our mothers are doing great. They are really doing great.

ABJ_GWA_14_M

80.   so everyday people con   dey stay outside // different group (soldier |c hunter
         So everyday people CONS IPFV stay outside // different group (soldier |c hunter
         'So everyday people were standing outside, different groups, soldiers, hunters,

         dem) con   dey   everywhere { dey wait for dis animal |c   dey   try } //
         PL.) CONS IPFV   everywhere { IPFV wait for this animal |c   IPFV   try }
         //
         waiting everywhere, waiting for this animal, striving.'

P_IBA_04

81.   Make   **everybody dem**   repent
         Let.JUSS everyone   PL. repent
         'Everyone should return.'

IBA_40_M_097

82.   ah { dose   ones || dose ones }   na ogas   **dem** now //
         ah { DEM one.PL || DEM one.PL } COP boss.PL PL then .
         'Those are the bosses.'

D_IBA_08@Sp370_009

Naija may also have a preposed *dem* that marks plurality (83) (a) (b)[?17].

83.

(a)   Wetin **dem** Messi play?
         What 2PL Messi play
         'What did Messi and his team play?'

(b)   When **dem** Chika show?
          When 2PL Chika came?
          'When did Chika and his Cohorts come'

---

[17] This example was not found in the corpus sets used for this study but was heard in personal
conversation

However, what seems to be the case is that when the noun has a [+Animate] feature, the Noun may take an **'-s'** (84) – (85) inflection or the postposed pluralizer *dem*, or both. However, a [–Animate] noun may only take the '-s' inflection.

84.   as Federal Government go work wit { oyibo **partners** |c and **friends** }
as Federal Government FUT work PREP { foreign partners |c CONJ friends }

to take settle di issue //
to take settle DEF issue //

"As the Federal government will work with foreign partners and friends to settle the issue"

<div align="right">War001@SP2_009</div>

85.   { di chairmo of South West **Governors** forum |c and Governor of Ondo State
{ DEF chairman of South West Governors forum |c and Governor of Ondo State

wen be Rotimi Akeredolu } wen e yarn as spokesman for di governors dem talk
REL COP Rotimi Akeredolu } REL 3SG say as spokesperson PREP DEF governors PL say

sey [di technical committee don submit wetin de conclude sey [go make
COMP [DEF technical committee PFV submit what 3SG conclude COMP [FUT make

sense based on di security challenge and dem go start work next month]] //
sense based on DEF security challenge and 3SG FUT begin work next month]] //

'The chairman of the South West Governors forum and the Governor of Ondo State in his capacity as the spokesman for the governors said that the technical committee has submitted their conclusions on what they are sure will be useful to deal with the security challenges and they will start work next month'

<div align="right">War001@SP2_013</div>

In Naija, nouns can also be irregularly pluralised. Words such as *pikin* (87) 'child' and *child* (86) 'child' have *children* (88) 'children' as its plural form.

86. if e wan even get **child** now sef < e fit { go any place |c go adopt pikin
  if 3SG want even get child now even < 3SG can { go any place |c go adopt child

  carry am come } //
  carry 3SG come } //
  ' Even if he wants a child now, he can go to any place to adopt a child and bring it home'

                   D_BEN_37@Sp53_50

87. I go con start work again // so e good as government do am //
  1Sg FUT CONS start work again // so 3SG good as government do 3SG //

  my **pikin** go don almost reach one year
  1SG.POSS child FUT PFV almost reach one year
  "I will resume work again. So, it is good as the government has done. My child will have almost become year"

                 ABJ_GWA_14_M_121

88. at least we fit dey pay school fees //= we fit dey cook food for di
  at least 1PL can IPFV pay school fees //= 1PL can IPFV cook food for DET

  children //= we fit dey buy bag of rice for house //
  children //= 1PL can IPFV buy bag of rice PREP house //

  "At least, we can pay school fees. We can cook food for the children. We can buy a bag of rice at home"

                D_ABJ_GWA_04_SP2_55

There are also few instances of *pikin dem* (89) – (90)

89. all dese **pikin dem** dey suffer for road o |c and ehn we
  all these Children PART IPFVsuffer PREP road EMPH CONJ 1PL

  suppose dey pity dem //
  suppose IPFV pity 3PL //

  'All of these children are suffering on the streets and ehn we're supposed to pity them.'

              M_ABJ_INF_07@Sp23_053

90.   { dese our four children so ‖ dese our four **pikin dem** } wey we born
       { DEM 1PL.POSS children DEM ‖ DEM 1PL.POSS child PART } REL 1PL birth

       ah < my husband o < out of dese four pikin < hm ehn na
       DISC < 1SG.POSS husband EMPH < out of DEM four child < DISC DISC COP

       only dis one >+ (na im be di last born) na im >+ be your own //
       only DEM one >+ (COP 3SG COP DET last born) COP 3SG >+COP 2SG.POSS
       own

       "my husband, our four chidren; of these four children, just this one, the last child,
       is yours."

                                                              BEN_19a@Sp52_42

Another word with an irregular plural for is *person* (91)-(92) with *people* (93) *as* the
plural. There was no case in the corpus for *people dem*.

91.   na me >+ ehn be **person** wey be sey [God don tie you with] //
       COP 1SG >+ DSIC COP person REL COP COMP [GOD PFV tie 2SG
       PREP] //
       I am the person God has tied you with.

                                                              D_IBA_07@Sp368_115

92.   if you carry every talk wey comot for **person** mouth take do
       if 2SG take every workd REL come.out PREP person mouth take do

       someting   < omo < na die o //
       something < bro < COP death EMPH //
       If you take every word a person says as too serious, it'll be full of regrets.

                                                              D_ABJ_INF_06@Sp22_099

93.   You and dose **people**, all of una eh, harmattan go show
       2SG CONJ DEM person.PL all of 2PL DISC harmattan FUT show
       una pepper.
       2SG pepper

       'You and all those people, all of you, the harmattan will be harsh to you all.'
                                                              Naijioanry_people

There are cases when an –*s* inflection does not pluralize (94)

110

94.

    because { me |c and am } na **guys** //+   we dey talk { well |r well } //
    SCONJ { 1SG |c CONJ 3SG } COP friend //+ 1PL IPFV talk { well |r well } //

    'Because I am friends with him/her. We talk very often.'

                                               War_14

The same system derives from English and there are instances of: *man/men*, *woman/women*[18], *person/ people*.

4.2.1.2.1 Cardinals

The number system of Naija follows from the number system of the English language. (95) – (96)

95.

    # some people don say [de don do am **twenty** years //= # carry am marry
    # Some person.PL PFV say [3PL PFV do 3SG twenty year.PL //= use 3SG marry

    wife //= born five children //= # born ten children //= no house] //
    wife //= birth five children //= # birth ten children // NEG house] //

    Some people said they have been on this job for twenty years, got married with the proceeds, had five children... had ten children, without a house.

                         ONI_07_Dis-Year-Na-My-Year_MG__23

96.

    # and **one** ting be sey [ajebo no go fit mix with { ghet~ || eh kpako }] //
    # CONJ one thing COP COMP [well.to.do NEG can mix with { X || DISC not.well.to do}] //
     And the fact is that the spoilt brats can't mix with the ghet-... uh, the underprivileged

                           PRT_05_Ghetto-Life_MG__8

Cardinals may also be used to modify pronominals as a means to pluralize them. (97)-(98). However, this instance was only observed with the cardinal number, *two*. It is yet to

---

be seen if other cardinal numbers can be used in this manner[19] [20][21]. This configuration is achieved using the plural personal pronouns + cardinal number. The cardinal number *two* is however the only number that has been observed to occur in this configuration and perform this function.

97.   una two no fit understand una Language //

                 2PL two NEG can understand 2PL.POSS language //

                 The two of you can't understand each other's language.

M_LAG_03@Sp348_85

98.   except sey [una two no wan make di marriage last] //

                 except COMP [2PL two NEG want SBJV DET marriage last] //

                 'Except the both of you do not want the marriage to last'

M_PRT_09@Sp271_08

4.2.1.2.2 Ordinals

There are two ordinal strategies in Naija: One which derives from the English superstrate (99), and another which follows the Number + cardinal which is the substrate strategy. It is yet to be seen what direction this may take, and further research may reveal interesting things in this direction.[22] [23]

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[19] In this configuration, possessive pronouns are used. When the entity(ies) being referred to is a first person plural, the first person possessive plural pronoun *our* is used. *Our two bin reach your side.* when the referent is a second-person possessive plural pronoun is used *No be una two I see dey waka dey come?*
[20] Although not in the corpora, *we two* has also been heard in conversations.
We two go gader do am
2PL two FUT come.together do it
'Two of us will do it together'
[21] There are also configurations where the adverb *only* and the cardinal *one* occur before and after personal pronouns.
a) *Only* **me** *one* . (just me)
b) *only* **im** one (Just him/her)
[22] Eg. Di number four person for di army na my village person.
Small time now, de go make you di number two person for di school.
[23] Although we did not find any instances in our data, Ordinals in Naija may also function as nominals.
Your **second** bin dey find you.
Your **second** don dey sabi work well well.

99.   when we reach di scene < we open di door < di **first** tin wen
when 1PL arrive DET scene < 1PL open DET door < DET first thing REL

I see be sey [blood dey comot { from di man nose |c
1SG see COP COMP [blood IPFV come.out { from DET man nose |c

and from di man ear }] // na wetin de dey call hemorrhage >+ be dat //
CONJ PREP DET man ear }] // COP what 3PL IPFV call hemorrage >+ COP that //
M_IBA_13@Sp379_051-052

4.2.1.3 Adjectival Modification

This is discussed in

4.2.2 Pronouns

This section will discuss pronouns in Naija, exemplifying their occurrences.

Pronouns in Naija occur in positions where nouns syntactically occur. Below is a table outlining the pronouns in Naija.

Table 4.1: Pronouns in Naija

Person/Number	Subject	Object	Possessive	Reflexive	Indefinite Pronouns
1SG	I, me	Me	My	Mysef	person
2SG	You	You	your	yoursef	
3SG	E (neutral), im (neutral) She (female)	am, her	im, her	Imsef, (hersef [rare])	
1PL	We, wewe	Us	Our	Oursef	
2PL	Una	Una	Una	Unasef	
3PL	De, dem	dem, demdem	deir	Demsef, deirsef	

4.2.2.1 First person Singular Pronouns

1st Person Singular Subject Pronoun [I]

100. **I** dey like starch { well |r well } // starch hm < na starch >+ I dey like //
1SG IPFV like starch { good |r good } // starch DISC < COP starch >+ 1SG IPFV
like //
' I like starch a lot. Starch, hm, I really like it'

<div align="right">D_ABJ_GWA_02_Market-Food-Church_ @Sp275_32</div>

1St Person Singular Subject Pronoun [me]

101.

I say [toh **me** < I no get money wey I go take eat //] // im say [make we go] //
1SG say [okay 1SG.OBJ NEG have money REL 1SG FUT take eat //] // 2SG
said [SBJV 1PL go]] //

 I say [na di last two hundred naira wey dey my hand |c and you want
1SG said [COP DEF last two hundred naira REL IPFV 1SG.POSS |c CONJ 2SG
want

 make we use am go eat ?//]
SBJV 1PL use 2SG go eat   ?//]

'I said "hm, I don't have any money to buy food. She/He said we should gp. I said
"I have just two hundred naira, do you want me to spend it on food?"

<div align="right">P_ABJ_GWA_12_Accident_005</div>

[me] as 1st Person Singular object pronoun

102.

based on lack of maintenance wey you no fit dey give di pikin //
SCONJ   lack of maintenance REL 2SG NEG CAN IPFV give DEF child //

you dey understand **me** so ?// poverty dey lead to call person name o //
2SG IPFV understand 1SG so ?// poverty IPFV lead to call person name //

' Because of the lack of care you have failed to give a child, you understand?
Poverty can make a person call you by your name'

<div align="right">war005@SP7_020-22</div>

[my] as 1st Person Singular possessive

103.
{ you know sey me < I || you know sey me < I } don change //
{ 2SG know COMP 1SG < 1SG.Obj < 1SG || 2SG know COMP 1SG < 1SG
PFV change
 you no dey know **my** parole again //
2SG NEG IPFV know 1SG.POSS activities again //
' You know that I, you know that I've changed. You no longer know my
activities.

<div align="right">

D_IBA_39_Easter-Preparations_   29-

</div>

4.2.2.2 Second Person Singular Pronouns

[you] as 2ⁿᵈ person singular subject

104.
even as rain dey fall sef < **you** go just see sey [our weather sweet] //
even as rain IPFV fall even < 2SG FUT just see sey [1PL.POSS
weather sweet
'Even as the rain is falling, you'll see that the weather is favourable.'

<div align="right">

P_JOS_20_Beauty of Jos_ JOS_206-207

</div>

[you] as 2ⁿᵈ person singular object

105.
I dey always free // any time wey I dey see **you** < my mind dey sweet //
1SG IPFV always free // anytime REL 1SG IPFV see 2SG < 1SG.POSS
mind IPFV sweet
'I'm always free. Any time I see you, I'm always pleased.'

<div align="right">

D_ENU_20_Relationship with women_ 107-108

</div>

[your] as 2ⁿᵈ Person plural subject

106.
JayJay < you na good girl normally o // forgive dem // forgive dem > you
hear ?//
JayJay < 2SG COP good girl normally EMPH // forgive 3PL // forgive 3PL
> you hear ?//

de be smallie for **your** corner normally //
3PL COP child PREP 1PL.POSS corner normally //

'JayJay, you are a good girl. Forgive them. Forgive them, okay? They are
children to you.'

<div align="right">

SP21@SMD004_005

</div>

4.2.2.3 Third person singular pronouns

[e] as 3rd Person Singular subject pronoun

107.
I know sey [**e** dey hard o] // **e** no dey easy //
1SG know COMP [3SG IPFV hard o] // 3SG NEG IPFV easy //
'I know that it can be hard. It is not easy.
D_JOS_21_Marriage talk with Oscar_ @Sp138_82-83

E as a 3rd Person Singular subject pronoun may also be used as a pleonastic pronoun, not having a specific referent. (108)-(109)

108.
e get one foolish ting wey I do one day < each time I remember
3SG COP one foolish thing REL 1SG do one day < each time I remember

< I go just look mysef //= I go just dey laugh mysef //
< 1SG FUT just look myself //= 1SG FUT just IPFV laugh myself //

There was a foolish thing I did on day, each time I remember I look at myself and laugh at myself.'
ENU_37_M_167

109.
e get one guy wey be sey [e get car shop] //+
3SG COP one guy REL COP COMP [3SG have car shop] //+

de burn im shop reach ground //
2PL burn 2SG.POSS reach ground //

'There was one guy who had a car shop , they burned his car shop to the ground.'
war013_@SP10_019

110
how you go { carry dat result { go || go || go } house |c go dey give your
how 2SG FUT { carry that result { go || go || go } house |c IPFV give 2SG.POSS

parents } ?// **e** get as **e** be o //
parents } ?// 3SG COP as 2SG COP EMPH //

How will you take that kind of result home to give to your parents? It's abnormal.
ENU_13@Sp87_12-13

[im] as 3rd Person Singular subject pronoun

111.
     im too go chop inside //
     3SG too go eat inside //
     'He/She has also gone inside to eat.'
                                              T_LAG_39_Recording-Wahala_ @Sp261_66

112.
     im con still yarn sey [abeg < make countrypeople dey pray for Buhari //=
     3SG CONS still said COMP[please < SBJV citizens IPFV pray for Buhari //=

     { make **im** body dey okay |c and make e fit conquer di problem wey
     {SBJV 3SG body COP okay |c CONJ SBJV 3SG can conquer DET problem REL

     dey face dis we country }] //
     IPFV face DEM 1PL.POSS country }] //

     'He how also said that the citizens should please pray for Buhari, so that he can be
     healthy and so that he can conquer the problem we are facing in our country.'

                                          M_WAZL_12_Chibok-Girls_ M_ @Sp436_08

Im has also grammaticalized as the complement of the copula *na*.in cleft-II of the double cleft in Naija which in turn has grammaticalized to the adverb *naim* (consecution). It seems the case that *historically* the agreement of the complement of Cleft-II agrees in number with the complement of Cleft-I. However, this no longer seems to be the case. There are only few cases where there is agreement in number between the complements of cleft-I and cleft-II. This is also discussed in Section 4.3.9.4

[she] as 3rd Person Singular Subject Pronoun

113.
     you go call girl now sey [how far naw > area ?// come plaster wit me o //] //
     2SG FUT call girl now COMP [how far DISC < friend ?// come stay with me
     EMPJ //] //

     { **she** go tell you now sey || she go tell you sey } she no want burst
     { 3SG.FEM FUT tell you now COMP || 3SG.FEM FUT tell you COMP
     3SG.FEM NEG want burst

     out unto because sey   [she plaster wit her best friend wey be girl]] //
     out SCONJ SCONJ COMO [3SG.FEM stay with her best friend REL COP
     girl]] //

     'You will call a girl now telling her "Hello, how are you dear? Come and stay
     with me." She'll tell you that she cannot come because she is hanging out with
     her friend who is a girl.'

                                                SMD008_002

114.

you no like your sister be dat ?// bah ?// you no like how **she** dey help you
2SG NEG like 2SG.POSS COP DEM ?// right ?// 2SG NEG like how 3SG.FEM
IPFV help 2SG

sometimes dey even help wash your uniform //
sometimes IPFV even help wash 2SG.POSS uniform //

'That means you don't like your sister? Right? You don't like how she helps
you to wash your uniform sometimes?'

D_KAD_29@Sp214_094-96

[am] as 3rd Person Singular object pronoun

115.

[no matter how you try do **am** < problem go still come your way]//
[NEG matter how2Sg try do 3Sg < problem FUT still come your way] //

but dat one no mean sey [una go give up o] //
CONJ DEM one NEG mean COMP [2SG.PL FUT give up o] //

'No matter how you try to it, problems will still come your way. But that does not
mean that you will give up.

[her] as 3rd Person Singular possessive pronoun

The prominent 3rd person possessive pronoun is *im*, however, there are instances where
her occurs.

116.

now < you dey like di sister < you go don get her number now <

now < 2SG IPFV like DEF sister < 2Sg FUT PFV get 3SG.FEM number
now <

you go don dey control **her** now // una go be friends first naw //

2SG FUT PFV IPFV control her now // 1PL FUT COP friends friend DISC
//

"Now, you are attracted to the sister, you would have gotten by number. You
would have been getting to know her. You will be friends with her first."

war019_@SP11_104-105

119

[im] as 3rd Person Singular possessive Pronoun

117.
when doctors de con begin dey try dey find out { wetin dey |c wetin no dey }
when doctors 3PL CONS begin IPFV try IPFV find out { what IPFV |c what
IPFV

< dem con find out sey [dis woman < see wetin e give **im** pikin] //
< 3PL CONS find out COMP [DEM woman < see what 3Sg give 3SG.POSS
child] //

<div align="right">T_WAZA_07_Self-medication_ @Sp280_52</div>

4.2.2.4 First person plural pronouns

[we] First Person Plural Subject [24]

118.
di ting wey join us togeder < na di country //
DET thing REL join 1PL together < COP DET country //

and **we** don dey inside di country togeder //
CONJ 1PL PFV COP inside the country together //
"The country is what binds us together. And we are together in the country."

<div align="right">P_WAZA_05_Big-Mo_063-065</div>

We may be reduplicated in Naija, the resulting word *wewe* may occur both as a pronoun
(119)-(120) and as an adjective.

119.
Everyting wey I don talk how we go make dis country better
everyting REL 1SG PFV talk how 1PL FUT make DEM country better

no be person from jand go come do am for us.
NEG COP person from abroad FUT come do 1SG for us

Na still **wewe,** na we go do am.
COP still 1PL COP 1PL FUT do 3SG
'Someone abroad won't be the one to get everything I have said here done. It is up to
every one of us.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_wewe</div>

---

[24] We may also function as a first person plural object pronoun:
Na molly dey do we. (Erigga)

[us] First person Plural object

120.
normally you no go give & // so < na { we |r we } wey be di poor people now
usually 2SG NEG FUT give &// so < COP { 1PL |r we } REL COP DET poor people now

< you go dey march **us** bill //
< 2SG FUT IPFV give us bill //
"Usually you won't give… So we the poor people, we are the ones you give a bill."

SP20@SMD003_005

[our] First person Plural possessive

121.
but God don con do am sey **[ou**r lesson teacher con come
CONJ God PFV CONS do 3Sg COMP [1PL.POSS lesson teacher CONS come

outside con dey say [who be all dose boys ?//]] //
outside CONS IPFV say [who COP all DEM boy.PL ?//]] //

"But God did it that our lesson teacher came out and was asking "Who are all those boys?"

war011_@SP9_031

4.2.2.5 Second person plural pronouns

[una] 2ⁿᵈ Person Plural subject

122.
okay my people < **una** good afternoon now // I believe sey [una
Okay 1SG.PSS people < 2PL good afternoon now // 1SG believe COMP [2PL

dey well |c and una body dey kakaraka] //
COP well |c CONJ 2PL body COP strong] //
"Alright my people. Good afternoon to you all. I believe that you all are well and healthy."

P_PRT_02_Food-and-Health_PRO

[una] 2nd Person Plural Object

123.
I say [make I greet **una** dis morning] //
1SG [SBJV 1SG greet 2PL DEM morning] //
"I'm saying good morning to you all."

<div align="right">P_LAG_31_003</div>

[una] 2nd Person plural possessive

124.
so how many una dey for **una** house ?//
so how many 2PL COP PREP 2PL.POSS house ?//
"So, how many are you in your house?"

<div align="right">D_ABJ_NOU_03@Sp32_38</div>

4.2.2.6 Third Person plural pronouns

[de] 3rd Person Plural subject

125. and tins for market cost // **de** go dey price low //
CONJ thing.PL PREP market expensive // 3PL FUT IPFV haggle low //
some < if you even do dem well < de no go pay //
some < if 2SG even do 3PL well < 3PL NEG FUT pay //

"And things are very expensive at the market // They'll haggle for low
prices. Some, even if you give them a fair price, they will not pay."
P_ABJ_GWA_03_Cost-of-living-in-Abuja_ M_125-131

[dem] 3rd Person Plural subject

126. if to say [**dem** born you] < make you pass Etima junction //
if to say [3PL birth you] , SBJV 2Sg pass Etima junction //
"If you dare, pass through Etima junction //
D_LAG_22@Sp240_065

[dem] 3rd Person Plural object

127. you go see people wey { no write || no even write } exam
2SG FUT see people REL { NEG write || NEG even write } exam

< you go see **dem** just enter //
< 2SG FUT see 3SG just enter //

"You'll see the people who didn't even write the exam, you'll see them just
enter."
P_LAG_07_051

The third person plural possessive maybe *dier* (128) or *dem* (129).

[deir] 3rd Person Plural possessive

128.   una go dey insult people sey [" eh de dey carry dey big //=
1PL FUT IPFV insult people COMP [" DISC 3PL IPFV just IPFV big //=

de dey old pass **deir** age > we girls] // you di boy now so <
1PL IPFV old more 3PL.POSS age > 1PL girls // 2SG DET boy now so <

{ I want || I want } know wetin you don do now //
{ 1SG want || 1SG want } know what 2Sg PFV do now //

you don build house ?// abi you don open store ?//
2SG PFV build house ?// or 2SG PFV open shop ?//

"You all keep insulting people that " Girls, they are just putting on weight, they look older than they are. You, the boys, I want to know what you have achieved. Have you built a house? Or do you own a shop?"

<div align="right">SMD007_007-011</div>

[dem] 3rd Person Plural possessive

129.   you no go fit run o because di trouser dey hold **dem** leg //

2SG NEG FUT can run EMPH SCONJ DET trouser IPFV hold 3PL.POSS leg

"You can't run, because the trouser is holding them by the leg"

<div align="right">D_JOS_10@Sp125_73</div>

4.2.2.7 Reflexives

Reflexives the sparse gender distinction in pronominals is also carried on in reflexives.

[mysef] 1st Person Singular reflexive

130.

at all < no be me create **myself** wey be sey [I con dey look myself
at all < NEG COP 1SG create 1SG.RFLX REL COP COMP [1SG CONS IPFV look 1SG.RFLX

down sey [I no go make am]] //
down COMP [1SG NEG FUT make 3SG] //

"At all, I didn't create myself to be looking down on myself that I will not be successful."

<div align="right">M_ENU_35@Sp443_078</div>

[yourself[2nd Person Singular reflexive

131.   and { I ‖ I } tanda ask am [oga < wetin dey happen now ?//=
CONj { 1SG ‖ 1SG } stand ask 3SG [sir < what IPFV happen now ?//=

why you dey talk to **yourself** ?//] //
why 2SG IPFV talk to 2SG.RFLX ?//] //

"and I stood and asked him, "sir, what is the problem? Why are you talking to yourself?"

M_JOS_36@Sp164_034

[imsef] 3rd Person singular reflexive

omo < me < I don see sey [dis country ba eh < man gats put
132.   well < 1SG < 1Sg PFV see COMP [DEM country right DISC < man has.to put

imsef for someting because even sef sey [{ you wan dey go school
3SG.RFLX PREP something SCONJ even even COMP [{ 2Sg want IPFV school

|c or &]] //
|c or &]] //

"Well, I have seen that in this country one must get involved in something. Because even if you say that you want to go to school or X."

D_ABJ_GWA_11@Sp12_013

[hersef] 3rd Person singular reflexive [+Female]

133.   you see pikin for eighteen years wey she never even reach to go husband
2SG see child PREP eighteen years REL 3SG.FEM never even reach PREP go husband

|c carry **hersef** sey [she dey go husband h-] //
|c carry 3SG.FEM.RFLX COMP [3SG IPFV go husband h-] //

You'll see a child of eighteen years who is not even ready to get married, you'll see her decide that she is going to get married."

M_JOS_08@Sp123_053

[oursef] 1st Person Plural reflexive.

134.   na so >+ all of us pack **oursef** go village //

    COP so >+ all of 1PL pack 1PL go village //

    'That's how we all went to the village'

    ABJ_GWA_10_M_173-175

[unasef] 2ⁿᵈ Person Plural relfexive

135.   alright my people o < I hope sey [una dey enjoy **unasef**]
    alright 1SG.POSS people EMPH< 1SG hope COMP [2PL IPFV enjoy 2PL.RFLX

    because we wey dey here sef < we sef dey enjoy oursef //
    SCONJ 1PL REL COP here even < 1PL even IPFV enjoy 1PL.RFLX //

    "alright my people. I hope you are enjoying yourselves because we here, we are enjoying ourselves."

        T_ENU_30@Sp108_088

[demsef] 3ʳᵈ Person Plural reflexive.

136.   na so >+ { de go con comot |c con go hotel |c con go enjoy **demsef** } //
    COP so >+ { 3SG FUT CONS come.out |c CONS go hotel |c CONS go enjoy themselves
    "that's how they'll go out, go to a hotel to enjoy themselves."

        M_ONI_18b@Sp459_22-23

[deirsef] 3ʳᵈ Person plural reflexive

137.   youth ma sef < some youth don dey gader **deirsef** now sey
    youth even even < some youth PFV IPFV gather themselves now COMP
    [we wan create { deir own ehn || as in deir own } party] //
    [1PL want create {3SG.POSS own DISC || as in 3SG.POSS} party] //

    Even the youths, some youths are coming together that they want to create their own party.

        D_JOS_11@Sp127_047

4.2.3 Verbs

Verbs in Naija are not distinguishable from any other lexical item by any overt morphological shape.

Verbs in Naija may occur alongside other elements in the verb phrase in the following order:

(ADV)[25] (AUX^n) (ADV) (VERB) VERB (ADV). The order of preverbal auxillary elements are: 'tense', 'mood' 'aspect' Verb

Verbs in Naija will be broadly analyzed in three categories:

i. Stative Verbs

ii. Non stative verbs

iii. Copula verbs

Verbs in Naija are generally not marked for tense, aspect, and modality morphologically. These are often shown by "auxiliaries, adverbials of time, or other contextual elements" Faraclas (1996:184). This then means that the [-stative] verbs in Naija which are not morphologically marked for tense, aspect and modality are assigned a default past tense, completive aspect and realis modality. On the other hand, if the verb is [+stative] and not morphologically marked for tense, aspect and modality, it will be assigned a non-past tense, incompletive aspect and realis modality. Faraclas (1996:184).

4.2.3.1 Stative verbs

Stative verbs in Naija express states of being, and have no otherwise distinguishable shape. Some stative verbs in Naija include *gbadu* (138a)*, grab* (138b), *get*verb,

138.

(a)

    mstchew me sha < I no too **gbadun** Nigeria musicians o >
    mstchew 1SG DISC < 1SG NEG too like Nigeria musicians EMPH >

    unto sey [na just to dey { make noise |c shout { up |c and down } }] //
    because COMP [COP just to IPFV { make noise |c { up |c and down } }] //

    'I don't really like Nigerian musicians because all they do is make noise everywhere.'

                                    D_IBA_08@Sp370_006

---

[25] *Omo, dat guy sharpally don comot.*
Di people kpatakpata don finish

(b)
Sarah con siddown wit di guy dey follow am talk //
Sarah CONS sat.down with DET guy IPFV follow 3SG talk //

di guy no gree **grab** sey [dis level < e be like sey
DET guy NEG willing understand COMP [3SG COP like COMP

[Sarah want meh e go far]] //
[Sarah want SBJV go far]] //

'Sarah then sat down and talked with the guy. The guy refused to understand
that Sarah seemed to want things to go far'

BEN_028@Sp59_085-86

4.2.3.2 Non stative verbs

This group of verbs from the larger number of verbs. Non stative verbs are generally
assigned a default past tense. Some non stative verbs, also called dynamic verbs, in Naija
include *kolobi͵* (139a) *totori,*(139b) *dengepose.*(139c) Verbs in this class refer to action,
as opposed to stative verbs which refer to states.

139.
(a)

Why you go allow dose people make dem **kolobi** you for market?

Why 2SG FUT allow DEM people SBJV 3PL extort 2SG PREP market

Why will you allow those people to exort from you in the market?

Naijionary_kolobi

(b)

Body too dey **totori** you, your current full sha

body too IPFV tickle 2SG 2SG.POSS current full PART

You are very easily tickled, you are quite sensitive.

Naijionary_totori

(c)

See dem as de dey **dengepose**, na akube jean de wear o.

see 3PL as 3PL IPFV show.off COP second.hand jeam

See them showing off, they are wearing second-hand jeans

Naijionary_dengepose

4.2.3.3 Copula verbs

Copular verbs also assign properties to subjects, and they may be considered stative verbs.
Naija, copula verb forms include: *na, be*, *dey, get.*. Generally, only *na, be,* and *dey* have

been considered as copulas in Naija (Caron, 2020: 153). However, we make the case for the inclusion of a fourth: *get*; because when it occurs as the head of a clause headed by a pleonastic subject, it refers to a state of being rather than a dynamic action. Of these four copula verbs, *na* may not be preceded by TAM (Caron, 2020).

These copula forms have various selection restrictions.

4.2.3.3.1 Na copula

Na permits only Noun subjects, except in instances where the pronominal subject, only the first- and second-person singular object) is prosodically topicalized as the subject of a focus.

140.[26]

(a)
You **na** better person
2SG COP better person
You are a good person

(b)
Kola **na** better person
Kola COP better person
Kola is a good person

(c)
Me **na** better person
1SG COP better person
I am a good person   `

(d)
*Dem **na** better people
3PL COP better peope
They are good people

The data in (140) shows the permissible co-occurrence relations of *na*. While (140) (a)-(c) are grammatical, (140) (d) is ungrammatical. A 'repair' of (140) (d) might be *Dem be better people.*

Figure 4.24 (a) and (b) shows a greater intensity in the occurrence of *you* as the subject of *na,* than *you* as the subject of *be.* This buttresses the claim made above regarding the permissibility for the occurrence of pronouns as subjects of *na* clauses.

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[26] Data for this section was collected from a frame of sentences designed specially for this section. Data was vetted by 2 male speakers of Nigerian Pidgin: Mr. Emmanuel Adegbuyi and Mr Chika Ajede.
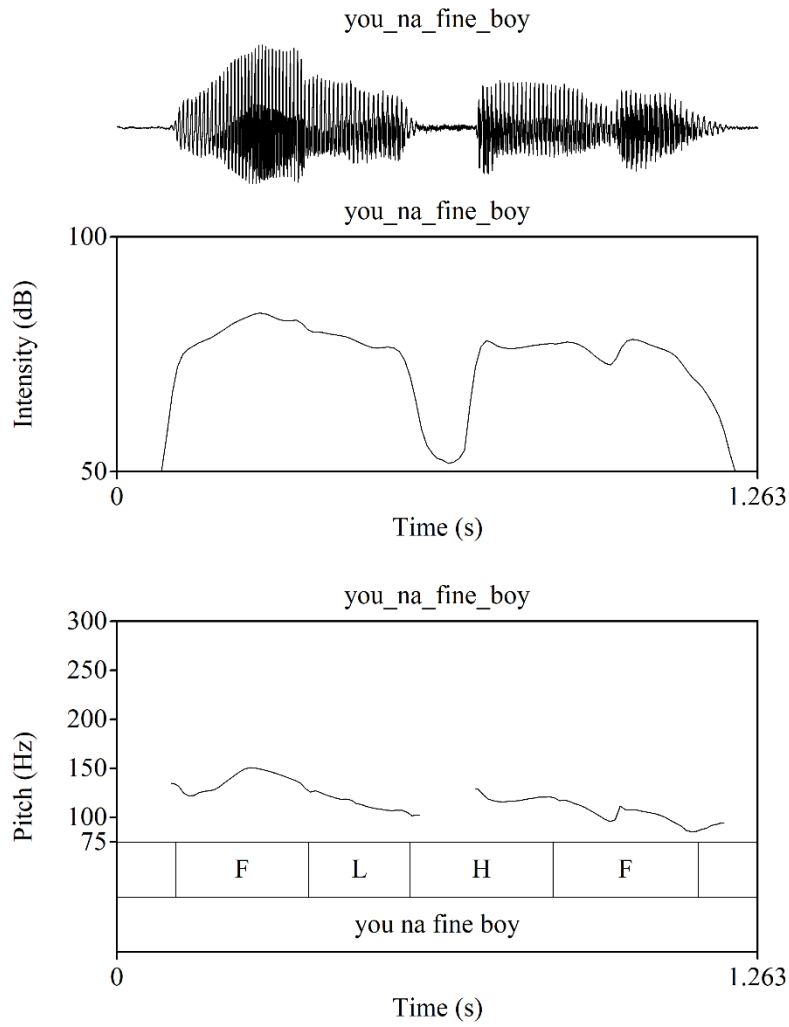
Fig. 4.24a: Wave form, Intensity and Pitch track of *you na fine boy*
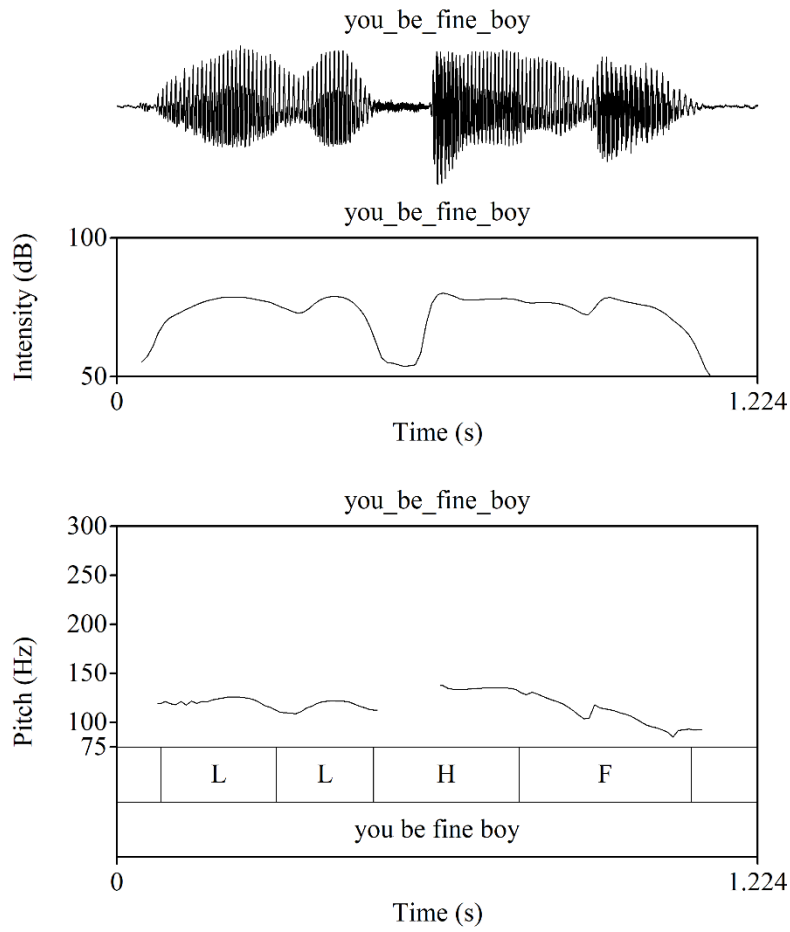
Fig. 4.24b: Wave form, Intensity and Pitch track of *you be fine boy*

131

Na may not be preceded by the negative particle *no*. In the cases where a *na* may need to be negated, the copula form *be* will replace the *na*. (140) (e)

140 (e)
        ah my sister < no be small tin //
        ah 1SG.POSS sister < NEG COP small thing //
        Ah, my sister, it's not a small issue
                        D_ABJ_GWA_02@Sp275_77

4.2.3.3.2 Be copula

The copula *be* only permits first person singular and plural subject pronouns. It does not occur with noun subjects.

14l.
        e no fit thief me because me sef > I **be** Agboro //

(a)
        3SG NEG steal 1SG SCONJ 1SG even > 1SG COP tout //
        He/She cannot cheat me because I myself, I am a tout.
                        ENU_01_M_173

(b)
        naim we say [we **be** community //= we dey do vigilante] //
        then 1PL say [1PL COP community //= 1PL IPFV do vigilante] //

        e say [who send you ?//] //
        3SG say [who send 2SG ?//] //

        if una wan do vigilante < make una go do vigilante for una house !//
        if 2PL want do vigilante < SBJV 2PL go do vigilante PREP 2PL house !//

        Then we said we were the community, we were on community watch duty. He said "who authorized you? If you want to do community watch, go and do it in your house.!"

                        D_BEN_24@Sp54_50-55

4.2.3.3.3 Dey Copula

The *dey* copula may be pre-modified by TAM, and may also be preceded by the negative particle *no*. The *Dey* copula may permit nouns and first person singular and plural subject pronouns as subject.

142.

(a)   auntie < good morning // how you dey now ?// how your night ?//
auntie < good morning // how 2SG IPFV now ?// how 2SG.POSS night ?//
Auntie, good morning. How are you? How was your night? //

<div align="center">D_ABJ_GWA_02@Sp3_001</div>

(b)   I con **dey** // work no **dey** o // I { find work |r find work |r find work } //
1SG CONS COP // work NEG COP EMPH // { 1SG find work |r find work |r find work } //

work no **dey** //
work NEG dey //

I was just there. There was no work. I looked and looked for work. There was no work

<div align="center">ABJ_GWA_08_M_323-325</div>

4.2.3.3.4 Get copula

The *get* copula occurs with a pleonastic subject.

143.

(a)   wen e con **get** one { s- " eh " || Nigerian girl } wey get four storey building
when 3SG CONS COP one { X "eh" || Nigerian girl } REL get four storey building

< de put fire for under di building //
< 3PL put fire PREP under DET building //

Then, there was a Nigerian girl who had a four-storey building and they set fire to the ground floor of the building

<div align="center">war013_@SP10_023</div>

(b)   so e get one early morning wey Alaska Pepper con do sometin for house //

so 3SG COP one early morning REL Alaska Pepper CONS do something PREP house //

There was one morning when Alaska Pepper did something at home //

<div align="center">IBA_04_M_487-491</div>

<div align="center">133</div>

4.2.3.1 Auxiliary

Auxiliaries in Naija precede the verb and may co-occur with other auxiliaries in a sequence. Auxiliaries in Naija encode Tense, aspectual, modal and discoursive information.

4.2.3.1.1 Tense

Verbs in Naija are generally not marked for tense, aspect, and modality morphologically. These are often shown by "auxiliaries, adverbials of time, or other contextual elements (Faraclas, 1996:184).

Tense is the relation of actions or states in time to a reference point. Tense is encoded in Naija in the following ways:

The action/state at the time of reference

The action/state before the time of reference

The action/state after the time of reference.

4.2.3.1.1.1 The action/state at the time of reference

In Naija the action/state is situated at the time of reference using *dey* (144) (a) – (b)

144.

(a)
but di thing be sey [Naija dey make person get brain] //
CONJ DET thing COP COMP [Nigeria IPFV SBJV one have wisdom] //
'But the thing is that Nigeria makes a person wise'
ref@SP26 D_ABJ_INF_08@Sp26_048

(b)
I dey do lesson for Alliance France //
1SG IPFV do lesson PREP Alliance France //
'I take lessons at the Alliance Francais'
ref@Sp130   M_JOS_13@Sp130_10

The auxiliary *dey* occurs before the verb and describes that the actions is currently on-going. *Dey* may also mark a habitual action.

4.2.3.1.1.2 The action/state before the time of reference

Situating an action prior to the event time specified is carried out in a number of ways:

i. The default factitive marking

ii. the auxiliary bin

iii. the auxiliary *for*

4.2.3.1.1.2.1 The default factitive marking

Stative verbs in Naija are assigned a default past tense.

145.

(a)
> ah my sister < I sleep well o //
>
> ah 1SG.POSS sister < I sleep well EMPH //
>
> 'Ah, my sister I slept well.'
>
> D_ABJ_GWA_02@Sp275_04

(b)
> di lady < she chop all my provision // my milk //= everything //
>
> DET lady < 2SG.FEM eat all 1SG.POSS provision // 1SG.POSS milk // everything
>
> 'The ladyt, she ate all my provisions: my milk, everything.'
>
> D_ABJ_INF_08@Sp27_027 - D_ABJ_INF_08@Sp27_027

4.2.3.1.1.2.2 The auxiliary bin

Osoba (1999:195) notes that although *bin* is used to mark the past or remote past, it may also be used to mark other grammatical relations, such as aspect. (146) (a) – (c)

146.

(a)
> I **bin** no really dey comfortable wit di ting //
> 1SG PST NEG really COP comfortable with DET thing //
>
> 'I was not really comfortable with the thing.'
>   M_PRT_04@Sp264_65

(b)   { I **bin** talk sey || I bin tink sey } [na mad man] //
        { 1SG PST talk COMP || 1SG PST think COMP } [COP mad man] //

        'I said that… I thought that he was a mad man.'
                                                    M_JOS_36@Sp164_033

(c)   na di one wey di oder government **bin** do //
        COP DET one REL DET other government PST do //
        'That's the one the other government did'
                                                    D_JOS_28@Sp150_093

4.2.3.1.1.2.3 The Auxiliary For

Mensah (2011) explains that *for* is a very productive auxiliary in Naija. However, Mensah
(2011) and Mensah (2012) do not recognize *for* as a tense marker, or at least its possible
grammaticalization as a past tense marker. (145-147). Following (Osoba 1999), these
auxiliary elements have the potential to function both as tense markers and as aspectual
markers.

In the example (147, a - c) below, *for* does not perform any modal functions, asides the
situating of the event in a time before the present, or probability. *For* as a modal encodes
these two semantic implications:

a. Situation of an action in a time prior to this

b Probability

In this case only condition (a) is met.

Both verbs in both cases are non-stative verbs and have default [-PST] values. What 'For'
contributes is not very clear, but may be leading towards a past tense marker

147.
        I no finish my exam // na dere >+ I **for** con sick
(a)   1SG NEG finish 1SG.POSS exam // COP there >+ 1SG PST CONS sick
        I didn't finish my exam. That was where I fell sick
                                                    BEN_02_M_087-089

(b)   Na Lagos State here >+ I **for** school //
        COP Lagos State here >+ 1SG PST school //
        'It was here in Lagos state I schooled.'
                                                    D_WAZL_11@Sp323_113

(c)   but still yet < I tie am make di neck **for** go // still yet < di neck still
CONJ still yet < 1SG 2SG SBJV DET neck PST go // still yet < DET neck still

dey pain me // naim de say [okay < make I tie towel] //
IPFV pain me // then 3PL say [okay < SBJV 1SG tie towel] //

I say [which kind spiritual problem be all dis one ?//] //
1SG say [which sort spiritual problem COP all DEM one ?//] //

But still, I tied it so that the neck will heal. Still, the neck hurt. Then they said "okay, I should tie a towel." I said "what sort of spiritual problem is this."

<div align="right">SAP001_050-51</div>

4.2.3.1.1.3 The action/state after the time of reference.

Future tense in Naija is marked by the Auxiliary '*go*' (148)-(149)

148.   so once di masquerade dance come out like dat < you **go** see people
so once DET masquerade dance come out like that < 2SG FUT see people

go dey throw money give dem //
FUT IPFV throw money give 3SG.PL //
'So once the masquerade dances out like that, you'll see people throwing money to them.'

<div align="right">IBA_02_M_329</div>

149.   if I don put everything inside < e **go** dey boil //=
if 1SG PFV put everything inside < 3SG FUT IPFV boil //=

I go leave so dat di pepper go enter am { well |r well } //
1SG FUT leave so that DET pepper FUT enter 3SG { well |r well } //

'If I have put everything inside, it will begin to boil. I will leave it so that the pepper will spice it up very thing.'

<div align="right">IBA_23_M_111</div>

4.2.3.1.2 Aspect

4.2.3.1.2.1 Perfective

In Naija, *don* marks perfective aspect (150) a-b

150.

(a)

{ I want || I want } know wetin you **don** do now //
{ 1SG want || 1SG want } know what 2SG PFV do now //

 you don build house ?// abi you don open store ?//
2SG PFV build house ?// or 2SG PFV open store ?//

'I want… I want to know what you have done now. Have you built a house? Have you opened a store?'

SMD007_009 -SMD007_011

(b)

because { de just dey born a- || (when de **don** take akpesh finish)
SCONJ { 3SG just IPFV birth X || (When 3SG PFV take spirit finish)

de go dey born anyhow } full everywhere based on
3SG FUT IPFV birth anyhow } full everywhere based on

sey [e go better] //
COMP [3SG FUT better] //

'because they just give birth, when they have finished taking spirits, they'll keep giving birth because they hope that things will get better.'

war005@SP7_030

4.2.3.1.2.2 Imperfective

Naija marks the imperfective with *dey* (151) a-b

151.

(a)

{ de **dey** see you |c { dem go look am sey " eh " (most of them o) ||
{ 3PL IPFV see you |c { 3PL FUT look 3SG COMP " eh " (most of them EMPH) ||

dem dey look am sey } [e never too get bread] } //
3PL IPFV look 3SG COMP } [2SG never too get bread] } //

They see you, they consider that, most of them, they consider that he doesn't have any money yet.

War018@SP11_026-27

(b)

poverty **dey** lead to call person name o //
poverty IPFV lead to call person name EMPH //
'Poverty can lead to disrespect'

War005@SP7_022

4.2.3.1.3 Modal

The modals in Naija are: Fit, for, suppose, gats, better[LH]

4.2.3.1.3.1 Fit

152.

your husband people no **fit** come your house //
2SG.POSS husband people NEG can come 2SG.POSS house //

 you go use your face take dey pursue dem //
2SG FUT use 2SG.POSS face take 1PFV pursue 3SG //

'Your husband's relatives can't come to your house. You'll scare them away with your stern face.'

M_JOS_08@Sp123_100-M_JOS_08@Sp123_101

153.

I go **fit** pass am // { no how |r no how } < I go pass am //
1SG FUT can pass am // { NEG how |r NEG how } < 1SG FUT pass am //
'I can pass it. No matter what, I can pass it.'
ENU_13@Sp87_09 , ENU_13@Sp87_10

4.2.3.1.3.2 For

154.

(a)

if to sey [I start am since when I start work sef] < I **for** don go far now //
if to COMP [1SG start 3SG since when 1SG start work even] < 1SG ASP ASP
go far now //

If I had started it since when I started work, I would have gone far now.
D_ABJ_NOU_03@Sp34_52

(b).

you **for** tell me now aha //
2SG ASP tell 1SG now DISC

You would have tole me, ah!
D_LAG_14@Sp229_017

4.2.3.1.3.3 Suppose

155.
      when you **suppos**e dey cane line with Cuppy < you dey go dey quarrel //
      when 2SG should IPFV cane line with Cuppy < 2SG IPFV go IPFV
      quarrel //
      go settle o   // go settle //
      go settle EMPH // go settle //

      'When you should be working with Cuppy instead you picked a quarrel.
      Settle it! Settle it.'

                                            SP20@SMD003_011

156.
        so we ma < we **suppose** stand up //
        so 1PL even < 1PL should stand up //

        So, we ourselves need to stand up
                             D_JOS_11@Sp127_107

4.2.3.1.3.4 Gats

157.
      so we as Nigerian people < we **gats** start from somewhere //
      so 1PL as Nigerian people < 1PL have.to start from somewhere //

      So we as Nigerians, we have to start from somewhere.
                           M_JOS_15@Sp132_60

158.
      omo < me < I don see sey [dis country ba eh < man **gats** put imsef
      bro < 1SG < 1SG PFV see COMP [DEM country even DISC < man have.to put
      himself
      for someting because even sef sey [{ you wan dey go school |c or &]] //
      PREP something because even even COMP [{ 2SG want IPFV go school |c &]] //

      Bro, I have seen that in this country, a person has to get involved
      in something because even if you say you want to go to school or …

                                 D_ABJ_GWA_11@Sp12_013

4.2.3.1.3.5 Discoursive

Con as a narrative auxiliary finds use mostly as a means of sustaining the discourse and
linking the clausal units of the discourse. Naija is at this point still mostly an oral language,

therefore the frequency of *con* in this context is high. It may be important for further research to consider the frequency of con in written Naija with oral Naija. Yakpo (2009: 196) discovers a similar lexical item *kan* in Pichi and refers to the function to the function of the lexical item as a narrative perfective.

159.

    naim I con go dey follow di di man dey stay for shop o //
    then I CONS go IPFV follow DET man IPFV stay PREP shop
    EMPH //
    'That's how I started staying with him at the shop'
    ABJ_GWA_10_M_305

160.

    wetin con dey cause dat one now ?//
    what CONS IPFV cause that one now ?//

    what is the reason for that?
    D_BEN_15b_Sp47_53

4.2.3.2 Serial Verbs

Verbs in Naija may co-occur with other verbs in a series. This feature is also attested to as a common feature of Nigerian Languages, (Caron, et al., 2021)[27]. Serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Naija have been analysed following properties like: verbhood, intonation, tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and polarity, and no dependency. Regarding verbhood, (Caron, et al., 2021) state that the verbs that make up the SVC are independent verbs, capable of functioning as full verbs in other constructions apart from SVCs. SVCs in Naija also have a single intonation contour without an intonation reset occurring between both verbs. SVCs in Naija may also share the same TAM and polarity markers.

4.2.3.3 Adverbial modifiction

Adverbs are discussed in Section 4.2.5

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[27] This paper was presented at the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL) summer meeting 2021 conference.

4.2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Naija may occur pre-nominally or post-nominally or may even precede other adjectives Due to a very productive conversion process in Naija, the adjectival category is potentially accessible to a large number of lexical items. There are no structural differences between prenominal or postnominal adjectives in Naija.

Following Dixon (2006:1), this section concerns itself with descriptive adjectives. Dixon (2006:3) lists the semantic content for typical adjectival concepts. Adjectives may express dimension (161) – (162), age (163)-(164), value (165)-(167), physical property (168)-(169), human propensity (170) –(171), speed (172), colour (173), difficulty (174)-(175), qualification (176)-(177), quantification (178), similarity (4), cardinal numbers ()

4.2.4.1 Adjectival concepts
4.2.4.1.1 Dimension
161.

so < # dem dey use am make dat gote // na **light** food //= very soft food //
so < 3PL IPFV use am make DEM gote // COP light food //= very soft food //
'So, they have made that gote. It's a light meal. A very soft meal.'

P_JOS_01_047

162.

na so >+ de go do wedding //**small** time < nine months don reach now //

COP so >+ 3PL FUT do wedding // small time < nine months PFV reach now //

'So, they did a wedding. In a short while, it was already nine months.'

M_ONI_18b@Sp459_47-48

4.2.4.1.2 Age

163.

de say [leaders of tomorrow { na || na || na } we] // all di **old** men block everywhere //

3SG say [leaders of tomorrow { X || X || COP } 1PL] // all DET old men block everywhere //

 na wa o //
COP isse EMPH //

They say we are leaders of the tomorrow. Elderly people have taken up all the spaces. It's an issue!

<div align="right">M_LAG_33@Sp253_139</div>

164.

di whole of Ughelli < any street (check any street for Ughelli
DET whole of Ughelli < any street (check any street PREP Ughelli

 < { Utowodo |c Teri |c Shekafi |c Isiere } |c check " eh " " eh " X } //)
< { Utowodo |c Teri |c Shekafi |c Isiere } |c check " eh " " eh " X } //)

< you go see all di { **young** |r **young** } girls " ehn " < de get belle finish //
< 2SG FUT see all DET { young |r young } girls " ehn " < 3SG have pregnancy complete
'In the whole of Ughelli, any street, take a look at any street, Utowodo, Teri, Shekafi, Isiere, you'll see that all the young girls have all gotten pregnant.'

<div align="right">War012_@SP10_039</div>

4.2.4.1.3 Value

165.

una < tank you > my **ogbonge** people //

2PL < thank 2PL > 1SG.POSS good people //

Thank you, my good people.

<div align="center">M_ABJ_INF_07@Sp23_106</div>

166.

I see young person { wey don graduate for school |c wey suppose get **better** job

1SG see young person { REL PFV graduate PREP school |c REL should have good job

wey im dey do } // I see am sey [e dey beg] //

REL 2SG IPFV do } // 1SG see 3SG COMP [3SG IPFV beg] //

'I saw a young person who had graduated from school, who should have a good job. I saw him begging.'

M_JOS_25@Sp145_35-36

167.

no be today di governor dey give dose kind **awuf** tings for im birthday party

NEG COP today DET governor IPFV give those kind free things PREP 2SG birthday party

'The governor is known for such freebies at his birthday parties.'

Naijionary_awuf

4.2.4.1.4 Physical property

168.

and " eh " I dey hear sey [di flood dis time around go **heavy** pass before] //

CONJ " eh " 1SG IPFV hear COMP [DET flood dis time around FUT heavy pass before] //

'And erm, I heard that the flood this time around will be heavier than before.'

war013_@SP10_046

169.

Some kind **akpuruka** women wey dey do legbuke work dey our area
Some type strong women REL IPFV do masonry.work COP 1PL.POSS area

'Some physically strong women who are construction workers live around our area.'

Naijionary_akpuruka

4.2.4.1.5 Human propensity

170

you no see sey traffic light don show red? why you no stop? you be **ozuo**

2SG NEG see COMP traffic light PFV show red ? why 2SG NEG stop ? 2SG COP fool

Didn't you see that the traffic light was red? Why didn't you stop? You are a fool!

Naijionary_ozuo

171 You be **guyman** naw Why you dey do like sey
2SG COP streetsmart DISC why 2SG IPFV do like COMP

you no know sey all di politicians dey use us do kalokalo?
2SG NEG know COMP all DET politicians IPFV use 1PL do gamble.games

'You are street smart, why are you acting like you don't know that all these politicians are just playing games with us.'

Naijionary_guyman

4.2.4.1.6 Speed

172.

Dis car **fast** o. And e no be like wetin go fit run like dis o.
This car fast EMPH CONJ 3SG COP like what FUT run like this EMPH
'This car is fast, and it doesn't look very fast.'

Naijionary_fast

4.2.4.1.7 Colour

173.

as di aeroplane land pa < na black agbada //

as DET aeroplane land DISC < COP black agbada //

'As soon as the aeroplane landed, we saw a black agbada '

D_IBA_37@Sp414_087

4.2.4.1.8 Difficulty

174.

I like di guy //= I just like am // na very **simple** guy now //
1SG like DET guy //= 1SG just like 3SG // COP very simple guy DISC //

{ very simple guy |r very simple guy } //
{ very simple guy |r very simple guy } //

I like the guy. I just like him. He is a very simple guy. A very simple guy, a very simple guy

D_ENU_21@Sp97_29-31

175.
You want be big boy abi? E go clear for your eye just now sey

2SG want COP big boy right ? 2SG FUT clear 2SG.POSS eye just now COMP

 no be **chise**

NEG COP child's.play.

'You want to become famous right? You'll soon see that it's not that easy.'

Naijionary_chise

4.2.4.1.9 Qualification

176.
if im talk finish < di Madam go think sey [na **true**] //

if 1SG talk finish < DET madam FUT think COMP [COP true]

'After he/she is done talking, the madam will think that all they have said is true.'

D_ONI_15@Sp459_14

177.
which kind normal thing ?// How **kurukere** waka
which kind normal thing ?// how shady walk

go be normal thing ?//
FUT COP normal thing ?//

What normal thing? How can shady behaviour be a normal thing?

D_ENU_12@Sp76_004-005

4.2.4.1.10 Quantification

178.
e get **some** people now < de no go fit do am //
2SG COP some people now < 2PL NEG can do 3SG //

de no go fit do am because of deir work //
3SG NEG can do 3SG CONJ of 2PL.POSS work //

'There are some people who can not do it. They can't do it because of their work.'

ABJ_GWA_14_M_145-147

4.2.4.1.11 Similarity
Discussed in Section 4.2.4.3

4.2.4.1.12 Cardinal numbers
Discussed in section 4.2.1.2.1

4.2.4.2 Adjectival Comparisons

The major lexical item by which Naija marks comparisons is *pass*. *Pass* may follow an adjective to achieve the comparative. (179a) – (179b)

179a. di guy wey I dey date now < e head dey skip sha o //
DET guy REL 1SG IPFV date now < 3SG head IPFV skip anyway o //

but e dey normal // e straight **pass** di rest people own //
CONJ 3SG IPFV normal // 3SG straight pass DET rest people own //

'The guy who I now date, he is not so normal o // But he is normal. It is better than the other's.'

<div align="right">war011_@SP9_273 – 274</div>

179b. di tory wey big **pass** for dere < na page six //
DET story REL big pass PREP there < COP page six //
'The headline story is on page six'

<div align="right">D_WAZA_04@Sp276_24</div>

There is also an emerging superlative: *baddest*[28] (from English 'bad'). (180a-b)

180a. You na **baddest**
2SG COP smart
'You are smart.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_baddest</div>

180b. Even if you no know di film, you for don hear 007.
Even if 2SG NEG know DET film 2SG should PFV hear 007

Di guy be one **baddest** actor wey dey act as correct spy for di world
DET guy COP one good actor REL IPFV act as good spy PREP DET world

'Even if you don't know the film, you have heard about 007, The guy is one smart actor that acts as an intelligent spy for the world.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_baddest</div>

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[28] It has been noted in a different part of this thesis that there seems to be an emerging use of the English superlative form [-est], changing the comparative *er* to *o* as in *bad, baddo, baddest.*
Baddest may be used attribuitively or predicatively. Baddest does not co-occur with *pass*.

There are also instances of the English-parent *Good, better, and best*. However, in all three corpora sampled for this work, there are only four instances where *good* co-occurs with *pass*. (181). *Better* co-occurs with *pass* 26 times (181b), and there no instances of *best* co-occurring with pass.

Thus, it can be said that *better pass* is a more naturally acceptable configuration in Naija.

181a.　　　if you look Lagos State now < eh you go see am sey
　　　　　if 2SG look Lagos State now < eh 2SG FUT see 3SG COMP
　　　　　[e **good pass** oders] //
　　　　　[3SG good pass others] //

　　　　　'If you look at Lagos state now, you'll see that it is better than others.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　M_LAG_05@Sp352_041

181b.
　　　　　{ you don ‖ you don } dey dis town before ?//
　　　　　{ 2SG PFV ‖ 2SG PFV } IPFV DEM town before ?//

　　　　　 you don reach how many { days |c week |c year } ?//
　　　　　2SG PFV reach how many {days |c week |c year } ?//

　　　　　your own **better pass** my own now //
　　　　　2SG own better pass 1SG.POSS own now //

　　　　　{ my own never even reach ‖ never too too reach } ma one month } //
　　　　　{ 1SG.POSS never even reach ‖ never too reach } even one month } //

　　　　　Have you been in this town before? How many days, week or year have you spent?
　　　　　Yours is better than mine. I haven't even spent one month.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　D_JOS_29@Sp152_089-92

4.2.4.3 Equality and similarity

Reach[29] (182a-182b) and *like* (182c-182d) are used to express equality or similarity.

182a.　　　　　di guy fine **reach** me ?//

　　　　　　　DET guy fine **reach** me ?//

　　　　　　　'Is that guy as handsome as I am?'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　D_IBA_07@Sp368_090

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[29] E tall reach John.
E tall like John.

182b.   aha di guy fine **reach** you die //

X DET guy fine **reach** 2SG very_well //

'The guy is very well as handsome as you are'

D_IBA_07@Sp369_041

182c.   dat kind tin no good for your body // kind pretty girl like you
DEM kind thing NEG good PREP 2SG.POSS body // kind pretty like 2SG

< see as you black **like** charcoal ah //
< see as 2SG black like charcoal DISC //

'That sort of thing is not good for your body. A kind pretty girl like you, see how dark your skin is like charcoal, wow.'

D_IBA_07@Sp368_192 - D_IBA_07@Sp368_193

182d..
see di way you { fresh **like** || " err " soft like fresh fish }
see DE Twat 2SG { freaj like || X soft like fresh fish }

< wetin dey happen ?//
< what IPFV happen ?//

'See how you look fresh, err, as soft as fresh fish, what is going on?

SP17@Sa007_006

4.2.4.4 Other Degrees of Quality

4.2.4.4.1 Large measure[30]

In Naija, there are various lexical items that may be used to express the idea of large measure. They include wellwell (183a), die (183b), and too[H] (183c)

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[30] There are other means how superabundance may be expressed in Naija, although we don't have instances of them in the corpus sets used for this work.
Over may be used to mark super abundance.
    a)   E over tall. - He/She is excessively tall
        E over fine – He/She is extremely handsome/beautiful
Too may also be used to express superabundance in Naija
    a) You too small. – You are very small.
       You too wowo. – You are very ugly.

183a.

You see dat guy wey tall **wellwell** wey come?
2SG see DEM guy REL tall very_well REL come

'Did you see that really tall man who came?'
Naijonary_wellwell

183b.

aha di guy fine reach you **die** //

X DET guy fine reach 2SG very_well //

'The guy is very well as handsome as you are'

D_IBA_07@Sp369_041

184.

our boys wey be sey [like dis now < di Nigeria
1SG.POSS boys REL COP COMP [like DEM now < DET Nigeria

no dey **too** dey pay boys like dat < na God >+
NEG IPFV too IPFV pay boys like DEM < COP GOD >+

dey help person for di hustle wey dey now //
IPFV help person PREP DET hustle REL COP now //

Nigeria is not favourable to our boys, it's just God who helps people
with the efforts they are making.
War012_@SP10_241

4.2.4.4.2 Small measure

The marking of small measure or less than abundant measure is done with the negation of
abundance. (185a) and (185b)

185a.

no { di || dat } time < di place **no too** bad like dat //

NEG { DET || DEM } time < DET place NEG too bad like DEM //

'No, at the time, the place was not too bad'

D_JOS_29@Sp153_113 D_JOS_29@Sp153_114

185b.
    you know < meh e rich //= meh e **no too** rich //=
    2SG know < SBJV 3SG rich //= SBJV 3SG NEG too rich //=

    { meh e no g- || meh God no for vex } //
    { SBJV 3SG NEG X || SBJV God NEG for take_offence} //

    'You know, let him be rich, but not too rich. So that God won't get offended

4.2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs in Naija occur in the verb phrase, or as an adverbial phrase, and may modify Verbs, Adjectives and other Adverbs. Adverbs in Naija may also precede Auxiliaries (Section 4.3.3).

186.   (ADV) Verb (ADV)

    Adj (ADV)

    Adv. Adv.

    (ADV) Auxilliaries

Adverbs in Naija modify other lexical items (182)

4.2.5.1 Intensifiers

Very (187), *very very* (188), *too* (189a) – (189b), *wella* (190a) – (190b) and *wellwell* (191) may be used for intensification.[31]

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[31] Over + verb, over + Adj may also be used for intensification. For example, *dat level overimportant*, 'that issue is very important'. *You go dey overfast, now you don enter wahala* 'you were too much in haste, now, you are in trouble'.

187.   you know three hundred naira < na big money > **very** important //

2SG know three hundred Naira < COP big money > very important //

'You know that three hundred naira is a lot of money, it is very important.

<div align="right">M_WAZK_09@Sp295_20</div>

188.   knowledge too na deliverance // e dey { **very** |r **very** } important //

knowledge too COP deliverance // 3SG IPFV {very |r very} important //

'Knowledge is deliverance.

<div align="right">WAZA_08_P_029</div>

189a.   de no dey **too** do riot // di place just dey cool //

3PL NEG IPFV too do riot // DET place just COP cool //

'They don't riot often. The place is just cool.'

<div align="center">M_ABJ_NOU_04@Sp32_27 - M_ABJ_NOU_04@Sp32_28</div>

189b.   our parents " ehn " < di way wey dem take dey show sey
1PL.POSS parents DISC < DE Twat REL 3PL take IPFV show COMP

[dem love us " eh "] <   e **too** funny // e dey funny me //
[3PL love 1PL DISC] < 3SG too funny // 3SG IPFV funny 1SG //

'Our parents, the way they show us that the love us, amuses me.'

<div align="right">War014_199 - War014_200</div>

190a.   di truth be sey [insurance dey for everybody]// but because we dey fear
sey
DEF truth COP COMP [insurance COP for everybody] // but because 1PL
IPFV fear COMP

[na person { wey don chop **wella** |c wey im pocket full } >+ fit buy insurance
 [COP person { REL PFV eat very.well |c REL 3SG pocket full } >+ can buy
insure

' The truth us that insurance is for everybody. But because we are worried
that only people who are wealthy can afford insurance.'

190b.

if you put am ugba < con put { fish |a oduazu } < ah

if 2SG put 3SG oil bean seeds < then put { fish |a fish tails } ah

you go like am **wella** o //

2SG FUT like am very.well EMPH //

'If you put fermented oil seeds and the fish tails, you'll really like it'

ENU_13@Sp87_29

191.

so { you || una } gats dey maintain una motor { **well |r well** } //

so (2SG || 2PL } should IPFV maintain 2PL car { well |r well } //

'So you have to maintain your car very well.'

M_IBA_13@Sp379_145

4.2.5.2 Time adverbials

There are various time adverbials in Naija some of them. *When, how, why* follow the etymological English pattern. Others incude: *taytay* (192a)-(193b) , *tay,*(193a)-(193b) *instanta,* (194)

192a.

na so >+ God { take || just take } save my life // if not <
COP so >+ God { take || just take } save 1SG.POSS life // if not <

my own for don end { **tay |r tay** } //
1SG.POSS own would PFV end { since |r since } //
'That's how God saved my life. If not, I would have been over for me a long time ago.'

M_ABJ_INF_04@Sp17_63 – M_ABJ_INF_04@Sp17_64

192b.

e don start { **tay |r tay** } //

3SG PFV start {since |r since } //

'It has started a long time ago.'

T_LAG_38@Sp261_18

193a.

you know sey [you know us now] // no be today >+ e don **tay** //

2SG know COMP [2Sg know 1PL now] // NEG COP today >+ 3SG
PFV long_time //

'You know that, you know us. It's not just now, it's been a while.'

WAZK_08_P_169 - WAZK_08_P_171

193b.

dat day < my moder vex { well |r well } because I stay **tay** //
DEM dat < 1SG.POSS mother angry { well |r well } SCONJ 1SG stay long //
'That day, my mother was very angry bcause I spent a lot of time.'

war011_@SP9_244

194.

If you snap your passport for here na **instanta** you go get am.

If 2Sg snap 2SG.POSS passport at here COP instantly 2SG get 3SG

'If you take your passport photograph here, you will get it immediately.'

Naijionary_instanta

4.2.5.3 Manner Adverbs

Adverbs of manner in Naija may include: *jejely*[32] (196) – (197), *sha* (198) – (199), *smesme*
(200) – (201)

196.

You follow life **jejely**. —
2SG follow life gently
You live life gently.

JOS_09_Wife-And-Mother-In-Law_M__106,

197.

Make we waka **jejely** o. O man, take am jeje o.
SBJV 1PL walk gently EMPH Oh man take 3SG gently EMPH
let's work carefully. Oh man! take it easy

Naijionary_jejely

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[32] if today na your birthday |c or you sabi who dey celebration deir birthday today < { jejely |c and
nwayoly } arrange better message // M_WAZK_04@Sp304_03

198.   Dat one na your business. **Sha** do quick make person come chop rice.
        DEM one COP 2SG.POSS business just do quick SBJV person come eat
        rice
         That's your business, just hurry up let us celebrate with you.

<div align="right">Naijioanry_sha</div>

199.   Make dis rain **sha** fall. Sky don dark finish like back of pot, e still no want fall.
        SBJV DEM rain just fall sky PFV dark finish like back of pot 3SG still NEG
        want fall
        'This rain should just fall! The sky has been very dark since and it still hasn't
        rained.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_sha</div>

200.   Why you dey do **smesme**? If you want chop, chop!

        Why 2SG IPFV do dull? If 2SG want eat eat!

        Why are you dull? If you want to eat, eat!

<div align="right">Naijionary_smesme</div>

201.   De say Ochuko see ball for field dey do **smesme,** but if na house e dey, e no go stop
        to dey make yeye mouth.

        3PL say Ochuko see ball LOC field IPFV do dull CONJ COND COP house 3SG
        COP 3SG NEG FUT stop INF IPFV make silly mouth

        'They said Ochuko became timid at the football match, but if he was at home, he
        won't stop boasting'

<div align="right">Naijionary_smesme</div>

4.2.5.4 Frequency Adverbials

Frequency may be expressed in adverbs like *soso* (202) – (203)

202.   Na **so so** book-me-down plenty o. ──
            COP **so so** book me down plenty EMPH

            'There's a lot of book-me-downs.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_so so</div>

203.   Na **so so** wahala. —

            COP so so problem

            It is problematic all the time.

                                                    Naijionary_so so

4.2.5.5 Expressing adverbaial comparison

Adverbial comparison is expressed just like adjectival comparisons.

4.2.5.5.1 Equality

Equality is expressed in Naija using the adverbial *like*. It occurs before the noun phrase where it makes the comparison. It is usually preceded by a copula *dey*.(207) or *be* (208).

207.   so many of us dey **like** dat //= we no know who we want talk to //
            so many of us COP like DEM //= 1PL NEG know who 1PL want talk to //

             simply because maybe I fit tell you my problem <
            simoly because maybe 1SG fit tell 2SG 1SG.POSS problem <

            you go take am laugh me //
            2SG FUT take 3SG laugh 1SG //

            'So many of us are like that. We do not know who we can talk to. Simply because
            I could tell you my problem and you'll mock me with it.'
            M_WAZP_08@Sp343_016-17

208.
            you know < de go con be **like** twins //

            2SG know < 3PL FUT CONS COP ADV twins //

            You know, they'll look like twins

                                                    D_BEN_07@Sp41_11

4.2.5.5.2 Comparative (More)

The comparative-more in Naija is expressed using *pass* (209)-(210)

209.   { e ‖ people } wey even dey private < na im >+ I pity **pass** //

{ X ‖ people } REL even COP private < COP 3SG >+ 1SG pity pass //

The persons who are private are the ones I have the most pity for.'

ABJ_GWA_14_M_149

210.   una go dey insult people sey [" eh de dey carry dey big //=
2SG.PL FUT IPFV insult people COMP [" DISC 3SG IPFV recklessly IPFV big //=

de dey old **pass** deir age > we girls] //
3SG IPFV oid pass 3PL.POSS age > 1PL girls] //

'You are insulting people that they are getting recklessly big, that they look older than their age, we girls.

SMD007_007

4.2.5.5.3 Comparative (Less)

The comparative-less in Naija is expressed either negating the comparative more (211) or no+*reach* (212)

211.

school fees no **pass** one seven //
school fees NEG pass one seven //

'The school fees is not more than one thousand seven hundred.'

M_KAD_24@Sp208_104

212.

e no **reach** ten minutes < I con well //
3SG NEG reach ten minutes < I CONS well //
'It wasn't up to ten minutes, I felt better.'

D_BEN_15a@Sp48_55

For comparatives (211) – (212), the lexical items used are verbals, but in this case, they serve adverbial functions.

4.2.6 Conjunction

Lexcial items in this category have the function of connecting two or more elements: words, phrases clauses and sentences. (Emenanjo, 2015:331)

Conjunctions in Naija may be Coordinate or subordinate.

4.2.6.1 Coordinate Conjunctions

Coordinate conjunctions in Naija connect units of equal value. *But, or, and* (213)-(214), *wit* (215)-(217) and *abi* (218) – (219) are coordinate conjunctions in Naija. *And* appears to be the most widely used conjunction, *wit* appears to be marginal and may be found in southern lects of Naija.

213.
e just be like { { ororo |c **and** water } |a { oil |c **and** water } } // e no fit mix //

3SG just COP like { ororo |c CONJ water } |a {oil |c and water } } // 3SG NEG fit mix

'It's just like oil and water, oil and water. It doesn't mix.'

M_IBA_13@Sp379_101-102

214.
{ me |c **and** my oga } don get problem //
{ 1SG |c CONJ 1SG.POSS boss } PFV get problem //

'My boss and I have issues.'

ENU_33_M_005

215.
Make you **wit** am come di party now
SBJV 2SG CONJ 3SG come DET party now
'Come to the party with him/her.'
Naijionary_wit

216.
if you see one woman for okada < e go carry four pikin // im **wit** im
if 2SG see one woman PREP okada < 3SG FUT carry four pikin // 3SG CONJ 3SG.POSS

husband making six //
husband making six //

If you see a woman on a motorcycle, she'll carry four children. Her and her husband, making it six.

D_BEN_07@Sp41_27-28

217.
only { you |c wit okada |c **wit** motor |c wit trailer } go dey drag dat road //

only { 2SG |c CONJ motorcycle |c CONJ car |c CONJ truck } FUT IPFV drag DEM road //

'It'll be you and motorcycles, cars and trucks struggling for space on the road.'

D_IBA_35@Sp414_80

218.
we dey { fa- || sh- || sh- || challenge } { for school fees |c **abi** challenge for food }
//=
1PL IPFV { X || X || X || challenge } { for school fees |c or challenge for food } //=

{ challenge for health |c abi challenge for wetin } ?//
{ challenge for health |c or challenge for wetin } ?//

'Are we competing for school fess or competing for food? Competing for health or
what?

                                                                M_JOS_37@Sp164_08

219.
but e get someting wey I just see (dat one na { yesterday
CONJ 3SG get something REL 1SG just see { DEM one COP { yesterday

|c **abi** dis morning } for social media) of one cat wey electric shock //
|c or DEM morning } PREP social media) of one cat REL electric shock //

'But there was something I just saw, that was yesterday or this morning, on social
media, of one cat that was shocked.'

                                                                T_ENU_30@Sp108_013

4.2.6.1 Subordinate Conjunction

Subordinate conjunctions in Naija connect units of unequal value. A matrix clause and a
subordinate clause. Subordinate clauses in Naija include: *sotay* (220) – (221), *because,
abi* (222), *sey* (223), *unto*[33],. However, *sey* may co-occur with because – *because sey* (225)
and unto – *unto sey* (224, 226) to realize a compound conjunction. *Sake of sey* (227) is a
lexicalized expression used as a subordinate expression, its range of use is mostly limited
to media discourse.

220.
so di two of us con dey get di house hot **sotay** my fader sef
so DET two of us CONS IPFV get DET house hot so_much_that 1SG.POSS father
even

< di house sef don even tire a man //
< DET house even PFV tire a man //
'So the two of us had it hot, so much that even my father, he got tired of the house.'
                                                                M_ONI_03@Sp467_13

---

[33] May also be written as onto

221.

you go wan beat pikin co- **sotay** di bele go almost comot for her body //
2SG FUT want beat child X so_much_that DET pregnancy FUT almost leave her body //
'You want to beat the youngster so much that the pregnancy will almost leave her body.'

M_JOS_09@Sp123_107

222.

ehen I no know why you no dey pick your call o |c **abi** you no want
DISC 1SG NEG know why 3SG NEG IPFV pick your call EMPH |c or 2SG NEG want

{ make we || make we } help you |c or make I come find you |c
{ SBJV 1PL || SBJV 1PL } help 2SG |c or SBJV 1SG come find you |c

make we talk togeder ?//
SBJV 1PL talk together ?//

'Eh, I don't know why you don't pick your calls, or don't you want us to help you, or should I come to find you so that we can talk together ?//

223.

you don go perform free now // now you don see **sey** kpogiri don come outside now //
2SG PFV go perform free now // now 2SG PFv see COMP money PFV come outside now //
You have performed for free. Now you've seen that some money was realized.

SP20@SMD003_007

224.

mstchew me sha < I no too gbadun Nigeria musicians o >
'hiss 1SG even < 1SG NEG too like Nigeria musican EMPH >

unto sey [na just to dey { make noise |c shout { up |c and down } }] //
SCONJ COMP [COP just to IPFV { make noise |c shout { up |c and down } }] //

'Hiss, anyway, I don't really like Nigerian musicians because all they do is make noise and shout.'

D_IBA_08@Sp370_006

225.   you go call girl now sey [how far naw < area ?// come plaster wit me o //]
        //
        2SG FUT call girl now COMP [how far DISC < buddy ?// come stay wit
        me EMPH //]//

        she go tell you now sey [she go tell you sey she no want burst
        2SG FUT tell 2SG now COMP [3SG FUT tell 2SG COMP 3SG NEG
        want come

        out unto **because sey** [she plaster wit her best friend wey be girl]] //
        out because because COMP [3SG stay with her best friend REL COP girl
        ]] //

226.
        but my guys dey call me Gunners ah **unto sey** [Arsenal fan now] //
        CONJ 1SG.POSS guys call me Gunner DISC SCONJ COMP [Arsenal fan now]
        //
        'but my guys call me Gunner because I am an Arsenal fan.'
                                                        D_KAD_18@Sp198_01

227.
        we need to go jollificate sake of sey [today na Monday] |c
        1PL need to go enjoy sake of COMP [today COP mondau] |c

        and to tank Baba God dere for dis ting wey im don do for our life
        CONJ to thank Father God there for DEM thing REL 3SG PFV do PREP 1PL.POSS
        life

        sake of sey [e allow us moh we see today] //
        sake of COMP [3SG allow us SBJV 1PL see today

        We need to go and enjoy because today is Monday and to thank God for what he
        has done in our lives because he has permitted us to see today.

        M_ENU_28@Sp108_56

4.2.7. Prepositions

Prepositions in Naija generally precede nouns or pronouns and demonstrates the
relationship of the preceding word to the noun, pronoun or noun phrase in terms of
possession, place or direction. (Crystal, 2008:383).

4.2.7.1 Type 1 Prepositions

4.2.7.1.1 For - Preposition

In Naija, *For* works as a general-purpose preposition.

228.   na so >+ you wan make we do **for** dere ?//
COP so >+ 2SG want SBJV 1PL do PREP there ?//
Is that how you want us to do there?
> D_IBA_09@Sp373_063

229.

una get light **for** una area > last night ?//
2PL have light PREP 2PL area > last night ?//
Did you have power supply in your area yesterday?
> D_ABJ_GWA_02@Sp3_005

4.2.7.1.2 Compound Prepositions

For may also co-occur with other prepositions, to form a compound preposition.

4.2.7.1.2.1 For Under

230.

[dis pot wey di king give you so < tell am sey [e dey leak]] //
[DEM pot REL DET king give 2SG so < tell 3SG COMP [3SG IPFV leak]] //

di pot get hole **for under** // tell am sey [e dey leak] //
DET pot have hole PREP PREP // tell 3SG COMP [3SG IPFV leak] //

This pot the king gave you is leaking. The pot has a a hole underneath. Tell him that the pot leaks
> BEN_36_M_189- 193

231.
    e be like sey [di women no dey even like am] //
    3SG COP like COMP [DET women NEG IPFV like 3SG] //

    sey [na dem >+ dey make money pass] < sey di man con dey chop
    COMP [COP 3SG >+ IPFV make money pass] < COMP DET man CONS IPFV
    chop

    for under deir hand //
    PREP PREP 3SG.POSS hand //

    'It seems that the women did not even like it. That they make more money that the
    man feeds under them.'

    D_ABJ_INF_06@Sp324_46-47

4.2.7.1.2.2 For inside

232.
    so boys dey vex // de dey carry Ludo now **for inside** bag //+ no be laptop again //
    so boys IPFV angry 3PL IPGV take ludo now PREP PREP bag //= NEG laptop
    again //
    'So boys are angry, they now take ludo boards in their bags, not laptops anymore'.

    War012_@SP10_217

233.
    luckily dat day < dat fateful day < na im >+ de call me sey
    luckily DEM day < DEM fateful day < COP 3Sg >+ 3SG call 1SG COMP

    [dis my ex boyfriend { dey kpess di guy || dey kpess di girl }
    [DEM 1SG.POSS ex boyfriend { IPFV beat DET guy || IPFV beat DET girl }

    for inside house //
    PREP PREP house //

    Luckily that day, that fateful day, I was called that this my ex-boyfriend was beating
    the guy, was beating the girl in the house.'

    war011_@SP9_128

164

4.2.7.1.2.3 For back

234.

    e go say [dem be my friend //= dem be my friend] // lailai //
    3SG FUT say [3PL COP 1SG.POSS friend //= 3SG COP 1SG.POSS friend // lies //

    e dey march friend **for back** //
    3SG IPFV sleep friend PREP PREP //

    He'll say they are my friends, they are my friend, lies! He is sleeping with the friend behind your back.

                                                   war011_@SP9_264-266

235.

    so as I con dey dat place < { my bro- || my cousin broder } meh I
    so as 1SG CONS COP DEM place < { 1SG.POSS X || 1SG.POSS cousin brother } REL 1SG

    dey stay with for Abuja **for back** of specialist // e con tell me
    IPFV stay PREP PREP Abuja PREP PREP PREP specialist // 3SG CONS tell 1SG

    sey [eh as e be so bah < im no fit feed me again o] //
    COMP [DISC as 3SG COP so right < 3SG NEG can feed 1SG again o] //

    So, as I was staying at that place, my cousin who I was staying with in Abuja, behind specialist. He told me that as things were, he could no longer feed me again.

                                                  ABJ_GWA_10_M_279-285

4.2.7.1.2.4 For up

236.   I dey beg government [make dem help us] // { both our Ambode |c both eh
        1SG IPFV beg government [SBJV 3SG help 1PL] // { noth 1SG.POSS
        Ambode |c both DISC

        our President **for up** |c { our || all di || our } senators } < make dem help us //
        1SG.POSS President PREP PREP |c { our || all DET || 1SG.POSS } senators }
        < SBJV help us

        I am begging the government, they should help us. Our Ambode, Our president
        above, all our sisters, they should help us.
                                                            M_LAG_05@Sp352_075-76

4.2.7.1.2.5 For down

237.   de get shops **for down** ehen |c get for up wey de dey pack deir goods //
        3SG have shops PREP PREP DISC |c have PREP PREP REL 3SG IPFV pack
        3SG.POSS goods //
        They have shops below and above where they pack their goods.
                                                            D_PRT_10@Sp273_094

4.3.7.2 Type 2 Prepositions

Other prepositions in in this category can occur by themselves, and some like *up under,*

back inside may in addition, co-occur with for (section 4.3.7.2). The others include *about*

(238), *after* (239), *down*[34] (240) and *ontop*[35] (241)-(242)

238.   all di warri boys < I just baff finish // shebi una dey want talk { talk |r talk }

        all DET Warri boys < 1SG just bathe finish // Q 2PL IPFV want talk { talk |r

        talk }

        about girls anyhow > shebi ?// " ehen " // Jessica don come //

        about girls anyhow > Q ?// DISC // Jessica PFV come

        'All these Warri boys, I've just finished taking my bath. You all want to run

        your mouths about girls right? It's okay. Jessica is here.'

---

[34] Down may also function as an adverb.

[35] Untop loosely translates to *nà énú* - an Igbo prepositional complex

239.   **after** I finish secondary for here < I go { university |a BUK } //

     after 1SG finish secondary PREP here < 1SG go { university |a BUK } //

     'After I finished secondary school here, I went to university, BUK'

     M_WAZK_10@Sp301_24

240.   I follow di road go **down** wellwell before I see
     1SG follow DET road go down well.well before 1SG see

     di junction wey you tell me
     DET junction REL tell me

     'I walked really far down the road before I found the junction you talked about.'
     Naijioary_down

241.   anyway < eh **ontop** dat kidnap < de con ask di boy sey [wetin happen ?//] //
     anyway < DISC PREP DEM kidnap < 3SG CONS DET boy COMP [what happen ?//] //

     'Anyway about that kidnap, they then asked the boy about what happened?'
     D_WAZK_05@Sp304_16

242.   I don confirm your own message **ontop** my Whatsapp //
     1SG PFV confirm 2SG.POSS own message on my Whatsapp //

     'I have confirmed your message on my Whatsapp'

     M_WAZK_04@Sp304_08

4.2.8 Ideophones

The characterization of ideophones as a separate word class is based on a number of parameters. A functional definition is given by (Dingemanse, 2019); where ideophones are considered as words that depict sensory imagery. The parameters for the characterization of ideophones are:

i. Ideophones form an open class, ii, they are marked, because they have a distinctive structure when compared to words in other word classes. iii. ideophones have conventional meanings, iv. Ideophones are iconic iv. They evoke senory imagery. (Dingemanse, 2019)

Dingemanse (2019) also distinguishes between ideophones and interjections as word classes. Ideophones typically depict events, but interjections are used to typically respond to situations. Dingemanse (2019) refers to this as the mode of signification. The Morphosyntax is another distinction between ideophones and interjections. Ideophones may occur at edge of utterances, but interjections often occur on their own.

In Naija, just like any other word class, words that appear to be canonically ideophones, may also undergo conversion[36] and function in other word classes without necessarily changing form or taking on any affixes.

gbagam[37]

243.   but sha < di only ting wey im dey do for us for here < for dis Plateau <
    but anyway < DET only thing REL 3SG IPFV do for us PREP < PREP DEM
    Plateau <
    him dey try pay salary // so we dey call am alert gbagamu //

    3SG IPFV try pay salary // so 1PL IPFV call 3SG alert sound //

    'But anyway, the only thing he does here, in Plateau, is that he tries to pay salaries.
    So we call him alert sound.'
                                       D_JOS_11@Sp127_008-009

gbam

244.   before you know danfo don clear person **gbam** //
    before 2SG know danfo PFV clear person boom //
    'before you know it, the danfo bus has hit a person, boom'
                         M_LAG_05@Sp352_049

Gbam, the sound a thud would make, or of something hitting another, (244) is a grammaticalizing ideophone. It has also developed other such meanings as 'correct', 'instant'.[38] (245)

---

[36] E get number wey go **grin grin** you
[37] It may be also be gbagamu
[38] With the suffix [–est], it will have the meaning of *very correct.*

245. but di thing no too cost o // if e enter X < na three K **gbam** //
CONJ DET thing NEG too cost EMPH // if 3SG enter X < COP three thousand exactly

de no dey look back //
3SG NEG IPFV look back //

'but the thing is not too expensive. If it get to X , it's exactly three thousand. They don't change their minds.'

ENU_13@Sp86_37- ENU_13@Sp86_39

Piam piam piam

(246) na when you dey enjoy yourself < na im >+ time go dey run
COP when sg 2SG IPFV enjoy 2SG.RFLX < COP 3SG >+ time FUT run

{ **piam** |r **piam** |r **piam** |r **piam** |r **piam** |r **piam** } //
{ quick |r quick |r quick |r quick |r quick |r quick } //

When you want to enjoy yourself, that's when time will run very quickly.
D_IBA_39@Sp417_36

4.2.9 Interjections

Interjections generally constitute utterances by themselves and express the mental state of the speaker (Ameka, 2006: 743). They conventionally are described as being non-elliptical, not entering into construction with other word classes, not taking affixes and is morphophonemic (Ameka, 2006:743).

Interjections in Naija, take various forms. Interjections may be monosyllabic (247), multisyllabic (248), Phrases 249)

4.2.9.1 Monosyllabic

Ah

247. I no get money // but I know sey [if money come
1SG NEG have money // CONJ 1SG know COMP [if money come <

< ah I go do things o] //
INTJ 1SG FUT do things EMPH] //

I'm not rich. But I know that if money comes, I will do things.

M_ENU_35@Sp443_012-13

4.2.9.2 Bisyllablic

eyah

248.   na why >+ your eye red like dis // **eyah** //

              COP why >+ 2SG.POSS eye red like this // sorry //

              Is that why you are anxious? Sorry?

                                          D_JOS_26@Sp147_100-105

omo

249.   you sef understand // **omo** five days na somethin o //

              2SG even understand // Bro five days COP something EMPH //

              You even understand. Bro, five days is a lot!

              D_IBA_06@Sp366_221-222

250.   for wetin now ?// **haba** !//
             for what ?// INTJ //
             why?
             D_ABJ_INF_08@Sp27_054-55

4.2.9.3 Phrases

251.   **na wa** o // eh < no be small ting o //
             COP PART EMPH // eh < NEG COP small thing EMPH

             we just pray sey [God go help us dis semester] //
             1PL jusy pray COMP [God FUT help 1PL DEM semester] //

             Hm! It's not a joke. We just pray that God will help us this
             semester.

                                  D_KAD_01@Sp173_059-61

252.   **na wa** for una o // una must hear word o //
             COP PART for 2PL EMPH // 2PL must hear word
             EMPH //
             'What's the matter with you all. You all must listen.'
                     M_LAG_34@Sp433_36-37

4.2.10. Interrogatives

Question words in Naija are lexical items used to elicit information. Question words in Naija could be considered to include: content questions and Polar questions.

Lexical items used for interrogation in Naija may occur at clause initial or clause final positions. *When* (253), occurs mostly in clause initial positions, or as a stand-alone intonation unit. *Who* (254), also occurs mostly in clause initial positions, but may also occur at clause final positions. *Where* (256) may also occur at clause initial and clause final positions, however, the tendency is for it to occur at word initial positions. *Why* (255) also occurs most clause initially and only has about a 10% occurrence at clause final positions. *How* also mostly occurs at clause initial positions. *Wetin* on the hand, has a fairly balanced distribution in its clause final and clause initial occurrences. The compound question words *how much*, *how many,* only occur at clause initial positions.

Atink[39] (262), may occur at clause initial position and clause final position. In the instances when it occurs, so can *Shebi*[40] (259), and *shey* (261). *Nko (263)* exclusively occurs at clause final positions. *Abi* (260) as an interrogative particle may occur at clause initial or final positions. Bah may occur at the end of various phrasal boundaries, and also at the end of clauses *Shuo* often occurs as an independent intonation unit.

Shebi, *shey shuo*, *nko* and atink, had not been considered in previous works.

253.
{ when || **when** } I go fit count bottles for your head now ?//
{ when || when } 1SG FUT count bottles PREP 2SG head now ?//
'When will I take a few bottles of beer on your bill'?
D_EN_20@Sp95_103

254.
who no like better thing ?//
who NEG like good thing ?//
'Who doesn't like a good thing?'
War016_280

---

[39] Atink (is at the same logical level as will, òkwà, shèbì, shěy) Atink you go dey house, I dey come just now. War005_M it's a modal

[40] *Shebi and abi* are very similar in how they behave. They may be cognates. In many contexts, *abi* may replace *shebi,* but *shebi* may not always replace *abi*

255.   **why** you like abacha ?//

       Q   2SG like abacha ?//

       Why do you like abacha ?//

                  ENU_13@Sp86_23

256.   naim we con reach < di mama < dey con dey say
       then 1PL CONS reach < DET mama < IPFV CONS IPFV say

(a)

       [okay < **where** di oder girl ?//] //
       [okay < where DET other girl ?//] //

       'Then we met the mother and they said 'Okay where is the othe girl?'
                  war011_@SP9_173

(b)

       where I dey ?//
       where 1SG COP ?//
       Where am I?
             D_PRT_03@Sp264_111

257.   your name na **wetin** ?//
       2SG.POSS name COP what ?//
       D_JOS_29@Sp153_011 D_JOS_29@Sp153_012

258.   **how** tings dey go ?//
       how things IPFV go ?//
       'how are things going?'
            D_ABJ_GWA_11@Sp14_017

259;   **shebi** { on Mon || on Friday } no work abi ?//
       QCOND { on X || on Friday } NEG work QCOND
       ?//
       "There is no work on Mon… on Friday, right?
       D_LAG_06@Sp354_52

260.   **shebi** me dey call you to follow you talk |c you dey do anyhow give me **abi** ?//
       QCOND 1PL IPFV call 2SG to follow 2SG talk |c 2SG IPFV do anyhow give me
       QCOND ?//
       'I was calling you to talk with you and you were acting up to me, right?'
       WAZK_08_P_131

261.   **shey** you know as mumsy get wahala now ?//
        QCOND 2SG know as mother have problem DISC ?//
        'You know how mother can be quarrelsome.'
                                     D_JOS_04@Sp116_001

262.   **atink** election go come during four hundred level ?//
        QIND election FUT come during four hundred level ?//
        'There'll be elections when we are in four hundred level, right?'
                                  war010_@SP9_024

263.   dis your own hair style nko ?//= dis your own hair style **nko** ?//
        DEM 2SG own hair styke QTAG ?//= DEM 2SG 2SG.POSS hair style
        QTAG ?//
        'What about this hair style you have? What about this hair style you have
        ?//
                                    D_LAG_16@Sp231_17

Bah has what seems to be a more restricted usgage. Bah has the same behavioural nature as *nko*, occurring as a question tag at sentence final positions, and may also occur at the end of phrases as a *sentence filler.*

264.   **how** you see di work ?// no be small ting bah ?//
        how 2SG see DET work ?// NEG COP small thing QTAG ?//
        How was the task? It wasn't easy, right?

        D_KAD_07@Sp181_004- D_KAD_07@Sp181_005

Shuo is an interrogative interjection. While it cannot be used to elicit any information. It is used to express various extreme states such as surprise, joy, shock and others.

265.   I say [**shuo** < government { don remind || don remember } dis place so ?//] //
        1SG say [QINT < government { PFV remind || PFV remember } DEM place so
        ?//] //
        'I said "what? Has the government rembered dis place?'

                                    D_IBA_35@Sp414_75

4.2.11 Complementizers and relativizers

4.2.11.1 Complementizer

In Naija, Sey is the grammaticalized complementizer (<say).

266.
    na im di man con tell am **sey** [e no work o] //
    COP 3SG DET man CONS tell 3SG COMP [3SG NEG
    work EMPH] //
    Then the man told him "it's not going to work!"
<div align="right">War012_@SP10_098</div>

267.
    e con say [" ehn " sey [e hear **sey** [dem shoot am o]]] //

    3SG CONS say [eh COMP [3SG hear COMP [3PL shoot
    3SG EMPH]]] //

    He then said that he heard that they shot him.
<div align="right">war011_@SP9_198</div>

4.2.11.2 Relativizer

Wey is the widely used relativizer in Naija. (268), *Mey* may also be used among Edo state speakers of Naija.

268.
    noting **wey** di guy no buy //
    nothing REL DET guy NEG buy //
    'There was nothing the guy did not buy'

<div align="center">ENU_33_M_199</div>

269.
    our parents " ehn " < di way **wey** dem take dey show sey [dem love us "
    eh "] <   e too funny //
    1PL.POSS parents eh < DET way REL 3SG take IPFV show COMP [
    3SG love 1PL eh] < 2SG too funny //

    'Our parents, the way they show that they love us, is very funny.'
<div align="right">War014_199</div>

4.2.12 Summary

This sub-section investigates lexical categories in Naija. It considers the internal configuration and co-occurrences that lexical categories may permit. The lexical items considered were: Nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions, preposition, ideophones, interrogatives, complementizers and relativizers. The next sub-section investigates the morphological processes in Naija.

4.3 Morphological processes in Naija

4.3.1. Borrowing/lexification

As discussed in section 4.1.1., Naija is primarily English lexified, but has also received lexical contributions from other languages. (Tables 4.2 – Figure 4.3).

The strategies involved in borrowing and relexification in Naija include: Phonological adaptation, semantic extension and semantic shift.

4.3.1.1 Phonological adaptation

Lexical items borrowed may undergo certain phonological modifications[41].

---

[41] Some others may include *someting^{LF}*

Table 4.2a: English > Naija lexical items

	Lexical item	English	Naija
I	Water	/ˈwɔtə/ ᴴᴸ	/ˈwɔta/ ᴸᴴ
Ii	Carry	/kæɹɪ/ ᴴᴸ	/kari/ ᴸᴸ
Iii	Rotten	/ɹɑtn̩/ᴴᴸ	/rɔtɪn/ ᴸᴴ
Iv	Jolly	/ˈd͡ʒɒli/ᴴᴸ	/d͡ʒɔlɪ/ ᴸᴴ
V	Dirty	/ˈdɜːti/ ᴴᴸ	/dɔtɪ/ ᴸᴴ

In Table 4.2a and Table 4.2b, there are instances where the Naija lexical items modify the sound segments[42] and the prosodic values to yield Naija words. This is however not the case in Table 4.3 and 4.4, where there seems to be prosody and sound retention[43]. The same tendency typified in Table 4.3 and Table 4.4, is noted in other indigenous language sources of Naija as seen Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2.

However, this tendency to modify the prosody of words is more apparent in lexical items with more than one syllable. In the instances where the words have just one syllable, the prosodic value tends to be maintained, but the sounds may be approximated as shown in Table 4.1b.

---

[42] There is the curious case of *headtie^{LF}* . which could be a nativized version of hair tie. Headtie does not exist in the English language. *Ngozi Okonjo Iweala headtie na im be her signature*

[43] A word lexicalized from Yoruba òlóshó, has also undergone some prosodic transformation by some speakers of Naija, yielding the form òlòshó. This is often heard in Benin; Edo state speakers of Naija.

Table 4.2b: Naija > English lexical items (Monosyllablic)

	Lexical Item	English	Naija
I	Car	/kɑː/^{F}	/kɑ/^{F}
Ii	Dull	/dʌl/^{F}	/dɔl/^{F} - /dɔː/^{F}
Iii	Soft	/sɒft/^{F}	/sɔft/^{F}
Iv	By	/baɪ/^{L}	/baɪ/^{L}
V	Good	/gʊd/^{F}	/gʊd/^{F}

Table 4.3: Yoruba > Naija Lexical Items

	Lexical item	Yoruba	Naija[44]
I	dobale	/ˈdɔbale/ LHL	/ˈdɔbale/ LHL
Ii	aʃawo	/aʃawo / LHH	/ aʃawo / LHH
Iii	Were	/were/LL	/were/LL
Iv	Shayo	/ʃajo/HH	/ʃajo/HH
V	agbo	/agbo/LH	/agbo/LH

[44] There is the curious case of *oshofree.* It seems that this word was borrowed from the Yoruba lexicon, because the hybrid compounding process was not executed 'in Naija', Yoruba may have executed this compound, and Naija has only just borrowed it.

Table 4.4: Igbo > Naija Lexical items

	Lexical Item	Igbo	Naija
I	Oyibo	/ojibo/LLH	/ojibo/LLH
Ii	Obodo	/obodo/LLL	/obodo/LLL
Iii	Ego	/ego/HM	/ego/HM
iv	Akpụ	/akpʊ/HH	akpʊ/HH
v	Nkwọbi	/nkwɔbi/HHL	/nkwɔbi/HHL

4.3.1.2. Semantic change

In the adaptation of lexical items from other languages into Naija, there are some sematic processes that the lexical items undergo. The lexical items may change or shift their meanings.

4.3.1.2.1 Semantic Shift

The sense of lexical items borrowed into Naija may undergo a change from the source and have meaning different from the sense in the source.

270. Bone (<Eng. Bone) v. frown.at /Ignore

> **Bone** any body wey dey talk anyhow.
> ignore any person REL IPFV talk careless
> Ignore any person who talks carelessly
>
> Naijionary_bone

271. Gas (<Eng. Gas) v. happen

> Kasala wey **gas** for Kaduna market don kill 55 pipo Kaduna: Goment don order 24 hour curfew
> Problem REL happen PREP Kaduna market PFV kill 55 people: government PFV order 24 hour curfew
> 'The pandemonium that broke out in Kaduna Market led government to impose total curfew as 55 people lost their lives.'
>
> Naijionary_gas

272. Dress (<Eng. Dress) v. make.space for others

> Abeg **dress** make I fit siddon.
> Please shift SBJV 1SG can sit.down
> Please, adjust so that I can sit
>
> Naijionary_dress

273. Sky (<Eng. Sky) n. unit of currency (fifty Naira)

> Dat uncle mind dey back. I help am sweep everywhere for
> DEM uncle mind COP back 1SG helo 3SG sweep everywhere PREP
>
> im house. Even **sky** e no see give me.
> 3SG.POSS house. Even fifty.naira 3SG NEG see give me.
>
> That man is mean. I swept everywhere in his house and he could not even give me fifty naira.
> Naijionary_sky

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274. Wash (<Eng. Wash) v. flatter

      E no get who sabi **wash** pass UNIBEN boys.
      3SG NEG COP who know flatter more.than UNIBEN boys.
       'No one can flatter like UNIBEN boys'

                                Naijionary_wash

275. Dash (<Eng.dash) v/n. give.benevolence

        Dat car wey e give una neighbour, na **dash**?
        DEM car REL 3SG give 2PL.POSS neighbour COP free?
         The car he gave your neighbour, was it free?

                                Naijionary_dash

(270)-(275) show lexical items with meanings markedly different from the meanings in the source languages. This process also mostly occurs with English-*parent* words.

4.3.1.2.2 Semantic broadening

Lexical items borrowed into Naija may also extend the sense(s) of words it borrows. While the original sense is retained, the new sense(s) may not be found in the etymological *parent*.

276. Hustle (<Eng.hustle)

     My **hustle** for life no go waste.

     1SG.POSS efforts PREP life NEG FUT waste

     My work in life will not be wasted

                          Naijionary_hustle

Hustle in (276) above has a negative meaning in English, but in Naija it simply means a person's effort to work

277. Airforce (<Eng.dash)

People dey fear to go village because **airforce** plenty for dat side.
People IPFV fear to go village because witches plemty PREP DEM
side
'People are afraid to go the village because of the many witches.'

Naijonary_airforce

Airforce in Naija also has the meaning of witchcraft in Naija, in addition to the meaning in English.

278. Baf(<bathe.Eng)

(a)   Di politician don **baff**, na im make am get mind
       DET politician PFV fortify COP 3SG SBJV have mind

       The politician has gone to fortify himself, that's why he is bold.

Naijionary_baf

(b)   Dat boy wey toast Amaka don **baff**?
       DEM boy REL toast Amaka PFV capable
       That young man wooing Amaka, is he capable?

Naijionary_baf

Two extended senses of *baff* in Naija are exemplified in (378) (a) and (b). In (a), the sense is spiritual fortification, and in (b), the sense is capacity.

279. Press

You go school finish sey na **press** you want dey **press** Tufiakwa!
2SG FUT school finish COMP COP fraud 2SG want IPFV do.fraud. God.forbid
'After all your education you decided to get involved in internet fraud. God forbid.'

Naijionary_press

Press in (380) also has an extended meaning where it means to commit internet fraud.

In this section, we have discussed the morphological process of borrowing and relexification. It has been noted that in the borrowing of words from English, there is the tendency for the words to approximate the sounds and alter the prosodic value

4.3.2 Clipping

Aronoff and Fudeman (2011:122) explain that clipping is the truncation of a word which leads to the creation of a new word. However, an argument emerges in Hapslemath and Sims (2010:40), where they that though clipping and blends (which this paper also discusses) can be used to create new words, it will not fall under the domain of morphology because the said words do not have different meanings from their source. However, we have seen from our data that the clipping may change the valency and subcategorization properties of a word; and in some cases, allow for a *new* nuance of meaning. However, after the clipping process, if the resulting lexical item ends in a closed syllable, there is the addition of a vowel to ensure that the ensuing word ends in an open syllable.

4.3.1.1 Verb from Verb

280. tanda (<Eng.Stand) Verb

    (a) And { I   ‖   I } **tanda** ask am [oga < wetin dey happen now] ?//
         CONJ { 1SG ‖ 1SG } stand   ask 3SG [sir   < what   IPFV happen now
         ] ?//

         why   you dey talk to   yourself   ?//
          why   2SG IPFV talk PREP 2SG.POSS   ?//

         'And I stood up and asked him, "Sir, what is the problem, why are you talking to yourself?"

                                                         JOS_36_People-Suffering_M__34

    (b) We don dey   **tanda** gidigba to   improve on   di   standard
         1PL PFV IPFV   stand   well   PREP improve   PREP DET standard

         wey be   sey   don   dey Edo State //
         REL COP COMP PFV   IPFV   Edo   State //

         'We are here well positioned to improve on the standard that has been in Edo State"

                                                         Benin003_M@SP5_012

In (280) the result of the clipping *tand* would have ended in a closed syllable. There is the addition of an epenthetic vowel which yields a form that ends in an open vowel.

281. demo (<Eng.demonstrate) Verb

(a)
e   just start dey **demo**   for   di palace.
3SG just   begin IPFV pretend   PREP DET palace
'He/she started acting up in the palace.'

(b)
Na   from day one dem don dey **demo** give us for   dat
COP from day one   3PL PFV   IPFV pretend give   1PL PREP DEM

hostel, but we no   send dem.
Hostel   but 1PL NEG send 3PL
'From the very first day, they've been showing off in the hostel, but we were not interested.'

282. dagbo (<Naija. dagboru)

(a)
de **dagbo** am for market
3PL dupe 3SG PREP market
'He was duped as the market'

(b)
If de **dagbo** you for   church call ekelebe
if 3PL dupe   2SG PREP church call   police
'If you are defrauded in church, call the police'

283.. kolabo (< collaborate) Verb

We don **kolabo** make di work dey move
1PL PFV collaborated SBJV work IPFV move
'We have cooperated to keep the work going.'

(b)
Babes, I   for   like   make me and you **kolabo** now,   which way?
dear   1SG PREP SBJV 1SG and 2SG   cooperate now, which way ?
'baby, I would have liked for us to have a thing between us'

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4.3.1.2 Auxiliary from Verb

284.   con (<Eng.Come) Aux

(a)   As e   complain sey   di   food no   good I   no **con**   buy am again.
as 3SG complain   COMP DEF food NEG good 1SG NEG CONS buy 3SG
again
'As he/she complained that the food is not good, I then didn't buy it again'

Naijionary_con

(b)   make me **con**   gist you wetin happen for my own side today now //
SBJV 1SG CONS gist 2SG what happen PREP 1SG own side today now //

'Let me now tell you what happened today where I stay'

D_KAD_22@Sp205

285.   meh (<Eng.make) Aux

(a)   di   man say [okay **meh** me I   go call my uncle come] //
DET man say [okay SBJV 1sg 1sg FUT call 1SG uncle come] //
'The man asked me to call my uncle'

ABJ_GWA_08

286.   wan (<Eng.want) Aux

(a)   so { wheda you get money |c abi you no get money } < any product wey you
so whether you get money |c or you no get money   } < any product REL
2SG
want buy < na   you >+ go   tell us   di protection wey you need //
want buy < COP 2SG >+ FUT tell 1PL DET protection REL 2SG need //

'So whether you have money or not, you'll tell us the product you want to buy and
You'll tell us the protection you.'

(LAG_12_105)

(b)   you say [you go   follow me] c abi you want take anytin here ?//
2SG say [2SG FUT   follow 1SG] |c or 2SG want take anything here ?//
'You said you'll follow me, or do you want something here?'

LAG_17@Sp234

287.   Take (Eng.Take) Aux

(a)   na so   >+ I   **take** comot //= con go dey do   jobman for people //
COP so >+ 1SG   take leave //= CONS   FUT   IPFV jobman for people
//
'that's how I went on to do petty jobs for people'

(b)   di soup name na banga // and   di ingredients wey dem
DEF soup name   COP banga // CONJ   DET ingredients REL 3PL

dey **take** cook banga soup na { dis palm kernel || palm fruit || palm fruit }
IPFV take cook banga soup COP { DEM palm kernel || palm fruit || palm fruit }

wey come from { pa- ehn || palm tree } //
REL come from { pa- eh || palm tree   } //
'The name of the soup is banga. And the ingredient used to cook the banga soup
is palm kernel fruit that comes from the palm tree.

IBA_23_M_172

4.3.1.3 Noun from Noun[45]

288.   popo[46] (<Eng.Police) Noun

(a)   naim   de con   clear am   sey   [like dis   so " eh " { dem be
then   3PL CONS   clear 3SG COMP   [like DEM   so DISC { 3SG COP

Fulani vigilante group |c and   dem dey } work to assist **popo**
Fulani vigilante group |c CONJ   3PL IPFV } work to assist police

reduce di   { kidnappings | and killings } for   di state   ] //
reduce   DEF   { kidnappings |c and killings } PREP   DET state] //

' Then they explained that they are a Fulani vigilante group and they work to
assist the police reduce kidnappings and killings in the state.'

War001@SP2_018

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[45] *Kpo* (Indian hemp), is a clipping from *Kpoli* (Indian hemp)
[46] /kpókpó/

(b)   spokesperson of **popo** for   dat   side deny dis   { talk |r talk }
          spokesperson   of police   PREP DEM   side   deny DEM   { talk |r talk }

          wen dey   fly on air based on   yarnings wey one human rights lawyer
          REL IPFV fly on air based on   talk   REL one human rights lawyer

          wen de dey call Dr kayode   Ajilowu   drop for   social media //
          REL 3SG IPFV call Dr Kayode Ajilowu drop PREP social media //

          'The Spokesperson of the police in that area denied this news flying around based on the allegations of a human rights lawyer called Dr kayode Ajilonwu posted on social media.'
                                                       War001@SP2_015

Popo in (388), undergoes two processes, the clipping of police to **po* and the a reduplication of the clipped form to yield *popo*. A similar process is noted in (389) were shilling, is clipped to **shi* and then reduplicated to yield *shishi*.

289.   shishi (<Eng.Shilling) Noun

     (a)   Dey follow people wey hold o   no   dey   follow people wey no get **shishi**
           IPFV follow people REL hold EMPH NEG IPFV follow people REL NEG have shilling
           'Follow people who are rich, don't follow broke people'

                                                   Naijionary_shishi

     (b)
         E   just dey   make mouth **shishi**   e   no get
         3SG just IPFV   make mouth   shilling   3SG NEG have
         'S/he is just boasting, he doesn't even have a dime'.

                                                   Naijionary_shishi

290.   chairmo (<Eng.chairman) Noun

(a)
{ di **chairmo** of South West Governors forum |c and Governor of Ondo State
{ DEF chairman of South West Governors forum |c and Governor of Ondo State

wen be Rotimi Akeredolu } wen e yarn as spokesman for di governors dem talk
REL COP Rotimi Akeredolu   } REL 3SG say as spokesperson PREP DEF governors PL say

sey   [di technical committee don submit wetin de conclude sey [go make
COMP [DEF technical committee   PFV submit   what   3SG conclude COMP [FUT make

sense based on di   security challenge and dem go start work next month]] //
sense based   on DEF security   challenge   and 3SG   FUT begin work   next month]] //

'The chairman of the South West Governors forum and the Governor of Ondo State in his capacity as the spokesman for the governors said that the technical committee has submitted their conclusions on what they are sure will be useful to deal with the security challenges and they will start work next month'

War001@SP2_013

(b)   now < { { di former national **chairmo** of di traditional rulers { for dem community
now <   { { DEF former national chairman   of DEF traditional rulers { PREP PL community

wey dey produce oil minerals for inside Naija |a TROMCOM }
REL IPFV produce   oil minerals   PREP inside Nigeria |a TROMCOM }

|c and di paramount ruler of Senbiri kingdom dere for   Delta State
|c and DET paramount   ruler of Senbiri   kingdom   there PREP Delta State

|a His majesty Pere Charles Ayemi Butu } on Tuesday don talk sey
|a His majesty   Pere Charles   Ayemi Butu   } on Tuesday PFV talk COMP

[South South geo-political zone no be part of Biafra] //
[South South   geo-political   zone NEG COP part of Biafra] //

'Now, the former national chairman of the traditional rulers in the oil producing communites in Nigeria, TROMCOM and the paramount ruler of Senbiri kingdom there in Delta State, His Majesty Pere Charles Ayemi Butu on Tuesday said that South-South geo-political Zone is not part of Biafra'.

M_WAZA_12@Sp289_10

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In 290. *chairmo* is first clipped then there is the addition of the [-o] suffix.

291.   brah (<brother) Noun

    (a) **Brah**   how far na   ?//
          brother   how far DISC ?//
          'brother, how are you?'

                                          Naijionary_brah

    (b) Im   na my **brah** my respect high for am
          2SG COP 1SG brother 1SG respect high for 3SG
          'He is my brother, I have high regards for him'

                                          Naijionary_brah

292.   kele[47] (<Igb.*Kelechi*)

    (a) so < na di population wey { peo- ‖ some people } dey get
          so < COP DET population REL { peo- ‖ some people } IPFV have

          < na im >+ make   di pidgin english " eh " con dey rampant for
          < COP 3SG >+ SBJV DEF pidgin English DISC CONS IPFV rampant in

          di Warri system // because one < you don born { ten now
          DEF Warri system // because   one < 2SG CONS birth { ten now

          |c or seven } < you dey one room   < you dey   gbensh
          |c or seven }   < 2SG IPFV one room   < 2SG   IPFV   sexual.relations

          your **kele** for   corner < your pikin dey   spy you //
          2SG lady PREP corner < 2SG child IPFV spy 2SG //

          'The population is why Pidgin English is rampant in Warri because you would
          have given birth to ten or seven children, and you stay in one room. Your child
          could be spying on you having sexual relations with your lady.'

                                    war005@SP7_007-008

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[47] /kélè/

293. eke (<unkw[48].*ekelebe*)

(a)
na   so **eke** dem come carry am go o
COP so police PL   come carry 3SG go EMPH
'That's just how the police took him away!'

(b)
Alhaji Musiliu Smith and we contri number one **eke**

Alhaji Musilu   Smith and 1PL country number   one police

Mohammed Adamu plus other stakeholder dem

Mohammed   Adamu   plus other   stakeholder   PL.

'Alhaji Musiliu Smith and the Inspector General of Police, Mohammed Adamu and other stakeholders.'

294. akpesh (<unkw.*akpeteshi*)

(a)
because { de just dey   born a- || (when de don take **apesh** finish)
because   { 3SG just IPFV born X || (when 3SG PFV take spirits finish)

de go dey born anyhow } full everywhere based on sey [e go better] //
3SG FUT IPFV birth anyhow } full everywhere based on COMP [3SG FUT better] //

'Because they just give birth, when they are drunk on spirits, they'll birth recklessly and have kids everywhere, hoping that it'll get better'.

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[48] Unknown etymology

295. informate(<English. Information)

(a)
dis   eh   **informate** so sey [na { oga presido { { spe- || special } adviser
DEM EMPH information COMP [COP { Mr President { { X || special adviser

ontop { media |c and publicity } |a Mr Femi Adesina } >+ na im yarn
on   { media |c and   publicity } |a Mr Femi Adesina } >+ COP 3SG
talk

dis one yesterday for inside Abuja]] //
DEM one yesterday PREP inside Abuja]] //

'This information was given by the special adviser on media and publicty to the
President yesterday, in Abuja.

P_WAZL_03_News on GMNS_PRO

(b)
alright ehm and dat   na   di   **informate** wey we don bring for
alright   X   and   DEM COP DEF information REL   1PL PFV bring PREP

una   again today // yes and of course I   no   forget sey
2PL again   today // yes and of course   1SG NEG forget COMP

[on top any oda kind **informate** for Wazobia TV < our website dey   dere] //
[on top any   other kind   information for Wazobia   TV < 1PL website   COP
there] //

'alright and that's the information that we have brought to you all again today.
Yes of course, I didn't forget that any other kind of information you want, our
website is there'.

P_WAZL_03_News on GMNS_PRO

4.3.1.4 Adjective from Adjective

296.. Aje (<Yoruba *aje* +English. *butter*)

(a)
why you no charge am ?// [eng on a normal day eng] < Cuppy na **Aje** //
why 2SG NEG charge 2SG ?// [eng on a   normal day eng] < Cuppy na
Aje //
'Why didn't you charger her? Cuppy is bourgeoisie'

SP20@SMD003_010

297.   Acada (< English. *Academics*)

But you think **acada** girls go buy second hand?
But 2SG think educated girls FUT buy second hand?

Innocent, you know, make you no make me laugh o.

Na **acada** mata dem dey settle for der o
COP academic matter 3PL IPFV settle PREP there EMPH
'There are having an intellectual discussion there'

<div align="right">Naijionary_acada</div>

4.3.3 Blending

Aronoff and Fudeman (2011:119) state that blends may also be called portmanteau words. Blending is the result of what happens when new words are formed by the combination of parts of more than one word. It is however the case that "blending is an example of creative language use. It generally does not adhere to strict constraints" Aronoff and Fudeman (2011). Haspelmath and Sims (2010:40) on the other hand, does not consider blending to be an important process because "the resulting words do not have different meanings to the longer words from which they are formed" Haspelmath and Sims (2010:40).

However, from out data as exemplified below, while the position of Haspelmath and Sims (2010:40) holds in some blends, it does not in some others. However, some of these blends have had their meanings metaphorically extended to account for some other existential realities[49].

Blending in Naija will be discussed considering hybrid and non-hybrid formations. In discussing hybrid blends focus will be on formations that have more than one language source. Formations with just one language source will be analysed as non-hybrid blends.

4.3.3.1 Non-Hybrid Blending

In this section, blends with just one language source will be examined.

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[49] ***Chingum,*** for instance, has also taken on the meaning of ' glue to', and ' follow'.

4.3.3.1.1. Noun from Noun + Noun

298.   chingum (<English. chewing + gum)

      I   no   dey   like chop **chingum** domot (English. < door + mouth)
      1SG NEG IPFV like eat chewing.gum
      'I don't like to chew bubble gum'

                                         Naijionary_chingum

299.   domot (English. <door + mouth)

      my pile con tell am sey [{ if you try || if you try || if you try }
      1SG father CONS tell 3SG COMP [{ if 2SG try || if 2SG try || if 2SG try }

      reach { dis || dis } again < if you try come my own **domot**] !//
      reach { DEF || DEF } again < if 2SG try come 1SG own door.mouth] !//

      infact im draw line for   am sey   [dis boundary < I no wan make
      in fact 3Sg draw line PREP 3Sg COMP [DEF boundary < 1SG NEG want SBJV

      you dey pass am //] //
      2SG IPV pass 3SG //] //

      'My father then told him that he shouldn't try to come…near his house again. Infact
      he drew a line and asked him not to cross that boundary'
                                   M_ABJ_INF_09a@Sp26 74-75

(b) na   why >+ we say [meh we carry dis matter come your **domot** //=
COP why >+ 1PL say   [SBJV 1PL carry DEF matter come 1PL door.mouth //=

meh we come follow ourselves talk sey [e   get speed limit wey government
SBJV 1PL come   follow   1PL   talk COMP [3SG COP speed limit REL
government

put for e ach motor wey dey waka for Nigerian roads]] //
put PREP each car   REL IPFV walk PREP Nigerian roads]] //

'That is why we have decided to bring this matter to you, so that we can tell
ourselves that there is a speed limit that the government has put for each car plying
Nigerian roads.'

<div align="right">M_IBA_13@Sp379_012</div>

4.3.3.1.2 Verb from Verb + Adposition

300.   comot (< English. come + out)

" you understand " because Warri no suppose be like dis //
 2SG understand   SCONJ   Warri NEG suppose COP like DEF //

but   di bad eggs   wey we get for di front side <{ na dem >+ dey ||
CCONJ DEF bad egg.PL REL 1PL have PREP DEF front side   < { COP 3SG >+
IPFV ||

na   dem >+ dey } fuck deir hand up inside di   Warri matter //
COP 3SG >+ IPFV } fuck 3PL   hand up inside   DEF Warri matter //

Di   bad eggs < sey   [dey fit filter deir brain work **comot** now " eh "
DEF bad egg.PL < COMP [IPFV can filter   deir brain   work   leave   now DISC

everyting go clear well] //
everything FUT clear well]] //

'You understand, because Warri shouldn't be like this, but the bad eggs that we
have leading us, they are making things bad, The bad eggs, if they can send them
away, things will get better'

<div align="right">war002@SP7_017-19</div>

4.3.3.1.3 Verb from verb + verb

301.   wunjure (< English. wound + injure)

    you go **wunjure** o   guy if you do anyhow
    2SG FUT injure   EMPH guy if 2SG do reckless
    'You are going to get yourself injured if you misbehave'

                                            Naijionary_wunjure

302.   flenjo (< English. flex + enjoy)

    we go **flenjo** tomorrow
    1PL FUT enjoy tomorrow
    'we will enjoy ourselves tomorrow'

                                            Naijionary_flenjo

4.3.3.1.4 Verb from Sentence

303.   sup (<English. What is up?)

(a)   so hmhm wetin dey happen now ?// wetin dey **sup** ?//
         so DISC   what   COP happen now   ?// what COP happen ? //
         'what is happening? What is happening ?'

                                     D_JOS_02@Sp113_049-50

(b)   naim I   con   give mama sey   [at least] < mama ask me sey
        then   1SG CONS give mother COMP [at least   ] < mother ask me COMP

        wetin happen for   di   predegree < I   go   find one lie lie sey [noting **sup**] //
        what   happen   PREP DEF predegree <   1SG FUT find one   lie lie COMP [
        nothing happen] //

        'Then I told my mum, if mother asks me what happened with the pre-degree, I will
        find a way to lie to say that nothing happened'

                                  war011_@SP9_219-220

304.   doke (<Yoruba. Dó + ókó)

    di guy don **doke** all di girls for we area.
    DEF guy PFV sleep.with all DEF girl.PL PREP 1PL area

    'The man has had sexual relationships with all the girls in the community.'
                                   Naijionary_doke

4.3.3.1.5 Noun from Conjunction + Noun

305.   anco (< English. and + co)

(a)   di man and im wife wear **anco**.
       DEF man CONJ 2SG wife wear   matching. attires

       'The man and his wife wore the same outfit)
                                            Naijionary_anco

(b)   all di   office people don gree to wear **anco**   go Manager mama burial
       all DEF office people   PFV agree to wear matching.outfits go manager
       mother burial
       'The entire staff resolved to wear matching outfits to the funeral of the
       Manager's mother'
                                            Naijionary_anco

4.3.3.1 Hybrid Blending

Here, blends with more than one etymological source are examined.

4.3.4.1.1 Adjective, Noun[50]

306.   ajebo (< Yoruba aje + English butter)

as de dey hunt you now [who goes dere now ?//] < you now < you go first kporo //
as 3PL IPFV hunt you now [who   goes there   now ?//]   < 2SG now < 2SG FUT first
pause //

ehen as **ajebo** wey   you be now < na now >+ you { wey be oyibo now || wey kporo }
DISC as bourgeoisie REL 2SG COP now < COP now >+ 2SG { REL COP white now ||
REL pause }

< you { go first eh || go first look } // [eng what are they saying eng] ?//
< 2SG { FUT first DISC || FUT first look } // [eng what COP 3PL saying] ?//

[eng what are eng] & ?//   shh where you?// position // which one be & ?//
[eng what COP   eng] & ?//   Shh where 2SG ?// position // which one COP & ?//

[eng what are de saying eng] eh ?// we no dey for dat one //
[eng what COP 3PL saying eng] DISC ?// 1PL NEG DEM one //

'As you are being hunted, "who is there'? You'll pause, first. Yes, you white man, since
you are bourgeoisie, you'll pause and try to find what out what is happening . " what are
they saying?" what are..? Keep quiet! Comport yourself! What do you mean by…? We
don't do that here"
                                            P_PRT_05_Ghetto life_PRO

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[50] Gbeshiwaka may also fit into this category

In this section, blends in Naija are examined. They are examined under two broad headings, hybrid and non-hybrid blends. Hybrid and non-hybrid blends yield lexical items.

4.3.4 Affixation

Affixes are generally referred to as grammatical elements that combine with independent morphemes to lead to the construction of larger linguistic units. (Crystal, 2008)

Affixes in Naija may present as prefixes and suffixes.

4.3.4.1 Suffixation

4.3.4.1.1 [-a]

4.3.4.1.1 1 Adverb from Adverb

307.   well.a (<English)

(a)   di truth be sey [insurance dey for everybody]// but because we dey fear sey
DEF truth COP COMP [insurance COP for everybody] // but because 1PL
IPFV fear COMP

[na person { wey don chop **wella** |c wey im pocket full } >+   fit buy insurance
 [COP person { REL PFV eat very.well |c REL 3SG pocket full } >+ can buy
insure

' The truth us that insurance is for everybody. But because we are worried that
only people who are wealthy can afford insurance.'

<div align="right">LAG_12_P_078-084</div>

(b) So as you come < anyting wey you need from God <
   so as 2SG come < anything REL 2SG need from GOD <

   { ask God in faith |c come open your mind make you worship am }
   { ask God in faith |c come open 2SG mind SBJV 2SG worship 3SG }

   wella because di bible say [when we worship am
   very.well because DEF bible say [when 1PL worship 3SG

   in { sp- || spirit } and in truth e say [anyting wey we ask from
   in { X || spirit } CONJ in truth 3SG say [anything REL 1PL ask from

   am < e go make am available for us]] //
   3SG < 3SG FUT SBJV 3SG available for us]] //

   'So as you come, anyting you need from God, ask in faith. Open your mind and worship him very well because the bible says that when we worship Him in spirit and in truth he says that anything we ask from him, he'll make it available for us.

                war006_@SP8_020

4.3.4.1.2 [-e]

4.3.4.1.2.1 Adjective from verb

308. arrange.e (< English. Arrange)

(a) di killing na **arrangee** o
   DET murder COP fraudulently.organized EMPH
   'the murder is suspicious'

              Naijionary_arrangee

(b)
   na **arrangee** centre im take write im exam
   COP fraudulently. organized   centre 3SG take write 3SG exam
   'He wrote the exam at the fraudulently organized centre'

             Naijionary_arrangee

4.3.4.1.3.1 [-i]

4.3.4.1.3.1.1 Adverb from adverb

309. abeg.i from abeg

(a) see < { **abegi** || **abeg**i } { any |r any |r any |r any } how //
see < { please.EMPH || please.EMPH } { any |r any |r any |r any } how //

person go survive am //= { anyhow |r anyhow } < person go survive am // anyhow //
person FUT survive 3SG //= { anyhow |r anyhow } < person FUT survive 3SG // anyhow //

'Look, Please! Please! Please! By whatever means. A person will survive. By whatever means.'

D_KAD_08@Sp185_099 -101

(b) hmhm na story >+ you dey talk // abegi jare //=
DISC COP story >+ 2SG IPFV talk // please.EMPH please

abegi aunty //= **abegi** //
please.EMPH //= please.EMPH //
'Hmm, you are just telling stories. Please! Please! Aunty. Please!'

D_LAG_22@Sp239_51 - 52

4.3.4.1.3.1.2 Verb from Verb

310.   forget.i from forget

(a)
I go see one pastor because as I dey so < { I no dey ||
1SG FUT see one pastor because as 1SG COP so < { 3SG NEG IPFV ||

I no dey } discriminate // **forgeti** // I be person wey be sey
3SG NEG IPFV } discriminate // forget.EMPH // 3SG COP person REL COMP

[I get free mind] // if I see christian < if I see babalawo < I go follow am word //
[3SG have free mind] // if 1SG see christian < if I see herbalist < 1SG FUT
follow 3SG word //

we go relate like { normal |r normal } //
1PL FUT relate like { normal |r normal } //

'I went to see a pastor, because I don't discriminate. Really! I'm a free minded
person. I'll talk to a Christian if I see one, and I'll talk to a herbalist if I see one.
We'll talk normally.

<div align="right">D_IBA_07@Sp368_094-098</div>

4.3.4.1.4 [-(a)ly]⁵¹

4.3.4.1.4.1 Adverb from Verb

311. sharp.(a)ly

(a) naim be sey   [{ **sharpally** |r **sharpally** } < dem just comot am without any
that COP COMP [{ urgently |r urgently } < 3PL just remove 3SG without any

explanation]] //
explanation   ]] //
'that means that they removed him abruptly without any explanation'

(b)
okay make we book appointment |c or what's up ?// ehn ?//
okay SBJV 1PL book appointment |c or what.is up ?// DISC ?//

[eng I'm   free all di time eng] // [eng I don't know about you eng] //
[eng 1SG.BE free all DEF time eng] // [eng 1SG do.NEG know about 2SG eng] //

Okay // [eng what of tomorrow eng] ?// because   { I wan || I wan   } { make || make }
Okay // [eng what of tomorrow eng] ?// because   { 1SG want || 1SG want } { SBJV || SBJV }

we start am { **sharpally** |r **sharpally** } //
1PL start 3SG { urgently |r urgently   } //

'Okay Let's book an appointment or what do you think? I'm free all the time, I don't know about you. Okay. How about tomorrow? Because I want to get this over with very quickly.'

D_ENU_18@Sp91_11-17

In (311) (a) and (b) there is the insertion of an epenthetic vowel: /a/, that has been inserted to break up the consonant cluster. However, there are also instances of *sharply* in the corpus.

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⁵¹ Ever-ly is not in the corpus set used, however it has been observed in communication.
Noting dey sup, everyting go everly dey alright
Nothing IPFV happen everything FUT eventually COP alright
There is no problem, everything will be fine.

4.3.4.1.4.2 Adverb from Adverb

312. Jejely (<Yoruba. Jeje)

(a)
Make we waka **jejely** o.   O   man take am jeje   o
SBJV 1PL walk carefully EMPH DISC man take 3SG careful EMPH
'Let's take it easy. O man, let's take it easy'

<div align="right">Naijionary_jejely</div>

(b)
Just dey follow tings **jejely** like dat   //= just dey patient //
just IPFV follow thing.PL careful like DEM //= just COP patient //

'Take things easily. Be Patient'

<div align="right">JOS_32_School-And-Party-Politics_DG__139</div>

313. Kajadly (<*unkw*.kajad)

(a)   hi I   just dey o //= I   just ah   **kajadly** dey alright like this //
hi 1SG just COP o //= 1SG just DISC strongly COP alright   like DEM //

as   I   dey like dis so < I   just full ground remain //
as   1SG   COP like DEF so   <   1SG just full ground remain //

I   dey feel mysef //
1SG IPFV feel 1SG   //
'Hi, I am alright. I am just very good. I'm good. I'm enjoying myself'

<div align="right">D_WAZK_13@Sp291_01-03</div>

(b)
so { I   dey eh || I   **kajadly** } confirm sey   [na di level] //
so { 1SG IPFV DISC || 1SG strongly } confirm   COMP [COP DEF level] //

na di   way wey we suppose do am //
COP DEF way REL 1PL suppose   do 3SG //

'So, I am confirming that that's case. That's the way it's supposed to be'

<div align="right">M_WAZK_06@Sp297_51-52</div>

4.3.4.1.5 [-o]

4.3.4.1.5.1 Adjective from Adjective

314.   cheapo (< Eng cheap)

(a)   Dis belt na **cheapo** o
       DEF belt   COP cheap   EMPH
       'This belt is cheap'

Naijionary_cheapo

315.   baddo

(a)   You be   **baddo**
       2SG   COP bad
       'You are wild'

Naijionary_baddo

(b)   if you get { two |c or three |c or five } < de go   say
       if 2SG   get { two |c or   three |c or five } < 3PL FUT say

       [ah dis one < { na ashawo |c abi   na   **badoo** }//]   //= dis one < na bad person]
       //
       [DISC DEM one < { COP prostitute |c CONJ COP bad //]   //= DEM one <
       COP bad person] //

       but e no mean now // you fit just go pierce your ear just like dat //
       CONJ 3SG NEG mean now // 2SG can just go pierce 2SG ear just like DEM //

       'if you have two, three or five, they'll say "oh, this one is a prostitute or a wild
       person. But it doesn't matter. You can just go and pierce your ear.

D_JOS_06@Sp120_68-70

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4.3.4.1.5.2 Noun from Noun

316. chiefo

(a)
na   dem **chiefo** dey   buy dat kind drink o   As e   never reach us like dis
COP PL   kingpin   IPFV buy DEM kind drink EMPH as 3SG never   reach 1PL
like dis

make we manage dis   small holywater
SBJV 1PL manage   DEM small   spirit

'Only kingpins buy that drink. Since we are not there yet, let's make do with this spirit'

<div align="right">Naijionary_chiefo</div>

(b)
no   go chop money chop **chiefo** money join your own.
NEG go eat   money   eat   chief   money   join   2SG own

If you chop am na   your body go hear am
If 2SG   eat   3SG COP 2SG   body FUT hear 3SG

'Don't spend the boss' money with yours. If you spend it, you'll face the consequences'

<div align="right">Naijionary_chiefo</div>

4.3.4.1.6 [-ed] /[-ed]

There is a vowel copy constraint here. /e/ (417)-(418) is transparent, while /a/ (419) will result in an [-ad] suffix form.

4.3.4.1.6.1 Adjective from verb

317. code.ed (< English. code)

(a)
so < unknown to   me sey   [di babe ma na one kind coded babe   ]//
so < unknown   PREP 1SG COMP [DEF babe even COP one kind cunning babe] //

she gats   wan like make I   drop my phone //
3SG should want like SBJV 1SG drop 1SG phone //

so dat dat kind ting < if I dey go < { make I no really escape di

so DEM DAT kind thing < if 1SG IPFV go < { SBJV 1SG NEG really escape DEF

|| make I   no   escape di   } billing > someting like dat //

|| SBJV 1SG NEG escape   DEF } billing > something like DEM //

<div align="right">P_KAD_13_244-248</div>

(b)   and you don dey advertise am sey   [you wan go dere //=
      and 2SG PFV IPFV advertise   3SG COMP [2SG want go there //=

      you wan go give dis   one] // me ehn < na codedly //
      2SG want FUT give DEM one] // 1SG DISC < COP cunning //

      na   coded >+ I   dey take go dash out tings o   //
      COP cunning >+ 1SG IPFV take go   dash   out things EMPH //

      ' and you have been advertising it that you want to go there. You want to give
      this one. For me, I'll do it very privately. Privately I'll give things out.
                                              D_IBA_39@Sp417_30-32

318.   import.ed (<English. import)

   (a)
      bros   na **imported** e   be   o
      brother COP imported   3SG COP EMPH
      'Bro, it's imported.

                                              Naijionary_imported

4.3.4.1.6.2 Adjective from Adjective

319.   Kajad[52] (<Igbo. Kaja)

   dat's m- eh as im be sey [my result sey [
   DEM.BE X DISC as 3SG COP COMP [1SG result COMP

   di tin never dey   **kajad** as e suppose   be]]
   DEF thing NEG IPFV solid as 3SG suppose COP]]

    < e come carry me // come back come Lagos //
   < 3SG come carry 1SG // come back come Lagos //

    den I come go one Muslim school like dat //
   den 1SG CONS go one Muslim school like DEM //

   ' That's eh, since my result wasn't as good as it was supposed to be, he came to
   take me back to Lagos. Then I went to a Muslim school'

                                              9JA_L11_M_072-076

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[52] Same as in mastered

(b)
```
          now < { Radio Sapientia |a ninety five  point three FM Onitsha }
          now  < { radio    Sapientia  |a ninety   five   point   three FM Onitsha }

          < una just dey  flex   dis   kajad evening as five
          < 2PL   just IPFV enjoy DEM strong  evening   as   five

          o'clock don already balance inside //
          o'clock   PFV already   balance   inside   //
```

'Now, Radio Sapientia, ninety five point three FM Onitsha, you all are having a good time this good evening as the time is now five o'clock.

<div align="right">P_ONI_26_News Highlights</div>

4.3.4.1.7 [[-est]]

4.3.4.1.7.1 Adjective, Noun from Adjective

320.   badd.est[53] from bad

        (a)
```
as  dem talk sey    [ one of dem show de don discover am inside dis
as    3PL  talk COMP [ one  of  dem  show  3PL PFV discover 3PL inside  DEM

XX em eh      east area //+ wey de don talk sey [ di report so < na im don XX
DISC DISC east area   //+ REL 3PL PFV talk COMP [ DEF report so < COP 3SG
PFV become

become baddest of di baddest inside dis one wey don happen ] //
 become   bad  of DEF bad      inside DEM one REL PFV happen ] //
```

'As they have said that one of them have discovered it in this eh X X area; where they have said that the reports are the worst so far with regard to the issues.'

<div align="right">WAZA_09_P_077</div>

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[53] *Baddest* originally came into the larger public space from the song by **Folarin Falana 'Falz'** titled "Bhad Baddo Baddest", it has gone on to also be used by **Akinbiyi Abiola Ahmed 'Bella Schurmda'** in his song 'Cash app'…where he additionally added 'mad maddo maddest', it is not impossible that in the future this could become a word that is very widely used. And that the [-do], [-est] suffix becomes the morphemes for the comparative and the superlative in Naija. It is not very strange for words from pop culture to gain wider usage in the society. It is therefore possible to carefully predict that good, *good.o/good.er *good.est may be possible forms in the future

4.3.4.1.8 [-ful]

4.3.4.1.8.1 Adjective from Noun

321. belle.ful from (<Najia. belle)

(a)
       we get drinks   > di one wey go make you high //
       1PL have drink.PL > DEF one REL   FUT make you high //

       we also get food wey you go eat **belleful** //
       1PL also have food REL 2SG FUT eat satisfied //

       'We have drinks that will get you intoxicated. We also have drinks that will satisfy you'

                                           D_JOS_41@Sp172_05-06

(b)
       because I   know sey   [villages < even dough witout ehn ehn ehn
       because 1SG know COMP [village.PL < even though   without DISC DISC DISC

       fertilizer < people fit try o |c farm like dat { small |r small }] //
       fertilizer < people   can try EMPH |c farm like DEM { small |r small   }] //

       but di issue be   sey   [unless you **bellefull** before you go to
       CONJ DEF issue COP COMP [unless   2SG satisfied   before 2SG go   PREP

       { ma- || ehn we- || farm } now] //
       { X || DISC X || farm   } now   ] //

       'Because I know that in villages, even without fertilizer, people try to do a little farming. But the issue is that you have to eat well before you go to the farm.'

                                             M_JOS_37@Sp164_44-45

4.3.4.1.9 [-ie]

4.3.4.1.9.1 Adjective from Adjective

322. black.ie (<English. black)

(a)
       e   be **blackie**
       3SG COP darkskin
       'S/He is darkskinned'

                                            Naijionary_blackie

.   small.ie (<English. small)

(b)   JayJay < you na good girl normally o   // forgive dem // forgive dem >
      Jayjay < 2SG COP good   girl normally EMPH // forgive 3PL   // forgive 3PL >

      you hear ?// de be   **smallie** for   your corner normally // just forgive dem
      2SG hear   ?// 3SG COP little   PREP 2SG corner normally   // just   forive
      3SG

      based on sey   [na you >+ dey run di industry normally] //
      based PREP COMP [COP 2SG >+ IPFV run DEF industry normally] //

      just forgive dem // come < make una still dey take una time too //
      just forgive 3PL // listen < SBJV 2SG still IPFV take 2PL time too //

      Jayjay na   senior sis   for di industry   o   // shuo //
      Jayjay   COP senior sister PREP DEF industry EMPH // come on !//

      'Jayjay, you are a good girl. Forgive them. Forgive them. Okay? They are nothing
      compared to you. Just forgive them because you actually run the place, just forgive
      them. And you all should be careful, Jayjay is an elder in this industry.

                                                                    SP21@SMD004_005

4.3.4.1.10 [-ing]

4.3.4.1.10.1 Noun From Verb

323.   nyash.ing (<Naija. Nyash)

(a)   no   let   people   talk sey   na   **nyashing** your village people   use
      NEG   SBJV   person.PL   talk COMP COP sex   2SG village person.PL
      use

      take comot your sense
      take remove 2SG sense

      'Let it not be said that you lost your head because of sex'

                                                                    Naijionary_nyashing

324.   choose.ing (<English.choose)
      na   **choosing** we wan play o
      COP selection   1PL want play EMPH
      'We are about to play in teams'

                                                                    Naijionary_choosing

325.   yarn.ing from yarn

(a)   everybody dey calm down |c dey enjoy di groove |c dey enjoy
           everybody   IPFV calm down |c IPFV enjoy DEF groove |c IPFV
           enjoy

           our **yarnings**   //

           1PL conversation.PL //
           'everyone is relaxed, enjoying the groove, enjoying our conversations'

                                                                WAZL_15_P_141-

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(b)   Oga Presido con still drop **yarnings** after di signing of di agreement sey
           mister President CONS still drop word.PL after DEF signing of DEF agreement
           COMP

           [make { Siemens |c and oder people } wen e get mouth for di power sector " eh "
           [SBJV { Siemens |c CONJ oder people } REL 3SG have mouth PREP DEF
           power sector DISC

           make dem work hard to make sure sey [dem achieve { seven thousand megawatts
           SBJV 3PL   work hard   to make   sure COMP [3PL achieve   { seven thousand
           megawatts

           of steady power supply by twenty twenty one |c and Eleven thousand megawatts }
           of steady   power   supply   by twenty   twenty one |c CONJ eleven thousand
           megawatts   }

           by twenty twenty three]]//
           by twenty   twenty   three]] //

           'Mr President also made remarks after signing the agreement that Siemens and
           other stakeholders should work hard to ensure that that achieve seven thousand
           megawatts of steady power by twenty twenty one and eleven thousand megawatts
           by twenty twenty three.

                                                                War001@SP2_034

(c) your yarns ehn   e   dey different from { people || oder || oder } people's
     2SG talk   DISC 3SG IPFV different from { people || other || other } people.POSS

yarnings // and   { if you || if you } want to equate your   yarn with oder people
talk.PL   // CONJ { if 2SG || if 2SG } want to equate 2SG.POSS tallk with
other people

yarning < you go tear your shirt   // only you go clean your X //=
talk   < 2SG FUT tear 2SG.POSS shirt // only 2SG FUT clean your X //=

only you go fall your   hand //= only you go tear your ajebo certificate //
only 2SG   FUT fall 2SG.POSS hand //= only   2SG FUT tear 2SG.POSS
bourgeoisie certificate //
'The way you talk is different from the way other's talk, and if you want to compare
the way you talk, you'll get frustrated. You'll only end up embarrassing yourself'.
                                                    P_WAZL_15_MC-Abi

4.3.4.1.11 [[-s]]

4.3.4.1.11.1 Noun from Noun

326.   governor.s

(a)   because change < { nobody || de } no   go   fit change dis   Port Harcourt //
       because   change   < { nobody || 3PL } NEG FUT can change DEM Port
       Harcourt //

       because di   information wen I   get yesterday <+ eh our **governors** dem
       because   DEF information   REL 1SG have yesterday <+ DISC 1PL
       governor.PL 3PL

       < na dem >+ dey spoil dis { state |c and di country } //
       < COP 3PL >+ IPFV spoil DEM { state |c CONJ DEF country } //

       '…because Port Harcourt can't be changed; because from the information I have
       just received, it's our governors who are destroying this state and the country'
                                                    // D_PRT_06@Sp268_52-53

(b)

{ di   chairmo of South West Governors forum |c and Governor of Ondo State
{ DEF chairman of South   West   Governors   forum |c and Governor   of Ondo
State

wen be Rotimi Akeredolu } wen e   yarn as spokesman for di governors dem
REL COP Rotimi Akeredolu }   when 3SG spoke as spokesman for DEF governor.PL
3PL

talk sey [di technical committee don submit wetin de conclude sey
said   COMP [DEF technical committee PFV submit what 3PL conclude COMP

[go make sense based on di security challenge and dem go start work next month]] //
[FUT make sense based on DEF security challenge CONJ 3PL FUT start work next
month]] //

'The chairman of the South West governor's Forum and Governor of Ondo State, Rotimi
Akeredolu when he spoke as the spokesperson for the governors said that the technical
committee has submitted what they have concluded will be suitable for dealing with the
security challenges, and they will start work next month'

<div align="right">War001@SP2_013</div>

327.   yarning.s

(a) see (52) (a) and (b)

4.3.4.1.12 [[-is]]

4.3.4.1.12.1 Noun from Verb

328.   wak.is from wak

(a)
run **wakis** make we chop now
run food   SBJV 1PL eat DISC
'Cook a meal so we can eat'

<div align="right">Naijionary_wakis</div>

(b)
If you want cook cook better **wakis** o   no cook potopoto come here
If 2SG want   cook cook good   food   EMPH NEG cook mud   come here

'If you want to cook, cook something nice; don't cook rubbish'

<div align="right">Naijionary_wakis</div>

329.   yab.is from yab

(a)   na **yabis** dem two dey since morning
COP jibe   3PL   two COP since morning
'They have been jibing at each other since morning'

<div align="right">Naijionary_yabis</div>

(b)   **yabis** dey pain person o especially if di people
jibes IPFV pain person EMPH especially if DEF people

wey dey yab you know you reach house
REL IPFV jibe 2SG know 2SG reach house

'It can hurt if di people teasing you are closely related to you'

4.3.4.1.13 [[-ite]]

4.3.4.1.13.1 Noun from Noun

330.   jamb.ite from jamb

(a)   as I   be **jambite**   so na to first get admission before
as 1SG COP admission.seeker so COP to first get admission before

I   go tink about how I wan take begin toast women
1SG FUT think about how 1SG want take begin woo women

'My priority right now is how to gain admission into the university before I
can start trying to woo ladies'

<div align="right">Naijionary_jambite</div>

(b)   because you don be **jambite**   we no   go hear word
because 2SG PFV COP admission.seeker 1PL NEG FUT hear word

for   dis   street   shebi?
PREP   DEM street   right?

'must you wear us out because you are applying to university?'

<div align="right">Naijionary_jambite</div>

4.3.4.1.14 [[-ito]]

4.3.4.1.14.1 .Noun from Noun

331. jamb.ito from jamb

    (a)   all of una wey be **jambito**   make una stay one side

           all of   2PL REL COP admission.seeker SBJV 2PL stay one side

           'all of you who just gained admission should stand in a corner'

                                                Naijionary_jambito

    (b)   once all dis boys   see **jambito**   deir eye go dey shine like tief man torch
              once   all DEF boy.PL see admission.seeker DEM eye FUT IPFV shine like thief man torch

              'These boys get too excited when they see a new female'
                                        Naijionary_jambito

332. chik.ito[54] from chik

    (a)   Look well o   make e   clear if she be **chikito**   or mamito
              Look well EMPH SBJV 3SG clear   if she   COP young.lady or mature.lady

              wey dey use makeup dey disguise
              REL IPFV use makeup   IPFV disguise
              'Look carefully and see if she is a young lady or she is just an older lady with a lot of makeup'
                                        Naijionary_chikito

333. bushito

       no   dey look dat babe like sey   she be   **bushito** she be sabiperson!
       NEG IPFV look DEM lady like COMP she COP local   she COP learned
       'Don't consider that girl to be local, she is exposed'
                                    Naijionary_bushito

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[54] There is the possibility that the [-ito] suffix is not from the English language but from the Spanish Language.

4.3.4.1.15 [[-late]]

4.3.4.1.15.1 Verb from verb

334.   chop.ulate[55] from chop

    (a)   and on top dis one also   < we hear sey   [Le Pen say [she don concede
    CONJ PREP top DEM one also < 1PL hear COMP [Le Pen say   [she PFV concede

    || she don gree] sey [yes na Macron >+   na im   **chopulate** am]] //
    || she PFV agree] COMP [yes COP Macron >+ COP 3SG win   3SG]] //

    And in fact sey she don { call am |c congratulate am } on di victory //
    CONJ in fact COMP she PFV { call 3SG |c congratulate 3SG } PREP DEF victory //
    'and in addition, we have also heard that Le Pen said that she has conceded that Macron won, and in fact, she has called to congratulate him on the victory'

                                  P_WAZL_03_News on GMNS_PRO

    (b)   but right now < [eng everything is   up em   to Emmanuel Macron eng]
    CONJ right now < [eng everything   COP up DISC PREP Emmanuel Macron eng]

    as e now **chopulate** dis { sixty five |c sixty six } percent of
    as 3SG now win   DEF { sixty five |c sixty six }   percent of

    all di vote wey be sey   de bin   cast on   top di matter] //
    all DEF vote REL COP COMP 3PL PST cast PREP top DEF matter] //

    'but right now, everything is up to Emmanuel Macron as he has won sixty five, sixty six percent of all the vote that has been cast'.
                           P_WAZL_03_News on GMNS_PRO

In (334) (a) and (b), *chopulate* has an an epenthetic vowel /u/ to break up the consonant cluster.

---

[55] The 'u' is there because there are

4.3.4.1.16 [-y]

The [y] affix allows for the choice of the adoption of the LH for Naija words.

4.3.4.1.16.1 Noun from Noun

435.

(a)   **white.y from white**

Why you dey run from sun you be whitey?
why 2SG IPFV run PREP sun 2SG COP caucasian
'Why are you running from the sun, are you a Caucasian?'

Naijionary_whitie

(b)   **girl.y[56]**

dat girly dey fabu her papa always o
DEM girl IPFV deceive her father always EMPH
'That girl deceives her father all the time'

Naijionary_girly

(c)   **soap.y from soap**

,   as baba wife no dey, naim baba con dey do soapy.
as baba wife NEG COP then baba CONS IPFV soapy
'Since the old man's wife wasn't around, he masturbated.

Naijionary_soapy

4.3.4.1.16.2 Noun from verb

436.   **wash.y from wash[57]**

You don use washy collect money from oga.
2SG PFV use flattery collect money from boss
'You have used flattery to get some money from the boss.'

Naijionary_washy

---

[56] LH

[57] Wash in Naija is multifunctional. Wash may be a noun or a verb. The derivative *washy* may also be a noun or a verb.

4.3.4.1.17 [-licious]]

4.3.4.1.17.1 Adjective from Adjective

437. beta.licious

    (a)   di Federal Government don talk sey [de go make sure sey
            DEF Federal Government   PFV talk COMP [3PL FUT make sure COMP

            [dem { recharge |r and reginger } di Lake Chad Basin > all so dat
            [3PL { recharge |r CONJ re-engerize } DEF Lake Chad Basin > all so DEM

            { di development |c security |c and **betalicious** } life marras
            { DEF development |c security |c CONJ good   } like concerns

            for di   region go see life again] //
            of   DEF region   FUT see life again] //

            'The Federal Government has said that they have renewed efforts on the Lake
            Chad Basin, all for that the development of the region.
                                             War001@SP2_005

438. sempe.licious

    (a)   your naija   halfcaste < na im >+ I be   > XX XX //
            2SG   Nigerian halfcaste   < COP 3SG >+ 1SG COP > XX XX //

            and   I get   a   very { **sempelicious** |c spulufic } & //
            CONJ 1SG have ART very   { beautiful |c X   } & //

            infact < anytime wey you see dis doctor < you suppose to troway
            in fact < anytime   REL 2SG   see DEM doctor < 2SG suppose to throw.away

            better salute to am because she < na person wey be doctor wit swag //
            good   salute   to 3SG SCONJ she   < COP person REL COP doctor with swag
            //

            'Your Nigerian halfcaste, that's who I am. And I have a very beautiful… in fact,
            you should respect her whenever you see her because she is a stylish doctor'
                              D_WAZL_06_Na-your-health_

4.3.4.1.18. [-koko]

4.3.4.1.18.1 Noun from adjective

439.   **spirikoko**

          Dat house no good for **spirikoko**   from di landord reach di gateman

(a)   DEM house NEG good PREP spiritual.person from DEF landlord reach DEF gateman

          all of dem na minus one
          all   of 3PL COP minus one
          ' That building is not good for spiritual people, from the landlord to the gateman, they are just out of it.'

                                      Naijionary-spirikoko

(b)   E   no   get who go tell you make you no marry '**spirikoko** o
          3SG NEG have who FUT tell 2SG SBJV NEG marry spiritual.person EMPH

           but when de on   candle full una room no call your mama o
          CONJ when 3SG put.on candle   full 2PL room   NEG call 2SG mama EMPH

          'no one will tell you not to marry a very religious person, but when they light candles all over your room, don't call your mother'.

                                        Naijionary_spirikoko

4.3.4.1.18.2 Adjective / Noun from Adjective

340.   **stingykoko**[58] **(Noun/Adjective)**

(a)   why you dey do **stingykoko**?
          Why 2SG IPFV do stingy
          'why are you being stingy'

                                 Naijionary_stingykoko

(b)   even our God no be **stingykoko** e dey give us better better
          even 1PL God NEG COP stingy 3SG IPFV IPFV give us good good
          ' Even our God is not tight-fisted he gives us good things'
                                  Naijionary_stingykoko

---

[58] This suffix seems only to be permissible with words that end in /i/. See also spirikoko.

4.3.4.1 Prefixation

4.3.4.1.1 [Dis-[59]]

4.3.4.1.1.1 Verb from Noun

341.   dis.virgin

(a) de **disvirgin** am when e dey secondary school
     3PL   deflower   3SG when 3SG COP secondary school.
     'S/He was deflowered when s/he was in secondary school'

                                                Naijionary_disvirgin

4.3.4.1.2 [

4.3.4.1.12.1 verb from verb

342.   re.ginger

di   Federal Government don talk sey   [de go make sure sey
DEF Federal Government   PFV talk COMP [3PL FUT make sure COMP

[dem { recharge |r and **reginger** } di Lake Chad Basin > all so dat
[3PL { recharge |r CONJ re-engerize } DEF Lake Chad Basin > all so DEM

{ di development |c security |c and betalicious } life marras
{ DEF development |c security |c CONJ good   } like concerns

for di   region go see life again] //
of   DEF region   FUT see life again] //

'The Federal Government has said that they have renewed efforts on the Lake
Chad Basin, all for that the development of the region.

                                                War001@SP2_005

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[59] dìs as opposed to the demonstrative dís

4.3.4.1.3 [Mis[60]]

4.3.4.1.3.1 Verb from verb

343.   mis.yarn

     no   matter how big di   place wey you dey work be <
     NEG matter how   big DEF place REL 2SG IPFV work COP <

     observe dem first because [if you no observe ehn < you go **misyarn**] //
     observe   3PL   first SCONJ   [if 2SG NEG observe DISC < 2SG FUT blab
     ] //

     'No matter how large your workplace is, carefully observe, because if you don't
     you'll speak thoughtlessly'

                                 M_ABJ_INF_05_On-Pidgin

4.3.4.3 Summary of affixes in Naija

This section summarizes the affixes in Naija. Twenty-one affixes were identified. Twenty of them are derivational ([-a], [-e], [-i], [-aly], [-o], [-ed], [-est], [-ful], [-ie], [-ing], [-is], [-ite], [-ito], [-late], [-licious], [-koko]) and three prefixes ([dis-], [re-], [mis-]) and one ([-s]) is inflectional. Table 4.5 presents a summary of noun affixes, Table 4.6 presents a summary of adverbial affixes, Table 4.7 presents a summary of adejectival affixes and Table 4.8 presents a summary of verbal affixes.

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[60] This has a low tone too

Table 4.5: Summary of Noun affixes

Form	Meaning	Morpheme value
[-o]		Non category changing
[-ing]	gerund	Derivational
[-is]		Derivational
[-ito]	Person who (Agentive suffix)	Non-Category Changing
[-ite]	Person who (Agentive suffix)	Non-Category Changing
[-koko]	Having quality of X	Non category changing
[-s]	Plural	Inflectional

Table 4.6: Summary of Adverb affixes

Form	Meaning	Morpheme value
[-a]	Comparative degree of X	Non category changing
[-i]	Emphasis	Non category changing
[-(a)ly]	Manner of X done	Non Category changing

Table 4.7: Summary of Adjective affixes

Form	Meaning	Morpheme Value
[-e]		Derivational
[-o]	Comparative degree of X	Non category changing
[-ed]	State of existing	Derivational
[-est]	Comparative form of X	Non category changing
[-ful]		Derivational
[-ie] / [-y]	Having quality of X	Non category changing
[-licious]	Elegantly having the quality of X	Not category changing

Table 4.8: Summary of Verb affixes

Form	Meaning	Morpheme Value
[-ate]		Non category changing
[dis-]	Not having the quality of X	Non category changing
[mis-]	Wrongly doing X	Non category changing
[re-]	Repeat X	Non category changing

4.3.4.4 Is Naija borrowing Affixes?

Yes. Seifart (2015) provides insight into concept of direct and indirect affix borrowing. The arguments are thus: For indirect affix borrowing, a language first borrows complex loanwords containing an affix, and then eventually uses the affix on native stems. For direct affix borrowing, speakers of a language absorb an affix into their language without first borrowing the complex words from the source language. The direct borrowing is done because of the speakers' knowledge of the donor language (Seifart, 2015:511-512). Figure 2.25 a-b exemplifies direct and indirect borrowing.

Seifart (2015:511, 512) provides a matrix that exemplifies the scenarios of direct and indirect borrowing.
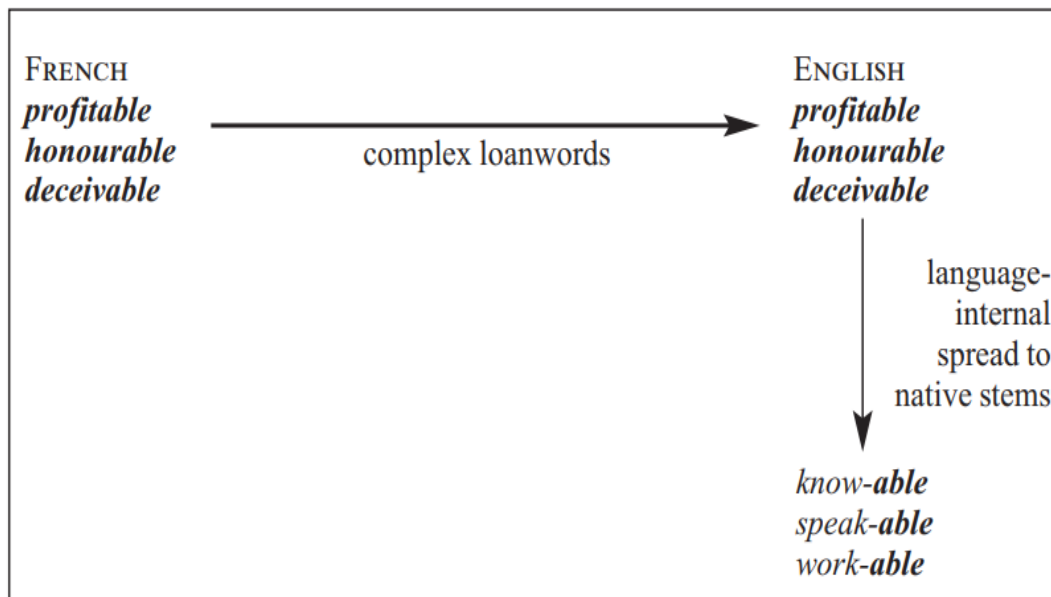
Fig. 4.25a: Indirect borrowing of Norma French –able into English (based on Dalton-Puffer 1996:183,221)[61]

[61] Cited from Seifart (2015:511)
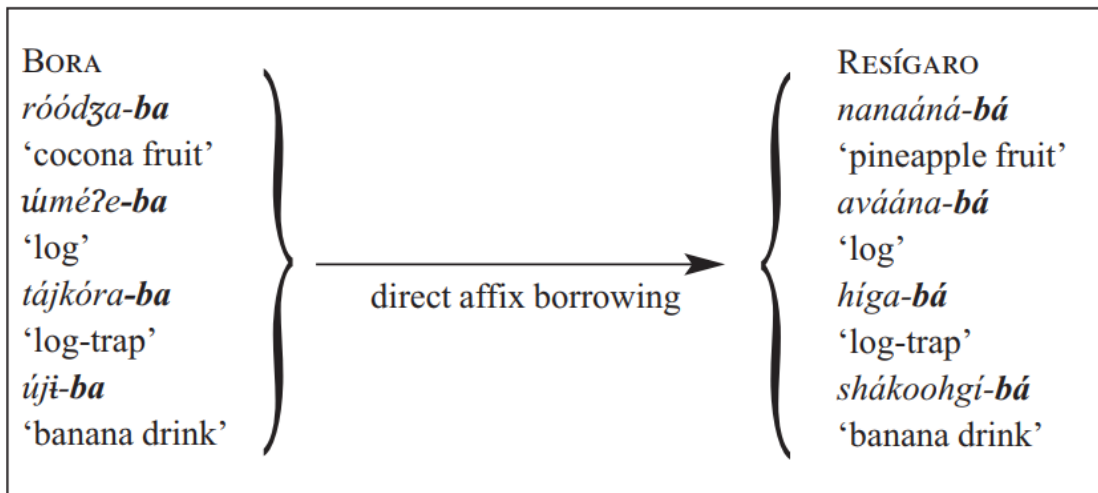
Fig. 4.25b; Direct borrowing of Bora -*ba* (classifier for fruits, logs, drinks, etc.) into Resígaro. (Seifart, 2015:512)

This work will advance a hybrid system for affix borrowing in Naija. The hybrid system is posited because true to the nature of Naija where the language is mostly lexified by the English language, the contact with English language is more than just superficial; it is integral to the fundamental units of Naija. Also, the presence of English language as Nigeria's official language puts Naija and English in the same communicative space. Thus, these lexical items may have come from one of these scenarios.

In the case of Naija above, the use of these affixes in contexts other than their 'original' use shows nativisation.

4.3.5 Reduplication

Reduplication[62] is a very productive process in Naija along with compounding. Reduplicatives in Naija have an internal 'mirror' prosodic pattern usually a Low (L)/High (H) or a LL/HH.

Reduplicatives in Naija yield a non-high prosodic value (Low or Rising) on first syllable. This holds for all the instances available except for reduplicated adverbials (which have the reverse High (H)/Falling (F) prosody), the reduplicated pronoun[63] wewe (11) and (119)[64]. (which has the HF prosody) This work studies reduplicatives in two broad groups: true reduplicates and pseudo reduplicates. True reduplicates are lexical items that have undergone reduplication of all or part of an existing lexical item. Pseudo reduplicates are lexical items that internally show a reduplication of the part, but the reduplicated parts are not standalone lexical items in Naija.

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[62] In south south data, there are little reduplications in preverbally. Most reduplciations occur post verbally. So. Abeg quick come VS Abeg come quick / abeg come quick quick.

[63] This may also be adverbial

[64] Búmbùm has also been heard. Another variant consistent with the L/H pattern is bùmbûm.

4.3.5.1 . True Reduplicate

4.3.5.1.1 Adjective From Noun

344.   **kobokobo (<Eng.kobo) Adj.**

(a)   no   carry your **kobo.kobo** paddy dem go dat   leader house o
NEG carry 2SG   broke   friend   PL   go DEM leader house EMPH

e   go yab   una die
3SG FUT mock 2PL   die

'Don't take your poor friends to that leader's house, he'll mock all of you'

Naijonary_kobo kobo

(b)   Na **kobo kobo** gown you go give dat babe?
COP poor   gown 2SG go give DEM babe?
Omo, she go stone you pure water!
Bro 3SG FUT stone 2SG pure water!

'You bought a cheap gown for that that lady? Bro, she will pelt you with a sachet of water'

Naijionary_kobo kobo

4.3.5.1.2 Adverb from Adverb

345.   **farfar (<Eng.far) Adv. Ad**

(a)   for where e dey inside bush <   in fact < na only God >+ know
PREP where 3SG COP inside bush < in fact < COP only God >+ know

where dat leaf dey // e get di people wey   dey go { **far |r far** }
where DEM leaf COP // 3SG have DEF people REL IPFV go { far |r far }

{ inso || into } di bush // de dey call di leaf ewere leaf //
{ X || into } DEF bush // 3PL IPFV call DEF leaf ewere leaf //

'Where it is in the bush, in fact, only God knows where it is. There are people who go really far into the bush. The leaf is called ewere.

IBA_02_M_081 -90

346. **well well (<Eng.Well) Adv.**

(a)   And dat one so < dat my aunty so < e dey talk { **well |r well** } //
CONJ DEM one so < DEM 1SG aunty so < 3SG IPFV talk { well |r well } //

if e just hear any story e don con yarn my moder //
if 3SG just hear any story 3SG PST CONS tell 1SG mother //

'And that one, ,my aunt, she talks a lot, anything she hears she she'll tell my
mother'

<div align="right">war011_@SP9_238-239</div>

(b)

you know sey   [for di girl wey   you con marry < you know sey
2SG know COMP [PREP DEF girl REL 2SG CONS marry < 2SG know
COMP

[na   from anoder family na   im e   come]] < now adjustment wey
[COP PREP another family COP 3SG 3SG come]] < now adjustment
COMP

e   need now < e   plenty // one of dem be   sey   [like when e dey train am
3SG need now < 3SG plenty   // one of 3PL   COP COMP [like when 3SG
IPFV train 3SG

(where de train dis girl) na di place >+ where de dey joke { **well |r well** }] //
(where 3SG train DEM girl) COP DEF place >+ where 3SG IPFV joke { well |
r }]//

'You know that the girl you married, you know that she came from another
family, now she needs a lot of adjustment. One of them is that where they trained
her is that she was raised in a place where they joke a lot.

<div align="right">Benin009_@SP8_019-20</div>

347. **sharp sharp (<Eng.Sharp) Adv**

(a)

when we come back < I   go   tell una di { sharp |r sharp } tory wey
don
when 1PL come back   <   1SG FUT tell 2PL DEF { **sharp |r sharp** }
story REL PFV

dey ground base   on   di   matter wey we go talk about //
IPFV ground   based PREP DEF matter   REL 1PL FUT talk about //

'When I come back, I will tell you the good stories we have that are
related to what we will talk about.'

(b)   { anytime |c any small ting } < fight fit start // even if someting wey no break
        { anytime |c any small thing } < fight can start // even if something REL
        NEG break

        firewood < { **sharp |r sharp** } fight go start //
        firewood <   { sharp |r sharp   }fight FUT start //

        'Anytime, any small issue, a fight can break out. Even if it's a small issue,
        suddenly a fight will break out"
                                        [M_KAD_26_Brigade boy school experience]

348.   **sharpaly sharpaly**[65]

        (a)   Osoesan con even dey   call, sey   [make dem { sharperly |r sharperly } &] //
               Osoesan   CONS even IPFV call COMP [SBJV dem   { quick |r   quick }
               &] //

               mey dem go arrange di tripartite committee…
               SBJV 3PL FUT arrange DEF tripartite committee…

               'Osoesan was calling asking them to quickly set up the tripartite…
                                        [P_IBA_32_Tori-by-Samuel_PRO]

        (b)   okay make we book appointment |c or what's up ?// ehn ?//
                okay SBJV 1PL book appointment |c or what.is up ?// DISC ?//

                [eng I'm   free all di time eng] // [eng I don't know about you eng] //
                [eng 1SG.BE free   all DEF time eng] // [eng 1SG do.NEG know about 2SG eng]
                //

                Okay // [eng what of tomorrow eng] ?// because   { I wan || I wan   } { make ||
                make }
                Okay // [eng what of tomorrow eng]   ?// because   { 1SG want || 1SG want } {
                SBJV || SBJV }

                we start am { **sharpally |r sharpally** } //
                1PL start 3SG { urgently |r urgently   } //

                'Okay Let's book an appointment or what do you think? I'm free all the time, I
                don't know about you. Okay. How about tomorrow? Because I want to get this
                over with very quickly.'

                                        D_ENU_18@Sp91_11-17

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[65] The form may also be *sharperly*

349. **inside inside (<Eng.inside) Adv**

(a)
di love wey I   get for   you na **inside inside** my heart e dey.
DEF love REL 1SG have PREP 2SG COP inside inside 1SG.POSS 3SG COP
'The love I have for you, it's deep inside my heart'

Naijionary_inside inside

if you want follow person do business look **inside inside** di matter o
if 2SG want follow person do business look inside inside DEF matter EMPH

no go loseguard yourself
NEG go sabotage yourself
', If you want to do any business with anyone, you should really look into the
matter, don't leave yourself vulnerable.'

[Naijionary_inside inside]

4.3.6.1.3 Noun from Noun

350. **paddy paddy (<X.)   Noun**

but di two of dem con do { **paddy** |r **paddy }** sha   //
CONJ DEF two of 3SG CONS do   friend   friend   anyway //
'But, they both became friends'

[IOS_28_Exams_DG__154]

351. **boyboy (<Eng.boy) Noun**

(a)
a big person for   una must do like small pikin |c and di oga must
a big person PREP 2PL   must do like   small child |c CONj DEF boss
must

do like { **boy |r boy** } //
do like   { boy |r boy } //

'An adult must behave like a child and the master must behave a servant'
[P_IBA_41_M_077-081]

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(b)
so somebody pick me for Ojota bus stop //+ di person wey I dey go for
so somebody pick 1SG PREP Ojota bus stop //+ DEF person REL 1SG
go PREP

 im   place // so I   con dey wit { my oga |a person wey I come
serve } //
3SG.POSS place // so 1SG CONS IPFV with { 1SG oga |a person REL
1SG come serve   } //

dey dere dey learn work // dey do { all dose || all dose } kind work now
> you
COP there IPFV learn work // IPFV do   { all those || all those } kind
work now   > 2SG

know now // do { boy |r boy } eight years // con become oga for myself
for
know now //   do   { boy |r boy } eight years   // CONS become
master PREP 1SG PREP

chemical line //
chemical line //

'so someone picked me up at Ojota bus stop. The person whose place I

4.3.5.1.4 Noun from Verb

352.   begbegy (<Eng.beg) N. 'beggar'

(a)   once you see person carry food you go dey beg make dem give you
once 2SG see person   carry   food 2SG FUT IPFV beg SBJV 3PL give 2SG

you be **begybegy**
2SG COP beggar
'once you see a person with some food, you'll start pleading to be given some, you
are a beggar'

<div align="right">[Naijionary_begybegy]</div>

(b)
You get money for   wallet you still con dey ask make men buy beer for you
2SG   have money PREP wallet 2SG still CONS IPFV ask SBJV people buy beer
PREP 2SG

 I no know if na **begybegy** dey worry you or you just be winchi
1SG NEG know if COP beggar IPFV worry 2SG CONJ 2SG just COP witch

'You have some money in your wallet, and you are asking people to buy for you,
you must be a witch'

[Naijionary_begybegy]

353.   scatterscatter (<Eng.scatter) N. (A) (V)

(a)
na **scatterscatter**_{NOUN} una be o   na   so book cloth and plate dey dey
COP clutter.person   2PL COP EMPH COP so book   cloth CONJ plate IPFV
COP

ground for   parlour and   passage any time I come una house
ground   PREP parlour   CONJ passage   any time   1SG come 2PL house

'Whenever I come visiting, I find books, clothes, and plates lying about the place
in the sitting room and corridor; you are disorganised!'

[Naijionary_scatterscatter]

(b)   our **scatterscatter**_{ADJ} padi don show again
1PL.poss clutter.person friend PFV show again

'our disorganised friend has arrived.'

Naijionary_scatterscatter

354.   **shineshine (<Eng.shine) N.**

(a)   I dey see '"shineshine"' for di cloth wey I wear.
1SG IPFV see glitter PREP DEF cloth REL 1SG wear
'I can sequins in my cloth'

[Naijionary_shineshine]

(b)   na   **shineshine** e   dey wear o
COP glittering 3SG IPFV wear EMPH
'She is wears glittering clothes'

[Naijionary_shineshine]

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355. **yahoo yahoo (<Eng.Yahoo) N**

(a) you know and ehm basically < you know sey [{ we get so many || sometimes
2SG   know CONJ DISC basically < 2SG know COMP [{ 1PL have so many ||
sometimes

we dey   get } { negative |c or   news wey no too good } about dis part of
1PL IPFV have } {   negative |c CONJ news REL NEG too good } about DEM
part of

{ di   country |a Nigeria }] //   sey   [dis Naija people < de be { wuruwuru
{ DEF country |a Nigeria   }] // COMP [DEM Naija people < 3PL COP {
tricky

people |c or be **{ yahoo |r yahoo }** people |c or be yagayaga people }] // you
know
person.PL |c CONJ COP **{ yahoo |r yahoo }** people.PL |c CONJ COP rough person
// 2SG know

but   den < dis   documentary show < na to showcase to di world sey
CONJ then < DEM documentary   show < COP to showcase to DEF world COMP

[{ Naija itsef |c you |c and I |c everybody wey dey inside Naija } < sey
[{ Naija 3SG.POSS |c 2SG |c CONJ |c everybody REL COP inside Naija } <
COMP
we still get good side of us] //
1PL still have   good side   of us   ] //
'You know that we have negative news about this part of Nigeria; that Nigerians
are dishonest, internet fraudsters and proud. But this documentary shows the world
and everybody in Nigeria, that we have a good side.'

[D_WAZL_11@Sp323_020-23]

356.   chopchop

(a)   de just dey { look |r look } dey { **chop |r chop** } eye for dere // you grab
now //
3PL just IPFV { look |r look } IPFV { eat |r eat }   eye PREP there
// 2SG understand now //

{ na || na } wetin dey >+   be dat //
{ COP || COP } what COP >+ COP DEM //

'They are just hanging around and embezzling funds there. You
understand. That's the situation.'

[D_JOS_34@Sp158_38-40]

(b)   I   never chop better ting since morning o na just dis **chopchop**
1SG never eat   good thing since morning EMPH COP just DEM snack

I use take hold body
1SG use take hold body

'I haven't eaten any real food since morning, I've just had munchies'

[Naijionary_chopchop

357. sabisabi (<Portuguese.Sabi) Noun

(a) Person wey   dey do **sabisabi** no   dey get friends   o
Person REL IPFV do know.know NEG IPFV have friend.PL EMPH
'A know-it-all does not have any friends'

(b) de no de   y carry dey do when e reach marriage matter your
3SG NEG carry IPFV do when 3SG reach marriage matter

sabisabi   na im go wound you
Know.know COP 3SG FUT wound you

'When it comes to marriage issues, being haughty will cost you a lot'
[Naijionary_sabisabi]

358. scatterscatter (<Eng.Scatter) Noun

even road ma < e   no   even do for una // and na so >+ di road just dey
even   road even < 3SG NEG even do PREP 2PL // CONj COP so >+ DEF road
just COP

{ { **scatter** |**r scatter** } |c spoil } like dat // dis man suppose dey do someting now
//
{ { scatter |r scatter   } |c spoil   } like DEM // DEF man suppose IPFV do
something now //

'Even the road, he should have done it for you all. The road is really bad. The man
should have done something'
[D_JOS_11@Sp127_019-21]

359. lielie (<Eng.shine) Noun

hm because e don already tell am lie > { lie |r lie } //
DISC SCONJ 3SG PFV already tell 3SG lie > { lie |r lie} //

'Hm, because he had already told him a lie, liar.'
D_ONI_16@Sp459_58

360. lielie (<Eng.lie) V

(a) e don { **lie |r lie** } //
3SG PFV { lie |r lie } //
He/She has lied a lot.
D_ONI_16@Sp459_59

4.3.5.1.6   Adjective from Verb

361.   Fear fear (< Fear). Adj

> you be **fearfear**
> 2SG COP fearful
> ' you are fearful'
>
> <div align="right">Naijionary_fearfear</div>

4.3.5.1.7 Adverb from Adjective

362.   last last (<Eng. Last)

(a)   but { **last |r last** } eh < we people dey yarn sey [mstchew pikin wey
CONJ last last DISC < 1PL people IPFV talk COMP [DISC child REL

you no train well < na im >+ dey sell house wey im papa
2SG NEG train well < COP 3SG >+ IPFV sell house REL 3SG.POSS father

still dey live inside] //
still IPFV live inside] //

But eventually, we have a saying that a child who is not well raised will sell the house his father still lives in.

<div align="right">D_WAZK_05@Sp295_025</div>

(b)   but { **last |r last** } < we don already get person wey we carry //
but { last |r last } < 1PL PFV already have person REL 1PL carry
//
but eventually, we had selected someone

<div align="right">war010_@SP9_064</div>

4.3.5.2 Pseudo Reduplicates

These lexical items are not reduplications, but they have the same structure and prosodic pattern.

4.3.5.2.1 Noun

363).   **crawcraw**

(a)   **Crawcraw** just full dat your pikin head.
Scabies just full DEM 2SG.POSS child head
Your son has scabies all over his head.

<div align="right">Naijionary_crawcraw</div>

364. **kalokalo**

Di pastor bin dey preach sey to play **kalokalo** na sin,
DET pastor PST IPFV preacg COMP to play gambling COP sin

I con tell am sey di suya wey I buy for am na from
I CONS tell 3SG DET suya REL 1SG buy for 3SG COP from

di kalokalo wey I play.
DET gambing REL 1SG play

'The pastor was preaching that gambling is a sin, I then told him
that the barbecue I bought for him was from gambling.'

Naijonary_gambling

365. **katakata**

Katakata don burst for di protest as popo shoot people teargas.
Chaos PFV happen PREP DET protest as police shoot people teargas.

There was pandemonium at the protest when the police shot teargas
cannisters at the crowd

Naijionary_katakata

366. **smesme**

Why you dey do smesme? If you want chop, chop!

Why 2SG IPFV do dull ? if 2SG want eat eat

Why are you dull? If you want to eat, eat!

Naijonary_smesme

367. **wuruwuru**

anybody wey e want do { ojugunu |c and wuruwuru }

anybody REL 3SG want do { tout |c CONJ fraud }

sey [de go catch dem] //

COMP [3SG FUT catch 3PL] //

'Anyone who decides to be troublesome or disruptive, they will be caught.'

War001@SP1_016

368. **gragra**

so me sef dey clear dem sey [una sef < una dey fall hand //=
so 1SG even IPFV tell 32PL COMP [2PL even < 2PL IPFV fall hand
some of una dey gragra too much //=
some of 2PL IPFV proud too much //=

shuo < husband go come < you con drag am for cloth
DISC < husband FUT come < 2SG CONS drag 3SG PREP cloth

sey [where e for dey come ?//]] //
COMP [where 3SG PREP IPFV come ?//]] //

So, me too, I tell them that they are not doing well. Some of you are too
troublesome.
 I mean, your husband will come and you'll hold him by the cloth asking
where he is coming from.

M_WAZK_11@Sp302_081

4.3.6 Compounding

An analysis of the data used for this work reveals that there are two broad categories of compounds following prosodic patterns. Type 1 compounds are compounds that that may begin with an initial high prosodic value on the first syllable. The type 2 compounds are compounds that begin with a non-high prosodic value on first syllable.

This prosodic process in type 2 compounds may be used to distinguish between compounds, and phrases in Naija. Table 4.9 shows the prosodic differences between the type 2 compounds and the lexical items used to derive them. The prosodic pattern guides speakers of Naija to differentiate between a compound a phrase.

Compounds in Naija may also be endocentric or exocentric.

Table 4.9: Compounds and phrases in Naija

Naija Compound	English Gloss	Phrases
a. Longatrot ^{LLF}	(Greed)	$<$ Long^F + trot^F
b. Worldpipo^{LHL}	(enemies)	$<$ world^F + pipo^{HL}
c. brokinplate^{LLF}	(Ceramic plate)	$<$ brokin^{HL} + plate^F
d. Countryman^{LLF}	(Citizen)	$<$country^{HL} + man^F
e. noticeme^{LLH}	(eyeservice)	$<$notice^{HF} + me^F
f. dengepose^{LLF}	(show-off)	$<$denge^{HM} + pose^F
g. Drinkingwater^{LLLH}	(Portable water)	$<$*drinking^{HL} + water^{LH}
h. oshofree^{LLF}	(freebie)	$<$osho^{LL} + Free^F
i. turninggarri^{LLLH}	(spatula)	$<$turning^{HL} + garriL^H
J peppersoup^{LLF}	(type of soup)	Pepper^{HL} + soup ^{F}
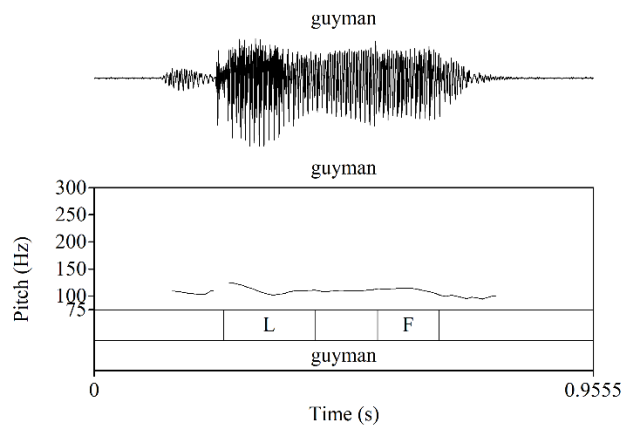
Fig. 2.26a: Wave form, intensity and pitch track of guyman (compound)
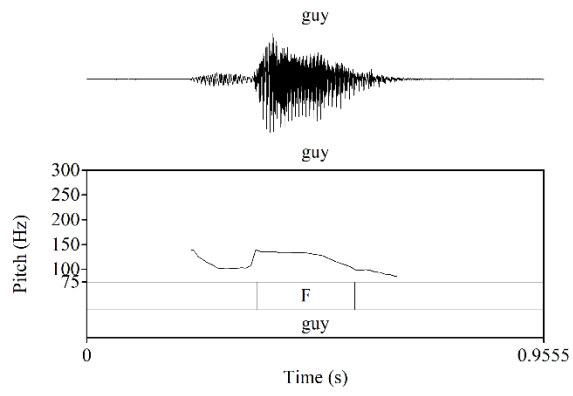
Fig. 2.26b: Wave form, intensity and pitch track of guy
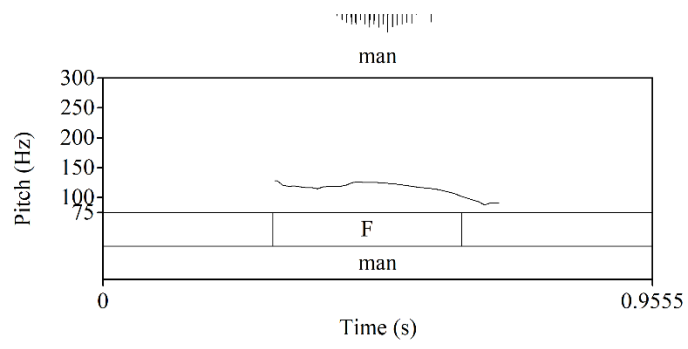
Fig. 2.26c: Wave form, intensity and pitch track of man

Figure 2.26 (a) above shows the prosodic contour of the derived word *guyman*, Figure 2.26(b) and (c) shows the prosody of the words (standalone) in the derivation: guy and man.

This figure above shows the result of the type 2 compounding processes in Naija, where the prosody of lexical items is altered to fit into the prosodic pattern for compounds in Naija.

This prosodic initial non-high may be a novel feature of Naija, which may spread eventually to lexical items.

This compounding process does not only act when the compounding process is Naija internal. This compounding process may also serve as lexicalization function, and act on compounds that are etymologically English as typified in Table 4.10).

There also may be certain compounds that are in transit. That is, there are compopounds that may belong to type 1 compounds or type 2 compounds as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.10: Lexicalized compounds English > Naija

English compound	Naija Compound
busybody_{HHHL}	> busybody_{LLLH}
bitterleaf_{HHF}	> bitterleaf_{LLF}

Table 4.11 Naija compounds 'in transit'

Type 1 compound	Type 2 compound
Boyfriend$_{HF}$	> boyfriend$_{LF}$
girlfriend$_{HF}$	> girlfriend$_{LF}$
purewater$_{HHL}$	> purewater$_{LLH}$

4.3.6.1 Type 1 compounds

4.3.6.1.1 Adjective from Noun + Noun

369 (a) Hardman (hard + noun)

> you bin dey do **hardman** since morning o   but   as you see your
> 1SG PST IPFV do hard.man   since morning   EMPH CONJ as 2SG see
> 2SG.POSS
>
> woman you begin   do like bread wey de put inside water
> Woman   2SG begin   do like bread   REL 3SG put inside water
>
> 'You've been acting macho all morning but now that your girlfriend is here you
> have become a softie'
>

(b)

> eke   don   move dat **hardman** wey brush dat old lecturer
>
> Police PFV move DEM hard.man REL beat DEM old lecturer
>
> 'The police have arrested that cultist who beat the old lecturer'
>

370.   house boy

> everybody get talent wey God don give am > { whether na craze man wey e dey
> everybody   have talent REL God PFV give   3SG > {whether COP mad man
> REL 3SG IPFV
>
> for   street |c whether na oga wey e dey for   office |c whether na houseboy |c
> PREP street |c whethere COP boss REL 3SG IPFV PREP office |c whether COP
> male servant |c
> whether na mama |c whether na papa |c whether na children } // and all dese gifts
> Whether COP mother |c whether COP father |c whether COP child.PL   } //
> CONJ all DEM gifts
> wey God give us < na to use am for di community [eng so dat di kingdom of
> God
> REL God give us < COP to use 3SG PREP DEF community [eng so DEM DEF
> kingdom of God
> may come down here on earth eng] //
> may come down here on earth eng] //
>
> 'Everyone has a God-given talent. It doesn't matter if the person is mentally
> unwell, a boss, a male servant, a mother, a father or a child. All these gifts have
> been given to us for the use of the community, so that the kingdom of God may
> come down here on earth.'
>

371. **house girl**

I never talk di part wey e   be sey   [na di woman >+ go still go market] //
1SG never talk DEF part REL 3SG COP COMP [COP DEF woman >+ FUT still go market] //

e go waka // sometimes < e go back baby |c go di market // oder women fit curse
3SG FUT walk // sometimes < 3SG FUT back baby |c go DEF market // other women may curse

am sey [you carry dis kind baby enter under sun ?//] // if she no get umbrella nko
3SG COMP [2SG carry DEM kind baby enter under sun ?//] if she NEG have umbrella what.if?

?// dem say [you carry dis kind baby enter under sun ?//] // some fit even beat am
?// 3PL   say [2SG carry dis kind baby enter under   sun   ?//] // some can even beat 3SG

// de go slap am sey [you dey punish dis baby] |c but who wan do am ?// e no get
// 3PL FUT slap 3SG sey   [2SG IPFV punish DEM baby] |c CONJ PRON want do 3SG ?// 3SG NEG have

housegirl   //= e   no   get **houseboy** //= e   no   get who   dey help am //
maidservant //= 3SG NEG have maleservant //= 3SG NEG have PRON IPFV help 3SG //

if e lucky < e get younger ones < de fit send dem sey [go market for me
if 3SG lucky < 3SG have younger one.PL < 3SG can send 3PL COMP [go market PREP 1SG //

//= do dis one for me //] // but if e   no get helper nko ?// na suffer >+ dat woman
//= do   DEF one PREP 1SG //] //   but   if 3SG NEG have helper what.if ?// COP suffer > DEM woman

go   suffer o |c and her body go just dey break dey go//
FUT suffer EMPH |c CONJ 3SG bidy FUT just IPFV break IPFV go //

'I haven't spoken of the part where the woman will still have to go to the market, she will walk. Sometimes, she will carry the baby on her back to the market. Other women may insult her "why are you exposing this baby to the sun?" What if she doesn't have an umbrella? They'll say "why are you exposing this baby to the sun?" Some may even beat her. They'll slap her " why are you punishing this baby?" But who wants to do it? She doesn't have any female or make domestic help. She does not have anyone who can help her. If she is lucky, she may have younger relations who can be asked to go to the market or do other things. But what if she does not have any helper? That woman will suffer and she will break down'

[M_BEN_01@Sp36_35-46]

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372. **aka gum** (hybrid compound (Igbo +English))

(a) some women believe sey di   men hand wey join Stingy Men Association of Naija
some   women   believe COMP DEF men hand REL   join   stingy   men
association   of Naija

na   **aka gum**
COP frugal

'Some women are of the opinion that men who belong to the Stingy Men
Association of Nigeria are plain miserly'

[Naijionary_aka gum]

4.3.6.1.2 Adjective from Adjective + Verb

373.   Igbo made

(a) all dese **igbomade** pots wey we dey buy dem no dey last o
all DEM igbo.made   pot.PL REL 1PL IPFV buy 3PL NEG IPFV last EMPH
'These locally made pots we buy are not durable'

[Naijionary_igbomade]

(b)   di wrapper wey we use for di traditional marriage na **igbomade**
DEF wrapper REL 1PL use PREP DEF traditional marriage COP igbo.made

'The wrappers we wore during the customary marriage were produced locally'

[Naijionary_igbo made]

4.3.6.1.3 Adverb from Adverb + Adverb (kuku+ma)

374.   kukuma

(a)
we don say [ah we go marry o   ] // young age as I enter school
1PL PFV say [ah 1PL FUT marry EMPH] // young age as   1SG enter school

like dis   eh   < na marriage // we don dey prepare marriage //
like DEM EMPH < COP marriage // 1PL PFV IPFV prepare marriage //

so < na so > my life   for **kukuma** end //
so < COP so > 1SG.POSS AUX would.have end //

'we have said, we will get married. At a young age it was marriage! We had begun to prepare for
marriage. So that's how my life would have ended'.

[war011_@SP9_187_190]

4.3.6.1.4 Noun from Adjective + Noun

375. **pure water**[66]

(a)
help me buy **pure wate**r now !// abeg you too stingy // comot for here jor !//

help 1SG buy pure water now !// please 2SG too stingy // comot from here please! !//

only one pure water < na im >+ you no fit even buy //
only one pure water < COP 3SG >+ 2Sg NEG can even buy //

'please buy sachet water for me. You are too frugal! Please get away from here!'

[D_IBA_22@Sp403_073-76]

376. **ordinary leg**

(a) You no get shoe ? Why you dey waka wit **ordinary leg**

2SG NEG have shoe ? why 2SG IPFV walk with bare foot

'Why are you working bare foot'

[Naijionary_ordinary leg]

(b)
I don tell you make you no dey waka wit **ordinary leg** for night

1SG PFV tell 2SG SBJV 2SG NEG IPFV walk with bare foot at night

'I have told you to stop walking bare foot'

[Naijionary_ordinary leg]

4.3.6.1.Noun from Det + Noun

377. **disame**[67]

(a)
all of dem na **disame**
all of 3SG COP the.same
'they are all the sane'

[naijionary_disame]

---

[66] It also appears that *purewater*[HHL] is lexicalizing to *purewater*[LLH].

[67] Di same can be reduplicated. *All of dem na di same di same* . 'They are all the same'. This reduplicability is the reason why disame has been been *interpreted* as one word.

(b)　　na **disame** e　be

COP the.same 3SG COP

'It's the same'

4.3.6.1.6 Noun from noun + verb

378.　**bush attack**

I wan go do **bushattack**

1SG want go do bush.attack

'I want to defecate in the bush'

4.3.6.1.7 Noun from Noun + Noun

379.　cowtail

if you go African Kitchen di only better ting wey dem dey sell for dere na
if 2SG go African　Kitchen DEF only good　 thing REL 3SG IPFV sell at there COP

cowtail
cowtail
'If you go to African Kitchen the only good thing they sell there is oxtail'

(b)　　　　de get ehn **cowtail** peppersoup, de get fish peppersoup also
3PL have eh cowtail pepper.soup 3PL have fish pepper.soup also
'They have oxtail sauce and fish sauce too'

380.　village people

You dey behave like sey una **village people** swear for you.
2SG IPFV behave like COMP 2PL village people swear for you
You are behaving like someone under the spell of witchcraft.

381. areaboy

Dem tell me sey dat **area boy** just dey form
3SG tell 1SG COMP DEM tout just IPFV pretend

hardman e no get mind like dat.
hard.man 3SG NEG have mind like DEM

They've told me that that the tout is just pretending to tough, he is not as tough as he appears.

Naijonary_areaboy

382. bushmeat

(a)
you see tings wey dey dere ?// plenty !// bush meat < even dough de sey
2SG see things REL IPFV there ?// a lot   !// bush meat < even though 3SG COMP

[meh we no dey eat **bush meat**] |c but mehn di ones wey I see
[SBJV 1PL NEG IPFV eat bush meat] |c CONJ DISC DEF ones REL 1SG see

< [eng it's appetizing eng] //
< [eng it's appetizing   eng] //

'You see the things there? A lot! Game! Even though we have been asked not to eat game, but, I tell you, the ones I see, it's appetizing'

[M_JOS_39@Sp168_65-68]

(b)
e no get meat wey dey sweet like **bushmeat**.
3SG NEG have meat REL IPFV sweet like bush.meat
'Wild game is the best kind of meat'

[Naijionary_bushmeat]

4.3.6.1.8 Verb from verb + Adposition

383. dieout

(a)
Musa don **dieout** im cloth
Musa PFV sold his clothes
'Musa has sold his clothes'

[Naijionary_dieout]

(b)
my mille don **dieout** im goods finish

1SG.POSS mother PFV sold 3SG.POSS goods complete

'My mother has sold out all her goods'

[Naijionary_dieout]

384.   bailup

> di police   block di   guy for dat koro con **bailup** am
>
> DEF police stopped DEF guy in DEM place CONS arrest 3SG
>
> 'The police cornered that man in that place and arrested him'

<div align="right">[Naijionary_bailup]</div>

4.3.6.1.9 Noun from Noun + ADP

385.   cashdown

> Di foodstuff wey you wan buy so, na **cashdown** o.
>
> DET foodstuff REL 2SG 2SG want buy COP full.payment EMPH
>
> You have to make a full payment for the food stuff you want to buy.

<div align="right">Naijionary_cashdown</div>

4.3.6.1.10 Noun from Noun + Conj + Verb

386.   **cashancarry**

> If you want buy electronic for here, na **cashancarry** you go do.
> If 2SG want buy electronic PREP here COP full.payment 2SG FUT do
> If you want to buy electronics from here, you have to make payment in full before selling to you.

<div align="right">Naijionary_cashancarry</div>

4.3.6.1.11 Noun from Verb + Noun

387.   **chargeoffice**

> Dem don carry am go **chargeoffice**
>
> 3SG PFV carry 3SG go police.station
>
> He has been taken to the police station.

<div align="right">Naijionary_chargeoffice</div>

4.3.6.1.12 Verb from verb + verb

388.   Carrygo

Your car na better machine, **carrygo** jare, noting do you.

2SG.POSS car COP good machine godspeed please nothing do 2SG

Your car is a really impressive machine, Godspeed, you are alright!

Naijionary_carrygo

389. Seefinish

So, **see finish** don enta shebi?

So seefinish PFV enter right

You have started disrespecting me, right?

Naijionary _seefinish

4.3.6.1.3 Noun From ADP + ADP (Down + Below)

390.   downbelow

Di girl mama say make im pikin wash im

DET girl mother SBJV 2SG.POSS child was 3SG.POSS

downbelow wellwell

vagina   very.well

The girl's mother asked her to wash her vagina properly.

Naijionary_downbelow

4.3.6.1.14 Verb from verb Phrase

391.   doke (do oko)

Di guy don **doke** all di girls for we area

DET guy PFV slept.with all DET girls PREP 1PL area

The man has had sexual relations with all the girls in the community

Naijionary_doke

4.3.6.2 Type 2 Compounds[68] [69]

The compounds in this category all have the feature of an initial non-high prosody.

4.3.6.2.1 Noun from Noun + Noun[70]

392.   longatrot

    (a)   pikin wey get **longatrot** need make de help am or   na prison go end am
               child REL   have greed   need COMP 3SG help 3SG CONJ COP prison FUT
               end 3SG
               'A child that is greedy needs help, or he'll end up in prison'

                                                  [NSC_longatrot]

    (b)   **longatrot** na wetin dey   make people dey chop government money
               greed   COP what   IPFV SBJV   people IPFV eat   government
               money
               'Greed is the reason people embezzle government funds'

393   dollbaby

            my papa buy me **dollbaby** when I dey small o
            1SG.POSS father buy 1SG doll when 1SG IPFV small EMPH
            'my father bought me a doll when I was little'

                                         Naijionary_dollbaby

394.   Worldpipo

(a)   I no dey like to show sey I get money before **worldpipo** go come deal with
        me.
        1SG NEG IPFV like to show COMP 1SG have money before enemies FUT
        come deal with 1SG
        I don't like displaying my wealth for fear of being attacked by my enemies.
                                Naijionary_worldpipo

---

[68] See Ten Hacken 2017
[69] Verb from Adjective + Verb – Shortpay.
You don chop finish, now you dey find way make you take shortpay di mama. You go sleep for cell. Just wait
2SG PFV eat complete now 2SG IPFV find way REL 2SG take play.less DET woman. 2SG FUT sleep PREP prison. Just wait
'You have finished eating and now you are looking for ways to pay the woman less. You will sleep in jail. Just wait'
[70] *Napkinpant*[LLF] was also heard.

My **worldpipo** una good morning

(b)　　　1SG.POSS fellow.citizens 2PL good morning

My fellow citizens good morning.

Naijionary_worldpipo

395. jobman

na so　>+　I　**tey** comot //= con go　dey　do　**jobman** for people //
COP so >+ 1SG　take　leave　//= CONS　FUT　IPFV jobman for
people //

'that's how I went on to do petty jobs for people'

396. guyman

(a)　as guyman I like cloth so I　con d ey　get fashion segment wey I dey do
as　street.smart　1SG like cloth so 1SG CONS IPFV have fashion segment　REL
1SG IPFV do

base on sey　me　I　know sey　I　fit tell you sey but dat shoe wey
based on COMP 1SG 1SG　know COMP 1SG can tell 2SG COMP CONJ DEM
show REL

you wear e no pure wit dat trouser
2SG wear 3SG NEG pure with DEM trouser

'As a streetwise person I like clot'hes, so I got a fashion segment to do, because I
know that I can tell you that your shoe does not go well with your trouser.'

(b)　　　you be guyman now.　why you dey do like sey you no know sey
2SG COP street.smart now why 2SG IPFV do like COMP 2SG NEG know
COMP
all di politicians　dey use us do kalokalo ?
all DEF politicians IPFV use 1PL do board.game ?

'You are street smart, why are you acting like you don't know that all these
politicians are just playing games with us

[Naijionary_kalokalo]

brokinplate

397.
Easy o na **brokinplate** you hold so o

Easy EMPH COP ceramic 2SG hold so EMPH
'Be careful, those are ceramic plates you are holding'

<div align="right">Naijionary_brokinplate</div>

(b)
na only **brokinplate** de dey use serve am

COP only ceramic.plate 3PL IPFv use serve 3SG
'She/He is only served with ceramic plates.'.

<div align="right">Naijionary_brokinplate</div>

398   bottompower

(a)
She use **bottompower** take pass im exam.

3SG use sexual.influence take pass 3SG.POSS exam

'She passed by exams by giving sexual favours'

<div align="right">Naijionary_bottompower</div>

(b)   Na **bottompower** she use take get di job

COP sexual.influence 3SG use take get DEF job

'She offered sexual favours to get the job'

<div align="right">Naijionary_bottompower</div>

399.   Countryman

(a)   **countryman** must wak
citizen must eat
'A citizen must eat'.

<div align="right">Naijionary_countryman</div>

(b)
Government congratulate every **countryman** wey win for di game wey dem
government congratulate every citizen REL win PREP DEF game REL   3PL

 do for France
do PREP France
'Government congratulated the citizens who won medals at the competition that
held in France'

<div align="right">Naijionary_countryman</div>

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(c)   make una come hear wetin dem talk o, dem say **countryman** and **countrywoman**
SBJV 2PL come hear what 3PL talk EMPH 3PL say male.citizen CONJ
female.citizen

everybody must dey pay tax o
everyone must IPFV pay tax EMPH

'Everyone should pay attention. It has been said that male and female citizens
must pay tax.'

Naijionary_countryman

400.   Countrypeople

(a)   As election dey come so, **countrypeople** must shine deir eyes
As election IPFV come so citizens must shine 3PL.POSS eye.PL
'As the election approaches citizens must be vigilant'

Naijionary_countrypeople

401.   Coverbeer

(a)   De don remove di **coverbeer**
3PL PFV remover DEF bottle.cover
'The bottle covers have been removed'

(b)   We use **coverbeer** take play wellwell wen we be pikin
1PL use bottle.cover take play very.well when 1PL COP child
'When we were kids we played with beer caps'

Naijionary_coverbeer

4.3.6.2.2 Adjective from Gerund + Noun

402.   matching ground

na **matching ground** I wan chop today
COP matching ground 1SG want eat today
'I want to eat chicken feet today'

[Naijionary_matching

403.   workingplace

(a)   My **workingplace** near one   yeye hospital wey dey smell everytime
1SG office near   one   nasty   hospital   REL IPFV smell   everytime

My office is beside one smelly hospital.

[Naijionary_workingplace]

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(b) |I like as my **workingplace** dey di floor wey last for up

1SG like as 1SG office COP DEF floor wey IPFV up up

'I like the fact that my office is on the topmost floor'

<p align="right">[Naijionary_workingplace]</p>

4.3.6.2.3 Noun from Verb + noun

404.   crasewoman

(a)   e don tay wey dat im wife dey do like one kind **crasewoman**

3SG PFV long REL DEM 3SG.POSS wife IPFV do like one kind mad.woman

'His wife has been behaving like a mad woman for a while'

<p align="right">[Naijionary_crasewoman]</p>

(b)
e   be   like sey   she only dey behave like **crasewoman**, I no believe sey
3SG COP like COMP she only IPFV behave like mad.woman 1SG NEG believe COMP

she dey crase jare!
she IPFV crase please!

'She only behaves like a mad.woman, I don't really believe that she is'
<p align="right">[Naijionary_crasewoman]</p>

405.   craseman

no be all **craseman** dey wear teartear cloth
NEG COP all mad.men IPFV wear torn torn cloth
'Not all mad people wear rags'

<p align="right">Naijionary_craseman</p>

406.   noticeme

Your **noticeme** too much! You no dey tire?

2SG.POSS eyeservice too much 2SG NEG IPFV tire

Your eye-service is obvious. Do you ever get tired of acting that

way?

<p align="center">259</p>

407. sufferhead

(a)
na **sufferhead** kill am
COP suffering   kill 3SG
'He died as because of hardship'

[Naijionary_sufferhead]

(b)
which kind **sufferhead** be dis?

which kind suffering COP DEM

'What sort of hardship is this?'

[Naijionary_sufferhead]

408.   chopmoney

as we dey comot, oldman go give us **chopmoney**
as 1PL IPFV leave father FUT give us allowance
'As we are on our way out, dad will give us an allowance.'
Naijionary_chopmoney

409.   drawsoup

(a)
Ogbono, okro and ewedu na di **drawsoup** wey people dey like
Ogbono okro CONJ ewedu COP DEF sticky.soup REL people IPFV like

'Ogbono, Okro and ewedu are the kinds of sticky soup people like.'
Naijionary_drawsoup

(b)
I dey like **drawsoup**
1SG IPFV like sticky.soup
'I like sticky soup'

Naijionary_drawsoup

410.   sabi people

(a)
Di **sabipeople** don talk sey e go good make we know how many
DEF experts   PFV talk COMP 3SG FUT good SBJV know how many

we be for di country
1PL COP PREP DEF country

'The experts have said that it'll be good for us to know our population in the
country'

Naijionary_sabipeople

411.   vexmoney

(a)   As you dey follow dat guy dey comot so, carry **vexmoney**, if im head begin
       as 2SG IPFV follow DEM guy IPFV leave so carry extra.money if 3SG.POSS
       begin

       touch, move once!
       touch move immediately

       'Take some extra change with you as you go on a date with that guy, if he starts to
       misbehave, leave at once.'

                                                                Naijionary_vexmoney

(b)   you suppose know sey **vexmoney** na di first ting you suppose hold even
       2SG suppose know COMP extra.money COP first thing 2SG suppose hold even

       if person say e go bottle you.
       if person say 3SG FUT buy.beer you

       'You should know that you ought to take some extra cash even if someone agrees
       to take care of your bills.'

                                                                Naijionary_vexmoney

4.3.6.2.4 Verb from verb + verb[71]

412.   loseguard

(a)   im dey para sey   de **loseguard** am, but   I   bin don yarn am sey
       3SG IPFV angry COMP 3PL betray   3SG CONJ 1SG PST PFV
       3SG COMP

       dose people na anywhere belle   face dem be
       DEM people COP anywhere   stomach face 3PL COP

       'He has been furious that he was betrayed, but I had told him that those
       people are only after their own benefit.'

(b)   for dis life, e   no   get   who suppose **loseguard**, because
       in   DEF life 3SG NEG have who suppose   careless   because

       e   no   get who fit hold time for blockos sey   make e wait for am
       3SG NEG have who can hold time at   testicles   COMP SBJV 3SG wait for
       3SG

       'In life, no one should be careless, because no one can hold life by the privates
       and ask it to wait.'

                                                                [Naijionary_loseguard]

---

[71] *Scatteryarn* was also heard in conversation.

413.   cornermark

(a)
so dat time wey we dey come from lesson < na im >+   some boys
so DEM time REL 1PL IPFV come from lesson   < COP 3SG >+ some boy.PL

{ con blo- || con **cornermark** } me tell me sey   [" ahnahn " sey
{ CONS X || CONS corner   } 1SG tell 1SG COMP [ah COMP

[no   be   you dey   friend dis { so || so || so } boy ?//] I say   [ahn] //
[NEG COP 2SG   IPFV friend   DEM { so || so || so } boy   ?//]   1SG say [ah] //

I   say [who ?//] //
1SG say [who ?//] //

So when we were on our home from extra-mural lessons, some boys cornered
me asked 'Aren't you dating this certain person?' I said ' ah'. I said who?
                                                        [war011_@SP9_021-23]

414..   cornerside

(a)
as de dey hunt you now [who goes dere now ?//] < you now < you go first kporo //
as 3PL IPFV hunt you now [who goes there   now ?//]   < 2SG now < 2SG FUT first pause //

ehen as **ajebo** wey   you be now < na now >+ you { wey be oyibo now || wey kporo }
DISC as bourgeoisie REL 2SG COP now < COP now >+ 2SG { REL COP white now || REL pause }

< you { go first eh || go first look } // [eng what are they saying eng] ?//
< 2SG   { FUT first DISC || FUT first look   } // [eng what   COP 3PL   saying eng] ?//

[eng what are eng] & ?//   shh where you?// position // which one be & ?//
[eng what COP   eng] & ?//   Shh where 2SG ?// position // which one COP & ?//

[eng what are de saying eng] eh ?// we no dey for dat one // as you no fit talk well <
[eng what COP 3PL saying eng] DISC ?// 1PL NEG DEM one //   as 2SG NEG can talk well <

go **cornerside** you one side //
FUT corner   2SG one side //

'As you are being hunted, "who is there'? You'll pause, first. Yes, you white man,
since you are bourgeoisie, you'll pause and try to find what out what is happening . "
what are they saying?" what are..? Keep quiet! Comport yourself! What do you mean
by…? We don't do that here. Since you won't be able to respond appropriately,
they'll take you to a corner'
                                     [P_PRT_05_Ghetto life_PRT_05_P_095-103]

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415. dengepose

    see dem as de dey **dengepose**, na akube   jeans de wear o
    see 3PL   as 3PL IPFV show.off   COP second.hand jean 3PL wear   EMPH
    'See them showing off, they are wearing second-hand jeans'

<div align="right">Naijionary_dengepose</div>

4.3.6.2.5 Adjective from Verb + Noun

416.   Joinbody

(a)   okay quickly < make una still remember sey   [every Wednesday < body matter
    okay   quickly   < SBJV 2PL   still remember   COMP [every Wednesday < body
    matter

   na   im >+ we dey always carry throway una] // we don comot for di
   COP 3SG >+ 1PL IPFV always carry throw.away 2PL] // 1PL PFV leave for DEF

   t- eh gist of **joinbody** matter //
   X DISC gist of   group matter   //

'Okay, quickly you should all remember that every Wednesday, that's when we bring health matters to you. We have moved on from the committee issues."

<div align="right">T_WAZA_07_Self-medication_@Sp280_01-02</div>

(b)
and   " eh " when de still carry joinbody participants of Course Twenty Seven on

CONJ " DISC " when 3PL still carry committee participants   of course twenty seven   on

Monday for   Presido   Villa for   Abuja < Osibanjo con still talk sey
Monday   PREP Presidential Villa PREP Abuja < Osibanjo   CONS still talk COMP

[di   Lake Chad Basin matter na one matter wen e disturb di President for mind
[DEF Lake Chad   Basin   matter COP one matter REL 3SG disturb DEF president PREP mind

{ well |r well } unto sey [oga Presido don dey ginger make dem solve di problem
{ well |r well } because COMP [mister President PFV IPFV eager SBJV 3PL solve DEF problem

eh   wen e   dey affect di region] //
DISC REL 3SG IPFV affect DEF region] //

'and when the committee participants of Course Twenty Seven on Monday at the Presidential Villa in Abuja, Osibanjo still said that the lake Chad basin issue is one issue that greatly disturbs the president because he is very eager for the problem to be solved.'

War_01_D

4.3.6.2.6 Adjective from Phrase

417. **mewityou**

(a) dis work na mewityou work abeg e   no easy
     DEM work COP collaboration work please 3SG NEG easy
     'This work can only be carried out through combined effort please'

Naijionary_mewityou

4.3.6.2.7 Noun from Adjective + Noun[72]

418.   badbelle

(a)
      Your **badbelle** don dey affect you o
      Your jealousy   PFV IPFV affect you EMPH
      'Your jealousy is beginning to affect you'.

Naijionary_badbelle

(b)
di boy get **badbelle**
DEF boy have jealousy
"The boy is jealous.'

Naijionary_badbelle

419.   badeye

(a)   No dey use **badeye** dey look me jor.

NEG IPFV use evil.intent IPFV look 1SG please

"Don't look at me with evil intentions, please'

Naijionary_ badeye

420.   badmind

(a)   Oboy, as you beat di boy show sey you get **badmind** o

bro as 2SG beat DEF boy show COMP 2SG have bad.intent EMPH

'Boy, the way you beat the beat the boy showed that you have bad intentions.'

Naijionary _badmind

(b)
Some oga sabi dey get **badmind** for any worker wey dey progress

Some bosses know IPFV have evil.intent for any worker REL IPFV progress

'Some bosses don't like it when their subordinates progress.'

Naijionary_badmind

421.   badmouth

(a)   Some people dey feel sey some girls never fit see better man marry
Some people IPFV feel COMP some girls never can see good man marry

because de too get **badmouth**
because 3SG too have bad.mouth

'Some people think that some ladies are still unmarried because they are uncouth '

Naijionary_badmouth

(b)

Dis actor own na to act **badmouth** for di film

DEM actor own COP to act bad.mouth for DEF film

'The lead actor's role is be uncouth'

<div align="right">Naijionary_badmouth</div>

422. betterbody

(a)

Everything wey government go try do suppose be for di **betterbody** of pikin

Everything REL government FUT try to suppose COP for DEF welfare of child

'Everything the government is doing should be for the welfare of the child'

<div align="right">Naijionary_betterbody</div>

(b)

Every pikin suppose make e dey enjoy physical, sense and spiritual

Every child should   SBJV 3SG IPFv enjoy physical   sense CONJ spiritual

betterbody wey make sense

welfare   REL SBJV sense

'Children should enjoy the best physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing.'

<div align="right">Naijionary_betterbody</div>

423. Oldmama[73]

shey you no see sey dat **oldmama** fit born your mama?

Q   2SG NEG see sey DEM old.mama can birth 2SG.POSS mama ?

Can't you see that the old woman is old enough to birth your mother?)

<div align="right">Naijionary_oldmama</div>

424. oldpapa

Di **oldpapa** wey dey give us mango don comot

DET old.papa REL IPFV give 1PL mango PFV leave

The old man that gives us mangoes has gone

<div align="right">Naijionary_oldpapa</div>

---

[73] A similar lexical item is *oldpapa*

425. coldwater

> Chest dey pain you, you still dey drink **coldwater**? Stop am jor!
> Chest IPFV pain 2SG 2SG still IPFV drink cold.water ? stop 3SG INTJ
> Your chest hurts and you are still taking cold water? Stop it!
>
> <div align="right">Naijionary_coldwater</div>

426. hotwater

> For harmattan if I no see **hotwater** e better make I no baf
>
> PREP harmattan if 1SG NEG see hotwater 3SG better SBJV 1SG NEG bathe
>
> When it's harmattan, if I can't get hotwater, I'd prefer not to bathe.
>
> <div align="right">Naijionary_hotwater</div>

427. deadbody

(a)
Dem wan bury all di **deadbody** wey Boko Haram kill
3PL want bury all DEF corpse REL Boko haram kill
'They want to bury the corpses of the victims killed by Boko Haram'

<div align="right">Naijionary_deadbody</div>

(b)
For dat war dat year, I see plenty **deadbody**

For DEM war DEM year 1SG see plenty corpse

' During the war that year, I saw so many dead bodies'

4.3.6.2.8 Adjective from Adjective + Noun

<div align="right">Naijionary_deadbody</div>

428. busybody

(a)
Make we no enter disame moto dat wit dat **busybody** person oderwise
SBJV 1PL NEG enter DEF.same car with DEM busybody person otherwise

everyting we talk go reach compound before we reach
everything we talk FUT reach compound before 1PL reach

'Let's not board the same bus with that gossip otherwise she would go about spreading all we talked about before we even get home.'

<div align="right">*Naijionary_busybody*</div>

(b) Di Days dem wey people tink sey na only women be
DEF day.PL PART REL person.PL think COMP COP only woman.PL COP

busybody don pass plenty men dey now wey even sabi am pass women
busybody PFV pass plenty men IPFV now REL even know 3SG.POSS pass women

'The days when women alone were thought to be gossips are over. Now, some men are worse gossips.'

Naijionary_busybody

4.3.6.2.9 Adjective from Adjective + Noun

429.   Fatibobo[74]

(a)   dat **fatibobo** girl don kpai o
DEM fat   girl PFV die EMPH
'That far girl has died'

Naijionary_fatibobo

(b)   E pikin na **fatibobo**
3SG.POSS child COP obese
'Her/His Child is obese'

Naijionary_fatibobo

4.3.6.2.11 Adverb From Demonstrative Adjective + Q particle

430.   daswhy

im fail, **daswhy** e run from class

3SG fail that's.why 3SG run from class

'He failed, that's why he ran from the class.'

Naijionary_daswhy

4.3.6.2.12 Noun from Adjective + Noun[75]

431.   shorttime

Oga come do **shorttime** now, I go do you well
sir   come do quickie now 1SG FUT di you well
'Sir, come let's have a quickie, I'll treat you well.'

Naijionary_shorttime

---

[74] Also fatibumbum
[75] At this point, the etymology of *gbeshiwaka* is contested, however, gbeshi- appears to some sort of adjective, further confirmations are ongoing.

4.3.6.2.13 Noun From Gerund + Noun[76] [77] [78]

432.   Drinkingwater

I dey go fetch **drinkingwater**

1SG IPFV go fetch portable.water
'I'm going to fetch portable water'

Naijionary_drinkingwater

No be dat stream we dey from fetch **drinkingwater** because as di water
NEG COP DEM stream 1PL IPFV from fetch portable.water because as DEF water

no clean na baffingwater we dey fetch for dere
NEG clean COP bathing.water IPL IPFV fetch PREP there
'We don't fetch portable water from that stream, since di water is not clean, we can only fetch water for bathing'

Naijionary_drinkingwater

4.3.6.2.14 Verb from verb + Noun

433.   setcorner

(a)   Politics for Naija na   who sabi **setcorner** pass dey win o

politics PREP Nigeria COP who know double.cross pass IPFV win EMPH
'In Nigerian politics, the winner is the one who knows how to double

(b)   People don tell am sey de go **setcorner** am but   e   no   dey gree kasala go
people PFV tell 3SG COMP 3PL FUT double.cross 3SG NEG IPFV agree problem FUT

burst just now just now
explode just now just now

'He has been told that they'll double cross him, but he doesn't believe it.

---

[76] *Packingstore*, (store) although not found in the corpus, is attested in the language.
[77] Pissingbucket (bucket-like potty) although not found in the corpus is attested to in the language
[78] Féedíng + bóttlè -> fèedingbòttle

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4.3.6.2.15 Noun from verb + adp + verb

434. bendownselect

   (a) **Bendownselect** dey last pass
      secondhand.clothes IPFV last pass
      'secondhand clothes last more'

                                      Naijionary_bendownselect

   (b) e get people wey dey go boutique, e still get people wey
      3SG get people REL IPFV go boutique 3SG still get people REL

      dey go **bendownselect**
      IPFV go secondhand.clothes

      'Some people go to the high end stores, others go to the thrift stores'

                                    Naijionary_bendownselect

4.3.6.2.16 Noun from nominal + Adjective

435. oshofree

   (a) **oshofree** dey sweet sometimes o
      freebies IPFV sweet sometimes EMPH
      'Freebies can be great sometimes'

                                    'Naijionary_oshofree'

   (b)

      Caro, you mean am sey you carry all di fine biros dem wey you bring come
      Caro 2SG mean 3SG COMP 2SG carry all DEF fine pens PART REL 2SG bring come

      do **oshofree** for your friends for my birthday witout sey you
      do freebie for 2SG.POSS friend.PL for 1SG.POSS birthday without COMP 2SG

      keep even one for me wey do di party?
      Keep even one for 1SG REL do DEF party

      'Caro, You mean you actually gave out all those fine biros you brought as freebies at my birthday party without reserving any for me the celebrant?'

                                    Naijionary_oshofree

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45-58,61-62,65-66,69-70,76-81,83-86,88-91,93-98   45-58,61-62,65-66,69-70,76-81,83-86,88-91,93-98 45-58,61-62,65-66,69-70,76-81,83-86,88-91,93-98Ma

4.3.6.2.17 Adverb from Pronoun + verb

436. abeg

> **abeg** < I don tire // life don tire me //
> INTJ < 1SG PFV tire // life PFV tire me //
> Please, I am tired. I am tired of life.
> D_KAD_01@Sp173_108-109

4.3.6.2.18 Interrogative from Pronoun + verb

437. atink

(a)
> e go see us < e go waka pass // naim we say [okay < make e no worry] //
> 3SG FUT see 1PL < 3SG FUT walk pass // then 1PL say [okay < SBJV 3SG NEG worry
>
> **atink** election go come during four hundred level ?//
> QPART election FUT come during four hundred level ?//
>
> 'He'll see us and walk past. Then we said "No worries. Elections will come in four hundred level, won't it?"'
>
> war010_@SP9_022-24

(b)
> I dey go one side o // atink you go dey house ?//
> 1SG IPFV go DEM side EMPH // QPART 2SG FUT COP house ?//
> I dey come just now //
> 1SG IPFV come just now //
> I'm going somewhere. You'll be home right? I'm coming now.
>
> war005@SP7_017-19

4.3.6.2 Endocentric and Exocentric compounds

Naija compounds may be endocentric or exocentric. Endocentric compounds in Naija have the head as the final element. Endocentric and excocentric compounds may be found in type 1 and type 2 compound classes. Table 4. 12 provides instances of endocentric and exocentric compounds in Naija.

Table 4.12 Endocentric and exocentric compounds in Naija

Endocentric Compounds	Exocentric compounds
Vexmoney	noticeme
coldwater	Turninggarri
Purewater	badbelle
Baffingwater	Longatrot
craseperson	
hardman	
igbomade	
drawsoup	
deadbody	
Jobman	
bushmeat	
worldpipo	
sufferhead	
badeye	

4.3.7 Conversion

Without changing its shape or form, words in Naija may change their lexical category. This is referred to as conversion. When words in Naija undergo this process, the co-

occurrence relations may vary between the derivatives. Conversion is a very productive process in Naija[79] [80] [81] [82].

In an initial survey of the words in the Naijonary[83], conversion, 15.6% of the words belong to at least two word classes and 1.0% belong to three word classes, and 0.2% belong to four word classes.

348.   longatrot

(a)   Pikin wey get **longatrot**_{NOUN} need make de help am, or na prison go end am.

Child REL have greed need SBJV 3PL help 3SG CONJ COP prison FUT end 3SG

A child that is greedy needs help, or he'll end up in prison

Naijionary_longatrot

(b)   Why you still dey ask make e give you extra, you be **longatrot**_{ADJ} o

Why 2SG still IPFV ask SBJV 3SG give 2SG 2SG COP greed EMPH

Why are you still asking for extra, you are greedy!

Naijionary_longatrot

---

[79] In a very interesting encounter I had with an *okada man*, He said:

Government no important make we dey wear helmet
Government NEG important SBJV 1PL IPFV wear helmet
'The government didn't make it compulsory for us to wear helmets.'

It was very remarkable because I hadn't heard important used in that way, and at the same time, I perfectly understood what he said.
This experience is shared by Naija speakers regularly.
[80] Potopoto may also be a verb in Naija, *I potopoto my eyes* – lyric from Victony
[81] Hiss may also be a verb in Naija *Person dey greet you, you dey **hiss** am*
[82] Byforce may also be a verb and an adjective. *If you want am **byforce**_{ADJ} you no go see am. De don **byforce**_{VERB} everybody to come di rally*.
[83] This was from data retrieved from Naijionary 30/1/2022. It has undergone several reviews since then.

349.   Yeye

(a)   Make I go fight am? Make e use me do **yeye**NOUN abi? You try, baba. You try

SBJV 1SG fo fight 3SG SBJV 3SG use 1SG do nonsense right? 2SG try sir 2SG try

I should go to fight him? So that he'll disgrace me, right? Great idea, sir. Great idea

Naijionary_yeye

(b)   De give you money make you buy car, you carry money go buy **yeye**ADJ jalopy

3SG give 2SG money SBJV 2SG buy car 2SG carry money go buy bad jalopy

You were given some money to buy a car, but you bought a decrepit car!   Naijionary_yeye

(c)   Na so e dey yeyeVERB di pikin cos no be im born am.

COP so 2SG IPFV treat.badly DET child because NEG COP 3SG born 3SG

He/She has been maltreating the child because he/she is not the biological parent.   Naijionary_yeye

350. shege[84]

(a)
You tink sey na because you carry big car you go make me fear? Make we go station, you go see **shege**NOUN.

2SG think COMP COP because 2SG carry big car FUT make 1SG fear ? SBJV 1PL go station 2SG see misfortune

You think that because you have an expensive car you'll intimidate me? Let's get to the police station, you'll have a very unfortunate experience.

Naijionary_shege

(b)
Comot here **shege**INTJ!

Get.out of here bastard

Get out of here! Bastard.

Naijionary_shege

4.3.8 Grammaticalization

Certain content lexical items in Naija may be assigned functional roles and both lexical items: the content lexical item and the functional lexical item may co-exist in the lexicon. However, in the case of Naija, the speakers of the language tend to provide cues to distinguish between the lexical items. This process of creating functional words out of content words is referred to as grammaticalization.

4.3.8.1 Con (<come)

Con derived from *come*(531), has been discussed in section 4.3.3.1.8   as a discursive modal that marks consecution. *Con* occurs as an AUX, and may occur before another AUX or before the 'main' verb as in (532) below.

---

[84] Randomly testing that words can move categories and still be meaningful. I tested the *shege* example with Deborah Benjamin. I used *shege* as a verb; something we hadn't both heard anyone do. The sentence was
Dat guy shege me, aswear
DEM guy disgrace(?) 1PL I swear
That guy disgraced me, I swear.
I asked her what she thought she meant and she understood. This possibility abounds for Naija.

Naija speakers tend to distinguish between come_{verb} /kom/ and con /kõ/ con_{aux.} This distinction appears to be mostly consistent in the spoken corpora used.

351.
    we get women programme // if you **come** < you go enjoy am { well |r well } //
    1PL have women programme // if 2SG come < 2SG FUT enjoy 3SG { well |r well } //
    We have a women's programme. If you come, you'll really like it.
                                           D_ABJ_GWA_02@Sp3_108-109

352.
    so people con dey see us together |c **con** dey tink sey

    so people CONS IPFV see 1PL together |c CONS IPFV think COMP

    [ehn ehn dem dey date //= de dey do someting o] //

    [eh eh 3PL IPFV date //= 3PL IPGV do something EMPH] //

    So people kept on seeing us together, and then kept thinking "they are dating, they are doing something.

                                           D_IBA_07@Sp368_044

4.3.8.2 take (<take)

*Take*_{AUX} derived from Take _{VERB} has been grammaticalized in Naija to function as an instrumental auxiliary. It serves to introduce verbals that demonstrate how things are done. *Take*_{AUX} may occur before another AUX (533) or before the verb. Naija speakers also make the distinction between TAKE_{AUX} / te/ and TAKE_{VERB} /tek/, this is also mostly consistent in the spoken corpus.

353.
    Or when di time wey body dey wan tell dem sey
    Or when DET time REL body IPFV want tell 3PL COMP

    [mtschew o boy < e be like sey [e don tay small wey
    [hiss   EMPH boy < 3SG COP like COMP [3SG PFV time.past small REL

    you **take** dis ting o]] //
    2SG take DEM thing EMPH]] //

    Or when the time comes and then their bodies tell them "Boy, it seems it has been a while since you took this thing".
                                           M_LAG_25@Sp243_43

354.   make una dey do dis one **take** dey remember me //

          SBJV 2PL IPFV do DEM one AUX IPFV remember me //

          You all should remember me by this

                                        P_IBA_41_M_035

4.3.8.3 Make

Make in Naija, derived from Make$_{verb}$, has grammaticalized to a function as a jussive. In this case, it is used to express a desire that an action takes place. Naija speakers also distinguish between MAKE$_{SBJV}$ /me^H/ and MAKE$_{verb}$ /mek^F/.

355.
          sometime < I dey **make** am wit dat tomatoes //

          sometime < 1SG IPFV make with DEM tomatoes //

          Sometimes < I make it them with tomatoes.

          JOS_12_051

356.   naim I say [**make** I just arrange di rice make di rice make sense you know] //

          then 1SG say [SBJV 1SG just arrange DET rice SBJV DET rice make sense you know] //

          Then I decided to cook to the rice so the rice will turn out well.

          M_WAZK_09@Sp295_12

4.3.8.4 Im

IM$_{PART,}$ derived from IM$_{Pro}$ (Section 4.3.2) is grammaticalizing as the calcified complement of the copula na in the double cleft construction in Naija. There are traces of agreement in person and number between Cleft 1 and Cleft2 of the double cleft in Naija. However, from the corpus, it is apparent that the agreement relations between cleft1 and cleft2 are bleaching in cleft2. Thus, IM$_{part}$ emerges as the complement of the copula of *na* in cleft 2 irrespective of the complement of *na* in Cleft1.

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357.

okay I go try you |c but one tin be sey [for our house o
okay 1SG FUT try 2SG |c CON one ting COP COMP [PREP 1SG.POSS house EMPH

< any man wey we marry < na **im** >+ dey wash clothes //=
< any may REL 1PL marry < COP 3SG >+ IPFV wash

 na im >+ dey fetch water] //
COP 3SG >+ IPFV fetch water] //

Okay I'll try you but the thing is that in our house, any man we marry, he is who'll wash the clothes he is also the one who'll fetch water

D_IBA_07@Sp369_119

358.

because all of us < na **im** >+ dey discuss di issue together dis afternoon //

because all of 1PL < COP 3SG >+ IPFV discuss DET issue together DEM afternoon //

because we were all discussing the issue this afternoon

D_BEN_17@Sp49_44

359.

na my mama >+ give me // before she die < na **she** >+ give me //

COP 1SG.POSS mother >+ give 1SG // before she die < COP she >+ give me //

It was my mother who gave me. Before she died she was the one who gave me.

D_IBA_05@Sp364_039-040

360.

some of us wey don marry < na **we** >+ dey make our men dey look outside //

Some of us REL PFV marry < COP 1PL >+ IPFv make 1PL.POSS IPFV look outside //

'Some of us who are married, we are the ones who make our men look outside'

D_LAG_36@Sp255_21

Furthermore, the compound *na+im* has grammaticalized to yield an adverbial, that marks consecution. (603)

361.
    e shoot di man for leg **naim** he carry di man for inside boot **naim** e

    3SG shoot DET man PREP leg then 3SG carry DET man PREP inside booth then

    pump im motor full < naim e carry di man comot //

<div align="right">War012_@SP10_166</div>

362. Carry

Carry_{ADV,} derived from Carry_{Verb} is grammaticalizing as an adverbial in Naija. Naija speakers make the distinction between Carry_{ADV,} and Carry_{Verb} with a diiference in the prosodic value of both lexical items. See (58) (a) and (b) and Figure 4.2 and 4.3

4.3.9 Acronymization

In Naija certain words are created from the initial letters of other words. These created words are referred to as acronyms (Nwankwegu, 2013:86).

363. I.t.k
    Your **i.t.k** too much.

    2SG.POSS know.it.all too much

    Your know-it -all attitude can be overbearing.

    Naijionary_itk

o.y.o./OYO

364.   My broder, dis life na **o.y.o**. for every man

    1SG. — (NSC_2021, My dear brother, every man for himself in this world we live in.)

    Naijionary_o.y.o.

OYO may be pronounced as letters or as a word.

4.4 Summary

Borrowing, clipping, blending, affixation, reduplication compounding, conversion, grammaticalization and acronymization have been studied. Every lexical category in Naija shows some degree of elaboration, some more than others. Grammaticalization as a process only produces functional lexical item, but the other processes can yield lexical items in other categories. Borrowing, conversion, compounding and reduplication are the more productive processes. Acronymization, grammaticalization, blending, clipping and affixation are the less productive processes.

The next section will provide a general summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary

The three research questions are addressed by the analysis in chapter four. I will emphasize these queries:

1. What is the behaviour of lexical items in Naija

2. What is the behaviour of lexical categories in Naija

3. What are the processes involved in Lexical elaboration

The answers to these questions revealed the following:

Lexical items in Naija are primarily English lexified with about 57.56% of words. Other sources of lexical items which include Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Edo, Kalabari, Estako, Efik, Portuguese, French and Hindi, accounts for 14.54% . Words that are grammatically Naija account for the remaining 27.9%. These words referred to Naija lexical items are outputs of morphological processes that have yielded lexical items that are not in the lexicon of any of the etymological sources. Which includes lexical items such as *soak and travel*, *ajebutter, oversabi*, and *jejely*. This work also reports that Naija lexical items may contrast in lexical pitch which may result in different nuances of meanings. The patterns of lexical pitch show a tendency towards an initial high pitch in monosyllabic lexical items. However, words that are bisyllabic and higher, Naija lexical items tend towards and initial non-high pitch. Naija Lexical items are multifunctional. Lexical items may occur in different lexical categories without any overt change in the morphology.

Following the Universal Dependency framework, the lexical items identified in Naija include: Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions, Ideophones, Interjections, Interrogatives, Complementizers and Interrogatives. Nouns in Naija do not have any distinct morphological inflections that distinguish them. Nouns may

be preceded by determiners, cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, possessive adjectives. Nouns in the noun phrase may precede particles (such as *sef, ma, ma sef*) and relative clause markers. Pronouns in Naija may occur in position nouns may occur in the Noun Phrase. In the verb phrase, verbs in Naija may be preceded by Adverbs and auxiliaries. Verbs in the verb phrase may precede adverbs. From this corpus, this wok identified a previously unidentified copula *get*. Adjectives in Naija may premodify or postmodify nominal elements. Adjectival comparison is achieved primarily using *pass*. Equality is achieved using *like* and *reach*. *Well well, die, and too* are some of the lexical items used to express the idea of large measure, and the expression of small measure is achieved by negating the adjectives used to express large measure. Adverbs in Naija may occur in the verb phrase or as an adverbial phrase. Adverbs in Naija may premodify or postmodify verbs. Adverbs may premodify other adverbs, and may also precede auxiliaries. *Very, very very, wella, and well* are adverbs that may be used for intensification. Time adverbials may include lexical items such as *taytay*, *tay,* instanta. Lexical items such as *jejely, sha,* and *smesme* may be used express manner and *soso* may be used to express frequency. Adverbial equality, like adjectives may be expressed using *like*, and it is usually preceded by the imperfective *dey.* Also, just like in adjectival comparisons, adverbial-more comparatives may the achieved using *pass,* while adverbial-less may be expressed by negating *pass*, or by the *no + reach* configuration . *But, or, abi, wit* are the coordinate conjunctions in Naija. Subordinate conjunctions in Naija may be simple or complex. Simple subordinate conjunctions include lexical items such as *sotay*, *because*, *abi*, *unto*. Complex subordinate conjunctions include: *because sey, unto sey,* and the calcified *sake of sey*. *For* is the general purpose preposition in Naija, but it may also co-occur with other prepositionals and yield forms such as *for under, for up*, *for inside, for back. Gbagam, gbam, and Piam piam piam*, are some of the ideophones in Naija. Interjections in Naija may be monosyllabic, bisyllabic or phrases. Interrogatives in Naija, include the English etymological *when, where, who how,* and the compound *wetin*. There are also some interrogatives in Naija that have etymologically Yoruba origins, they include: *shebi*, *shey*, nko, *abi*, the etymologically Hausa *ba* and the etymologically Urhobo interrogative interjection *shuo. Sey* is the complementizer in Naija and *wey* is the widely used relative clause marker, but in some instances, Naija speakers from Edo may use mey as a relative clause marker.

Borrowing/lexification is a morphological process of lexical elaboration. When lexical items have been borrowed, they require some modification which may be phonological or semantic. Phonological modification may include sound approximation and/or prosodic modification. For words that are etymologically English , Naija modifies both sounds and the prosody However, prosody of etymologically English words are maintained if the words are monosyllabic. Words lexified from indigenous sources have the tendency to not undergo any phonological adaptation, and remain the same. The borrowed words may also under semantic shift or semantic broadening. In semantic broadening, the meaning of the word from the etymological source is maintained but some extra nuance of meaning is added. Words like *hustle, airforce,* and *baff.* are instances of words that have undergone semantic broadening. In Naija, etymologically English words like *dress,* gas*, bone,* and *sky* have been given meanings not related to any meanings from the source, these lexical items and others like them have undergone lexical shift. Clipping also occurs in Naija as a lexical elaboration strategy. Parts of words are truncated from various lexical sources to yield lexical items from Naija. Words like *demo* (from English – demonstrate), *dagbo* (from Yoruba – dagboru), *kolabo (*from collaborate). In the events where the result of the clipping process ends in a closed syllable, an epenthetic vowel is inserted at the end to ensure that the word ends in an open syllable e.g. *tanda*, (from English – stand). Also, blending, the conjoining of two truncated words may be combined to form a single word. In Naija, this process may yield words such as *comot* (from English, come + out), *wunjure* (from English, wound and injure), *flenjo* (from English, flex + enjoy).

Affixation is productive in Naija. Affixes in Naija may be prefixes or suffixes. Some of the prefixes in Naija include: [dis-] *dis-virgin*, [re-] *re-ginger*, [mis-] *mis-yarn*. Some of the suffixes in Naija include [-a] *well-a* , [-e] *arrange-e*, [-i] *abeg-i*, [-ie] *black-ie*. These affixes are derivational in the sense that they yield new lexical items, but they are not all category changing. Reduplication in Naija yields lexical items from various categories, including nouns, adverbs. Reduplicatives in Naija yield a consistent non high prosodic value (low or rising) on the first syllable e.g *farfar, kobokobo*. However, two lexical items *wewe* and *lastlast* were noted that were exceptions to this rule. Compounds in Naija can be classified in two broad groups. The first type of compounds which we refer to as type 1 compounds have an initial high prosodic value, while type 2 compounds have an initial non high prosodic value. There are more compounds in type 2 than in type 1. Compounds in Naija may yield lexical item such as *badeye, badbelle, drinkingwater* and *shorttime.*

Naija may permit lexical items to function in more than one lexical category without any overt change in their morphology. This process referred to as conversion, is productive in Naija. 15.6% of words long to at least two word classes, 1.0% of words belong to three word classes and 0.2% of words belong to four word classes. There are indications from data not in the corpora uses, that the numbers may be higher. There are also certain content words in Naija, that have been transformed to function words. These words include $CON_{aux,}$ (from $COME_{verb}$), $TAKE_{AUX}$ (from $TAKE_{verb}$), $MAKE_{SBJV}$ (from $MAKE_{verb}$ and IM_{PART} (from IM_{pro}).Naija speakers tend to distinguish the content words from their functional counterparts, pronouncing them separately. There are also instances in Naija where acronyms may function as lexical items, some instances in Naija include: *oyo* and *i.t.k.*

5.2 Conclusion and Contribution to Knowledge

Scholars have stated that Naija has over a hundred million speakers. To adequately reach this teeming population with information, it is very important that they are reached in the language they are most comfortable with. Thus, studying the organic methods speakers of Naija employ to create words in their everyday lives helps us to understand the tendencies of the language better and also to provide material for linguists who are engaged in ventures like terminology creation, translation and the like.

It will also be useful to language scholars to continue to investigate the language, from various perspectives and lenses. This will improve our general understanding of creole languages in particular, but also of the processes languages employ in their early stages.

5.3 Recommendations

This work has described in detail the behaviour of Naija at the word level. In further research, the motivations and direction of the described behaviour should be investigated. Further studies on the phonological (especially as it relates to tone), syntactic and semantic processes are also needed. Also, this work shows and agrees with many others that pitch is distinctive lexically. The study of this phenomenon from a post-lexical perspective may also reveal interesting properties of the language. However, another work of this kind may be needed soon. This is because as an oral language, the tendency for change is higher, therefore newer data will need to be collected to ensure that we are updated regarding the behaviour of lexical items in Naija and the processes involved in their elaboration.

5.4 Contributions to knowledge

The relevance of this work rests most importantly on its systematic exposition on the strategies Naija speakers employ to create words in Naija, and its exposition on the morphology of Naija. This work provided evidence to show the lexical prosodic patterns of Naija in general, and in particular, the lexical prosodic patterns of lexicalized lexical items from various language sources. This work has employed a data-rich perspective. The extensive use of examples shows the reach of the corpora used. This also continues a tradition that introduces the reader to the corpus, and allows for the reader from the extensive examples to follow the argument from the context of usage. This is done to avoid instances of nonce borrowing and accidentals.

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Elan/Dialogue/Benin001_D.eaf

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_01

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_01

trans@SP3   { a- || l- || as } if sey na children >+ na im una dey talk to //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_02

trans@SP3 #

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_02

trans@SP4 my broder Efe < I tank { you |c and " eh " our people wey dey house

        } //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_03

trans@SP4 eh like my broder dey talk e say [eng he beat him hollow eng] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_04

trans@SP4 wetin bad bad //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_05

trans@SP4 as { we || de } dey condemn sey [yes < { Oby Eze- || Oby "eh"

       || Oby Ezekwesili } no suppose to attend < na so >+ all di oder

       people wey dey dere X &//

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_06

trans@SP4 okay Efe < make I bring one ting come out //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_07

trans@SP4 our Ambasador to South Africa < { no be dere >+ e dey || { e || e

       || e } || "eh " (since January |c or since last year } no be dere

       e dey } ?//

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_03

trans@SP3 #

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_08

trans@SP4   why we recall am back ?//

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_09

trans@SP4   and di guy { true |r true } come back //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_10

trans@SP4   so dis government officials now wey don go dere < (" eh "

      because " eh " na because < { na international community >+ na im

      dey do am |c no be South Africa } //) de say [see oyibo //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_04

trans@SP3   as far sey [na dat Land >+ we no dey X] &//

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_11

trans@SP4 X //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_05

trans@SP3   if you meet person like me < di only way wey you go take tell your

      fader sey [" ah " daddy dis ting wey { you pain me || do me } < e

      pain me //] < atimes di way you take go dey near am before < e con

      see sey you dey dey close to am > den di fader go con know sey [ah

      dis ting wey be like sey wey I do dis my pikin e pain am //] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_12

trans@SP4   e pain am //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_06

trans@SP3   but { if you just carry your fader car you destroy am |c " eh "

      you enter parlour destroy television } < na im be sey [you dey

      rude now] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_13

trans@SP4   #

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_07

trans@SP3   so we no go subscribe sey [eh South Africa tings wey dey here make

      we begin dey destroy dem //= make we dey fight dem] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_08

trans@SP3   no //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_14

trans@SP4   at all //= at all //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_09

trans@SP3   we no go fit subscribe to am //+ but if anywhere dey where we be

      sey we bin dey meet < sey [where you dey //] ?//

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_10

trans@SP3   [I dey house //]

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_15

trans@SP4   #

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_11

trans@SP3   [" ah " we get meeting here o //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_12

trans@SP3   [o boy < I no dey attend dis meeting today //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_13

trans@SP3   [wetin una do my people so < e dey we pain me well well //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_14

trans@SP3   [I no go fit because I no expect sey [as we be friend reach < you
        go fit con treat me like dis] //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_15

trans@SP3   " ha " e pain me //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_16   Benin001_@SP4_17

trans@SP4   " hm " e pain me //   #

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_16 Benin001_@SP3_17   Benin001_@SP3_18

trans@SP3   no o //   make we solve am o // no //= no //= no //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_19

trans@SP3   [I no expect dis one //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_20

trans@SP3   I tink na di best way to tell friend //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_21

trans@SP3   sey [my friend, dis ting wey e be sey you do me so <+ e pain me
        //] //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_22

trans@SP3   no be as una don already tell us sey we boycott den we con see some
        of una people //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_23

trans@SP3   den you dey &//

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_24

trans@SP3   di one wey dey pain me now < e dey one by dey polish am //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_25

trans@SP3   talk sey [dose &] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_18   Benin001_@SP4_19

trans@SP4   yes //   #

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ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_26

trans@SP3   as far sey [una don make dat pronuncement] < whoever attend < na

       bad ting >+ e do //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_27

trans@SP3   make we punish am //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_20

trans@SP4   my brother Efe < why de no first talk [sey all dis people still go

       ] ?//

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_28

trans@SP3 #

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_21

trans@SP4   why de first bring out dis woman name ?//= only dis woman name ?//

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_22

trans@SP4   why de no being out di rest people name ?//

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_23

trans@SP4   wey e be like sey {na || na || na || na || na } tori people >+

      now na im go go find out sey ewoo, many oder people go > again //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_24

trans@SP4   some of our people < de no understand di meaning of dis " eh "

      xenophobic attacks //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_25

trans@SP4   na when >+ { you dey someplace |c and people wey dey dat area get

      dis kind hatred for you //+

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_26

trans@SP4   { maybe sey [you be foriegner] |c and de dey believe sey [

      everyting where de dey suppose to enjoy na you con dey enjoy am] }

      //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_27

trans@SP4   you wey come from anoder country just come < you carry deir work //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_28

trans@SP4   food wey dey suppose dey eat < na you >+ dey eat am //= money wey
            de suppose to get < na you >+ con dey carry am //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_29

trans@SP4   so { dat v- || dat hatred } " ehen " < na im >+ be di partial
            meaning of dat word //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_30

trans@SP4   so < as South Africa dey talk sey [{ most of our Nigerians don
            collect all dier work wey { de want || de suppose work } |c most of
            di Nigerians don do everyting wey de suppose to do } < na dat one
            >+ na im make dem dey attack dem sey [okay " o " < de no want { N-
            || Nigerians } for dere] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_31

trans@SP4   but like we dey talk < abeg < una wey dey destory deir tings here <
             make una know sey [some of di partial " eh eh eh " connections
            Nigerians too < na im >+ get am //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_32

trans@SP4   like dat Shoprite <+ Nigeria too get investment inside //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_33 Benin001_@SP4_34   Benin001_@SP4_35

trans@SP4   I want beg //   we na Nigerians // yes < e dey pain us //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_36

trans@SP4   but no matter how e go pain us reach < make we bear am because {
            you do me |c I do you } { no- || dis matter } & //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_37

trans@SP4   tank God sey [everybody don condemn am] //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_38

trans@SP4   even US don condemn am //

ref@SP4   Benin001_@SP4_39

trans@SP4   But wetin dey pain me be sey [some of our officials { de dey

secretly dey hide deir people |c dey X oder people } //

ref@SP3   Benin001_@SP3_29

trans@SP3   make we take dis call > Good morning //

Elan/Dialogue/War001_D.eaf

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_001

trans@SP1   { country man |r and country woman } we don come for di news for

four O'clock for Rize FM //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_002

trans@SP1   my name na Okiemute Efekuje Obahor //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_001

trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_003

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_002

trans@Sp2   And na me >+ de dey call [Precious Obalaja] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_004 War001@SP1_005

trans@SP1   una welcome // #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_003

trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_006

trans@SP1   " eh " di Nigeria National Petroleum Coperation wen we know sey [

dem be NNPC] don drop one news wen make some country broders say [

" yes " < dis people na deir life be transparency and

accountability] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_007

trans@SP1   why people con talk like dis be sey [de say [dem don drop one new

        face wey you go { take dey see |c and take know } everyting about

        dem] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_008

trans@SP1   de say [also < di Nigeria's equity share of crude oil wen dey

        produce for { before |r before } < de don also upgrade di level] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_004

trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_009

trans@SP1   people con see sey [ninety eight percent sey [na im >+ de don

        move up to]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_010

trans@SP1   de say [dis new pattern wey de bring so < de say [na to make

        people see how much de dey sell di price of petroleum products]]

        //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_011

trans@SP1   where di people carry di petroleum products go //= who carry am //=

        when e carry am //= how e take carry am //= where e drop am put //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_012

trans@SP1   de say [everyting go dey clear like TV wen be colour television]

        //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_013

trans@SP1   de say [why dis one go good < e go make everybody know sey [NNPC

        no do { wuruwuru |r and jugujugu } for inside any business] //

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ref@SP1   War001@SP1_014

trans@SP1   wen dem come go front < dem con talk sey [dem demsef now < na {

      dem two life || wit EFCC } < na im >+ bible see when e con talk sey

      [can two walk together ?//]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_015

trans@SP1   but NNPC answer di question say [yes < sey [{ dem |c and di EFCC

      } want work togeder make dem for dey check di way wen petroleum

      matter dey walka for inside we country]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_016

trans@SP1   anybody wey e want do { ojugunu |c and wuruwuru } sey [de go catch

      dem] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_017

trans@SP1   naim make dem < de con de work togeder with EFCC //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_005

trans@Sp2   di Federal Government don talk sey [de go make sure sey [dem {

      recharge |r and reginger } di Lake Chad Basin > all so dat { di

      development |c security |c and betalicious } life marras for di

      region go see life again] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_018

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_006

trans@Sp2   spokesman to di Vice President wen e be Laoluwa Akande < na im >+

      drop dis yarning o wen e recieve eh some people for National

      Defence College wen e be NDC //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_007

trans@Sp2   and " eh " when de still carry joinbody participants of course

      twenty seven on monday for Presido Villa for Abuja < Osibanjo con

still talk sey [di Lake Chad Basin matter na one matter wen e

disturb di President for mind { well |r well } unto sey [oga

Presido don dey ginger make dem solve di problem eh wen e dey

affect di region] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_008

trans@Sp2   meanwhile < Vice President Osibanjo come hail di participant of NDC

course 27 unto sey [di presentation of deir research work wen dem

do " eh " bring some kind fresh ideas and thinking to help Federal

Government see light to take work for di region] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_009

trans@Sp2   as Federal Government go work wit { oyibo partners |c and friends }

to take settle di issue //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_010

trans@Sp2   countries wen e join di lake chad basin members na { Nigeria |c

Chad |c Niger Cameroon |c and Central African Republic } //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_011

trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_019

trans@SP1   Governor Emeka Ihedioha wen bin dey run tings for inside Imo state

as di governor for di state < imsef don go for wetin oyibo call [

[eng behind clos-, behind closed doors eng]]

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_020

trans@SP1   (dem close door //= dem lock door //= dem do everyting for inside

//)

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_021

trans@SP1   (people no see wetin de do //) //+

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ref@SP1   War001@SP1_022

trans@SP1   im go meeting wit President { Buha- || Buha- || Muhammudu Buhari }

        for inside Abuja wen de take lock di door so make anybody no see

        dem //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_023

trans@SP1   wetin e say de discuss ?//

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_024

trans@SP1   e say bible say [eng Let dere be light eng] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_025

trans@SP1   dat time < light con show //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_026

trans@SP1   why e con be sey [for inside e own Imo state < light never show

        well] ?//

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_027

trans@SP1   na dat ting >+ con pain am { well |r well } wen con meet di presido

        for inside Imo //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_028

trans@SP1   oder matter still happen wey make am carry di matters go meet di

        presido for inside Abuja //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_029

trans@SP1   one oder one be sey [{ infrastructure |c schools |c building |c

        all di tings wey dem build } na jugunu] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_030

trans@SP1   so < im go meet di presido sey [make e make dem for inside di

        level] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_031

trans@SP1   based on sey [people sef < dey hungry for inside di state] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_032

trans@SP1   im con see am sey [no be only im go solve dis matter o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_033

trans@SP1   di presido wey e dey sitting for on top of di country say [im go

      join im hand] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_034

trans@SP1   na im >+ make am peacefully carry di matter go meet Presido for

      inside Abuja //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_035

trans@SP1   e say [wen de con talk < plenty matter wen de discuss wen e sure

      sey [di agriculture sector for inside Imo < e say [di good tings

      go cross out or affect am]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_036

trans@SP1   e say [im tell Presido sey [for agriculture < di ting for Imo

      state < e no dey work] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_037

trans@SP1   sey [e con tell { di || di } Presido sey [abeg < make e help dem

      o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_038

trans@SP1   e say [im alone < no go fit do dis one] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_039

trans@SP1   because di poverty level wey e dey see so < e say [na only God >

      na im >+ go fit help dem o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_040

trans@SP1   but you know sey [when God want help somebody < e go use one man

      take help dem] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_041

trans@SP1   naim e con tell presido sey [e be like sey [na im >+ be deir

Moses o wen e go come help dem for inside di one wey de dey so for

inside Imo state] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_012

trans@Sp2   South West governor don yarn sey [di new security style for di

zone go torchlight di security marras for di region] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_042

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_013

trans@Sp2   { di chairmo of South West Governors forum |c and Governor of Ondo

State wen be Rotimi Akeredolu } wen e yarn as spokesman for di

governors dem talk sey [di technical committee don submit wetin de

conclude sey [go make sense based on di security challenge and dem

go start work next month]] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_014

trans@Sp2   based on anoder matter wen e con still burst out < di Ondo state

police command yesterday don talk sey no group unto armed Fulani

vigilante " eh " dey operate for di state //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_015

trans@Sp2   spokesperson of popo for dat side deny dis talk talk wen dey fly on

air based on yarnings wey one human rights lawyer wen de dey call

Dr kayode Ajilowu drop for social media //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_016

trans@Sp2 im post pictures of Fulani vigilante group wen e jam for highway

fro Akoko area of di state //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_017

trans@Sp2 according to oga human rights lawyer < him say [him confront dem

one on one] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_018

trans@Sp2 naim de con clear am sey [like dis so " eh " { dem be Fulani

vigilante group |c and dem dey } work to assist popo reduce di {

kidnappings | and killings } for di state] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_043

trans@SP1 { my broder |c my sister } time na six minutes wey don carry load

leave di leg wen be four o'clock //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_019

trans@Sp2 #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_044

trans@SP1 na di rize news for inside pidgin english naim we dey read for

inside our language //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_045

trans@SP1 make we carry { our eyes |c our journey |c and motor } dey drive go

for inside foreign news //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_046

trans@SP1 wen we reach for south Korea naim we march brake //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_047

trans@SP1 wen we reach dere < naim we con hear sey [South Korea don release

kpon kpon kpon] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_048

trans@SP1   be like sey [na gun shot > de take dey warn some people for Russia

        wen de carry a 50 military aircraft for inside South Korea today]

        //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_049

trans@SP1   South Korea defence minister say [di people no respect di law wen

        de put for dere naim make dem take di gunshots take make dem know

        sey [{ we dey watch una |c una don dey { dis- |c disobey } our law

        o]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_050

trans@SP1   but when we carry news go ask for Russia < Russia talk sey [no o <

        dis story na lie from di pit of hell] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_051

trans@SP1   we no go do anyting like dat for inside South Korea //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_052   War001@SP1_053

trans@SP1   who tell dem ?//

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_054

trans@SP1   when de come tell us < we con still go ask again //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_055

trans@SP1   South Korea con tell us sey [okay < make dem tell us di direct

        place where even di Russian airplane don come today //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_056

trans@SP1   de say [e come o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_057

trans@SP1   di { airs- || plane } e go for di Dokto Kashima side { wen || di

        } island where Japanese people dey stay //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_058

trans@SP1   de say [even South Korea people sef < de say [de see am too]] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_059

trans@SP1   naim make de con send deir military go warn de sey [make una no try waka again] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_060

trans@SP1   but when we dey try to find out more de say [later] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_061   War001@SP1_062

trans@SP1   any how e dey < we go give una more news // #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_020

trans@Sp2   " ehn " still on matters wey dey tear for jand < di US government don introduce one kind fast track deportation process wey go make sure sey [people wey di immigration go affect no go fit see chance branch immigration court " eh " before de go discharge go dier country] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_021

trans@Sp2   according to di new law < migrants wey no fit prove sey [" eh " de don US for steady more dan two years go immediately deport go back to dier country and like so like dis so di law don start today] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_022

trans@Sp2   like dis too < di American civil liberities " eh " union wey be ACLU don talk sey [lailai < de no go gree o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_063

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_023

trans@Sp2   sey dem go carry di matter go court //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_024

trans@Sp2   as oder human rights groups don still talk put sey [" eh " dis eh

       loss so go affect hundreds of thousands of people .

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_025

trans@Sp2   some analysts too don chuk mouth put talk dem talk sey [Trump dey

       want use style put immigration control agenda as one of im main

       agenda unto 2020 re-election campaign] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_026

trans@Sp2   based on sey [{ di US immigration police don dey comot now |c and

       people want use mouth finish am sef } { especially when e affect ||

       " eh " people wen e affect } for di US detention centre wen e share

       southern border with mexico] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_027

trans@Sp2   oga sece of homeland security con talk sey [" eh " dis rule so <

       if dem look well < e go still help solve some problem wen e dey

       arise for di border] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_064

trans@SP1   make we go find out wetin dey happen inside sports news //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_065

trans@SP1   na football news > na im >+ we want give //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_028

trans@Sp2 #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_066

trans@SP1 and na Arsenal > na im >+ dey for di news as we don hear sey [

       everyting { don dey set |c e bright |c and e fair } for di side of

       one boy wey come from Spain < im name na { Carly || Dani Ceballos }

       ] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_067

trans@SP1   " ehn " im dey play for inside Real Madird //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_068

trans@SP1   wetin be news wey we come hear be sey [im want waka comot for

            inside Real Madrid < e want go for Arsenal football club] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_069

trans@SP1   di boy wen be Ceballos { na twenty two years |c but e don play

            fifty six times } for inside { dem si- || im club } for Real Madrid

            //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_070

trans@SP1   im join Real Madrid before 2017 //+ but as e be so < e no dey see

            time dey play ball di way e like for inside Real Madrid //+ and di

            way de take dey run tings for inside so > [eng everybody can go if

            you want to go] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_071

trans@SP1   so < di boy sef don learn im way sey [make e go play ball for

            inside { where e go fit stay |c where de go fit celebrate am } //.

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_072

trans@SP1   naim Unai Emery con come o < say [de want give am way out] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_073

trans@SP1   de want buy am come Arsenal football club //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_074

trans@SP1   but we hear sey [no be only Arsenal want sign am o because

            Tottenham Hotspur dey look di way wey de want sign am] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_075

trans@SP1   but for di one wey con concern di news pass < de con talk sey [na

            Arsenal > na im >+ don near di way to sign am for inside football

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comot for Real Madrid] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_076

trans@SP1   di man wey play { before |r before } for Real Betis < de go look am

      sey [im go fill di space of Aaron Ramsey wen e pack im load comot

      for Arsenal go siddon for inside Juventus] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_077

trans@SP1   Arsenal don yarn sey [na di time to sign plenty plenty players >

      na im >+ de dey so] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_078

trans@SP1   di coach sef say [de don open di searchlight < de dey beam di

      windows < even deir video everyting dey work for inside Arsenal <

      dey find players for everywhere in di world] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_079

trans@SP1   de don still spy one player for St. Etienne wey im name na William

      Saliba > im na eighteen years //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_080

trans@SP1   Arsenal like to catch dem young sha //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_081

trans@SP1   e say dis boy < { de go send am come Arsenal football club |c but e

      be like sey [dem go pay twenty seven million pounds] wen e be

      like sey [Arsenal dey tink for inside deir head sey [di money < e

      too much]]]

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_082

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_029

trans@Sp2   " eh " unto Ariaria Market tings for di business side //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_030

trans@Sp2   President Buhari on Monday don witness di signing of Electricity
         road map agreement between { Federal Government of Nigeria |c and "
         eh German based eh company wey de dey call Siemens } for State
         house for Abuja //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_031

trans@Sp2   news people for Nigeria don let us know sey [di agreement " eh "
         na di result of di meeting wey President Buhari hold wit German
         Chancellor wey de dey call Angel Merkel on " eh " August thirty
         first for two thousand and eighteen] //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_032

trans@Sp2   Director General of di Bureau of Public Enterprise wen be BPE wen
         de dey call Alex Okoh < na im >+ sign for federal Government //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_033

trans@Sp2   while Joe Kaiser wen e be Global Chief Executive officer na im >+
         sign for Germany //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_034

trans@Sp2   Oga Presido con still drop yarnings after di signing of di
         agreement sey [make { Siemens |c and oder people } wen e get
         mouth for di power sector " eh " make dem work hard to make sure
         sey [dem achieve { seven thousand megawatts of steady power supply
         by twenty twenty one |c and Eleven thousand megawatts } by twenty
         twenty three]]//

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_083

trans@SP1   XX no pass so //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_035

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trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_084

trans@SP1   { broder |c and sister } for inside four o'clock //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_085

trans@SP1   " eh " my name Okiemute Efekuje Obahon //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_086

trans@SP1   #

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_036

trans@Sp2   and na me >+ de dey call Precious Ogholaja //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_087

trans@SP1   and you know sey [if you fail < nobody send you o] //

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_088

trans@SP1   but if you succed < everybody send you //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_037

trans@Sp2   #

ref@SP1   War001@SP1_089

trans@SP1   una doh o //

ref@Sp2   War001@SP2_038   War001@SP2_039

trans@Sp2   send you //   #

Warri Elan/Monolgue/War002_M.eaf

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_001

tx@SP7   na one kind matter wey be sey [Government go follow up based on

tradition]

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_002

tx@SP7   " you understand " because wetin dey happen for di Warri so " eh "

di government suppose dey put & //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_003

tx@SP7   because di leader in question so < na de dey change di Warri

Packaging //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_004

tx@SP7   so, all dose leaders wey dey do anyhow make Government sef still help

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_005

tx@SP7   us push dem out because all of dem < { na be || na dem } >+ be di

Warri problem //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_006

tx@SP7   " you understand " why me dey tell you < like di youths for Warri

now < no Level //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_007

tx@SP7   so nowhere to go //= nowhere to stand //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_008

tx@SP7   because di Warri matter na one kind matter wey be sey [if you no dey

among di caucus < you no go fit dey follow up di tradition] //+

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_009

tx@SP7   but if you dey among di caucus < you go dey follow up di tradition //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_010

tx@SP7   " ehen " so < na im be di Warri matter { for w- || for dis Warri }
          environs //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_011

tx@SP7   so like me < like wetin dey happen for di Warri < di youths dey lack
          of work //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_012

tx@SP7   con even go to my extent sey no hope again //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_013

tx@SP7   begin dey { follow di Warri design || and di Warri design } no get
          end //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_014

tx@SP7   wetin end di Warri desgin na deadbody issue //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_015

tx@SP7   so make Government sit to the Warri aspect //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_016

tx@SP7   den make dem confirm [eng what is going on inside eng] di Warri
          matter //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_017

tx@SP7   " you understand " because Warri no suppose be like dis //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_018

tx@SP7   but di bad eggs wey we get for di front side < { na dem >+ dey || na
          dem >+ dey } fuck deir hand up inside di Warri matter //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_019

tx@SP7   Di bad eggs < sey [dey fit filter deir brain work comot now " eh "
          everyting go clear well] //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_020

tx@SP7   " you understand " so < de need to use filter filter dem de go know

  sey any every Error of { s- || stinking } dirty //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_021

tx@SP7   " you understand " so < na im >+ be di issue of { di Warri youth |c

  and di Warri   elderly people |c and di Warri environ } //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_022

tx@SP7   so < na im >+ be di whole matterp //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_023   war002@SP7_024

tx@SP7   you dey understand so > original // so < na di matter >+ be dat //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_025

tx@SP7   so < everyting < na im >+ I want make dem just run am //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_026

tx@SP7   because make everyting dey go amicable for di Warri matter < " you

  understand " //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_027

tx@SP7   how de go fit take run am //= how de do fit take make tings //= put

  tings in order inside where don scatter //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_028

tx@SP7   you know sey [load wey scatter so " eh " to follow dey arrange am <

   e dey take some little time] //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_029

tx@SP7   so { de suppose || de go put } force inside make de fit take package

  am well //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_030

tx@SP7   so < na just di whole matter be dat //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_031

tx@SP7   and wetin I still see inside < make " eh " government sef still put

    eye //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_032

tx@SP7   no be sey [de go { leave am for one side |c leave am for two side }

    //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_033

tx@SP7   make goverment { f- || put focus } //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_034

tx@SP7   make government put eye inside di system > so make dem monitor all

    dose fairly used people //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_035

tx@SP7   so na just di whole story >+ be dat > " you understand " //

ref@SP7   war002@SP7_036

tx@SP7   hmm //

ELAN FIles/SMD001.eaf

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_001   SP20@SMD001_002
SP20@SMD001_003

tx@SP20_SMD001   (Music //)   Sai Baba //   (Music //)

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_004

tx@SP20_SMD001   una know sey [" ehn " { when pikin do bad ting you go

        discipline am < because e dey bible sef [[eng { spare di

        rod |c and spoil di child } eng]] |c but when pikin do

        better ting " ehn "   di full community must hear }] //

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_005

tx@SP20_SMD001   pikin carry first for class < you go tell your friend sey [

        my pikin carry first o] //

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_006

tx@SP20_SMD001   na prestige //

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_007

tx@SP20_SMD001   XX < na one of my friend //+ na my next door neighbor //

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_008

tx@SP20_SMD001   anything Buhari no dey sweet am //

ref@SP20_SMD001 SP20@SMD001_009

tx@SP20_SMD001   now < e enter train from Agbaru go Abuja > two-Five //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_010

tx@SP20_SMD001   two thousand Five Hundred //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_011

tx@SP20_SMD001   and no be sey [na yeye train o] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_012

tx@SP20_SMD001   di train fine pass all dose London train //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_013

tx@SP20_SMD001   when I come even see di train sef < I come dey even dey want

dey discourage weder dis Canada sef eh < & //+ because I don

dey see sey [hope dey dis country] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_014

tx@SP20_SMD001   Amechi < na you dem send dis message < you deliver because

di train fine //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_015

tx@SP20_SMD001   we see am //= [eng we saw pictures eng] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_016

tx@SP20_SMD001   XX // XX start to dey do like Clarance Peters dey video { kwa

|r kwa |r kwa |r kwa |r kwa |r kwa } //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_017

tx@SP20_SMD001   when Buhari do good thing < make we still praise am //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_018

tx@SP20_SMD001   " eh " many of una now go say [na Jonathan > na im >+ start

          am] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_019

tx@SP20_SMD001   e easy to complete project wey dem start ?//

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_020

tx@SP20_SMD001   [eng do you know di numbers of abandoned projects in dis

          country eng] ?//

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_021

tx@SP20_SMD001   transportation don crash //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_022

tx@SP20_SMD001   { XX XX |c and Federal Government } < if una like make
una

          no open Osubi Airport again //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_023

tx@SP20_SMD001   because you XX XX < you dey talk sey [" eh " na only you
dey

          pay money] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_024

tx@SP20_SMD001   but Federal government from source < we don hear sey [eng

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how can you just bring money without them knowing eng] ?//

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_025   SP20@SMD001_026

tx@SP20_SMD001   you just bring bill come // X //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_027

tx@SP20_SMD001   den < you con dey do make de dey sorry for you //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_028

tx@SP20_SMD001   dey speak english //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_029

tx@SP20_SMD001   [eng yeah < I have a dream //+ it's supposed to be a oil hub

       eng] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_030

tx@SP20_SMD001   oga < leave di hub make di airport dey work make people dey

       use am //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_031   SP20@SMD001_032

tx@SP20_SMD001   well < Buhari < thank you // you don crash di price //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_033

tx@SP20_SMD001   before person spend { six thousand || seven thousand } < & //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_034

tx@SP20_SMD001   drop even { dey || dey } di station dere sef //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_035   SP20@SMD001_036

tx@SP20_SMD001   for Lokoja //   wey go carry you go Abuja > four thousand //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_037   SP20@SMD001_038

tx@SP20_SMD001   you don reach your house for Abuja // you no undestand ?//

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_039

tx@SP20_SMD001   if na Maitiama < like { 4K |c 5K } //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_040

tx@SP20_SMD001   den wetin I want dey waste my money dey pay { forty-four

                  thousand || sixty } when even air sef < if e burst for dere

                  < no mechanic //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_041

tx@SP20_SMD001   thank God we go use train //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_042

tx@SP20_SMD001   at least if train just do { one kind |r one kind } < we fit

                  burst window discharge //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_043   SP20@SMD001_044

tx@SP20_SMD001   na normal level // some dey say [train no safe] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_045   SP20@SMD001_046
SP20@SMD001_047

tx@SP20_SMD001   road safe ?//   abi na train // where want safe ?//

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ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_048   SP20@SMD001_049

tx@SP20_SMD001   water safe ?//   enter anyone //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_050

tx@SP20_SMD001   just pray give dem oyibo make dem oyibo Jamuli sey [Oyibo

          Jamuli < as we dey enter so < [Its de ne re da wa its] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_051

tx@SP20_SMD001   no come dey come dey talk de say anything //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_052   SP20@SMD001_053

tx@SP20_SMD001   Buhari you try // for dis train wey you do so < you try //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_054

tx@SP20_SMD001   and I happy sey [na people wey dey curse you > na im >+ dey

          enjoy dis train] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_055

tx@SP20_SMD001   Amechi < you try //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_056

tx@SP20_SMD001   [eng come to my service dis sunday < I will lay my hands on

          you guys eng] //

ref@SP20_SMD001   SP20@SMD001_057

Respondent   **1:**

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Efefacdji Okenmute obahor_

You gree for dis recording?   _Yes_

     I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
     at _Rize fm 106 7_

     We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

     You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

     Signature: _7/09/2019_

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _7/09/2019_

Place of recording: _Ri3 fm Radio 106.7_

Type of recording

☐ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☑ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _if ulas ok if glhrdll_
xhr local News at 4hrdll

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age? _39yrs_

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☑ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth _Ufami Delta stale_   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Tam_   State: _Delta state_

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: _ufami Town_   State: _Delta state_

When you start to dey stay here? : _From Brth till Date_

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _Journalism_

Remarks _I har b bela in Broadcasting For 14 yars_

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Englis   L2: Pidgin   L3: Urhobo   L4:
Which language your papa dey speak?
L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3: Urhobo   L4:
Which language your mama dey speak?
L1: ——   L2: ——   L3: ——   L4:
Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?
L1: English   L2: Urhobo   L3:   L4:
E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?
L1: Ghanaian   L2:   L3:   L4:
Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?
L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3: Urhobo   L4:
How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ❑ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?
L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Urhobo   L4:
Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?
L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:
Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?
L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:
Which language you dey use talk to your area people?
L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:
Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?
L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:
Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?
L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:
Remarks:_____

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Respondent II

NAIJA — Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Precious Oghalaja_

You gree for dis recording?

     I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project

     at _Yes_

   · We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   . No   ☐

     You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No   ☐

     Signature: _[signature]_

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _7 – sept 2019_

Place of recording: _Warri_

Type of recording

☐ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☑ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks:

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Warri_   State: _delta_

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: _warri_   State: _delta_

When you start to dey stay here? : _Since birth_

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _Broadcaster_

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

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L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Ogba   L4: Itsekiri

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: English   L2: Itsekiri   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Ogba   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Ogba   L4: Itsekin

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

Respondent III

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N° _Benov_

Wetin be your name ? _____

You gree for dis recording?
  I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
  at _____

  We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ❑

  You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ❑

  Signature: _____ Efe OSafomwan (I·TV)

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _6 – 9 – 2019_

Place of recording: _Benn_

Type of recording

❑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ❑ radio broadcasting

❑ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ❑ Under 15   ❑ 16-30   ❑ 31-45   ☑ 46-60   ❑ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ❑ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Benin_   State: _Edo_

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village:_____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : _Birth_

How you go school reach?

❑ informal ❑ primary ❑ secondary ❑ undergraduate ☑ graduate ❑ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _Presenter_

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Edo   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Edo   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2: Edo   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ❑ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Edo   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3: Edo   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Edo Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Edo   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3: Edo   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIIA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Anjska yuur_

You gree for dis recording?
   I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
   at _Yes_____

   We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No   ☐

   You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☐   No   ☐

   Signature:
   _____

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _6 – 9 – 2019_____

Place of recording: _Benn_____

Type of recording

☐ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   :_____

Other participants : file(s) n°_____

Remarks:
_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☑ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Benin_____State:_____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village:____Same_____State:_____

When you start to dey stay here? :_____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☑ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other :_____

Wetin be your work? _Boat Engineer   and Broadcaster_

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Edo   L2: [illegible]   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Edo   L2: English   L3: Pidgin   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Ishan   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: English   L2: pidgin   L3: Edo   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ❑ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Edo   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Edo   L2: pigin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Edo   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Daniel O. Nwabunma_

You gree for dis recording?

I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
at _____Man around Town ITV/Radio._

We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

Signature: _Onwumeofe_

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _06/09/19_

Place of recording: _ITV Radio_

Type of recording

☐ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☑ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Nkusu-Nzu/Delta_   State: _Agbor_

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: _Benin_   State: _Edo_

When you start to dey stay here? : _Since Birth_

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _Educationist na I be_

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

English

L1: English   L2: Olukumi   L3: Aka   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: English   L2: Olukumi   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Ika   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: French   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3: Olukumi   L4: French

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☑ well   ☐ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Olukumi   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: ————   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: Strictly English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

Respondent 6

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NAIJA — Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _____ Enatema Esvama moyan _____

You gree for dis recording?
   I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
   at __ yes _____

   We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☐   No ☐

   You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No · ☐

   Signature:

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: __ 06-05-19 __

Place of recording: __ Sewo __

Type of recording

☐ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☑ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: Benin _____ State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: Benin _____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : Benin _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☑ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? Senior CeS attendant &   Broadcaster

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

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L1: pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Edo   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Edo   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2: pidgin   L3: Edo   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Sea See me, See you_ –

You gree for dis recording?
  I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
  at _____

  We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

  You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

  Signature: _[signature]_

_____

1. Recording metadata
  Date of recording: _Warri   07-09-2019_
  Place of recording: _Warri_

  Type of recording
  ☑ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting
  ☐ other   : _____
  Other participants : file(s) n° _____
  Remarks:

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?
  Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☑ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60
  Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female
  Place of birth _Lagos_   Where de for born you?
  Town/village: _____ State: _Lagos_
  Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?
  Town/village: _Warri_   State: _Delta_
  When you start to dey stay here? : _1980's_
  How you go school reach?
  ☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____
  Wetin be your work? _Businessman_
  Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile
  Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Itsekiri   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: English   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: English   L2: Itsekiri   L3: Pidgin   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Itsekiri   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? female   1

You gree for dis recording?
   I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
   at _____

   We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☐   No ☑

   You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

   Signature: ⓅⒹ

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1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _____ 08-07-2019

Place of recording: Ugheli

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

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2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☑ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☑ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: Warri _____ State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: Ughelli _____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : 2015 _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? Teaching _____

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: pidgin   L2: English   L3: Isoko   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: urhobo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Isoko   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Isoko   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❏ small   ❏ a dey manage   ❏ well   ☒ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Isoko   L2: pidgin.   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? Onome (Gender 2)

You gree for dis recording?

I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project at __Yes__

We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes: ☐   No ☑

You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes: ☑   No ☐

Signature:

_____Ch._____

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: __Ughelli__ / __Ughelli__ O

Place of recording: _____

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks:

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: __Ughelli__ _____ State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: __Ughelli__ _____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☑ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _____

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

Scanned by **TapScanner**

L1: Pidgin   L2: Ukhobo   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Isoko   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Ukhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Ukhobo   L3: Isoko   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? ___Anthony___

You gree for dis recording?
    I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
    at _____

    We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

    You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

    Signature:

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: ___08-07-19___

Place of recording: ___Ughelli___

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: ___Ughelli___   State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: ___Ughelli___   State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : ___Birth___

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? ___fashion designer___

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?   Scanned by **TapScanner**

L1: Urhobo   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Urhobo   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Urhobo   L2: Pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Urhobo   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

□ small   □ a dey manage   □ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English.   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? ___Black___

You gree for dis recording?
    I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
    at _____

    We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

    You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

    Signature:
    _____

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _____

Place of recording: ___Ughelli___

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : ___08 – 09 – 19___

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks:
_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: ___Ughelli___   State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: ___Ughelli___   State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : ___Birth___

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? ___Teach (mathematics)___

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Urhobo   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Urhobo   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3: —   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: pidgin   L2: English   L3: Urhobo   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

□ small   □ a dey manage   □ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: English   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: English   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _____ Bishop _____

You gree for dis recording?
   I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
   at _____ Yes _____

   We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

   You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

   Signature:
   _____ Musagrace _____

1. Recording metadata
   Date of recording: _____ 8 / 07 / 2019 _____
   Place of recording: _____ Benin _____
   Type of recording
   ☑ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting
   ☐ other   : _____
   Other participants : file(s) n° _____
   Remarks:
   _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?
   Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☑ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

   Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

   Place of birth   Where de for born you?
   Town/village: _____ Oredo _____   State: _____ Edo State _____
   Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?
   Town/village: _____ Benin _____   State: _____
   When you start to dey stay here? : _____ Birth _____

   How you go school reach?
   ☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☑ graduate ☐ other : _____
   Wetin be your work? _____ Pastor _____
   Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile
   Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: _English_   L2: _Edo_   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: _English/Pidgin_   L2: _Pidgin_   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: _English_   L2: _Pidgin_   L3:   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ☑ well   ❑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: _English_   L2: _Pidgin_   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: _English_   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Michedl_ _ugiabe_

You gree for dis recording?
  I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
  at _____ yes

  We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

  You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

  Signature:
  _____

1. Recording metadata
Date of recording: _1—09—209_

Place of recording: _Benn_

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   :_____

Other participants : file(s) n°_____

Remarks:
_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☑ 46-60   ☑ over 60 _42_

Sex :   ☐ male ✓   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village:_Benin_   State:_____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village:_Benn_   State:_____

When you start to dey stay here? : _Birth_

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other :_____

Wetin be your work? _Pensioner_

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ❑ well   ☑ well well

Remarks: _____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Edo   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Edo   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Edo   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: ~~Edo~~ pidgin   L2: ~~pidgin~~ Edo   L3:   L4:

Remarks: _____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _____ Emma praise _____

You gree for dis recording?
   I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
   at _____

   We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

   You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☐   No ☐

   Signature: _Emmapraise_

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1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _10/07/2019_

Place of recording: _Sapele_

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Sapele_ _____ State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: _Sapele_ _____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : ___ Birth _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _MC & Artisan_ _____

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Itsekiri   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Itsekiri   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Itsekiri   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: —   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: pidgin   L2: Itsekiri   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

❑ small   ❑ a dey manage   ❑ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: pidgin   L2: Itsekiri   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA — Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Destiny_

You gree for dis recording?
     I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
     at _____

     We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes: ☑   No ☐

     You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes: ☑   No ☐

     Signature:
     DESTINY

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _10/09/2019_

Place of recording: _Sapele_

Type of recording
☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting
☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _Collins_

Remarks:
_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☑ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex: ☐ male   ☑ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?
Town/village: _Sapele_   State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?
Town/village: _Sapele_   State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☑ primary ☐ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _____

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: urhobo   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

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4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2: urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2: urhobo   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _____ Collins _____

You gree for dis recording?
I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
at _____

We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

Signature: _____

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: ___ 10 – 9 – 19 _____

Place of recording: ___ Sapele _____

Type of recording   as   al 3 98
☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° ___ Destiny _____

Remarks: _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: ___ Sapele _____   State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: ___ Sapele _____   State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? ___ monitor _____

Remarks_____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

Scanned by TapScanner

L1: Pidgin   L2: Yoruba   L3: Edo-Bin   L4: English

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Yoruba   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Edo   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3: Yoruba   L4: Edo-Bini

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

NAIJA — Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _Nelson_

You gree for dis recording?
    I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
    at _____

    We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐
    You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

    Signature:
    _____

1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: _10 — 9 — 2019_

Place of recording: _Sapele_

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks: _____

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☑ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: _Warri_ _____ State:_____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: _Sapele /Benin_ _____ State: _Delta /Edo_ _____

When you start to dey stay here? : _2016_ _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☑ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _____

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

L1: Ijaw   L2: Pidgin   L3: Usekiri   L4: English

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Ijaw   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Usekiri   L2: Pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1: No   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Usekiri   L3: Ijaw   L4: English

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Usekiri   L3: Ijaw   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2: ~~Ijaw~~ Usekiri   L3: Ijaw   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

Wetin be your name ? _____ Denny Alans _____

You gree for dis recording?

I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project

at _____

We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ☐

You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No ☐

Signature:

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1. Recording metadata

Date of recording: 10 – 9 – 2019

Place of recording: Sapele

Type of recording

☑ monologue   ☑ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting.

☐ other   : _____

Other participants : file(s) n° _____

Remarks:

_____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?

Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☑ 16-30   ☐ 31-45   ☐ 46-60   ☐ over 60

Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female

Place of birth   Where de for born you?

Town/village: Kano _____ State: _____

Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?

Town/village: Sapele _____ State: _____

When you start to dey stay here? : At 28 years ago _____

How you go school reach?

☐ informal ☐ primary ☐ secondary ☑ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____

Wetin be your work? _____ IT Student (multichoice) _____

Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile

Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?

Scanned by TapScanner

L1: Pidgin ·   L2: English   L3: -   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: A'· Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin ·   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

Respondent 19

NAIJA – Sociolinguistic Questionnaire   FILE N°

wetin be your name ? _____ Lady J. _____

you gree for dis recording?
  I agree to participate in the recording conducted by the NaijaSynCor Project
  at _____

  We fit use your name for di recording?   Yes : ☑   No ·☐
  You gree say make researchers dem for use your recording? Yes : ☑   No   ☐
  Signature: _____

1. Recording metadata
  Date of recording: _10 – 9 – 19_____
  Place of recording: ___Sapele_____
  Type of recording
  ☐ monologue   ☐ dialogue   ☐ radio broadcasting
  ☐ other   : _____
  Other participants : file(s) n° _____
  Remarks:
  _____

2. Personal information :   Wetin be your age?
  Age group: ☐ Under 15   ☐ 16-30   ☑ 31-45   ☐ 45-60   ☐ over 60
  Sex :   ☐ male   ☐ female
  Place of birth   Where de for born you?
  Town/village: ___Sapele_____ State: _____
  Place of residence (if different from the place of birth)   Where you stay?
  Town/village: ___Sapele_____ State: _____
  When you start to dey stay here? : _____
  How you go school reach?
  ☐ informal ☐ primary ☑ secondary ☐ undergraduate ☐ graduate ☐ other : _____
  Wetin be your work? ___Business Woman_____
  Remarks _____

3. Linguistic profile
  Which language you first sabi speak for small pikin?   Scanned by TapScanner

L1: Ùsekìnì   L2: pidgin   L3: English   L4:

Which language your papa dey speak?

L1: Ùsekìrì   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language your mama dey speak?

L1: Ùsekìrì   L2: pidgin   L3:   L4:

Which language (dem) dey take teach una for school?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

E get any oder language wey you learn outside house and school?

L1:   L2:   L3:   L4:

Make you arrange your language as you sabi dem reach?

L1: Pidgin   L2: Ùsekìrì   L3: English   L4:

How you sabi speak Pidgin reach?

☐ small   ☐ a dey manage   ☐ well   ☑ well well

Remarks:_____

4. Language Practice

Which language you dey use talk to your papa and mama ?

L1: Ùsekìrì   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your broder and sister?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your pikin dem ?

L1: English   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to your area people?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk to di people wey you follow work?

L1: Pidgin   L2:   L3:   L4:

Which language you dey use talk for any government office, bank, police station?

L1: Pidgin   L2: English   L3:   L4:

Remarks:_____

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