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The purpose of this paper is to examine the current linguistic situation of Nigerian Pidgin English based on the parameters of pidgin languages established by sociolinguists. This paper will aspire to see whether it follows the general features of pidgin languages as its name implies. The reasons for this study are the necessity of seeing whether its name accurately fits the description of the language. Moreover, the determination of its relation, in terms of proximity, to Standard English is another rationale for the study. My hypothesis is that Nigerian Pidgin English has passed the linguistic stage of a pidgin being that it barely follows the main features of pidgin languages. This is probably because it presents a more complex stable set of norms despite not being standardized.

English-based pidgins

In comparison to standardized varieties of the English language, there are others that are still in the struggle for institutional recognition due to several reasons. Many of these disputed varieties are the ones developed from the contact of the English language with other languages during its global spreading from the 17th century onwards. These present-day English-based languages, which are termed pidgins and creoles, show important linguistic features from places in Africa and Asia in which the British colonial power once settled. Wells (1982: 562) defined a pidgin as a “makeshift form of communication developed between groups of speakers of different languages.” Also, Todd (1990: 1) stated that “a pidgin is a marginal language which arises to fulfil certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language”. With the passing of time, the definition appears to be the same, as Bell (2014: 79) has stated that “a pidgin is a language that is created when groups who lack a common language are in ongoing contact. It has a limited vocabulary, simplified structures and no native speakers who

learn it as a first language.” As these languages are a mixture of several languages in contact, degrees regarding how much the final product is influenced by one or the other account for the terms of ‘superstrate’ and ‘substrate’. Bell (2014: 79) explains that the main language in the mix is called the superstrate. This language, which is usually the main contributor of most of the vocabulary, is also called the lexifier. In contrast, the substrate languages are the ancestral languages of the peoples involved in this linguistic mix. These substrate languages make more contributions to the grammar of the pidgin in question. The reason for this relation of importance between the superstrate and substrate is that, as communication was to be made possible especially among several Europeans and several other Africans, Holm (2000: 5) has seen it as a sort of power dynamics that explains why African items could not exceed the number of English words and as a result impede communication: “Usually those with less power (speakers of substrate languages) are more accommodating and use words from the language of those with more power [...] although the meaning, form and use of these words may be influenced by the substrate languages.”

Due to the existence of several pidgins globally and the huge differences amongst them, two main categories have been proposed based on historical, linguistic and geographical factors as Holm (2000) points out. These two categories are English-based Atlantic pidgins/creoles and English-based Pacific pidgins/creoles. He states that the Atlantic group, which was established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during slave trade, consists mostly of plantation creoles of the regions of West Africa and the Caribbean area. On the other end is the Pacific group, which was largely established in the nineteenth century. Holm (2000: 92) further explains: “[t]he Pacific group consists of pidgins that are structurally quite different from the Atlantic creoles because of the different typology of substrate languages.” On the Atlantic end, the most outstanding ones

include the Jamaican patois, the Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth NPE), while on the Pacific is Papua New Guinea's Tok Pisin. NPE itself is found in a subgroup of English-based Atlantic pidgins and creoles which is West African Pidgins. This category includes the pidgins and creoles spoken in current West African countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Southern Cameroon. Out of these, Nigeria is said to "be the most strongly Anglicized" (Schneider 2007: 205). As languages are dynamic, pidgins have been studied based on the continual complexity they tend to display with the passing of time. For this reason, a classification based on complexity has been established for study and research purposes (Mesthrie 2000: 280-281):

- A **jargon** (pre-pidgin)- has relatively unstable structure, is composed of limited vocabulary and is frequently augmented by gestures.
- A **stable pidgin** (usually just labelled 'pidgin') is one which has a recognisable structure and fairly developed vocabulary, but which is in practice limited to a few domains.
- An **expanded pidgin** is one which has developed a level of sophistication of structure and vocabulary and is being used in many domains, including interpersonal and domestic settings.
- **Creoles** are languages which developed out of pidgins.

Regarding creoles, Bell (2014: 79) claims that, like pidgins, they are "created when groups who lack a common language are in extensive contact. It has a full vocabulary and complex grammar and has native speakers."

Features of English-based pidgins

Holm (2000: 290-291) grouped findings and features under lexicosemantics, phonology and syntax parameters. Meanwhile Mesthrie (2000: 290-291) gathered linguistic peculiarities under the aspects of pidgin vocabulary and grammatical structure. Other authors, such as Bell (2014: 79-80) mention previous aspects, even though without the specification of categories, and contribute more details related to syntax. Todd (1990: 14) found out that it could be clearly seen that English-based pidgins have undergone a reduction of the grammatical devices employed. Wells (1982: 562) and Holm (2000: 5) both agree that these languages (pidgins) are mainly characterised by reductions—either in morphology or phonology, as Bell (2014: 79) states. In other words, necessary grammatical resources such as inflections found in the superstrate language tend to be dropped. Mesthrie (2000: 291-292) explains that verbal markers and other necessary traits such as suffixes found in Standard English (henceforth SE) tend to be dropped. And as these inflection markers are dropped, this author observes that tense “has to be inferred from context [...] or is expressed by temporal adverbs...” On a lexical note, Holm (2000: 5) and Bell (2014: 79) state that they display reduced language and, for this reason, the words are more polysemous than in the standardised varieties of the superstrate language, while Mesthrie (2000: 280) observes that another main characteristic of these languages is that “they draw vocabulary items derived from these languages” in the mix although at different degrees. Regarding phonology, Bell (2014: 80) states their phonological system tends to be simpler. This is usually seen in the spelling of the words in these languages. And in relation to syntax, Trudgill (2002) and Bell (2014) agree that there is little subordination.

Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE)

Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), which according to Schneider (2007: 208) stands as “the candidate for national language, at least on the affective level”, is the counterpart of the standardized form of English used in Nigeria. Like most of other English-based pidgins, its origins lie on slave trade. Due to its nature, NPE holds positive and negative views among the Nigerian population. Some of the negative views (for instance, “NPE is adulterated English”) have been portrayed by Akande and Salami (2010: 82). On the other hand, Egbohware (2003) has called for the revaluation of NPE as the National Official Language. Reasons for this include the idea that it is neither totally British (imported) nor an originally indigenous (African) language. These reasons make it ‘neutral’ at a first glance for the over 250 extremely different peoples and over 400 languages amalgamated in the multilingual country. The roles of NPE have been shown by several studies that include those of Schneider (2007), who claims that the uses of NPE complement the spheres in which English (the official language) dominates. In terms of users, Akande and Salami (2010) found out that a high number of Nigerian graduates, professors and professionals employ this language in relaxed settings such as at home, amongst friends, and at social gatherings. Regarding its linguistic aspects, less has been written. As seen in Huber (1999 cited by Schneider 2007: 203) has observed some important and outstanding features of this language. These features, however, do not exclude the generic features of pidgin Englishes mentioned above. They are as follows:

- a) *na* as an equating copula, in cleft sentences and in focus constructions.
- b) *de(y)* as a locative copula.
- c) *de/di* as a progressive marker.
- d) *make* as a causative or imperative marker.
- e) *we(y)* as a relativizer.

In relation to the first three features highlighted above, Holm (2000) offers explanations. He talks about them in three sections he identifies as *equative be*; *locative be*, and *highlighter be*. Huber's *na* is explained by Holm (2000: 199) as the *equative be*, as "a true copula in the Latin sense of the word joining two others i.e. a subject and a complement as in *Mary is my sister*." Furthermore, he observes that in English-based Atlantic creoles, the same item *na* serves as what he terms 'highlighter', "[a] morpheme that emphasizes the word it occurs next to like English '*it's*'" (Holm 2000: 201). He also hints that the origin of this item could be the Yoruba¹ language. Regarding the locative copula *de(y)*, Holm (2000: 199) suggests that it comes from the English adverb *there*. This word in NPE would function as the English *be* but when referring to place in a sentence.

To carry out the examination of NPE, a total number of 15 written articles with approximately 3900 words in NPE have been compiled from the website of the *BBC News Pidgin*. Most of these articles, which have been extracted from the website's homepage, were mainly published very recently in September 2018. This digital news platform was launched in 2017 with the aim of providing local and international news and current affairs to the region of West Africa in this language because, according to Bilkisu Labaran, in an article² published by the BBC, the editorial lead of the new BBC service says "it's an informal lingua franca. It is a language that really unites people and cuts across all sorts of barriers - ethnic, regional and socio-economic." The reasons for the use of this source of data are as follows. Pidginized forms of European languages are hardly institutionalized and for this reason they usually remain on an oral level. Nonetheless, the *BBC News Pidgin* offers authentic written pidgin English. Overall, the articles are quite understandable and easy to follow for those familiar with the language. Moreover, they

¹ A large ethnic group that originates in the Southern West of present-day Nigeria.

² "BBC starts Pidgin digital service for West Africa audiences" Retrieved October 15, 2018 from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-40975399>.

are based on real life events since being a newspaper they contain everyday topics such as science, politics, technology, fashion, health, sports, crime, religion and international news. Also, the website is public and therefore virtually accessible to everybody. Considering the BBC is known worldwide and enjoys global prestige, the articles published under its signature are rather reliable.

Aspects of language that include morphology, lexis, spelling and syntax will be primarily dealt with in this paper through the analyses of these features in these articles on the basis of the analytical features described above. By this, I will see whether the observations made by experts are found in NPE. Regarding the grammatical features, attention will be firstly given to the simplification observed in the prepositional system of NPE. Secondly, lexical verbs and especially the copular verb *be* will be examined. The generalised feature of linguistic reduction observed has accounted for the focus on prepositions and verbs in this paper. So, for the sake of an easier reading, the extracted instances will be given in full sentences that will be also translated literally into Standard English. Also, they will be tagged [T1]-[T15] for referential purposes. Regarding vocabulary, emphasis will be placed on the lexical units of substrate languages and on how there may be different spellings of words derived from the superstrate language and that in effect could impede their recognition. Therefore, as the peculiarities of these spelling features will be highlighted, some pronunciation aspects will be inevitably mentioned when analysing this point. In the case of syntax, attention has been given to sentence order and its degree of complexity. In the analysis, this paper will also look out for recurrent traits or other characteristics of NPE that may not have been mentioned by experts.

Analysis of NPE features in *BBC News Pidgin* news texts

A. Grammatical features

The simplification and minimisation of grammar that can be observed in NPE is mainly found in prepositions and verbs.

1. The preposition *for*

The prepositions designated for place and time found in SE are reduced to *for*. Therefore, this preposition in NPE (in bold) is normally valid for all circumstances in which SE would require another preposition of place or time.

- i. *Di researchers report **for** di journal Open Science say di goats wey dem use for di study just waka straight go **for** di foto wit happy faces.* [T1]

The researchers reported *in* the journal Open Science that the goats that were used for the study just walked straight *towards* the photo[s] with happy faces.

In this first case, *for* appears to substitute the SE *in* for place.

- ii. *Nigeria election join bodi Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) don announce say di result of di Osun state governorship election **for** 2018 na 'inconclusive'.* [T4]

Nigeria Election alongside Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) have announced that the result of the Osun state Governorship Election *in* 2018 is 'inconclusive'.

In this second case, *for* appears to substitute SE *in* for time.

- iii. *INEC returning officer Professor Adeola Afuwape announce **for** live TV say main opposition party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) get 254, 698 votes while di candidate of di ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) party get 254, 345 votes.* [T4]

INEC returning officer Professor Adeola Afuwape announced *on* live TV that [the] main opposition party- Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) got 254, 698 votes while the candidate of the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) party got 254,345 votes.

In this third case, *for* appears to substitute SE *on* for place.

(See more examples in Appendix II)

2. Verbal structure

In the case of verbal simplification, at a first glance the infinitive forms of verbs have been found along all the articles. However, a steady pattern of verbal conjugation has been noticed. This pattern shows that NPE has progressive and perfect verbal markers alongside a future simple marker. The word *dey* tends to act as the SE auxiliary *be* while *don* works as the SE auxiliary *have*. The word *go*, when not used as the main verb, appears to be a substitute for the SE *will* or *going to*. These NPE auxiliaries *dey*, *don* and *go* are also simplified to the point that they do not show either persons or tense. Also, as the verbal system has been simplified to eliminate verb endings, it has also been observed that the infinitive form of a verb could refer to the present simple as well as the past simple. For negative sentences, *no* is added before the main verb or the auxiliary. In the case of interrogative clauses, it is more frequent to find them formulated in an SVO order, unlike SE, in which an inversion of the subject-verb occurs. Moreover, interrogative clauses do not tend to show SE auxiliary ‘do, does, did’. I have summarised this in Table 1 below.

	Continuous tense	Perfect tense	Future tense
Structure:	<i>dey</i> + (v-inf.)	<i>don</i> + (v-inf)	<i>go</i> + (v-inf.)
Example:	He <i>dey</i> talk with Jude	He <i>don</i> talk with Jude.	He <i>go</i> talk with Jude.
Translation:	He (aux. <i>be</i>) talking with Jude	He (aux. <i>have</i>) talked with Jude	He (<i>going to</i>) with Jude

Table 1. NPE auxiliary verbs.

The following examples show different ways of verbal simplifications found in the sample.

- i. Example of present perfect:

*Scientists **don find out** say goats like stay wit humans wey get happy face. [T1]*

Scientists *have found out* that goats like staying with humans who have got happy faces.

- ii. Example of present perfect continuous:

*If you **don dey follow** wetin dey trend for social media for di past few days, den you for don hia say one Nigerian don become di world highest paid robotics engineer. [T5]*

If you *have been following* what has been trending on social media for the past few days, then you must have heard that one Nigerian has become the world's highest paid robotics engineer.

- iii. Example of present simple or past simple:

*Di result **suggest** say plenti animals fit read di mood of pipo than di way we tink before. [T2]*

The results suggests/suggested that plenty animals can read the mood of people [unlike] the way we previously thought.

In this case, the verb *suggest* could be interpreted as past simple or present simple.

- iv. Example of present simple negative:

*I **no want** anybodi to go through di kain depression I **suffer**. [T9]*

I do not want anybody to go through the kind of depression I suffered.

- v. Example of present continuous:

*Afta dia battle for almost twenty years or so, India LGBTQ community wey be (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) **don** finally **dey rejoice**.* [T6]

After their battle of almost twenty years or so, [the] India LGBTQ community which is (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) *are* finally *rejoicing*.

- vi. Example of simplification of ‘be going to’ to express future intentions:

*US **go** deport 7000 Ghanaians after diplomatic agreement plus Ghana* [T11]

The US *is going to* deport 700 Ghanaians after diplomatic agreement with Ghana.

(See more examples in Appendix III)

3. The SE verb *be*

In the texts under study, the SE *be* has been found, unconjugated, in fewer occasions in comparison to the word *dey*, which substitutes SE *be* in all senses.

- i. *South Africa go **be** di first African kontri wey go legalise igbo or marijuana as dem **be** di third kontri for world.* [T2]

South Africa is going to *be* the first African country to legalise Indian hemp or marijuana while they *are* the third country in the world.

In this case, it could be translated as the infinitive form of the verb to be in SE.

- ii. *Professor Abiodun Adewuya wey **be** Principal Investigator Mental Health in Primary Care (MeHPhric) Lagos project say im NGO dey help make Primary Health Centres fit treat pipo wey get mental health palava.* [T9]

Professor Abiodun Adewuya who *is* the Principal Mental Health Investigator in Primary Care (MeHPhric) Lagos project says that his NGO is helping Primary health Centres to be able to treat people who have got this mental palaver (problem)

- iii. *Tennis Head coach for Oyo State Sports Council, Saliu Tirimisiu say "pipo dey forget say umpires dem **be** human beings and e possible say dem fit make mistake."*
[T12]

Tennis Head coach in Oyo State Sports council, Saliu Tirimisiu said “people forget that umpires *are* human beings and it is possible that they can make mistakes.

The last two cases are examples of the unconjugated verb due to the characteristic feature of simplification of the superstrate language found in any pidgin.

(See more examples in Appendix IV)

Apart from SE *be*, there are occurrences of the word *dey*, which acts as a SE copula or as SE auxiliary *be* can be seen in the following cases:

- i. *Bill Cosby **dey face** up to 10 years for prison.* [T13]
Bill Cosby *is facing* up to 10 years in prison.
- ii. *Versace fans **dey breathe** fire and brimstone afta Michael Kors buy am over*
[T7]

Versace fans *are breathing* fire and brimstone after Michael Kors [has] bought it (Versace) over.

In both cases, *dey*, acts as the SE auxiliary *be* for progressive tenses.

- iii. *Although di judgment mark one win, di fight still **dey on** inside and outside di courtroom as di LGBTQ community still dey find way for pipo to accept dem in terms of marriage laws, adoption laws, and more* [T6]

Although the judgement marked one win, the fight *is* still on inside and outside the courtroom as the LGBTQ community is still looking for ways to accept them in terms of marriage laws, adoptions laws and more.

However, in this last case, it could be interpreted as a locative copula.

(See more examples in Appendix V)

B. Lexical features

1. Polysemy

Regarding lexical features, it could be observed that the minimisation of vocabulary units will account for the existence of more possible meanings given to a word in comparison to that same word in SE. In the sample, a recurrent word that presents a meaning totally different from the ones it expresses in SE is *say*: it appears to work as the SE conjunction *that* in NPE. This occurs when it is not acting as the main verb. It normally comes after a reporting verb. Also, it could possibly stand as the SE relative pronoun *that*. In such case, it should introduce a subordinate clause as in SE.

- i. *Di result suggest **say** plenti animals **fit** read di mood of pipo than di way we tink before.* [T1]

The results suggested *that* plenty animals *can* read the mood of people [unlike] the way we previously thought.

In this extract, the rather frequent word ‘say’ is given and it could be considered as the English conjunction *that*. Also, *fit*, which is either an adjective or a verb in SE tends to substitute the verb *can* in SE.

- ii. *Animals wey human dey train to **chop** like goats, **fit** also know how pesin dey feel.* [T1]

Animals which humans train *to be eaten*³ like goats, can also know how [a] person is feeling.

³ The observed inexistence of a passive voice and lack of inflections in NPE could complicate or even hinder the translation of this sentence.

In this extract, the lexical shift occurs in the verb *chop* and *fit*. This first word which in SE means to cut something into smaller pieces acquires the meaning of *eat* in NPE. Further, as explained above, the SE adjective *fit* changes word class and meaning to the verb *can/could/be able to*.

- iii. *Wen BBC Pidgin go Nkpolu Rumuigbo, we see say all di shop for di area don close sake of di flood water wey don enta come stand for di shop.* [T3]

When *BBC Pidgin* went to Nkpolu Rumuigbo, we saw *that* all the shops in the area had closed because of the flood water that has entered the shops.

(See more examples in Appendix VI)

2. Non-superstrate words

The analysis has also unveiled a number of words that appear to come from substrate languages. Given the vast linguistic map of over 400 African languages of present-day Nigeria, it is difficult to account for the possible origins of these words. One of these words is *na*, which Holm (2000) observes could be similar to the word ‘no’ from the Yoruba language, and serves the same function of emphasizing what comes after it. It could be translated as *it is* or the highlighter be found in SE cleft sentences. Holm (2000: 201). Secondly, the word *pikin*, which means ‘child’, appears to derive from Portuguese *pequenino*, meaning ‘little child.’ The analysis has shown a number of different instances where words of different origins have been found as table 2 shows below. The table shows substrate words, their translation and possible origins is given. The (-) represents an unknown word in terms of origin or meaning.

Items	Translations	Possible Origins
comot	out/away	-
dey	to be	English
igbo	Indian hemp/marijuana	-
kwanta	-	-
kwata	-	-
na	it (is)	Yoruba
oga	chief	Yoruba
pikin	child	Portuguese
sabi	know	Portuguese
waka	to walk	English
wetin	what	English
wey	that/who/which	-

C. Spelling

Simplification in spelling has also been observed in these articles. The simplification of these words could be resultant of the simplification of phonology as observed by Bell (2014). The analysis of the sample has shown that NPE certainly has a simplified phonological system based on lacks and omissions. Firstly, it appears that it lacks the SE schwa, which is normally found in unstressed syllables and at the end of words in SE, as in *afta* (after), *betament* (betterment), *enta* (enter), *pipo* (people), *mata* (people), *neva* (never), *oda* (other), *palava* (palaver), *qweshon* (question), and *weda* (whether). Moreover, SE consonant cluster “*th*”, which is pronounced in three different ways in SE (/t/, /θ/, /ð/), has been reduced to only /t/ and /d. Instances of this case include *anoda* (another), *di* (the), *evritin* (everything), *gada* (gather), *oda* (other), *tink* (think), *tins* (things) and *weda* (whether). Also, there appears to be an unusual omission of consonants as occurs in *goment* (government) and *tori* (story). The analysis has shown a number of different instances where English words show different spellings based on said phonological simplification. origins have been found

as seen in table 2 below. The table shows the words, their translation and texts in which they appear.


Spellings	Meaning	Texts
afta	after	[T3,T5,T6,T9]
anoda	another	[T9]
anybodi	anybody	[T10]
betament	betterment	[T8]
cari	carry	[T2]
di	the	[T1-T15]
dia	their	[T1,T6,T3,T12]
diasef	“themselves”- themselves	[T17]
dis	this	[T1,T2,T5,T6]
enta	enter	[T3,T13]
evribody	everybody	[T5,T12]
evritin	everything	[T9]
gada	gather	[T15]
goment	government	[T2,T3,T9,T10]
happun	happen	[T9]
hia	here	[T5]
kain	kind	[T6,T9]
kontri	country	[T2,T3,T6,T9,T10]
kweshon	question	[T12]
mata	matter	[T6,T8,T15]
moni	money	[T10]
neva	never	[T12]
oda	other	[T1,T2,T9,T12,T13]
palava	palaver	[T3,T10]
pesin	person	[T1,T9]
pipo	people	[T1,T2,T3,T5,T6,T9,T10,T11,T12]
plenti	plenty	[T1,T5]
so dat	so that	[T9]
tink	think	[T1,T9]
tins	things	[T5,T6,T12]
tok	talk	[T12,T13]
tori	story	[T9]
wan	want	[T12]
weda	whether	[T1,T12]
wen	when	[T3,T5,T12]
wia	where	[T3,T8,T9]
wit	with	[T1,T6,T9,T12]

D. Clause structure


1. Clause order

Concerning clauses, a generalised feature of all English-based pidgins is that they tend to follow an SVO order in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences. So, unlike SE, there would be no verb subject inversion for interrogative purposes.

- i. *Judges dey fair to man and woman athletes?* [T12]


Judges are fair to male and female athletes?

- ii. *Dis Nigerian na di world highest paid robotics engineer?* [T5]


This Nigerian is the world highest paid robotics engineer?

However, the sample shows cases where the interrogative clause follows the SE order:

- iii. *Wetin be dis section 377?* [T6]

What is this section 377?

2. Clause complexity: the use of subordinators

Being that these languages are said to be simplified versions of their superstrate languages, it would be expected that they show simplified syntactic structures such as few subordinated clauses as Bell (2014) states. Nonetheless, as NPE, makes use of the word *say* for the SE conjunction *that* or even the relative pronoun *that*, it would be reasonable to see if they have the same syntactic functions as in SE.

In the following examples, *that* is a conjunction that introduces a subordinate nominal clause acting as direct object. In these examples the subordinate clauses will be underlined.

- i. *Trade Union Congress (TUC) bin don announce say dem go begin strike for early mor-mor on Thursday 27 September afta federal goment for Nigeria fail*

to meet up wit di deadline to call back di meeting wia dem dey discuss di new minimum wage mata for workers. [T8]

Trade Union Congress (TUC) has announced *that they will begin strike on the early morning of Thursday 27 September* after the Federal Government of Nigeria failed to meet up with the deadline to call back the meeting where they are to discuss the new minimum wage matter for workers.

- ii. *I begin think say na spiritual problem. [T9]*

I began to think *that it was a spiritual problem.*

- iii. *On Sunday, dem dey expect say 500,000 pipo go gada for park for Dublin as di Pope do Mass to celebrate di World Meeting of Families. [T15]*

On Sunday, they were expecting *that 500,000 people would gather in the park* in Dublin as the Pope did the Mass to celebrate the World Meeting of Families.

In all the examples above, the word *say* in NPE appears to act as the conjunction *that* whenever it is not used as the main verb. Also, as *say* in NPE tends to take this function, the word *tok*, from *talk* in SE, tends to work as the initial meaning of SE *say*.

Also, apart from *say*, SE relative pronouns and adverbs tend to have been reduced to *wey*, *wen* and *how* in NPE. Being that NPE has relative pronouns, NPE relative pronouns may also serve the same purpose of subordination as in SE. Examples are as follows:

- i. *Animals wey human dey train to chop like goats, fit also know how pesin dey feel. [T1]*

Animals *that humans train to be eaten*⁴ like goats can also know how [a] person is feeling.

In this case, *that* is a relative pronoun that introduces a subordinate relative clause. The relative pronoun functions as direct object.

⁴ The observed inexistence of a passive voice and lack of inflections in NPE could complicate or even hinder the translation of this sentence.

- ii. *But wen BBC News Pidgin send email go im company, Reach Robotics, di press team say "di gist wey dey circulate for Nigeria news website no correct in some ways. [T5]*

But *when* [the] BBC News Pidgin sent [an] email to his company, Reach Robotics, the press team said “the gist that is circulating on Nigerian news website [is] not correct in some ways”.

The relative adverb *when* introduces an adverbial clause of time. The relative pronoun *that* introduces a relative clause.

- iii. *Nigeria journalist Latipha Adebayo, wey dey follow di sport wella tell BBC Pidgin say "she no believe di sport dey sexist" as most of di tins like "players welfare, prize money don dey ok." [T12]*

Nigerian journalist Latipha Adebayo, *who* follows the sport a lot, tells *BBC Pidgin* that “she does not believe the sport is sexist” as most of the things like “players welfare, prize money have been ok”.

The relative pronoun *who* introduces a non-defining relative clause. The next subordinate clause is a nominal clause introduced by the conjunction *that*.

(See more instances in Appendix VII)

Conclusions

This study has set out to examine the current linguistic state of NPE based on articles published by *BBC News Pidgin*. The corpus has consisted of approximately 3900 words from 15 different articles. On the one hand, I have found out that NPE is not a just a pidgin in terms of the simplification of a language for basic communication, but a rather complex language based on the minimisation of some grammar aspects of its superstrate language. This complexity has also been observed in the variety of topics dealt with in the texts, the use of several tenses and the presence of complex sentences. On the other hand, inconsistencies regarding some of the patterns have also appeared. Based on the translation of several excerpts of the corpus, it could be argued that the absence of the passive voice in the corpus denotes the inexistence of this linguistic feature in NPE. NPE appears to be more complex than a pidgin *per se*, given the time it has been in existence, the high number of users who employ it as their first language and finally, the complexity of the linguistic traits shown in this paper. Therefore, a subsequent conclusion would be the adaptation of its name from *Nigerian Pidgin English* to *Nigerian Creole English*, being that the previous is less descriptive. The requirements for a pidgin to become a creole is firstly having children born into it and making it their mother tongue. And secondly, for this extended pidgin to be able to be used in every domain of life- not only for specific contexts such as trade. In the case of NPE, both requirements appear to be fulfilled. Furthermore, as NPE lacks institutional support and recognition, as Akande and Salami (2010) have pointed out, it could be argued that a resulting effect of this neglect is the presence of aspects of NPE that are neither fixed nor consensual amongst its users as there is no institutional body that governs it and it is used by millions of speakers. These aspects include variations in clause order found in interrogative clauses and the unspecified use of SE *be*, *dey* and *na*. A standardisation of the language would require

the establishment of norms and set grammar rules that would constitute a model for uniformisation. The analysis of the texts that comprise the sample has encountered certain limitations, such as the fact that the sample is already refined material from a news media outlet. The reason for this is that as there is no institutionalised body to govern the language, so, what any individual would utter as NPE cannot be verified. Also, the idea of these articles written in “West African Pidgin” as said in the article mentioned on page 8, could be misleading, being that the term “West African Pidgin” is quite broad, as it includes English-based pidgins used in Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria and Southern Cameroon. Although they share some general features, their substrate languages do differ and that may impede communication amongst speakers of different nationalities. Also, it must be said that, their production hub is located in Nigeria and their chief editor, Bilkisu Labaran, is a Nigerian-born journalist living in Nigeria. So, chances are high that the language used in these articles may be highly influenced by NPE.

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Appendix I

T1

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-45348856>

Scientists say goat dey prefer to stay wit pipo wey get happy face

1 September 2018

Scientists don find out say goats like stay wit humans wey get happy face. Di result suggest say plenti animals fit read di mood of pipo than di way we tink before. Di team show goats two foto of di same pesin, one wit angry face and di oda wit happy face.

Di researchers report for di journal Open Science say di goats wey dem use for di study just waka straight go for di foto wit happy faces. Dis result show say no be only animals wey dey close to human being like dog and horse na im get di ability to sabi weda human dey happy or dey vex. Animals wey human dey train to chop like goats, fit also know how pesin dey feel.

Na di Buttercups Sanctuary for Goats wey dey for Kent, UK na im do dis study.

Co-author Dr Alan McElligott, from Queen Mary, University of London and colleagues arrange black-and-white foto about 1.3 meters from each oda on top one wall for dia test area. Den, dem go free di goat to waka go where di test area dey. Dem find out say di goats prefer di smiling faces, dem go first go where di happy face dey before even look di side of foto wey get vex-vex face. Di goats also spend plenti time dey touch di smiling faces wit dia nose.

T2

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45563775>

South Africa don legit marijuana for private use

18 September 2018

South Africa highest court don legalise igbo for di kontri as far as na adults dey take am for private place.

Na all di judges for di Constitutional Court vote to make di natural drug legal for di kontri.

South Africa goment bin don try to dey ban di drug wey dem say no dey good for pipo health but dem neva tok about dis new judgement.

Na three igbo users wey get charges on top dem head cari case go di highest court say di ban against di drug no get good reason.

But even as e don dey legal to take am for private, e still no dey legit to take am or sell for public place.

South Africa go be di first African kontri wey go legalise igbo or marijuana as dem be di third kontri for world.

Di oda two na Uruguay wey legalize am for 2013 and Canada become di second to legalize am for June dis year.

T3

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45636891>

Rivers State flood don pursue pipo comot for communities

25 September 2018

Flood for Rukpokwu and Eneka communities for Obio Akpor local goment for Rivers State, south south Nigeria don pursue pipo comot.

Di flood also cover one side of di popular East-West road come make moto dem dey follow one-way.

Authorities for di state say wetin dey cause flood for dat area na because some pipo go build house for wia water suppose follow pass, come block am. Dem say dem go demolish any house wey dem see say dey for wia water dey pass so dat di flood go stop.

Wen BBC Pidgin go Nkpolu Rumuigbo, we see say all di shop for di area don close sake of di flood water wey don enta come stand for di shop.

Desire Ohagbule wey dey sell market for di area, tell BBC Pidgin say before di area no bin dey flood but as pipo come buy land and build on top di drainage wey water bin dey pass, di whole place don block. For Rumuchorlu community, Prince Harcourt Enyadike wey dey live dia tell BBC Pidgin say di flood palava for di area begin afta dem finish di Eneka-Igwuruta expressway since 2016. "We notice di flood for 2016. Dat time e dey small but for 2017, di flood come worst, e reach 2 metres," im tok.

Since dem finish dat Eneka-Igwuruta express road, di water don increase as dem no channel di drainage well. If goment fit come check di drainage channel am well, e fit help." Na so im tok.

Many parts of Nigeria dey also suffer from flooding, wey don kill pipo and destroy many houses especially for di north central part of di kontri.

T4

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45617295>

Osun election 2018: INEC don declare di election 'inconclusive'

23 September 2018

Nigeria election join bodi Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) don announce say di result of di Osun state govnorship election for 2018 na 'inconclusive'.

INEC returning officer Professor Adeola Afuwape announce for live TV say main opposition party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) get 254, 698 votes while di candidate of di ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) party get 254, 345 votes.

Afuwape tok say since dem cancel 3598 votes for polling centres and na only 353 votes wey PDP use take pass APC then im go declare di election, 'inconclusive', to mean say clear winner no dey.

T5

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45605608>

Silas Adekunle: Dis Nigerian na di world highest paid robotics engineer?

25 September 2018

If you don dey follow wetin dey trend for social media for di past few days, den you for don hia say one Nigerian don become di world highest paid robotics engineer. Yesso, 26-year-old Silas Adekunle gist don go viral like wild fire, say afta im sign deal wit Apple e come rich wella. Di guy hustle na Reach Robotics wey im follow start. And na so plenti tori pipo cari di gist up and down say Adekunle don become rich engineer.

As per naija no dey cari last, na im evribodi dey hail di British-Nigerian say na homeboy and im hustle dey sweet pipo. According to Forbes magazine, investors don put \$10 million into Reach Robotics

But wen BBC News Pidgin send email go im company, Reach Robotics, di press team say "di gist wey dey circulate for Nigeria news website no correct in some ways. For example, MekaMon (wey Reach Robotics dey make) don dey for Apple for up to one year since November 2017 - so dat one no be news)."

"We no even sure how di statement say Silas na di highest paid robotics engineer for di world even happun - e sweet o, but e no dey correct!" Na wetin me tok. Dem add say di MekaMon no dey even sell for Nigeria. MekaMon di robot wey im company make na di world first game robot, wey get di special ability to customise di robot to do some personal tins.

T6

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-45438303>

Gay sex: Why India Supreme Court say homosexual dey legal

6 September 2018

Afta dia battle for almost twenty years or so, India LGBTQ community wey be (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) don finally dey rejoice. Di kontri supreme court on Thursday deliver one historic judgement, wey strike out section 377 of Indian Penal Code wey make am crime to do homosexual activity. "Any discrimination wey concern sexual orientation mean offense of fundamental rights," Chief Justice Dipak Misra tok for im judgment.

Although di judgment mark one win, di fight still dey on inside and outside di courtroom as di LGBTQ community still dey find way for pipo to accept dem in terms of marriage laws, adoption laws, and more. "To measure di mata, di only moment to compare inside history of how criminal laws against some tins dey change na wen China make our community to dey legal in 1997". According to Jack Harrison Quintana, executive director of Grindr for Equality, one movement wey start from gay dating app.

Wetin be dis section 377?

Na one 157-year-old colonial-time law wey make am crime for some kain sexual act dem wey dem consider "unnatural offence" wey dem fit punish by 10-year jail term. Di law dey punish, wetin e consider as, "carnal intercourse against di order of nature wit any man, woman or animal". While di act make all anal and oral sex criminal offence, na same-sex relationships e dey affect pass. Human rights groups say police don use di act to harass and abuse members of di LGBT community.

T7

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45637029>

Versace fans dey breathe fire and brimstone afta Michael Kors buy am over

25 September 2018

Ogbonge US fashion brand Michael Kors don confirm say dem don buy Versace over with \$2.1bn and di move dey pepper fans of Versace for bodii. Fans don begin bombard di social media accounts of Versace Creative Director Donatella Versace with plenti abeg say make she no sell di brand. Fashion designer Marc Jacobs don engage im boyfriend. New Vogue oga wan use fashion talk plenty things. One pesin say dem go even kill diasef if dem continue with di sale. Some of dis fans feel say di quality of Versace go drop now wey Michael Kors don buy am.

Donatella don dey run Versace since 1997 wey dem kill her broda Gianni wey start di company 40 years ago. She dey happi about di sale, say e go help Versace "reach im full potential".

Chief executive of Michael Kors, John Idol talk say Donatella go continue to dey in charge of di company creative vision. Idol say Versace na di baba of Italian luxury fashion.

Di new owner get plan to increase di number of Versace stores from 200 to 300. Dem also get plan to double di company turnover to \$2bn.

T8

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45642741>

Nigeria Labour Congress don declare warning strike from Thursday

52m

Nigerian Labour Congress say dem go start warning strike from midnight of Wednesday 26 September till-thy-kingdom come as dey dey kwata wit goment over minimum wage mata. Trade Union Congress (TUC) bin don announce say dem go begin strike for early mor-mor on Thursday 27 September afta federal goment for Nigeria fail to meet up wit di deadline to call back di meeting wia dem dey discuss di new minimum wage mata for workers. TUC secretary general for Abuja, Musa-Lawal Ozigi, tell BBC Pidgin say na two weeks dem bin give goment to call back di meeting wey dem bin stop.

E say na last year goment set up di minimum wage committee and afta dem don nearly finish di work wey dem dey do, di Minister of Labour, Chris Ngige come tok say make dem stop as e wan go follow goment tok.

TUC say make Nigerians bear and understand wit dem because di strike na for evribodi betament

"Na im we come ask am say wetin happun nah? no be goment set up dis meeting by imself for November last year? "Dis meeting start for March and evri bodi agree dat time say by August 30 dis year dem go finish, so dat by September workers go begin collect minimum wage.

"E don nearly reach di end of di road dem come stop, na we say we no gree oh! Which kain tin be dat, pesin don already win game, dem come shift goal post say make im go house, game no dey again today, e good?"

Oga Ozigi say dis meeting concern three groups; Labour, employer and goment.

E say labour don tok wetin dem want, employers don tok how much dem fit pay and wen e reach goment turn, dem no gree submit dia own.

Di TUC oga say di strike go continue until goment do wetin dem want because wetin dem dey ask for no be big tin. "We no tok say make minimum wage start tomorrow, tomorrow. Di meeting wey dem stop, make dem call am back." "For dis goment ehn! If we tok say make evritin smooth before we react, no day wey evritin go smooth." TUC say di last minimum wage don end since 2 years and dem give goment time to tink, yet dem no won gree treat workers well

Mr Ozigi advise pipo to buy food full house and also understand wetin TUC want because dem no wan punish anybodi, but make tins beta for everibodi. Before now, di Minister of Labour say di 14 days deadline wey dem give goment na style to hurry-hurry di tripartite committee for di new National Minimum Wage to rush di mata. E say no be true say federal goment dey try to delay di tok-tok on top di new minimum wage.

T9

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-43693708>

'I no want anybodi to go through di kain depression I suffer'

Daniel Semeniworima

BBC Pidgin, Lagos

9 April 2018

Her Mama, friends, even her husband and pikin no understand Jennifer Oyeyemi wen she begin suffer depression afta her only boy pikin die. "At dat time I no wan even talk to anybodi I just wan be alone, my husband no even notice, I begin think say na spiritual problem."

Na wetin Jennifer Oyeyemi talk wen she share her experience with BBC News Pidgin Daniel Semeniworima on top how she survive depression wen her only boy pikin die 2016 for Lagos, Nigeria. Her case serious afta she born anoda girl pikin di following year so tey she get to fight for her life.

One out of every ten woman wey just born pikin fit suffer 'Postpartum depression' - dat na depression afta woman don born, according to Professor Abiodun Adewuya

Now she don dey recover with di help of one NGO - Mental Health in Primary Care (MeHPhric) wey dey help treat pipo wey dey suffer dis kain sickness.

Research don show say 90 percent of mental health palava na pipo wey dey suffer depression and fear, according to Centre for Mental Health Research and Initiative.

Na between five to ten percent of pipo for any kontri dey at risk of depression, na wetin di research talk. Professor Abiodun Adewuya wey be Principal Investigator Mental Health in Primary Care (MeHPhric) Lagos project say im NGO dey help make Primary Health Centres fit treat pipo wey get mental health palava.

"For Lagos alone na like two million pipo dey at risk of mental sickness and di special doctors wey fit treat dis kain sickness no pass 50." Adewuya wey be professor of psychiatry tell we tori pesin.

"Na dis one make we begin train oda doctors and health workers for Primary Health Centres and General hospitals to sabi how to treat pipo wey get mental health sickness, particularly dose wey suffer depression afta dem born pikin,' na wetin im talk.

Jennifer Oyeyemi dey among at least 1000 pipo wey don get treatment out of di 23,000 case dem wey MeHPhric don discover to give help.

T10

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45637026>

Liberians dey sing "bring back our moni" afta \$100m grow wings vanish like ghost

25 September 2018

Di song "Bring back our moni" by MC Caro na one of di ways kontri pipo for Liberia dey use call attention to di two shipping containers with around 100 million dollars inside wey disappear.

Di moni wey dem print for Sweden bin land port for di kontri but before dem go cari am reach di Central Bank, di two containers just vanish and nobody know wia e dey.

On Monday 24 September, kontri pipo vex enta street for di capital city, Monrovia to protest.

Goment don launch investigate to torch light di mata. Dem don also ban 15 officials make dem no comot di kontri. Charles Sirleaf wey be di former central bank govnor and pikin of former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf na one of di officials wey no fit comot di kontri as e be so.

Liberians dey para no be small from dis latest kwanta even as inflation still rise, dey suffer kontri pipo. Since George Weah enta office, di Liberian dollar don fall 20% against di US dollar.

Dis palava fit reduce di Weah supporters wey bin get high hope for im goment.

T11

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-45649531>

US go deport 7000 Ghanaians after diplomatic agreement plus Ghana

42m

Ghana Ambassador to United States say dem reach diplomatic understanding plus authorities to deport 7000 Ghanaians from di country. Earlier dis year di Ghana Ambassador Dr. Baffour Adjei-Bawuah dey inside tag of war plus US over dema plans to deport di 7000 Ghanaians, but rydee he say dem sort di matter out. He talk journalists for UN General Assembly side lines which happen for in New York say, "all den he dey search be say dem go apply some fairness to, no be say dem go pressure di embassy to allow make US deport some people. Dis be where den we get different opinions on di matter." For June dis year di US Embassy threaten Ghana say dem go impose visa restrictions of di country sake of di Ghana Embassy no want comply to dema move to deport illegal migrants for US. But for now Dr. Baffour Adjei-Bawuah say American immigration office get di documentation den information that go allow dem deport persons wey dem bring into United States, so dem no go need confirmation from government.

T12

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/sport-45469618>

US Open 2018: E true wetin Serena Williams tok say Tennis dey favour man pass woman?

Moseph Ekine

BBC News Pidgin

10 September 2018

"Im neva collect game from any man sake of say dem say im be thief, but I don see oda men call oda umpires several tins." Dat na wetin Serena Williams tok afta she accuse di umpire Carlos Ramos say e dey 'sexist' for her US Open final loss to Naomi Osaka on Saturday 8 September. Serena kwanta wit di umpire na di latest chapter of long debate wey no start today about women tennis, equal pay and how male athletes and administrators dey tok about female tennis players. But di kweshon still tanda for ground - Tennis dey favour man pass woman?

Di Women's Tennis Association (WTA), Chief Executive Steve Simon, support wetin Serena do. She say "difference no suppose dey for di standard of tolerance to di emotion wey man and woman tennis players dey show."

Issue still dey about how much dem dey pay women?

Nigeria journalist Latipha Adebayo, wey dey follow di sport wella tell BBC Pidgin say "she no believe di sport dey sexist" as most of di tins like "players welfare, prize money don dey ok."

For many years, women no dey get di same money like men, but dat one don change as evribodi dey earn di same money now for grand slam tournaments, even though sponsorship for tennis players dey different.

"Make athletes wear wetin dem want wear"

Recently, di French Open organisers ban Serena Williams Cat suit dress as dem believe say e dey against dia dress code ethics.

Latipha tok say "fans dey react differently wen dem see woman for court."

"But wen athletes wan dey stylish wit dia outfit as long as e no break any rule, dem suppose allow dem," she tok.

Judges dey fair to man and woman tennis athletes?

Former US tennis star, Andy Roddick, wey don retire bin tweet say e don tok "worse tins" pass wetin Serena tok and "im neva get game penalty before."

But dat one mean say dem dey favour men?

Tennis Head coach for Oyo State Sports Council, Saliu Tirimisiu say "pipo dey forget say umpires dem be human beings and e possible say dem fit make mistake."

Im say "umpires dem dey try to dey fair and players no dey gree wit wetin di judges dey rule especially wen e no favour dem."

Why men dey play more sets more dan women?

For sports like football, man and woman dey play 90 minutes. For athletics, man and woman dey run di same metres weda na 100 metres or 400 meters.

But why for tennis, na different tin?

For di sport, men dey play game of five sets and women dey play game of three sets.

Even though sabi pipo neva prove am, Tirimisiu say di believe be say woman no strong like man.

Until now, no clear reason dey as to why but di only way wey pipo fit know, na for organizer to allow women play di same set.

T13

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-45634209>

Bill Cosby go enta prison for up to 10 years for sexual assault

25 September 2018

Bill Cosby dey face up to 10 years for prison. One judge for Pennsylvania don sentence comedian Bill Cosby to three to ten years for jail for sexual assault. Cosby, 81, wey dem also categorise as 'sexually violent predator', wey mean say im must do counselling for di rest of im life and im name go dey onto sex offender registry. Bill Cosby fit end im life for jail.

Di actor no make statement wen dem give am chance to tok.

For retrial wey dey do for April, dem rule say Cosby dey guilty of three counts of sexual assault unto say im drug and molest Andrea Constand for 2004.

When Cosby ask for bail, dem deny am.

Wetin di judge tok?

"Mr Cosby you take her beautiful healthy young spirit and you crush am," Judge Steven O'Neill tok afta im give di sentence for di Montgomery County Courthouse for Norristown. "Dis na serious crime. Mr Cosby, tin don come back to you now. Di day don come, di time don come."

"Bill Cosby... steal my health and vitality; di way I dey free with pipo; and di trust wey I get in myself and odas." Lili Bernard and former model Janice Dickinson - wey dem sef accuse Cosby of assault - tweet on Tuesday: "May justice be served! #MeToo". Cosby wife, Camille, no dey for di court sentencing.

T14

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-45591254>

Donald Trump don advise Spain to build walls take block African migrants

20 September 2018

Trump don make prototypes of di wall im dey plan do

President of di United States of America, Donald Trump don advise Spain say make dem build wall for di Sahara Desert to make African migrants stop to dey rush di kontri.

Na Spain foreign minister Josep Borrell wey be former presido of di European Parliament, tok dis one even as e say dat one no go fit work. Di comment bin come wen oga Borrell go America for June, according to El Pais. Spain don receive about 35,000 migrants dis year alone and most of dem na from Africa. But na dis week for lunch event for Madrid, Borell come tok am give public add say di American presido bin tok say di border for Sahara no go big pass di US-Mexico border.

But di US-Mexico border na 1,954 miles while di Sahara desert dey more than 3,000 miles and Spain no get right over di Sahara.

Trump wey promise to build wall wey go divide Mexico and US na im most popular election promise.

T15

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-45314865>

Pope Francis don beg say make pipo forgive di Church

26 August 2018

Pope Francis don say sorry to all di victims wey don suffer sexual abuse from Catholic priests dem. E tok am for Marian Shrine for Knock, as e dey do im second day wey im dey visit Republic of Ireland.

E tok say nobodi dey dis world wey no go shake on top di tori of pipo wey don "chop abuse, tear eye from small and painful memories wey still dey dia bodi". Na di first time wey Pope dey visit di kontri in 39 years. Di last time na Pope John Paul bin go for 1979.

On Sunday, dem dey expect say 500,000 pipo go gada for park for Dublin as di Pope do Mass to celebrate di World Meeting of Families.

Irish Prime Minister (Taoiseach) Leo Varadkar bin draw ear give di Pope say make e handle di mata of sex abuse and how di church dey hide am.

Appendix II— Examples of the preposition *for*

- *Di researchers report **for** di journal Open Science say di goats wey dem use **for** di study just waka straight go **for** di foto wit happy faces.* [T1]

The researchers reported *in* the journal Open Science that the goats that were used *for* the study just walked straight *towards* the photo[s] with happy faces.

- *Na di Buttercups Sanctuary **for** Goats wey dey **for** Kent, UK na im do dis study.* [T1]

It was the Buttercups Sanctuary *for* Goats who are *in* Kent that did this study.

- *Na all di judges **for** di Constitutional Court vote to make di natural drug legal **for** di kontri.* [T2]

It was all the judges *in* the Constitutional Court [who] voted to make the natural drug legal *in* the country.

- *But even as e don dey legal to take am **for** private, e still no dey legit to take am or sell **for** public place.* [T2]

But even as it has been [made] legal to take it *in* private, it is still not legal to be take or sell [it] *in* public place[s].

- *Flood **for** Rukpokwu and Eneka communities **for** Obio Akpor local goment **for** Rivers State, south south Nigeria don pursue pipo comot.* [T3]

Floods *in* Rukpokwu and Eneka communities *in* Obio Akpor local government [area] *in* Rivers State, south south Nigeria has pursued people out.

- *Authorities **for** di state say wetin dey cause flood **for** dat area na because some pipo go build house **for** wia water suppose follow pass, come block am.* [T3]

Authorities *in* the state said what is causing the floods *in* that area is because some people went to build house[s] *in* where water [is] supposed to flow through.

- *Nigeria election join bodi Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) don announce say di result of di Osun state govnorship election **for** 2018 na 'inconclusive'.*

[T4]

Nigeria Election alongside Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) have announced that the result of the Osun state Governorship Election *in* 2018 is 'inconclusive'.

- *INEC returning officer Professor Adeola Afuwape announce **for** live TV say main opposition party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) get 254, 698 votes while di candidate of di ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) party get 254, 345 votes.* [T4]

INEC returning officer Professor Adeola Afuwape announced *on* live TV that [the] main opposition party- Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) got 254, 698 votes while the candidate of the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) party got 254,345 votes.

- *If you don dey follow wetin dey trend **for** social media for di past few days, den you for don hia say one Nigerian don become di world highest paid robotics engineer.*

[T5]

If you have been following what has been trending *on* social media for the past few days, the you must have heard that one Nigerian has become the world's highest paid robotics engineer.

- *But wen BBC News Pidgin send email go im company, Reach Robotics, di press team say "di gist wey dey circulate **for** Nigeria news website no correct in some ways..."*

[T5]

But when the BBC News Pidgin sent [an] email to his company, Reach Robotics, the press team said "the gist that is circulating *in* Nigerian news website is not correct in some ways..."

- *Trade Union Congress (TUC) bin don announce say dem go begin strike **for** early mor-mor on Thursday 27 September afta federal goment **for** Nigeria fail to meet up wit di deadline to call back di meeting wia dem dey discuss di new minimum wage mata for workers.* [T8]

Trade Union Congress (TUC) has announced that they will begin strike on the early morning⁵ of Thursday 27 September after the Federal Government of Nigeria failed to meet up with the deadline to call back the meeting where they would discuss the new minimum wage matter for workers.

- *no be goment set up dis meeting by imsef **for** November last year?* [T8]

Was it not Government themselves hat set up this meeting in November last year?

- *Na between five to ten percent of pipo **for** any kontri dey at risk of depression, na wetin di research talk.* [T9]

It is between five to ten percent of people in any country [who] are at the risk of depression; it is what the research said.

- *Di song "Bring back our moni" by MC Caro na one of di ways kontri pipo **for** Liberia dey use call attention to di two shipping containers with around 100 million dollars inside wey disappear.* [T10]

The song "Bring back our money" by MC Caro is one of the ways the countrymen in Liberia are using [to] call attention to the two shipping containers with around 100 million dollars inside that disappeared.

- *Di moni wey dem print **for** Sweden bin land port for di kontri but before dem go cari am reach di Central Bank, di two containers just vanish and nobody know wia e dey.* [T10]

⁵ Translation based on intuition.

The money that they printed *in* Sweden had landed port in the country but before they went to carry it towards the Central Bank, the two containers just vanished, and nobody knows where they are.

- *He talk journalists **for** UN General Assembly side lines which happen **for** in New York say⁶... [T11]*

He told journalists *in* the UN General Assembly side lines which happened *in* New York that...

- ***For** June dis year di US Embassy threaten Ghana say dem go impose visa restrictions of di country sake of di Ghana Embassy no want comply to dema move to deport illegal migrants **for** US. [T11]*

In June this year, the US Embassy threatened Ghana that they will impose visa restrictions [on] the country because of the Ghanian Embassy [that] does not want to comply with the demands to deport illegal migrants *in* the US.

- *Dat na wetin Serena Williams tok afta she accuse di umpire Carlos Ramos say e dey 'sexist' **for** her US Open final loss to Naomi Osaka on Saturday 8 September. [T12]*

That was what Serena Williams said after she accused the umpire Carlos Ramos that he was 'sexist' *in* her US Open final loss to Naomi Osaka on Saturday 8 September.

- *She say "difference no suppose dey **for** di standard of tolerance to di emotion wey man and woman tennis players dey show." [T12]*

She said "there should be no difference *in* the standards of tolerance to the emotions that male and female tennis players show."

- *One judge **for** Pennsylvania don sentence comedian Bill Cosby to three to ten years **for** jail for sexual assault. [T13]*

⁶ Sentence cut short due to lack of understanding.

One judge *in* Pennsylvania has sentenced [comedian] Bill Cosby to three to ten years *in* jail for sexual assaults.

- *For* retrial wey dey do *for* April, dem rule say Cosby dey guilty of three counts of sexual assault unto say im drug and molest Andrea Constand *for* 2004 [T13]

In [the] retrial that they did *in* April, they ruled that Cosby was guilty of three counts of sexual assault besides drugging and molesting Andrea Constand *in* 2004.

- *President of di United States of America, Donald Trump don advise Spain say make dem build wall for di Sahara Desert to make African migrants stop to dey rush di kontri.* [T14]

The President of the United States of America, Donald Trump has advised Spain that they build [a] wall *in* the Sahara Desert to make African migrants stop rushing into the country.

- *But na dis week for lunch event for Madrid, Borell come tok am give public add say di American presido bin tok say di border for Sahara no go big pass di US-Mexico border.* [T14]

But it was this week *during* [a] lunch event *in* Madrid, Borell, eventually said it to the public adding that the American president had said that the border *in* the Sahara desert was not going to be bigger than the US-Mexico border.

- *On Sunday, dem dey expect say 500,000 pipo go gada for park for Dublin as di Pope do Mass to celebrate di World Meeting of Families.* [T15]

On Sunday, they were expecting that 500,000 people will gather *in* the park *in* Dublin as the Pope held a mass to celebrate the World Meeting of Families.

APPENDIX III— Examples of tenses

- Scientists **don find out** say goats like stay wit humans wey get happy face. [T1]

Scientists *have found out* that goats like staying with humans who *have got* happy faces.

- Di result **suggest** say plenti animals fit read di mood of pipo than di way we tink before. [T2]

The results *suggest/suggested* that plenty animals *can read* the mood of people [unlike] the way we previously *thought*.

- South Africa **don legit** marijuana for private use [T2]

South Africa *has legitimised* marijuana for private use.

- South Africa highest court **don legalise** igbo⁷ for di kontri as far as na adults **dey take** am for private place [T2]

South Africa's highest court *has legalised* igbo in the country as far as it is adults [who] *are taking* in private.

- Rivers State flood **don pursue** pipo comot for communities [T3]

Rivers State floods *have pursued* people out of their communities.

- Di flood also **cover** one side of di popular East-West road come make moto dem **dey follow** one-way. [T3]

The flood also *covered* one side of the popular East-West road causing vehicles to go in one direction.

- Osun election 2018: INEC **don declare** di election 'inconclusive' [T4]

Osun election 2018: INEC *has declared* the election 'inconclusive'

⁷ Substrate item of unknown origins that means Indian hemp, cannabis or marijuana.

- *Nigeria election join bodi Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) **don announce** say di result of di Osun state govnorship election for 2018 **na** 'inconclusive'. [T4]*

Nigerian election alongside Independent National Electoral Congress *has announced* the result of the Osun state governorship election in 2018 *is* inconclusive.

- *If you **don dey follow** wetin **dey trend** for social media for di past few days, den you **for don hia** say one Nigerian **don become** di world highest paid robotics engineer. [T5]*

If you *have been following* what *has been trending* on social media for the past few days, then *you must have heard* that one Nigerian *has become* the world's highest paid robotics engineer.

- *Yesso, 26-year-old Silas Adekunle gist **don go** viral like wild fire, say afta im **sign** deal wit Apple e **come** rich wella. [T5]*

Certainly, 26-year-old Silas Adekunle's story *has gone* viral like wild fire, that after *he signed* [a] deal with Apple, he became very rich.

- *Gay sex: Why India Supreme Court **say** homosexual **dey** legal [T6]*

Gay sex: Why India Supreme Court *said* homosexual[ity] *is* legal.

- *Afta dia battle for almost twenty years or so, India LGBTQ community wey be (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) **don** finally **dey rejoice**. [T6]*

After their battle of almost twenty years or so, [the] India LGBTQ community which is (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) are finally rejoicing.

- *Versace fans **dey breathe** fire and brimstone afta Michael Kors **buy** am over. [T7]*

Versace fans *are breathing* fire and brimstone after Michael Kors *bought* is over.

- *Ogbonge*⁸ *US fashion brand Michael Kors **don confirm** say dem **don buy** Versace over with \$2.1bn and di move **dey pepper** fans of Versace for bodii.* [T7]

Prestigious US fashion brand Michael Kors *has confirmed* that they *have bought* Versace for over with \$2.1bn and the move *is enraging* fans of Versace.

- *Nigeria Labour Congress **don declare** warning strike from Thursday* [T8]

Nigeria Labour Congress *has declared* [a] warning strike from Thursday.

- *Nigerian Labour Congress say dem **go start** warning strike from midnight of Wednesday 26 September till-thy-kingdom⁹ come as dey **dey kwata**¹⁰ wit goment over minimum wage mata.* [T8]

Nigeria Labour Congress said that they *are going to start* [a] warning strike from midnight of Wednesday 26 September till-thy-kingdom come as they *are struggling* with government over [the] minimum wage matter.

- *I **no want** anybodi to go through di kain depression I **suffer**.* [T9]

I *do not want* anybody to go through the kind of depression I *suffered*.

- *Her Mama, friends, even her husband and pikin **no understand** Jennifer Oyeeyemi wen she **begin** suffer depression afta her only boy pikin **die**.* [T9]

Her mother, friends, husband and child *did not understand* Jennifer Oyeeyemi when she *began* to suffer [from] depression after her only son *died*.

- *Liberians **dey sing** "bring back our moni" afta \$100m **grow** wings **vanish** like ghost* [T10]

Liberians *are singing* "bring back our money" after \$100m *grew* wings [and] *vanished* like [a] ghost.

⁸ Substrate word from an unknown source

⁹ Expresión derived from the Lord's Prayer that could be translated as till further notice.

¹⁰ Translation based on intuition.

- *On Monday 24 September, kontri pipo **vex enta** street for di capital city, Monrovia to protest.* [T10]

On Monday 24 September, the country people *vexed* [and] *entered* the streets in the capital city, Monrovia, to protest.

- *US **go deport** 7000 Ghanaians after diplomatic agreement plus Ghana* [T11]

The US *is going to deport* 700 Ghanians after diplomatic agreement with Ghana.

- *Ghana Ambassador to United States say dem **reach** diplomatic understanding plus authorities to deport 7000 Ghanaians from di country.* [T12]

The Ghanaian Ambassador to the United States said *they reached* [a] diplomatic understanding with [the] authorities to deport 7000 Ghanians from the country.

- *"[H]Im neva **collect** game from any man sake of say dem **say** im be thief, but I **don see** oda men call oda umpires several tins."* T12

He has never *collected* the game from any man because they had said he was a thief, but I *have seen* other men call other umpires several things.

- *Dat na wetin Serena Williams **tok** afta she **accuse** di umpire Carlos Ramos say e dey 'sexist' for her US Open final loss to Naomi Osaka on Saturday 8 September.* [T12]

That is what Serena Williams *said* after she *accused* the umpire Carlos Ramos that he was 'sexist' in her US Open final loos to Naomi Osaka on Saturday 8 September.

- *Bill Cosby **go enta** prison for up to 10 years for sexual assault* [T13]

Bill Cosby *is going to enter* prison for up to 10 years for sexual assault.

- *Bill Cosby **dey face** up to 10 years for prison.* [T13]

Bill Cosby *is facing* up to 10 years in prison.

- *Donald Trump **don advise** Spain to build walls take block African migrants* [T14]

Donald Trump *has advised* Spain to build walls in order to block African migrants.

- *Trump **don make** prototypes of di wall im **dey plan** do* [T14]

Trump *has made* prototypes of the way he *is planning* to do.

- Pope Francis ***don beg*** say make pipo ***forgive*** di Church. [T15]

Pope Francis *has begged* that people *forgave* the Church.

- Pope Francis ***don say*** sorry to all di victims wey ***don suffer*** sexual abuse from Catholic priests dem. [T15]

Pope Francis *has said* sorry to all the victims who *have suffered* sexual abuse from Catholic priests.

APPENDIX IV— Examples of SE *be*

- *Dis result show say **no be** only animals wey dey close to human being like dog and horse na im get di ability to sabi weda human dey happy or dey vex. [T1]*

This result showed that *it is* not only animals that are close to human beings like dogs and horses that have the ability to know whether a human is happy or angry.

- *South Africa go **be** di first African kontri wey go legalise igbo or marijuana as dem **be** di third kontri for world. [T2]*

South Africa *is* going to be the first African country to legalise Indian hemp or marijuana while they are the third country in the world.

- *Afta dia battle for almost twenty years or so, India LGBTQ community wey **be** (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) don finally dey rejoice. [T6]*

After their battle of almost twenty years or so, [the] Indian LGBTQ community, which *is* (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) are finally rejoicing.

- *Wetin **be** dis section 377?*

What *is* this section 377?

- *Di TUC oga say di strike go continue until goment do wetin dem want because wetin dem dey ask for **no be** big tin. [T8]*

The TUC chairman said the strik will continue until the government does what they want because what they are asking for *is* not [a] big thing.

- *Professor Abiodun Adewuya wey **be** Principal Investigator Mental Health in Primary Care (MeHPhric) Lagos project say im NGO dey help make Primary Health Centres fit treat pipo wey get mental health palava. [T9]*

Professor Abiodun Adewuya who *is* the Principal Mental Health Investigator in Primary Care (MeHPhric) Lagos project says that his NGO is helping Primary health Centres to be able to treat people who have got this mental palaver (problem).

- *Charles Sirleaf wey **be** di former central bank govnor and pikin of former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf na one of di officials wey no fit comot di kontri as e be so.* [T10]

Charles Sirleaf who *is* the former central bank governor and the son of former president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is one of the officials that cannot leave the country as is.

- *Dis **be** where den we get different opinions on di matter.* [T11]

This *is* where we have got different opinions on the matter.

- *Tennis Head coach for Oyo State Sports Council, Saliu Tirimisiu say "pipo dey forget say umpires dem **be** human beings and e possible say dem fit make mistake."* [T12]

Tennis Head coach in Oyo State Sports council, Saliu Tirimisiu said “people forget that umpires *are* human beings and it is possible that they can make mistakes.

- *Na Spain foreign minister Josep Borrell wey **be** former presido of di European Parliament, tok dis one even as e say dat one no go fit work.* [T14]

It was Spain’s foreign minister, Josep Borrell, who *is* the former president of the European Parliament, [who] said this while saying that that will not even be able to work.

APPENDIX V— Examples of *dey*

- *But even as e don **dey** legal to take am for private, e still no **dey** legit to take am or sell for public place. [T2]*

But even as it has *been* legalised to take it in private, it still *is* not legal to to take or sell it in public places.

- *Authorities for di state say wetin **dey** cause flood for dat area na because some pipo go build house for wia water suppose follow pass, come block am [T3]*

Authorities in the state said what *is* causing the floods in that area is because some people went to build house[s] in where water [is] supposed to flow through.

- *Afuwape tok say since dem cancel 3598 votes for polling centres and na only 353 votes wey PDP use take pass APC then im go declare di election, 'inconclusive', to mean say clear winner no **dey**. [T4]*

Afuwape said that since they cancelled 3598 votes in polling centres and it is only 353 votes that PDP used in beating APC then he will declare the election 'inconclusive', meaning there *is* no clear winner.

- *But wen BBC News Pidgin send email go im company, Reach Robotics, di press team say "di gist wey **dey** circulate for Nigeria news website no correct in some ways. [T5]*

- But when [the] BBC News Pidgin sent [an] email to his company, Reach Robotics, the press team said, “the gist that *is* circulating on Nigerian news website [is] not correct in some ways”.

- *Although di judgment mark one win, di fight still **dey** on inside and outside di courtroom as di LGBTQ community still **dey** find way for pipo to accept dem in terms of marriage laws, adoption laws, and more [T6]*

Although the judgement marked one win, the fight *is* still on inside and outside the courtroom as the LGBTQ community *is* still looking for ways to accept them in terms of marriage laws, adoptions laws and more.

- *Versace fans **dey** breathe fire and brimstone afta Michael Kors buy am over* [T7]

Versace fans *are* breathing fire and brimstone after Michael Kors [has] bought it (Versace) over.

- *E say no be true say federal goment **dey** try to delay di tok-tok on top di new minimum wage* [T8]

He said it is not true that the Federal Government *is* trying to delay the discussion on the new minimum wage.

- *Research don show say 90 percent of mental health palava na pipo wey **dey** suffer depression and fear, according to Centre for Mental Health Research and Initiative.* [T9]

Research has shown that 90 percent of mental health problems *are* [cases of] people who *are* suffering from depression and fear, according to Centre of Health Research and Initiative.

- *Liberians **dey** sing "bring back our moni" afta \$100m grow wings vanish like ghost* [T10]

Liberians *are* singing “bring our money back” after \$100m grew wings and disappeared like a ghost.

- *Bill Cosby **dey** face up to 10 years for prison.* [T13]

Bill Cosby *is* facing up to ten years in prison.

- *Trump don make prototypes of di wall im **dey** plan do* [T14]

Trump has made prototypes of the wall he *is* planning to do.

APPENDIX VI— Examples of *say*

- *Dis result show say no be only animals wey dey close to human being like dog and horse na im get di ability to sabi weda human dey happy or dey vex* [T1]

This result shows *that* it is not only animals [that] are close to human beings like dogs and horses that have the ability to know whether humans are happy or angry

- *Dem find out say di goats prefer di smiling faces, dem go first go where di happy face dey before even look di side of foto wey get vex-vex face.* [T1]

They found out *that* the goats preferred the smiling faces, they went first to where the happy faces were even before looking at the sides where angry faces were.

- *Wen BBC Pidgin go Nkpolu Rumuigbo, we see say all di shop for di area don close sake of di flood water wey don enta come stand for di shop.* [T3]

When BBC Pidgin went to Nkpolu Rumuigbo, we saw *that* all the shops in the area had closed because of the flood that had entered their shops

- *Nigeria election join bodi Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) don announce say di result of di Osun state governorship election for 2018 na 'inconclusive'.* [T4]

Nigerian election body alongside Independent National Electoral Congress (INEC) has announced *that* the results of the Osun state governorship in 2018 is 'inconclusive'.

- *Some of dis fans feel say di quality of Versace go drop now wey Michael Kors don buy am.* [T7]

Some of these fans feel *that* the quality of Versace will drop now that Michael Kors has bought it over.

- *"We no tok say make minimum wage start tomorrow, tomorrow. Di meeting wey dem stop, make dem call am back."* [T8]

We are not saying *that* the minimum wage must start tomorrow. The meeting that they cancelled, let them call it back.

- *Research don show say 90 percent of mental health palava na pipo wey dey suffer depression and fear, according to Centre for Mental Health Research and Initiative.* [T9]

Research has shown *that* 90 percent of mental health palavrs (troubles) are people [who] are suffering [from] depression and fear, according to Centre for Mental Health Research and Initiative.

- *Recently, di French Open organisers ban Serena Williams Cat suit dress as dem believe say e dey against dia dress code ethics.* [T12]

Recently, the organisers of French Open banned Serena Williams' catsuit as they believed *that* it was against their dress code ethics.

- *For retrial wey dey do for April, dem rule say Cosby dey guilty of three counts of sexual assault unto say im drug and molest Andrea Constand for 2004.* [T13]

During the retrial that they held in April, they ruled *that* Cosby was guilty of three counts of sexual assault besides that he drugged and molested Andrea Constand in 2004.

- *On Sunday, dem dey expect say 500,000 pipo go gada for park for Dublin as di Pope do Mass to celebrate di World Meeting of Families.* [T15]

On Sunday, they were expecting *that* 500,000 people were going to gather in [a] park in Dublin as the Pope held [a] Mass to celebrate the World Meeting of Families.

Appendix VII— Examples of subordinate clauses

In these complex clauses, the subordinators and their clauses are underlined for easier identification.

- *Animals **wey** human dey train to chop like goats, fit also know how pesin dey feel.*

[T1]

Animals that humans train to be eaten like goats can also know how [a] person is feeling.

- *South Africa goment bin don try to dey ban di drug **wey** dem say no dey good for pipo health but dem neva tok about dis new judgement.* [T2]

South African government has been trying to ban the drug that they say is not good for people's health but they have not spoken about this new judgement.

- *Di oda two na Uruguay **wey** legalize am for 2013 and Canada become di second to legalize am for June dis year.* [T2]

The other two are Uruguay, that legalised it in 2013, and Canada becoming the second to legalize it in June this year.

- *But **wen** BBC News Pidgin send email go im company, Reach Robotics, di press team say "di gist **wey** dey circulate for Nigeria news website no correct in some ways.* [T5]

But when [the] BBC News Pidgin sent [an] email to his company, Reach Robotics, the press team said “the gist that is circulating on Nigerian news website [is] not correct in some ways”.

- *Di kontri supreme court on Thursday deliver one historic judgement, **wey** strike out section 377 of Indian Penal Code **wey** make am crime to do homosexual activity.* [T6]

The country's Supreme Court on Thursday delivered one historic judgement, that struck out the section 377 of Indian Penal Code which made committing homosexual activities a crime.

- *Ogbonge US fashion brand Michael Kors don confirm say dem don buy Versace over with \$2.1bn and di move dey pepper fans of Versace for bodii. [T7]*

A prestigious US fashion brand, Michael Kors, has confirmed that they have bought Versace over with \$2.1bn and this move is enraging fans of Versace.

- *Donatella don dey run Versace since 1997 wey dem kill her broda Gianni wey start di company 40 years ago. She dey happi about di sale, say e go help Versace "reach im full potential". [T7]*

Donatella has been running Versace since 1997 when they killed her brother Gianni who started the company 40 years ago. She is happy about the sale, [being] that it will help Versace "reach its full potential".

- *Trade Union Congress (TUC) bin don announce say dem go begin strike for early mor-mor on Thursday 27 September afta federal goment for Nigeria fail to meet up wit di deadline to call back di meeting wia dem dey discuss di new minimum wage mata for workers. [T8]*

Trade Union Congress (TUC) has announced that they will begin strike on the early morning of Thursday 27 September after the Federal Government of Nigeria failed to meet up with the deadline to call back the meeting where they are to discuss the new minimum wage matter for workers.

- *I begin think say na spiritual problem. [T9]*

I began to think that it was a spiritual problem.

- *Di moni **wey** dem print for Sweden bin land port for di kontri but before dem go cari am reach di Central Bank, di two containers just vanish and nobody know wia e dey.*

[T10]

The money that they printed in Sweden had landed port in the country but before they went to carry it to the Central Bank, the two containers just vanished and nobody knows where it is.

- *Nigeria journalist Latipha Adebayo, **wey** dey follow di sport wella tell BBC Pidgin say "she no believe di sport dey sexist" as most of di tins like "players welfare, prize money don dey ok." [T12]*

Nigerian journalist Latipha Adebayo, who follows the sport a lot tells BBC Pidgin that "she does not believe the sport is sexist" as most of the things like "payers welfare, prize money have been ok"

- *"Bill Cosby... steal my health and vitality; di way I dey free with pipo; and di trust **wey** I get in myself and odas..." [T13]*

"Bill Cosby ... stole my health and vitality; the way I was free with people; and the trust that I have in myself and others..."

- *On Sunday, dem dey expect **say** 500,000 pipo go gada for park for Dublin as di Pope do Mass to celebrate di World Meeting of Families. [T15]*

On Sunday, they were expecting that 500,000 people would gather in the park in Dublin as the Pope did the Mass to celebrate the World Meeting of Families.