

DOUBLE NUMBER MARKING IN NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH

Precious Affia and Jila Ghomeshi
University of Manitoba

In this paper we show that nominal number in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE hereafter) provides evidence for two number positions: one in Num which is sensitive to animacy and the other nominal structure is the fact that the two types of number marking can co-occur.

As has been documented by others (Tagliamonte et al. 1997, Ogunmodimu n.d.), NPE has a morphological plural marker on animate ([+Human]) nouns, that is the same as its lexifier (English). In (1a) we see that nouns referring to people must take plural marking when they follows the numeral *three* whether or not the definite article also appears. In (1b, c) we see that the inanimate nouns only take plural marking when the definite article appears and that the plural marker is *dem*, not *-s*. In (1d) we see that *dem* can co-occur with the morphological plural in definite noun phrases headed by human nouns:

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|--------|---|-----|--|
| 1. (a) | (di) tiri sumo bois/loyas
DEF three small boys/lawyers
'the three small boys/lawyers' | (c) | di tiri apu/gita/biro dem
DEF three apple/guitar/pen PL
'the three apples/guitars/pen' |
| (b) | tiri apu/gita/biro
three apple/guitar/pen
'three apples/guitars/pen' | (d) | di tiri sumo bois dem
DEF three small boys PL
'the three small boys' |

The plural marker *dem* in NPE serves many of the functions in NPE that it also has in Jamaican (Jamaican Creole, see Stewart 2011). Apart from its use as a third person plural pronoun, it can indicate plurality in phrase final position of definite nominal phrases and can have an associative reading with proper names.

Our proposal for nominal structure in NPE is as follows. We consider the morphological plural to be *-Num* head just above the categorizing head *n*, with the additional restriction that it is only realized with [+Human] nouns. We follow Ghomeshi & Holness (2018) in treating *dem* as a group marker that appears above DP. Specifically, we adopt their proposal that *dem* heads a Group Phrase (GRP) above DP, selecting a DP that is headed by the definite determiner.

This paper provides further support for split plurality within nominal structure. There are proposals for low (Num) and high (DP-adjoined) number in languages that have distinct additive and associative plural markers (e.g. Görgülü 2011 for Turkish, Forbes 2013 for Gitskan). Kramer (2016) proposes a typology of plurality that has a distinction between Num-based plurality and *n*-based plurality and argues that some languages such as Amharic can have both (see also Acquaviva 2008). In adding to this emerging body of work, our paper showcases an example of split plurality in a language with arguably two different sources for its plural marking.