

Is the Nigerian Pidgin Bread Being Buttered or Battered in Linguistics, Teaching and Use Worldwide?



Omowumi Olabode Steven Ekundayo

Ph.D. Department of English and Literature, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria

Email: ekuns20@yahoo.com



Article History

Received: 20 July 2022

Revised: 9 October 2022

Accepted: 15 October 2022

Published: 18 October 2022

How to Cite

Omowumi, O. S. E. (2022). Is the Nigerian Pidgin Bread Being Buttered or Battered in Linguistics, Teaching and Use Worldwide? *Sumerianz Journal of Education, Linguistics and Literature*, 5(4): 80-90.

Abstract

(Nigerian) Pidgin is the number one lingua franca in Nigeria and West Africa, but determining its status and family is not straightforward, often controversial. This paper sets out to establish the status and descriptive labels of Nigerian Pidgin in use, teaching and linguistics to show that the real identity and status of the language is yet beclouded by nebulous typology and terminology of Nigerian English and world Englishes. The paper critically examines the sociolinguistic factors that constrain some linguists and laypeople worldwide to treat Naija as a nonstandard variety of Nigerian English, hence Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) or Pidgin English (PE), and why it should be treated as a language different from English though English is its major lexifier. The paper used observation, usage/use examples and data from secondary sources and concluded that the language is not a variety of Nigerian English or world Englishes, thus proposing a new typology of Afro-Anglo or Afro-Euro-Asian Family of languages for world Pidgins and Creoles. The paper recommends that (i) users and teachers of the language should treat it as a language of its own and avoid using labels such as Pidgin English, Broken English, etc., which are derogatory, (ii) spell the word “Pidgin” or “Creole” always beginning with a capital letter, as is the rule for spelling the name of any language, (iii) universities in Nigeria as a matter of urgency should establish the department of Nigerian Pidgin and Literature to give full attention to its study, as in the case of Department of English and Literature in Nigerian Universities and (iv) it should be used in teaching.

Keywords: Naija; Pidgin; Creole; Lexifier. Nigerian english; World englishes; West African pidgin.

1. Introduction

The paper focuses on the Nigerian Pidgin/Creole and its relationship with English, its major lexifier, its vicissitudes and the questionable descriptive labels linguists and lay people use for it. Trask (1999), defines Pidgin as An auxiliary language created by people with no language in common. Very many times in human history, people with no language in common have found themselves thrown together and obliged to deal with one another. Sometimes the language of just one group will be learned by the other and used as **lingua franca**, but often something quite different happens: words from one or more of the languages of the people involved will be taken and stitched together into a kind of crude way of communicating. This is a *pidgin*... (p. 239)

Nigerian Pidgin developed in the way Trask has defined it here. The English language is its superstrate, the superstrate being the language that pours in more words into Pidgin (Bickerton, 1981). Other Nigerian languages provide the pronunciation, accent, structure and context (its substrate). Naija is the most widely spread and used language in Nigeria. It has creolised in places like Warri, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Benin, Kano, Abuja, Calabar and

many other Nigerian cities and towns. A creole is an advanced and well developed form of Pidgin with native speakers or users who acquired it as their only or additional mother tongue and first language (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Holm, 2000; Mafeni, 1971). In the last decade of the last millennium (1990-2000) and the first two decades of the new millennium (2000-2020), the language has so expanded its areas of use and function that it has gained international recognition in broadcasting, religious proselytisation, world cup football commentaries, Bible and Quran interpretation, electioneering, and, above all, Nigerian popular culture (Afro-beats, hip-hop, stand-up comedy, social interaction and the social media) where it holds sway (Ekundayo and Enwerem, 2021). The Jehovah Witness and several other religious organisations now use Pidgin to conduct their religious activities including translating some portions of the Bible into Naija or interpreting Arabic Quran into spoken Naija. Similarly, the British Broadcasting Corporation launched BBC News Pidgin in 2017 to reach a wider world audience (Sian, 2017). This year in June 2021, the BBC broadcast the news of the huge success of Salem Egho who has translated the Bible into Nigeria Pidgin (BBC, 2021).

However, controversies still surround the language: the same age-long controversies manifesting differently at present. In its early stages of development, it suffered humiliation and rejection. Bamgbose (1995), used the analogy of the bastard child whom everyone liked to send on an errand but no one wanted to claim/accept its parenthood. Today, Nigerian Pidgin is a fine legitimate child whom everyone now sends on communicative errands and wants to claim as their beloved child. Now in its flourishing times, many authorities, societies of language users and institutions are fighting to own it, an ironic development that can tear it to pieces. So, its identity is somehow again in dispute. While some people now tend to treat it as a language of its own that has come a long way, some other people yet conservatively treat it as a substandard or nonstandard variety of English. These two perspectives affect its use, teaching, description and orthography. So, is the 'Pidgin Bread' being buttered or being battered?

Some commendable developments and some questionable linguistic habits motivated this paper. First is Jehovah's Witness' adoption of Pidgin for its religious activities in 2015. Second is the launch of BBC News Pidgin in 2017 and the fact that the high and the mighty who are disengaged with Pidgin or disregarded it earlier now find that Pidgin is unavoidable in official, political, social and governmental activities (BBC, 2016; Enwerem, 2019). The questionable linguistic habit that also motivated this study is that some linguists and users keep treating and calling the language "Pidgin English", "Nigerian Pidgin English," etc. even when the trend in linguistics now is to treat Pidgin as a language of its own similar and significantly different from its major lexifiers (Michaelis *et al.*, 2013).

The undying habit of treating Nigerian Pidgin as a sub-variety of Nigerian English popped up its controversial face on the WhatsApp platform of the *Pragmatics Association of Nigeria* in February 2020, which encouraged the leadership of the Association to include the question of whether Pidgin is a variety of English in the programme of the 3rd Conference of Pragmatics which was held at Anchor University, Ayobo, Lagos (3rd Pragmatic Association of Nigeria Conference hosted by Anchor, University, Lagos, Nigeria from 9th to 12th March, 2020). The consensus at the Conference was that Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of Nigerian English though some members believed it to be a substandard variety of Nigerian English.

Against this backdrop, this paper sets out to answer the question posed in the title of the paper. The question "Is the Nigerian Pidgin Bread being buttered or battered?" is asked to draw attention to some topical issues about the language. Should we keep tagging it Nigerian Pidgin English to give the impression that it is a variety of Nigerian English or should we treat it as a veritable language which emerged from the contributions of structures from many languages used in Nigeria? Who is paying attention to its progress and who is not? Which institutions are engaging it at present? Are these institutions engaging and reflecting its true nature and features appropriately as used in Nigeria? The paper reaffirms the true identity of Nigerian Pidgin, not a matter one would assume has been resolved in favour of Pidgin as a/n in/dependent language very much related to its parent languages. However, the factors mentioned above, particularly the persistent use of the tag *Pidgin English* and the orthographies and code-mixing that the organisations and institutions which have adopted it in recent times regularly impose on it create compelling grounds for the reaffirmation of the true identity and features of Nigerian Pidgin. Specifically, the following questions guided the critical arguments in the paper:

- i. Why do people persistently treat Pidgin as a variety of English and called it Pidgin English?
- ii. Why should we treat Nigerian Pidgin as a language different from English and call it Naija or Naija Languej?
- iii. To which family of language should we classify African and world Pidgins and Creoles which are based on Indo-European languages?
- iv. And what prospects does Naija hold for Nigeria and West Africa?

In subsequent sections, the paper presents literature review, methodology, lists and explains six factors which influence people to treat or see Pidgin as a lower variety of English and gives twelve reasons why the reverse is the case. The conclusion summarises the paper, presents findings, reclassifies the language and offers recommendations for the teaching, learning and description of Naija.

2. Brief Review of Related Literature

Many scholars and linguists have studied Nigerian Pidgin from the 1970s to the present time in 2022 from diverse perspectives. Some of the earliest major studies on the language in Nigeria are Mafeni (1971), Elugbe *et al.* (1991), Bamgbose (1995), Faraclas (2005), among many others which are critically reviewed in section three (3), the argument and discussion, as the paper is mainly a review article. Nigerian Pidgin is the most popular variety of West African English-based Pidgins and Creoles, the number one language in Nigeria and the leading variety of world Pidgins and Creoles (BBC, 2016; Enwerem, 2019). It originated from the contact between European imperialists,

first the Portuguese and later the Britons, in the 16th century along the Atlantic, the Indian and Pacific Oceans (Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Faraclas, 2005; Mufwene, 2002). Social irony and humour lace the vicissitudes that trail the history and development of the Nigerian language questionably called Pidgin English (PE), Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), Nonstandard English, Nigerian Pidgin (NigP) and now Naijá (Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010). From an undermined language given many inappropriate labels, a child that everybody sent on errands but no one wanted as their biological child (Bamgbose, 1995; Elugbe, 1995).

In spite of concerted research efforts to establish the language as a distinct language of its own, linguists and researchers yet stick to the use of the label 'Nigerian Pidgin English' or 'Pidgin English' even when the contents and data of their paper prove the contrary reality that Pidgin is not English or a variety of it, as in Fakayode (2015); Babalola (2018) and Soneye (2019). Conversely, many linguists and scholars use *Nigerian Pidgin*, *Pidgin* and now *Naija*, which are more but not most suitable (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010; Faraclas, 2005; Jowitt, 1991). Even the term Pidgin, according to Faraclas (2005), does not satisfactorily capture the functional and variegated realities of the language in Nigeria because Nigerians use it as a Creole in some areas, as Pidgin and lingua franca in some other places and as a “a decreolised speech form” in other areas (p.18). Jowitt (1991) and Bamgbose (1995) equally submit that Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of world Englishes.

Another serious challenge that besets the language is the lack of a uniform standardised writing system, which many scholars have acknowledged (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010; Faraclas, 2005; Mafeni, 1971; Ofuani, 1982). When we merge these challenges with the fact that government and language planners are disengaged with the language, treating it with bias, and teachers do not accord it the attention it truly deserves, we are constrained to ask the question: Is Pidgin Bread really being buttered or battered in linguistics, teaching and use?

3. Methodology

The paper adopts the fundamental theoretical approach and review article method which consists of critical arguments and a review of previous studies on the status and grammar of Naija, marshalling points for and against the proposition that ‘Nigerian Pidgin is a nonstandard variety of Nigerian English’ or ‘Nigerian Pidgin is a language of its own.’ The researcher also used his native competence as a native speaker of Nigerian Pidgin, intuition and personal observation about the nature, use and grammar of the language in Nigerian for over forty years as a native speaker of the Nigerian Creole/Pidgin.

Examples used for illustration were taken from previous studies and real-life events and presented as numbered samples (Samples 1 to 11). Samples 1, reinterpreted and written in samples 2-4, were taken from a real-life event in 2020; Samples 5-6 were taken from (Domot, 2020); Samples 7-9 were the researcher’s examples and 10-11 were taken from Ekundayo and Olabode (2018). Sample 9 i-iii was given to the final year students of the University of Benin in 2016, 2018 and 2019 to articulate with British and Educated Nigerian English accents to ascertain how the accent of English matches or not with the accent of Nigerian Pidgin. The result is used to explain prosodic differences between Nigerian Pidgin and Nigerian English in this paper. The researcher used a schema to conceptualise graphically reclassifies world Pidgins and Creoles as belonging to the Afro-Anglo or Afro-Euro-Asian Family of languages.

4. Critical Review, Argument and Discussion

The first sub section here presents arguments for the proposition that Nigerian 'Pidgin is a substandard or lower variety of Nigerian English and sub section two argues for the proposition that Nigerian Pidgin is a language of its own even though it shares similarities with its surrounding languages. In sub section three of discussion and argument, the paper harmonises the two positions and concludes that Pidgin is not a variety of world Englishes. Accordingly, the paper argues that

Pidgin linguistics is full of inexact and judgmental terminology, some of which persist till date, and many other concepts and attitudes which confuse linguists and researchers to see it as a variety of English

4.1. Questionable Terms and Labels

The term “Pidgin English” was used because there was no other term that could aptly describe it in its inchoate emergence. People noticed the differences between Pidgin and Educated Nigerian English and also their similarities in vocabulary and structures. So, it was safe to conclude that it is a type of English; hence, Pidgin English. The term “Broken English” does not conceptually denote the same thing as Pidgin. Broken English is a kind of disorderly arranged English sentences and truncated deviant structures that could be understood in most cases (Jowitt, 1991), as in the sample here.

Sample 1:

I told you *clearly*, or did I not *told* you? No, say it that I didn't *told* you. Now, you have *disappoint* me again, causing me serious *embarrass* in the *presence* of the *gather* that people have *gather* to celebrate the *appointt* of our uncle as Minister...(sic)

If we correct the broken structures in italics, we can have a fairly grammatical English that Banjo (1996) classified as Variety III:

Sample 2:

I told you, *clearly*, or did I not *tell* you? No, say it. Now, you have *disappointed* me again, causing me serious *embarrassment* in the *presence* of the *gathering* to celebrate the *appointment* of our uncle as Minister...

Broken English is a variety of Nigerian English but it is not Pidgin. A Nigerian expressing the same idea in Pidgin will say as follows:

Sample 3 (English spelling):

I don tell you before, abi I no tell you? No, talk say I no tell you. Now, you don fall my hand for public come embarrass me for where people dey celebrate our uncle wey dem just appoint Minister. (Pidgin gloss mine)

Sample 4: Popular Nigerian Pidgin with phonetic spelling:

Ai don tel you bifor, abi ai no tel you? No, tok am sey ai no tel you. Nau, you don fol mai hand for poblik kom embaras mi for wie peepul dey selibreyt awa onkul wey dem just apoint Minista. (as in [Elugbe et al. \(1991\)](#))

The phonetic spelling type distinguishes Nigerian Pidgin. Samples 3 and 4, which are veritable Pidgin, are different from Samples 1 and 2.

Using “Vernacular English” to denote Pidgin is contradictory and pleonastic because any language can be called a people’s vernacular; for example, English is a vernacular of the British people. As for the use of the term “Bad English,” it is merely judgmental. Absolute terms of quality judgment should be cautiously used or completely avoided in linguistics. Natural biodegradable materials like fruit, egg, orange, yam, etc. can be described as bad, decayed, or decomposed, but not a language that people use to communicate happily and effectively ([Quirk, 1988](#)).

The term ‘Slaves English’ is racist, derogatory and objectionable. It was not slaves who brought Pidgin to Nigeria and not slaves who use/d Pidgin previously and at present. The language developed in Nigeria during the trade contacts between Africans and merciless European merchants, trading in both natural commodities and slaves. Nor is it an artificial language because it has vibrant teeming speakers who use it as their mother tongue or first language or as their second language and lingua franca ([Faraclas, 2005](#)). A language that has more than 100 million speakers in a country cannot be described as artificial. Although the term “Special Nigerian English” is benevolent, it is as misleading as Pidgin English. All languages and their varieties are special to their users. For reasons such as [Faraclas](#) expresses and because several inappropriate terms are used in the language, it was Christened *Naija* at the Linguistic Conference that was held in Ibadan in 2009 ([Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010](#)). Even this term has not been institutionalised and many people also impugn its appropriateness because *Naija* is a Pidginised variant of *Niger* or *Nigger* in *Nigeria*, the derogatory name that Lord Lugard gave to the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates of the African country. In effect, the language is still in the quest for an apt name. The most popular name at present remains Nigerian Pidgin, despite its limitations. Apart from the use of questionable names, earlier authoritative typology of Nigerian English led people to accept it as a lower variety of Nigerian English ([Brosnahan, 1958](#); [Odumuh, 1980](#)).

4.2. Earlier Nigerian English and World Englishes Typology

Since the 1950s, many foreign and Nigerian scholars have categorised *Naija* as a substandard variety of Nigerian English. [Brosnahan \(1958\)](#), identified four levels of NigE and claimed that *Level One* was Pidgin English, the lowest variety acquired in the streets. [Obiechina \(1972\)](#), also identified three varieties of Nigerian English as Pidgin English, Formal English and Creative English. [Odumuh \(1980\)](#), too identified four varieties: Patois (Pidgin and Creole); Nigerian English, Educated Nigerian English and British Equivalent. His typology is analogous to [Banjo’s \(1971;1996\)](#) which identified four varieties of Nigerian English without Pidgin.

[Quirk et al. \(1985\)](#), avers that “pidgin and creole” are interference-influenced English varieties “at an extreme of a different kind. It is a matter of debate, and to some extent politics, whether they should be regarded as falling within the orbit of the English language...They have traditionally been used by the less prosperous and privileged sections of a community and have also been stable over several generations” (p. 28). Similarly, [Gupta \(1997\)](#) defined English as “any variety which its speakers generally call English, including varieties that have been described as creoles” (p. 3). These authoritative assertions, not based on the study of the language, make people hold on rigidly to the belief that Pidgin is a substandard variety of English, a questionable stance reexamined in this paper. [Quirk et al.’s](#) and [Gumta’s](#) assertions here are misleading and dismissive of Pidgin and Creole. [Quirk et al. \(1985\)](#), incorrectly reduce Pidgin and Creole to a variety of extreme interference. Should interference, a single linguistic habit among many others in all languages, be used to classify a language or its variety? Second, they spell Pidgin and Creole with small letters as against the grammatical rule which stipulates that personal names of languages should be spelt with initial capital. This demeaning habit is universal, which this paper corrects. Pidgin with Creole is a language like any other and should be respected and spelt with initial capital, for those who speak it are no less human. Third, they reduce the matter to that of a debate and politics.

Conversely, it is more of a linguistic and social reality that Pidgin is not a variety of world Englishes. Fourth, they derogatorily say that Pidgin and Creole are “traditionally used by less prosperous and privileged sections of a community” ([Quirk et al., 1985](#)). The reality is that English-lexified Creoles and Pidgins are not varieties of English. Speakers of Nigerian Pidgin, and other Pidgin varieties, would not have taken this thinking kindly, even in

1985, let alone now that Nigerian Presidents use it officially and visiting Presidents of other countries speak a smattering of it. So, their position is misleading and as questionable as stating that French-lexified English is a variety of French-based on extreme interference, which the underprivileged and less prosperous Britons use. McArthur (1987), equally argued that the terms Pidgin English and Creole English suggest that they are varieties of English. Indeed, the use of 'English' to denote English-lexified Pidgins and Creoles influences people to think or believe that they are varieties of English emanating from 'extreme cases of interference', as Quirk *et al* argue. (Kperogi, 2015) correctly asserted that Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of English; unfortunately, he used "Pidgin English" in spite of his argument. If it is not English, why call it Pidgin English? One of the factors that informs and tends to substantiate this stance is what is termed here as "the vocabulary vesture of Nigerian Pidgin."

4.3. The Vocabulary Vesture Factor

One of the first features of NigP that any literate person will observe is the avalanche of English words in it. Pidgin is full of English words, which makes some linguists and grammarians conclude with a sense of finality that English-lexified Pidgin is a variety of English. An analogical question may be helpful here. Does the fact that Mr Lagbaja borrows some clothes or even the entire wardrobe of Mr Oyinbo for use permanently or temporally mean that Mr Lagbaja is now automatically Mr Oyinbo? Granted, a link does exist. Similarities, yes. But Mr Lagbaja and Mr Oyinbo are not the same person. Also, the fact that Nigerians wear suits, socks, ties, etc. has not turned them Britons or Americans, or has it? Borrowing is a greed or need that all languages have and display (Crystal, 2008). All languages borrow from contiguous languages. All languages in contact borrow from one another and languages which have common roots sound-alike as French, English, Spanish and Italian; Nigerian Yoruba, Igala and Itsekiri, etc. English borrowed very heavily from French, and French, Spanish, Italian, etc. from Latin; Afrikaan from English and Dutch; Nigerian Esan, Etsako, Ora, Urhobo, Isoko, etc. borrowed heavily from the ancient Edo language. Although English words dominate Nigerian Pidgin, there are many other words from Edo, Yoruba, Hausa, French, Portuguese, Igbo and other Nigerian languages in it (Esizimitor, 2012). Another feature that makes people look at Nigerian Pidgin as a variety of English is its heavily borrowed spelling system.

4.4. The Orthographic Factor

Orthography is one of the greatest strengths and weaknesses of Pidgin. If indeed, it is a variety of Nigerian English or world Englishes, we will not be here arguing that it has no uniform orthography because NigE has a uniform standardised orthography taken wholesale from Standard British English. Because people tend to impose English spelling on NigP, most written samples of Naija look like English on the surface, until we begin to read with an English accent and then we run into grapho-semantic problems. Of course, there are several other ways of writing in Nigerian Pidgin, which previous studies have examined. The phonetic spelling for Naija is becoming popular today (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Ofuani, 1982). Similarity or the imposition of an existing language orthography on another language is not enough a factor to describe the receiving language as a variety of the imposed language. Added to these factors mentioned is the realities of multilingualism.

4.5. Multilingual Community Constraints

The unavoidable consequences of multilingualism constrain some scholars to think that English and Naija operate the same code. For example, it is very easy to code-mix Nigerian English, Nigerian Pidgin and Broken English. When some linguists see the result of such a linguistic habit, they hastily conclude that it is Nigerian Pidgin. An excellent example is the BBC News Pidgin experiment with Pidgin. Although the BBC should be commended for launching the BBC News Pidgin, what they write as Pidgin is a code mixture of standard British and Nigerian English, Broken English and West African Pidgin. Foreigners who read them will easily jump to the conclusion that Nigerian Pidgin is a nonstandard variety of the English language. Some samples of the BBC News Pidgin are presented here.

Sample 5a:

Abandon student of KNUST die-See what we know.... People make outraged for Ghana after KNUST SHS teachers allegedly abandon students and leave student to die sake of Covid-19 fear. De student who start dey complain of severe stomach pains, start dey vomit for de school campus around 3.00pm Tuesday (KNUST SHS, 2020)

The structures underlined in Sample 5a are not Nigerian or West African Pidgin but Broken English, as in Sample 1 used earlier. In West African Pidgin, it will be rendered in this way:

Sample 5b:

Student wey dem abandon for KNUST SHS come die-See wetin we know for inside di mata: People come ves well well for Ghana bikos KNUST SHS teacher dem abandon student wey get Covid-19 to die sake of fear-fear. Di student wey start to dey complain sey stomach dey pain am well well come dey vomit for di school campus around 3.00 pm for Tuesday. (KNUST SHS, 2020)

Below is another example. **Sample 6a:**

My son die inside di building wey collapse' August Alsina and Singer, Keke Palmer clash afta Jada Pinkett confirm dia 'entanglement'- Dis na wetin cause di gbas gbas. Jada Pinkett and Will Smith confirm say true-true she get relationship with August Alsina (Domot, 2020).

Specimen 6a sounds more Pidgin than specimen 5a. However, a certain English structure 'entanglement' yet crept in. The Nigerian Pidgin words for entanglement are *gbege*, *wahala*, *kasala*, *kuorel* (*quarrel*), *fight-fight*, etc. 'Confirm' is spelt in two ways as *confam* and *confirm*. It should be either 'confirm' as in English spelling or 'konfam' as in Pidgin nativised phonetic spelling consistently (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Faraclas, 2005).

Other multilingual and sociolinguistic factors that generate classification confusion are interference, borrowing, language attitude, diglossia, translation and interpretation, which almost always apply to English and Pidgin in the same way. For example, interference of mother tongue affects Nigerian English and Pidgin in the same way, but it is more pronounced in Pidgin than in Nigerian English; for instance, compare these phonological structures in Standard British English, Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin.

Samples 7:

a. <I told my mother-in-law that I would be in Nigeria for Christmas>

SBE (b): /aɪ təʊld maɪ 'mʌð.ə.rɪn.lə: ðæt aɪ wəd bi: ɪn naɪ 'dʒɪrɪ.ə fə 'krɪs.məs/

NigE (c): /aɪ told maɪ 'mɔdə ɪn.lə: dat aɪ wud bi: ɪn naɪ 'dʒɪrɪə fə 'krɪsmas/

Nigerian Pidgin:

d. I tell my wife mama say I go come Nigeria come do Christmas (English Spelling).

Ai tel mai moda-in-law sey ai go kom Naijiria kom do Krismas (Pidgin Phonetic Spelling) /aɪ tɛl maɪ 'mɔdə ɪn.lə se aɪ go kɔm naɪ 'dʒɪrɪə kɔm du 'krɪsmas/

Nigerian English pronunciation of major words and the Nigerian Pidgin articulation shows similarity in these words /'mɔdə ɪn.lə/, /naɪ'dʒɪrɪə/ and /'krɪsmas/. Aspects of connected speech are not observed in the two samples. Few educated Nigerians do use the SBE/RP type. However, the syntactic structure of the British and Nigerian English examples are the same though there are some accentual differences. The Pidgin example cited above follows the syntactic structure of the Nigerian Pidgin and Nigerian languages, not English.

Borrowings from Nigerian languages are used in both codes; however, more local loan words and calques are used in Pidgin. Some scholars yet think that English and Pidgin are in a diglossic situation in Nigeria, which is fallacious. When we juxtapose the criteria for diglossia by Charles Ferguson as applied in Adegbite (2020) with the functions of English and Naija in Nigeria, the comparison violates diglossia. Perhaps, Naija and English shared a diglossic relationship in the colonial and early post-colonial times, not at present.

Another challenge is conservatism. Some people find it had to accept or treat Naija as a different language. For instance, English Scholars' Association of Nigerian (ESAN), the apex body for English studies in Nigerian, treats Pidgin as if it is a variety of Nigerian English. Every year, it designs Pidgin topics for presentation in its conference and publication in its reputable journal. Often, these topics are examined from the perspectives of English and how Pidgin hampers pupils and students proficiency in English. Some heads and principals of some primary and secondary schools prohibit the use of Pidgin in school, as if it were not a language, for the questionable reason that it hampers proficiency in English. People hardly look at it from the other perspective that it is English that is hampering the development of Pidgin in many unsuccessful ways, because concerted efforts to stifle Naija have failed completely. Rather, people's conscious and unconscious disengagement with and neglect of Pidgin speed up its spread and development. The last point in this sub section is the factor of universal grammar, which makes many scholars argue that Pidgin is a branch of world Englishes (Chomsky, 1965; Quirk *et al.*, 1985).

4.6. The Factor of Universal Grammar

Universal grammar (ug) focuses on the common features found in all languages such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs; segmental and suprasegmentals. Chomsky (1965) Universal Grammar (UG) denotes the principles and parametres, which underlie human language acquisition, features, development and use (Matthews, 2014). Similarities of English and Pidgin vocabularies do at times make some scholars argue that Nigerian Pidgin and Nigerian English are varieties of the same code because one can identify some similarities of the two codes at all the levels of language operation: phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. One who sets out to argue that English and Nigerian Pidgin are varieties of the same language will find some veritable features in its lexicon, morphology and semantics. For example, 'Who be dat?' or 'Na who be dat?' is Naija equivalent of English 'Who is that?' 'Give him a slap' (English) is 'Giv am slap' in Pidgin (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018). Such convergences exist in the two languages.

However, when Pidgin is situated in discourse and p contexts of situation, the story changes. One discovers that no smooth mutual intelligibility exists between them. Some Nigerians think they have smooth mutual intelligibility because the two codes are often code mixed in the same context and because Nigerians understand both languages and so see them as one. Hence, they pay less or no attention to their grammatical nuances. Similarities of structures and even sameness of certain language features in two or more languages are not enough to establish a language variety. They do establish closeness or members of the same language family, a point we will return to shortly. Why do linguists now authoritatively say that Naija is not a variety of the English language even though they share certain features in common? (Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010; Faraclas, 2005).

5. Naija as a different language

Worldwide, the trend at present is to treat Pidgin, including Nigerian Pidgin, as a language of its own. In this way, we can study it independently, not with the binoculars and established rules and principles of English though comparative linguistics is worthwhile. The following factors scientifically make one to see that they are different codes.

5.1. Reversal of Earlier Research Tendencies

The tendencies in earlier studies mentioned here have been reversed. For example, [Banjo's \(1971;1996\)](#) in his most popular classification of Nigerian English varieties correctly excludes Naija. Similarly, [Mafeni \(1971\)](#) has argued strongly that Pidgin is the number one language used in Nigeria and many Nigerian born in the cities acquire it as their native language in addition to their parent's tongues. [Adesanoye \(1973\)](#), in his tripartite categorisation of written NigE into (Varieties I, II & III) also does well to exclude Nigerian Pidgin.

[Adeniran \(1979\)](#) gives a tripartite classification of the Near-Native Variety, the Local Colour Variety and the Incipient Bilingual Type of Nigerian English, which appropriately excludes Nigerian Pidgin and the epochal Pidgin works by [Elugbe et al. \(1991\)](#) and [Elugbe \(1995\)](#) treat NigP as a language, not as a variety of Nigerian English. [Bamgbose \(1995\)](#), identifies three types of English in Nigeria: Contact English (CE), Victorian English (VE) and School English (SE). From Contact English emerged Nigerian Pidgin and Broken English. However, Bamgbose keeps them apart. While admitting the similarities of the two codes and their interconnected discourse and communicative functions in Nigeria, he avers that it is unacceptable to call Nigerian Pidgin a variety of Nigerian English. [Jowitt \(1991\)](#) equally says that it is wrong and misleading to regard NigP as a branch of Nigerian English: "For a long time, laymen and professionals alike regarded a Pidgin [e.g. Nigerian Pidgin] as a debased form of a Standard language [e.g. English], which was used instead of the Standard language by those who were incapable of or at least had not the opportunity of learning the latter [Standard English]" (p. 12). [Ekundayo and Olabode \(2018\)](#) shows that Pidgin is an (in)dependent language, the most popular language in Nigeria and the number one lingua franca in West Africa. He illustrates with many examples differences in the two codes at all the levels of language organisation, including in the discourse, figurative and pragmatic features of Naija.

Foreign scholars in the field also authoritatively hold that English-lexified Pidgins and Creoles are not varieties of English. [Derek Bickerton \(1975;1981\)](#), a renowned authority in this area, in his elaborate studies of Hawaiian Pidgin using his *Bio Programme Language Hypothesis* (BPH) established Hawaiian Creole (HC) as a language with a grammar distinct from those of its English lexifier, a reality ([Holm and Patrick, 2007](#)) also amply substantiate and [Michaelis et al. \(2013\)](#) acknowledge and illustrate in their survey of world Pidgins and Creoles. The HC shares many rules and features in common with Nigerian Pidgin. In linguistics, an indispensable parameter for establishing language varieties is mutual intelligibility, which is discussed below.

5.2. The Mutual Intelligibility Factor

Mutual intelligibility refers to the understanding that language speakers from different settings and geographical locations share. For example, speaker A and speaker B leave their settings and travel out to Toronto. On the street, speaker A hears speaker B speaking a language that sounds like his or her language. Although the accent of speaker B is different, speaker A understands speaker B perfectly or almost perfectly. So, they exchange compliments in their different accents as though they are meeting for the first time. Here, the two speakers are using two dialects/varieties of the same language. If speaker A hears and understands some features of speaker B's speech but cannot grasp the total meaning, then the two languages are not dialects or varieties of the same language. World Englishes and Naija do not share perfect or substantial intelligibility as to justify its classification as a variety of English ([Holm and Patrick, 2007; Michaelis et al., 2013](#)).

When Nigerians speak Naija abroad, English speakers do hear sporadically disjointed English words and structures in the language they speak, but they cannot understand Nigerian Pidgin unless s/he learns it (in Nigeria or West Africa) because English and Nigerian Pidgin share no such mutual intelligibility that can enable effective communication to take place between a Nigerian speaker of Pidgin and any foreigner who uses any variety of English ([Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Ekundayo and Enwerem, 2021](#)). How does a Briton or an American interpret the expressions in sample 8 below:

Samples 8:

- i. Who no go no know: Experience is the best teacher
- ii. You fall my hand. You disappointed me
- iii. Na initial gra-gra be dis. It is initial agro
- iv. Fud wey don don don don. God has blessed whomever
- v. Who no know go know. It is sensational
- vi. E don giv am bele. He has impregnated her
- vii. You too get maut. You are an orator
- viii. I don well well-well; etc.? I am very strong now
(Examples and interpretation mine)

One other clear distinguishing factor is accent discussed in 4.3

5.3. The Factor of Accent and Phonology

Furthermore, the pronunciation and accent of Nigerian Pidgin set it apart from English. A speaker of a particular language can switch from one dialect accent to another in the same language without sounding strange and incomprehensible or ridiculous. For example, some Nigerians speak English with foreign accents and people understand and accept their mannerisms. A Yoruba speaker can switch from Egba to Ijebu, Ijesha, Ekiti and standardised uniform Yoruba accents in one speech event and will yet make sense. As an English speaker can switch from American to British, Australian, Canadian, etc. accents without really compromising communication. However, Nigerians cannot successfully speak Pidgin with an English accent without sounding funny and unacceptable. Practical imposition of English prosody and accent on the Naija expressions below generated humour and made them sound fake in a classroom teaching by the researcher from 2016 to 2019:

Sample 9:

- i. E be laik sey you dey kreys!
- ii. If you trai me kpeken, you go hear nwuen for mai hand.
- iii. You tink sey God go gree meyk dat kain tin near mai zone?

The articulation of the three sentences with British and American English accent produced unacceptable and laughable prosody that caused the classes to laugh heartily. Orthography is another area in which we can establish differences in the two related languages though some writers use English orthography as there is no standardised uniform orthography for Naija at present (Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010).

5.4. Orthographic Differences

Even in writing, the preferred orthography for Naija is phonetic spelling, which most linguists use though many writers also conveniently redeploy English orthographic features. Many spellings in Naija differentiate it from English. Among them are borrowed words such as *amala*, *omugwor*, *sabi*, *boku*, *gbagbati*, *kpataki*, *magomago*, *kulikuli*, *shuo*, *shebi*, etc; peculiar Pidgin expressions such as *Na wa o*, *waka*, *kpeme*, *fashi*, *nwuen*, *nyior*, *otoknado*, etc; and phonetic spellings such as *laf* from English *laugh*, *taya* (tired), *konsan* from *concern*, *ritaya* from *retire*, *dizaya* from *desire*, *sidon* from *sit down*, *insaid* for *inside*, etc really differentiate Pidgin from English. Nativised phonetic spelling is more popular and used.

5.5. Lexico-semantic Differences

Besides the point of orthography, many English words in Naija have different meanings or extended or weakened or even reversed meanings. For example, *Chop* in Naija is *eat*, *orto eat* but it means to slice something in English; for example *I dey chop* (I am eating).

Samples 10:

- i. *To chop* up in Pidgin is *to eat well*, *to be well fed*, *looking chubby*, but in English it means to walk up fast; for instance, *you don chop up o* (You look well fed or like one enjoying life).
- ii. *Rake* has several meanings in English as it does in Nigerian Pidgin, but its use in NigP is quite different from the way it is used in English. 'You dey rake' or Na rake you dey rake' in Pidgin means 'you are just bluffing or boasting without substance and power.' Such an expression is not in English. The closest to this, perhaps, is 'rake over something' or 'rake up something', which does not mean 'you dey rake' in Pidgin. (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018)

If we equally look at the grammar of Pidgin, we find a plethora of differences from English grammar.

5.6. Grammatical Categories

Grammatical categories specifically refer to the morphological and syntactic features, which are the core of grammar. It has been shown copiously that the grammar of Pidgin is different from that of English though some features of universal grammar in them have been acknowledged (Bickerton, 1981; Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Faraclas, 2005; Holm, 2000; Holm and Patrick, 2007; Michaelis *et al.*, 2013; Ofuani, 1982). The vast grammatical differences between the two codes impede mutual understanding with English and necessitate translation and interpretation of Naija discourses and texts into English in Nigerian and other English-speaking settings, as BBC Pidgin News.

5.7. Translation and Interpretation for Speakers of Naija and English

Pidgin discourses and texts are often translated and interpreted into English and vice versa. The recent translation of some Bible stories and verses into Pidgin by the Jehovah Witness beginning in 2015 and BBC Pidgin News are two quintessential developments in this regard. As Enwerem (2019) asserts, if Pidgin and English were varieties of the same language, then translation and interpretation will not be imperative to the extent of formal documentation and rigorous attention. Apart from religious circles, in the last World Cup too, football commentaries were run in Pidgin for Nigerian speakers of the language. Great works are being translated into Naija to reach those who understand Pidgin but do not understand English; for example, the film *Jesus of Nazareth*. The fact that some Nigerian English speakers cannot speak Nigerian Pidgin and vice versa also renders translation and interpretation necessary. Such Nigerians learn it as a second language. The advantage here is that Pidgin facilitates learning

English as English enhances learning Naija. Another area in which Pidgin establishes itself is context and figurative usage.

5.8. Contextual and Figurative Usage

Contextual features and figurative expressions hugely differentiate Naija from English. The context of Naija is purely Nigerian and figurative expressions are coined from socio-political experiences and reinvented from English and Nigerian languages. Although words are sometimes taken wholesale from English, English idioms, proverbs and riddles are not so borrowed. It is hard to hear expressions like *e don cut off im nose to spite im face* for English 'cut off one's nose to spite one's face.' Pidgin has its peculiar figurative expressions in idioms, figures of speech, proverbs, riddles, epigrams, aphorisms, etc. that are not in English and Nigerian languages. Some examples are given below:

Samples 11:

- i. *Na you sabi* (It is you who knows) in Nigerian Pidgin is an ironic assertion that disapproves of one's action or utterance with an attitude of helplessness. It means 'it is none of my business. Do or say what you like and also face the consequences.'
- ii. *Na wa o*. It is peculiar to Pidgin and has many contextual meanings of shock, humour, disbelief, disagreement, resignation, etc.
- iii. *You don fall mai hand* (You have disappointed, frustrated, betrayed me) is also an idiom in Pidgin.
- iv. *Who no go no know* (Experience is the best teacher. Who wears the shoes knows where they pinch) is also peculiar to Pidgin, and many others (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018).

Against this backdrop, the trend in linguistics today is to treat Pidgins and Creoles as different languages from their lexifiers. In addition to these proper trends, it is proposed here that world Pidgins and Creoles be grouped under a family of languages.

5.9. What Prospects for Nigerian and West African Pidgin?

The Nigerian variety shares mutual intelligibility with other English-based Pidgins in West Africa. West African Pidgin holds a bright prospect for its users, being the language with the highest population of speakers in the region (BBC, 2016; Enwerem, 2019; Faraclas, 2005; Michaelis *et al.*, 2013). The BBC and the Jehovah's Witness acknowledge its ubiquity in the region; hence, they adopted it for broadcast and evangelism respectively. In Nigeria, the language has spread, without official promotion and support, to various aspects of national and individual life, taking over popular culture, music, stand-up comedy, domestic chats among siblings, interaction on campuses and military and paramilitary barracks and advertisement, Nigerian Home videos, electioneering, etc. Its only challenge is the lack of uniform orthography resulting from the attitudes of linguists to it and the fact that no uniform orthography has been standardised for it. Judging from the strides the language has achieved and its vehicular importance, it is the number one candidate for the office of Indigenous National Language in Nigeria. A sanguine prospect lies ahead of the language in Nigerian and West Africa.

6. Conclusion, Proposal and Recommendation

As already shown, linguists and lay people have described and classified Nigerian Pidgin with many questionable names and argued for several reasons that it was/is a variety of Nigerian English. Many linguists have also proved with ample evidence that Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of English but a language that developed from the fine blend of English words with the structures, phonology and contextual features of Nigerian languages. Against this backdrop, the researcher proposes and recommends as follows:

6.1. Proposed Classification for Naija

In describing and classifying Naija, its origin, grammar and pragmatics (contextual), sociocultural and phonological features should be taken into consideration. In terms of origin, it is a half-cast child born in Nigeria and West Africa in the 15th century (Elugbe *et al.*, 1991). Therefore, it is indigenous to West Africa and indeed the number one language of the region. The contextual plane of Naija is purely and proudly Nigerian. However, we cannot undermine the contributions of foreign languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Arabic to the emergence and development of the language, especially its vocabulary.

Hence, the researcher proposes that Nigerian and other African Pidgins of any of the Indo-European languages as a major lexifier should be taught and described as a hybrid language belonging to the 'Afro-Proto-Germanic Family of Languages' (APFL) or 'Afro-Euro-Asian Pidgins and Creoles' (AEAPaC) pronounced /æəpæk/. Naija and other Indo-European-language-lexified Pidgins belong to this category. The family is conceptualised in the schema below:

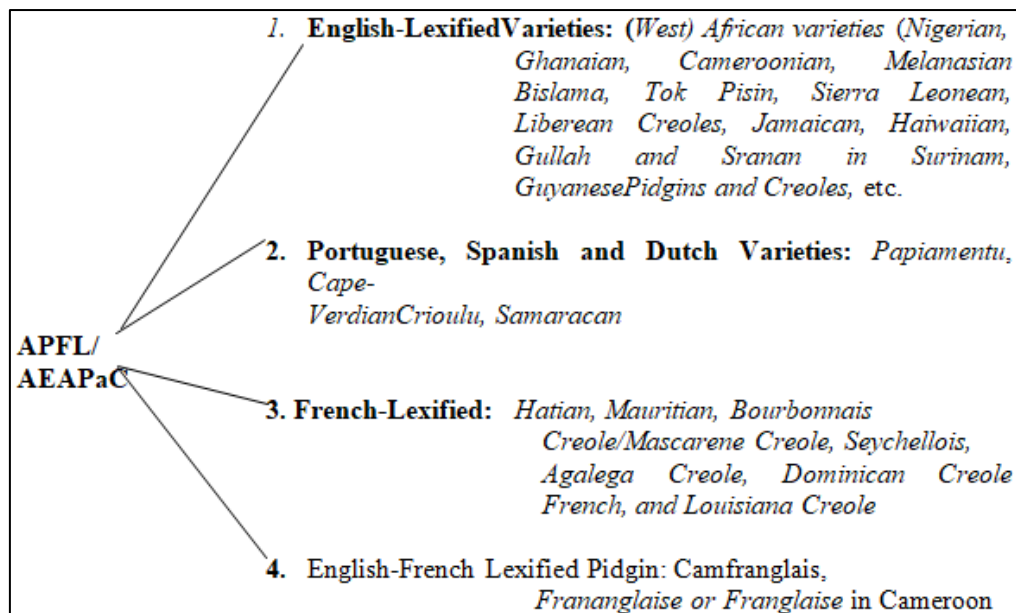


Fig-1. A Schema of World-Pidgin/Creole Family as Conceptualised by the Researcher

Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of Nigerian English, let alone being a variety of world Englishes. It is the number one language in Nigeria which draws bulk of its vocabulary from English and its surrounding languages, just as English got bulk of its vocabulary from French, Latin, Hebrew and other contiguous languages; yet it is not tagged 'Pidgin French'. Pidgin/Creole, like every other language, grew from (an) existing language(s) and assumes its own distinct identity. English speakers all over the world understand Nigerian English despite differences in pronunciation and grammar, but not Nigerian Pidgin, as now used in BBC News Pidgin, though the BBC News variety is questionable in its orthography and heavy code mixture of Pidgin, Broken English, and standard English structures.

6.2. Recommendations

The survey of studies reveals two universally established biased language attitudes to Pidgin which should be quickly corrected through teaching worldwide. The first one is the insistence on the use of 'Pidgin English', 'Nigerian Pidgin English', 'Special Nigerian English', 'Simplified Nigerian English,' etc. Nigerian Pidgin/Creole or the new term *Naija* should be used instead, until a better name is found for it.

The second habit is writing Pidgin and Creole with initial small letter when they stand alone, as *pidgin* or *creole*, against the orthographic rules of writing personal names of people, places and languages, as if Pidgin is not a name of a language. Yet, we do not write **english*, **french*, **german*, **chinese*, **spanish*, **hindi*, **yoruba*, etc. even when they stand alone. This is orthographic bias against the language. Pidgin/Creole is a language like any other and should be accorded the respect it deserves. People, entities, languages, etc. come to the world in different ways, either by caesarean birth or natural labour, a human being is a human being. All languages are the products of contact and creativity, either contact with nature and environment or contact with people who already have their native languages and now are constrained to create a new one that has the hybridised features of all the languages in contact, which is called Pidgin.

The researcher further recommends that universities in Nigeria should establish the Department of Nigerian Pidgin/Creole and Literary Studies, as we have for other languages. It is illogical and discriminatory that the number one language in West Africa has no Department whatsoever in any university devoted to its studies. Lastly, Nigerian Pidgin should be adopted as Nigeria's national language for education, teaching and mass communication. This will immediately motivate linguists and teacher to adopt a uniform standardized orthography for it, and such orthography already exist (See (Ekundayo and Olabode, 2018; Ekundayo and Enwerem, 2021; Elugbe *et al.*, 1991; Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, 2010)).

References

- Adegbite, W. (2020). *Sociolinguistics and the sociology of english in Nigeria*. Obafemi Awolowo University Press: Ile-Ife.
- Adeniran, A. (1979). *Model of Nigerian english*. In Ebo Ubahakwe (ed.) *varieties and functions of english in Nigeria*. African University Press: Ibadan. 227-41.
- Adesanoye, F. (1973). *A study of varieties of written english in Nigeria*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Ibadan.
- Babalola, A. (2018). Thematic structure in Nigerian pidgin english: A systemic-functional approach. *Journal of the English Scholars Association*, 1(2): 188-287.
- Bamgbose, A. (1995). *English in the Nigerian environment*. In ayo banjo, Ayo Bamgbose and Andrew Thomas (eds.). *New englishes: A west african perspective*. Mosuro Publishers: Ibadan.
- Banjo, A. (1971). *Towards a definition of standard Nigerian spoken english*. *Actes du 8e congress de la societe linguistique de l'afrique occidentale*. Abidjan. 165-75.

- Banjo, A. (1996). *Making a virtue of necessity: An overview of the english language in Nigeria*. Ibadan University Press.
- BBC (2016). Pidgin- West African Lingua Franca. Available: www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38000387
- BBC (2021). Meet salem egho, di Nigerian man wey translate bible to pidgin. Available: www.bbc.tori57498373
- Bickerton, D. (1975). *Dynamics of a creole system*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Bickerton, D. (1981). *Roots of language*. Karoma Publishers: USA.
- Brosnahan, L. F. (1958). English in Southern Nigeria. *English Studies*, 39: 97-110.
- Chomsky, N. A. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. MIT.
- Crystal, D. (2008). *A dictionary of phonology and linguistics*. Blackwell.
- Domot (2020). BBC news pidgin. Available: <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin>
- Ekundayo and Olabode, S. (2018). *Meyk Naija Awa Nashonal Languej Nau*. OfunnameWaves: Benin.
- Ekundayo and Enwerem, C. R. (2021). Writing Naija right: A critical comparative review of Nigerian Pidgin orthographies. *Journal of Linguistic Association of Nigeria (JOLAN)*, 24(2): 82-98.
- Elugbe, B. O. (1995). *Nigerian pidgin: Problems and prospects*. (284-299). In Ayo Banjo, Ayo Bamgbose and Andrew Thomas (eds.). *New englishes: A West African perspective*. Mosuro: Ibadan.
- Elugbe, B. O., Omamor and Augusta, P. (1991). *Nigerian pidgin: problems and prospect*. Heinemann: Ibadan.
- Enwerem, C. R. (2019). *A critical assessment of Nigerian pidgin orthographies from 1970-2019*. Bachelor's dissertation. University of Benin.
- Esizimotor (2012). A study of the history and structure of Naija. Available: <https://www.unigiessen.de/resolueuid/0f203f8782731b6cfc5627a98e78245>
- Esizimotor and Oshorenoya, D., 2010. "What orthography for Naija?" In *Proceedings of the Conference on Nigerian Pidgin*. University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria. pp. 8-9.
- Fakayode, O. I. (2015). The language of poverty and the poverty of language: The german translation of nigerian pidgin english in Nigerian literature. *Ife Studies in African Literature and the Arts (ISALA)*, 10: 103-18.
- Faraclas, N. G. (2005). *Nigerian pidgin descriptive grammar*. Routledge: New York.
- Gupta, A. F. (1997). *Colonisation, migration, and functions of english*. In schneider E. W, ed. *Englishes around the world: Studies in honour of manfred gorlach*. John Benjamin: London. 47-58.
- Holm, J. B. (2000). *An introduction to pidgin and creoleb*. Cambridge University Press: London.
- Holm, J. B. and Patrick, P. L. (2007). *Comparative creole syntax. Parallel outline of 18 creole*. Amazon: UK.
- Jowitt, D. (1991). *Nigerian english usage: An introduction* Longman: Lagos.
- KNUST SHS (2020). Ghanaians bore after teachers allegedly abandon sick student to die sake of Covid-19 fear. Available: <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-5333851>
- Kperogi, F. (2015). *Glocal english: The changing face and form of nigerian english in a global world*. Peter Lang Publisher.
- Mafeni, B. (1971). *Nigerian Pidgin*. (95-112). In john spencer. (Ed.). *The english language in West Africa*. Longman: London.
- Matthews, P. H. (2014). *Oxford concise dictionary of linguistics*. 3rd edn: Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- McArthur, T. (1987). The english languages? *English Today*, 11: 9-13.
- Michaelis, Maria, S., Philippe, M., Martin, H. and Magnus, H. (2013). *The atlas of pidgin and creole language structures*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Mufwene, S. (2002). Pidgin and creole languages. International encyclopedia of the social and behavioural sciences. Available: <https://mufwene.uchicago.edu/pidginCreoleLanguage.html>.
- Obiechina, E. N. (1972). *Onitsha market literature*. Heinemann Books: Ibadan.
- Odumuh, A. O. (1980). *The syntax and semantics of Nigerian english*. (doctoral dissertation). Ahmadu Bello University: Zaria.
- Ofuani, O. A. (1982). A discussion of the progressive aspect in Nigerian pidgin. *Papers in Linguistics*, 15(3): 229-39.
- Quirk, R. (1988). *Foreword*. In sydney greenbaum. *Good english and the Grammarian*. Longman: London.
- Quirk, R., Sydney, G., Geoffrey, L. and Jan, S. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the english language*. Longman: London.
- Sian, B. (2017). Wetin dey happen? The BBC's news site is a huge deal. Available: <https://www.wired.co.uk>
- Soneye, T. (2019). A phonological précis of Nigerian pidgin english. *Journal of English Scholars' Association of Nigeria*, 21(1): 103-33.
- Trask, L. T. (1999). *Key concepts in language and linguistics*. Routledge.