

Krzysztof Kosecki

University of Lodz

Poland

e-mail: krzysztof.kosecki@filologia.uni.lodz.pl

ORCID: 0000-0002-6163-3720

COGNITIVE SEMANTICS AGAINST CREOLE EXCEPTIONALISM: A CASE STUDY OF BODY PART EXPRESSIONS IN NIGERIAN PIDGIN

Abstract. One of the claims of creole exceptionalism is that creole languages have lexicons of reduced conceptual and expressive complexity. Building on previous studies of the lexicon of Nigerian Pidgin / NP and the applications of the cognitive linguistic framework in creole linguistics, the present paper aims to counter the exceptionalism claim by analysing the conceptual structure of body part expressions in NP. It is argued that the expressions not only involve embodied universal patterns of imaginative reasoning, but also blend the substratum patterns of West African languages with the superstratum influence of colonial lexifiers, especially English. Thanks to this, NP speakers can deal with diverse aspects of experience, such as emotions, mental life, social interaction, or business transactions, which is strong evidence for the complex conceptual structure and the richly expressive character of the NP lexicon.

Keywords: body part, creole exceptionalism, embodiment, metaphor, metonymy, Nigerian Pidgin.

1. Introduction

The analysis of lexicons of contact languages is important in two ways. First, it reveals the referential scope of the vocabularies used by speakers of pidgins and creoles. Secondly, it illustrates the extent to which such languages are embedded in the historical and social context of their use. These two issues have been addressed in numerous studies of etymology, lexicons, stylistic registers, language change, and socio-pragmatic aspects of various pidgins and creoles, for example Tok Pisin (Brash, 1971; Franklin & Thomas, 2006; McElhanon, 1978; Mühlhäusler, 1985), Cameroonian Pidgin English (Todd & Mühlhäusler, 1978), Nigerian Pidgin / NP (Faraclas,

1996, 2021; Mensah, 2011, 2012), as well as other Atlantic and Pacific contact languages (Bartens & Baker, 2012; Corum, 2016, 2021; Holm, 1988; Sebba, 1997).

In spite of Keesing's (1985) exhortation to apply Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) cognitive linguistic ideas in the study of non-Western languages and Mühlhäusler's (1995) recommendation to study "metaphors others live by", fewer works have discussed the patterns of conceptual construal operative in pidgin and creole lexicons. Huttar's (1994) analysis of cognitively salient concepts in Ndyuka, a study of Krio expressions for animals and plants (Nordlander, 2007), an analysis of Ghanaian Pidgin English conversions (Osei-Tutu & Corum, 2013), a study of NP proverbs (Idegbekwe, 2015), discussions of Tok Pisin expressions for emotions and mobile technology (King, 2014, 2015), as well as an analysis of Kriol gestures for emotions (Ponsonnet, 2017) respond to the recommendation.

The cognitive linguistic framework was also used to challenge the view of creoles as exceptional and deficient languages. Corum (2016) first systematically applied its tenets in the description of body part expressions used in a whole range of Afro-Atlantic creoles lexified by English, for example Sranan Tongo, Jamaican Creole, Trinidadian Creole, and Guyanese Creole. He argued that their lexicons involved complex conceptual patterns. Establishing a firm connection between the "embodied universal tendencies of imaginative reasoning", the West African substratum, and the European colonial superstratum yielded a more comprehensive view of creole genesis and the structure of creole lexicons (Corum, 2021, pp. 194, 198–201) by showing them to be conceptually as complex as the lexicons of their lexifiers.

Building on these studies, the present analysis aims to make a threefold contribution to Pidgin and Creole linguistics. First, in opposition to the exceptionalism claim, it intends to give further support to the view that creole lexicons are conceptually and expressively as complex as the lexicons of their European lexifiers. Secondly, instead of providing an overview of conceptualizations operating in diverse West African *lingua francas*, it aims to focus in more detail on a contact language that is most important and most widespread in Nigeria, both as a first and as a second language, and is regarded as "the most ethnically neutral [...] in the country" that speaks more than 500 different languages (Caron, 2020, p. 58). Third, it aims to extend and strengthen the application of cognitive linguistics to the study of contact languages by showing the role and scale of embodiment in the conceptual patterns they involve.

The discussion illustrates the conceptual complexity of the body part expressions in NP as motivated by the fundamental cognitive mechanisms of metonymy, metaphor, and the interaction of these two processes. The figurative concepts reflect various universal embodied patterns, such as pre-conceptual image schemata, basic-level and prototype-based categories, as well as mappings across perceptual modalities. They provide access to such fundamental cultural concepts as space, emotions, intellect, and communication. Many of them also blend the West African and European cultural categories.

The paper is divided into six parts. Section 2 outlines the views of creole exceptionalism and some criticism of such assumptions. Section 3 introduces the methodological framework of the analysis – the figurative patterns of thought, the embodiment hypothesis, and Corum’s (2021) model of creole genesis. Section 4 provides a brief description of NP and the historical background of its development. Section 5 analyses 37 body-related NP expressions and 14 patterns of conceptual construal that operate in their structure. Section 6 links the individual body parts with the domains of experience that they help access, as well as briefly discusses their relation to category structure, cultural models of experience, and the related grammatical patterns. Section 7 summarizes the results of the analysis against the background of the adopted methodological framework.

2. Creole exceptionalism

Creole exceptionalism has sources in 19th century philology, neo-Darwinian biology, and 20th century views of language evolution. The hypothesis claims that

- (i) primitive creole grammars and lexicons reflect the primitive brain organization of their users;
- (ii) creole speakers belong to a different evolutionary level and can only partly approximate the structures of European languages;
- (iii) creoles develop in ways different from regular languages and thus form new linguistic phyla (DeGraff, 2003, 2005a, 2005b).

As the allegedly impoverished linguistic structure of creoles has become an “historical universal” (DeGraff, 2005b, p. 543), exceptionalism-related views still appear in the 21st century (McWhorter, 2001).

Linguists who refuse to accept the Eurocentric exceptionalism perspective argue that

- (i) speakers of all languages employ the same psycholinguistic processes;
- (ii) creole genesis and acquisition are based on universal linguistic patterns;
- (iii) except for the socio-historical context of their emergence, creoles are not different from non-contact languages (DeGraff, 2005a, 2005b).

They claim that the development of creoles was only triggered by cognitive and socio-pragmatic factors, but not motivated by them (Migge, 2003, p. 108). Contact languages are dynamic, set in historical and social contexts, and reflect the current communicative needs of their users (Mühlhäusler, 1992).

3. The methodological background

The analysis is grounded in cognitive linguistic findings about the structure of the human conceptual system and a model of creole genesis that incorporates these findings in the explanation of the scope and structure of creole lexicons. Cognitive linguistics sees language as a reflection of the users' conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and makes two fundamental claims related to it. First, the system is shaped by the universal strategies of metaphor and metonymy (Dirven, 2003), which also frequently interact with each other (Geeraerts, 2003; Goossens, 2003). Secondly, it reflects the concept-making function of the body, which is evident in the form of our linguistic representations of experience. The pluricausal and trans-causal model of creole genesis (Corum, 2021) connects the cognitive semantic framework with the issues of colonial contact between various indigenous African languages and their colonial lexifiers, especially English. The selected methods of data collection and arrangement reflect the cognitive linguistic emphasis on the analysis of expressions that reflect the diversity and complexity of conceptual patterns and cultural categories.

3.1. Metonymy, metaphor, and metaphor-metonymy interaction

Metonymy, whose function is mainly referential (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 147–148), operates within a single domain, both in individual and category-related expressions (Littlemore, 2015; Radden & Kövecses, 1999). For example, in the expression *Downing Street is in conflict with the EU*, the location

(Downing Street) is the vehicle concept that stands for the British government, which is the target concept. The expression *That graduate student is an Aristotle*, in turn, involves a paragon structured by two metonymies: Aristotle first stands for his salient property of being a philosophical genius and then is used as a prototype to access all geniuses of this kind (Barcelona, 2002, pp. 220–221). Numerous other expressions also involve more than one metonymic step. For example, in *You'll find better ideas than that in the library*, ideas provide access to words, words to pages, and pages to books (Fass, 1997, p. 73).

Metaphor – a more complex pattern of construal than metonymy – is based on cross-domain mapping and provides an understanding of one concept in terms of another. Thus, to say *This is a big sum of money* means that a lot of money is involved – in other words, the target domain of amount is understood in terms of the source domain of physical size. Both the tripartite classification of metaphors into orientational, ontological, and structural, and the bipartite division into primary and complex metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 14–34, 46–51; 1999, pp. 45–73) reflect the increasing complexity of source domains mapped onto target domains.

Metaphor-metonymy interaction, also called metaphonymy, is the most complex form of conceptual construal. It takes various forms, such as metaphor from metonymy or metonymy within metaphor (Goossens, 2003). For example, the expression *beat one's breast* 'make a public confession of sins' has a metonymic part-for-whole basis in a religious ceremony; if used outside the religious context, it assumes a more abstract character and becomes a metaphor from metonymy (Goossens, 2003, pp. 361–363) based on a mapping from a specific to a generic domain. Other forms of interaction include the consecutive and parallel presence of metonymy and metaphor within one expression (Geeraerts, 2003).

3.2. The embodiment hypothesis

The hypothesis – originally formulated by Johnson (1987) – assumes “that human physical, cognitive, and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems” (Rohrer, 2007, p. 27). Human cognitive processing involves

- (i) the use of spatial relations and pre-conceptual image schemata;
- (ii) basic-level and prototype-based categorization;
- (iii) synaesthesia, that is, the overlapping of various sensory modalities;
- (iv) aspects of social and cultural contexts.

All of these elements are reflected in the structure of concepts that speakers of diverse languages use in conventional communication.

Image schemata, such as path, container, or centre-periphery, “emerge [...] as meaningful structures [...] chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions” (Johnson, 1987, p. 29). They are then mapped onto non-sensory kinds of experience to yield metaphorical concepts. For example, the expression *John fell in love but quickly fell out of love again* represents the experience of the emotion in terms of a container schema.

Basic-level categories and prototypes are motivated by the sensorimotor experience we owe to the way in which our brains have evolved and the kinds of bodies we have (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, pp. 18–20, 26–28). Thus, for example, we use such concepts as the head, the belly, or the mouth rather than the superordinate concept of the body organ. We also link them with their prototypical functions, for example the head with the mental faculty, or prototypical sensations, for example the experience of an upset stomach with strong emotions.

Synaesthesia gives rise to a special kind of conceptual metaphor based on mappings across sensory domains. The mappings usually move up from the lower senses to the higher ones: touch → taste → smell → sound → sight (Yu, 2003, pp. 21–22). For example, the expressions *The music was sweet* and *She dislikes loud colours* map, respectively, taste onto sound and sound onto vision.

One of the ways in which the socio-cultural context shapes our concepts is the use of culture-specific cognitive models, for example of emotions (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995) and body parts (Hilpert, 2007). On the one hand, the human body is “an environmental universal” and “a rich resource for exploring fundamental issues about the nature of categorisation”, as well as “a basic pre-linguistic source for conceptual structure” that feeds into embodiment, metaphor, and semantic extension (Enfield, Asif, & van Staden, 2006, pp. 137, 146). On the other hand, diverse languages employ the same body parts in conceptualizations of different aspects of experience. For example, the languages of Southern Asia and Polynesia locate emotions in the abdomen rather than in the heart (Sharifian, Dirven, Yu, & Niemeier, 2008, p. 4). Whereas English uses *back* to refer to the temporal orientation of the past, the speakers of Wolof employ the expression *ginnaaw* back ‘after’ to refer to the temporal orientation of the future (Kraska-Szlenk, 2014, pp. 20–21). Hilpert (2007), Kraska-Szlenk (2014, 2023), Majid, Enfield, and van Staden (2006), as well as Sharifian, Dirven, Yu, and Niemeier (2008) discuss such conceptual dif-

ferences, which are a reflection of “situated embodiment” (Zlatev, 1997). Corum (2016, 2021) extends the perspective to body part expressions in English-lexified Afro-American creoles and traces some of the underlying concepts to the contact between the West African substratum and the colonial European superstratum.

3.3. Creole genesis

As Corum (2021, p. 198) discusses, linguists have so far explained the origin of creole expressions on the basis of a zero-sum selection from the following three options:

- (i) linguistic universals;
- (ii) one substratum language;
- (iii) one European lexifier.

The cognitive-oriented modification of the above mono-causal pattern into a pluri-causal and trans-causal system means that more than one of the following options or all of them have to be taken into account at the same time:

- (i) universal embodied patterns of human imaginative reasoning;
- (ii) concepts motivated by contact with diverse but typologically similar substratum languages;
- (iii) concepts motivated by contact with diverse but typologically related European languages.

The change provides a more comprehensive account of creole genesis (Corum, 2021, pp. 199–200).

3.4. The data

Like in numerous other analyses of concepts in cognitive linguistics (Hilpert, 2007; Kövecses, 1986, 2002; Kraska-Szlenk, 2014, 2023; Lakoff, 1987) which focus on lexical semantics, the data were collected by means of the lexical method. The emphasis was placed on selecting naturally used examples. Thus, the 37 expressions come primarily from the on-line *The Nigerian Pidgin English dictionary created by you for you!* (2023), the NP course-book and paper by Frąckiewicz (2015, 2022), papers by Mensah (2011, 2012) and Ofulue (2010), and Sebba’s (1997) monograph on contact languages. The on-line dictionary of NP, the papers by Mensah (2011, 2012) and – at least to some extent – by Ofulue (2010) rely on

the natural, casual speech of the users or their usage practices.¹ Mensah (2012, pp. 209–210), for example, used the method of participant observation – the examples come from the recorded discourse of speakers, media programmes, initiated discussions, as well as consultants representative of various age groups and social backgrounds. Unless indicated otherwise, contextual examples of the usage of some of the expressions are provided on the basis of the on-line dictionary. The examples are not limited to any specific variety of NP. The English equivalents of some of the expressions follow the on-line *Cambridge English dictionary: Meanings & definitions* (2023) and *Collins dictionary* (2023).

The method of data arrangement, which gives priority to conceptual patterns rather than body parts or elements of grammar related to them, is motivated by the aim of the paper, which is to counter one of the creole exceptionalism claims. The representation of the increasing complexity of figurative construal provides direct evidence for the facts that NP employs complex universal patterns of imaginative reasoning and that these patterns yield conceptualizations as diverse as those used in non-contact languages.

4. Nigerian Pidgin

NP developed in the wake of 19th century European trade along the coast of West Africa and has since then spread from Calabar, Port Harcourt, and Warri to the area of the lower Niger and other Nigerian towns and cities (Ativie, 2022, p. 1). It has diverse dialects and today is used by about 110 million people in the world, both as the first and the second language, as well as for wider purposes than typical contact contexts, such as market transactions (Faraclas, 2021, p. 9). As a consequence of attempts to give it a unifying function within an otherwise multilingual country, NP is becoming standardized and was even given the name *Naija* ‘Nigeria’ (Frąckiewicz, 2015, p. 5).

NP is mainly lexified by English, but it also draws some of its vocabulary from French and Portuguese, as well as from such West African languages as Efik, Erei, Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba (Mensah, 2012, p. 2; Ugot, Offiong, & Oyo, 2013, p. 225). The diverse linguistic background enriches its lexicon and motivates the creative transfer of semantic patterns. The distinctively Nigerian usage, rooted in the West African substratum, functions side by side with the European influence (Adamo, 2007, pp. 42–45; Ativie, 2022, p. 2; Bamgbose, 1995, p. 21; Frąckiewicz, 2021, pp. 226–227).

As Faraclas (1996, pp. 1–2) discusses, NP represents a continuum from pidginized speech based on West African languages (basilect) through creolized form (mesolect) to decreolized form influenced by Nigerian English (acrolect). The choice of the version used depends on the social and cultural contexts. NP today is mainly used by town and city dwellers, both on the coast and inland. Many of the users are bilingual in NP and one of the indigenous languages of the country (Mafeni, 1971, p. 98; Sebba, 1997, p. 127).

Though NP does not yet have a consistent spelling, its increasing lexicon facilitates effective communication in diverse spheres of discourse, thanks to which the language has become a medium of transmission of rich socio-cultural background (Opara & Kennedy-Otti, 2020). NP “is now commonly used all over Nigeria by the educated in informal conversations, and in formal domains, *viz* radio, television, politics, advertising, Christian religious activities, etc.”, as well as “in formal contexts such as information transmission by government and non-government agencies” (Caron, 2020, pp. 58–59). The use of the literate form of NP compares with the English-lexifier Tok Pisin or the French-lexifier Haitien Creole² – it functions in Bible translation, short story writing (Caron, 2020, p. 59), and in the press, for example in such newspapers as *Lagos Life* and *Wakabout* (Elugbe & Omamor, 1991, p. 55). NP is also used in poetry – the dialogue-based poem “Unlimited Liability Company” by Wole Soyinka (Sebba, 1997, pp. 129–131) is a mixture of NP and Standard English.

5. Conceptual construal of body part expressions in NP

The discussion begins with the least complex construal patterns, which are based on metonymy, proceeds to more complex metaphor-based patterns, and ends with patterns based on diverse forms of interaction of these two conceptual strategies. Schematic metonymy formulations are based on the formula *a* for *b*, where *a* is a vehicle concept and *b* is a target concept; they largely follow the patterns used by Radden and Kövecses (1999), Hilpert (2007), and Corum (2016, 2021). Metaphor formulations employ the analogical formula *a* is *b*, where *a* is a target domain and *b* is a source domain, and follow Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Patterns of metonymy-metaphor interaction are based on Goossens (2003), but in some cases go beyond his formulations.

5.1. Metonymy

The conceptual construal of the following four expressions is based on a simple metonymy:

- (1) *bad belle* bad belly ‘jealousy, envy, malice’ THE BODY PART FOR THE EMOTIONS;
- (2) *gudbele* good belly ‘kind-hearted’ THE BODY PART FOR THE EMOTION;
- (3) *út/oñ* ear ‘mobile handset’ THE BODY PART FOR THE INSTRUMENT;
- (4) *yansh man* ass man ‘homosexual’ THE BODY PART FOR ITS SEXUAL FUNCTION.

Examples (1)–(2) involve a culture-specific model in which the belly is the locus of emotions. The first of them can be used in the exemplary context *Dem be bad belle people* they are bad belly people ‘They are jealous, envious, malicious people’. This emotional “abdominocentrism” (Sharifian et al., 2008, p. 4) reflects the conceptualization of emotions common in the West African substratum and used, for example, by the Dogon of Mali and Burkina Faso (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011) and speakers of Hausa (Hollington, 2015, pp. 94–95). Expressions (3)–(4) are derived, respectively, from Efik and Yoruba, two West African languages that make up the substratum of NP. The second of them blends indigenous and lexifier elements.

5.2. Metonymic chain

Each of the following two expressions involves a chain of two metonymies:

- (5) *bad mouth* ‘speak maliciously about somebody’ THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION FOR ACTION;
- (6) *longatrot* long throat ‘glutton, greedy’ THE BODY PART DIMENSION FOR THE CAPACITY OF ITS FUNCTION FOR THE PERSON.

Expression (5) was borrowed from English – its second metonymy is a result of noun-to-verb conversion. The exocentric compound in expression (6) is a calque from the West African substratum. It can be used in the exemplary context *Na your long throat go kill you one day* it is your long throat FUT kill you one day ‘Your gluttony / greed will kill you one day’.

5.3. Metonymy + metaphor

In the five expressions below, metonymy is followed by metaphor:

- (7) *bele swit* belly sweet ‘well-said, happiness’ metonymy THE BODY PART FOR VERBAL AGREEMENT / THE EMOTION + metaphor AGREEABLE / HAPPY IS SWEET;

- (8) *bottom power* ‘sexual right (of women) for favouritism’ metonymy
THE BODY PART FOR ITS SEXUAL FUNCTION + metaphor SEX IS A FORCE;
- (9) *head scatter* ‘confuse, disorganize’ metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS
FUNCTION + metaphor LACK OF MENTAL CONTROL IS HAVING THE MIND
IN VARIOUS PLACES;
- (10) *heart cut* ‘shock, fear’ metonymy THE BODY PART FOR THE EMOTION
+ metaphor STRONG EMOTION IS DISRUPTION OF ITS LOCUS;
- (11) *liver melt* ‘surprise’ metonymy THE BODY PART FOR THE EMOTION
+ metaphor STRONG EMOTION IS DESTRUCTION OF ITS LOCUS.

Expressions (7) and (11) reflect the “abdominocentrism” of the West African substratum. Example (8) is a euphemism for any influence that a woman can gain for sexual favours (Blench & Dendo, 2005, p. 4). Sex is perceived as a force because it can effect a change in the situation of a person resorting to its use. Example (9), borrowed from English, reifies the mind – having it as a whole is a precondition for acting in an organized way. Expression (10) has the English counterpart *cut to the heart* ‘give pain or suffering’. It can be used in the exemplary context *Jonas talk say e get accident my heart cut* Jonas say he have accident my heart cut ‘I am shocked / I fear that Jonas had an accident’. Like expression (11), it represents an extreme emotion as destruction of its locus by means of a violent physical action. Examples (9)–(11) involve image schema transformations: in the first two cases, the wholes undergo, respectively, the process of fragmentation and fracturing; in the third case, the solid object becomes soft.

5.4. Metaphor + metonymy

The following twelve expressions reflect the influence of West African languages and English on the lexicon of NP:

- (12) *hold belle* hold belly ‘prevent or endure hunger’ metaphor ENDURING IS
HOLDING + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR THE SENSATION;
- (13) *skata brain* scatter brain ‘(be) puzzled’ metaphor LACK OF MENTAL CON-
TROL IS HAVING THE MIND IN VARIOUS PLACES + metonymy THE BODY
PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (14) *trong hed* strong head ‘stubborn’ metaphor DURABLE IS STRONG + meto-
nymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (15) *get liver* ‘have courage’ metaphor EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY
+ metonymy THE BODY PART FOR THE EMOTION;

- (16) *chop maut* eat mouth ‘kiss’ metaphor OVERCOMING [TAKING CONTROL, MANIPULATING] IS EATING + metonymy THE WHOLE FOR THE PART;
- (17) *get maut* get mouth ‘talkative’ metaphor SPEECH IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (18) *mek maut* make mouth ‘boast’ metaphor SPEECH IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (19) *sharp mouth* sharp mouth ‘loquacity, acid tongue’ metaphor DISAGREEABLE IS SHARP + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (20) *smel maut* smell mouth ‘use offensive words’ metaphor VERBALLY AGGRESSIVE IS STINKY + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (21) *sweet maut* sweet mouth ‘flattery’ metaphor AGREEABLE IS SWEET + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION.

Metaphors in expressions (12)–(15) and (17)–(21) reify the respective target concepts by means of object schema mapping. The sense of ‘strong’ in example (14) is also present in Twi and Ga (Corum, 2021, p. 196), as well as in Igbo, where the expression has the counterpart *ísí ike* (Mensah, 2011, p. 224). However, English also has the expression *headstrong* ‘very determined to do what you want without listening to others’ (*Cambridge English dictionary*, 2023). Portuguese, another European lexifier of NP, also has the idiom *cabeça dura* head hard ‘stubborn’. The exemplary context *Ol boy, you want scale that 10 meter fence? You have liver oh!* all boy, you want scale that 10 meter fence? you have liver ‘Boys, you want to climb that 10 m fence? You must be courageous!’ illustrates the use of example (15). *Chop* in example (16) is a verb of ingestion / consumption that reflects an “exercised” role in metaphorical mapping that involves an “agentive subject” taking control of a patient – such mappings are common in some West African languages, such as Hausa (Frąckiewicz, 2021, p. 218; Jaggar & Buba, 2009, pp. 229–230, 232, 235), but absent in English. Expressions (19)–(21) involve synaesthesia and map, respectively, tactile, olfactory, and gustatory properties onto the indirectly accessed domain of sound. Example (19) has an English counterpart of the same form. Expression (20) is of African origin. Example (21) may have been taken over from English (Corum, 2021, p. 199) or is a calque of the Hausa expression *yi zaƙin baki* do sweet mouth ‘present convincing speech’ (Frąckiewicz, 2021, pp. 226–227). It is also used in other West African languages, such as Twi, Wai, Ga, Yoruba, and Kikongo (Corum, 2021, p. 199).

5.5. Metaphor + metonymic chain

The following three expressions differ in the number of chained metonymies:

- (22) *pour ai* pour eye ‘check out place or something’ metaphor GAZING IS POURING + metonymic chain THE EYE FOR VISION FOR ATTENTION;
- (23) *sharp ai* sharp eye ‘be careful / observant’ metaphor INTENSIVE IS SHARP + metonymic chain THE EYE FOR VISION FOR ATTENTION;
- (24) *big ai* big eye ‘ambitious, greedy’ metaphor BIG IS STRONG + metonymic chain THE EYE FOR VISION FOR ATTENTION FOR DESIRE.

Expression (22), a calque of the Hausa counterpart *zuba ido* pour eye ‘gaze’ (Frąckiewicz, 2021, p. 226), employs an African metaphor. An exemplary illustration of its contextual use is the statement *I just say make i come pour eye for your party* I just say make me come pour eye for your party ‘I say, let me come and inspect your party’. Example (23), which has the English counterpart *sharp-eyed* ‘very good at noticing things’ (*Cambridge English dictionary*, 2023), is a case of synaesthesia which maps tactile experience onto perception and attention. In expression (24) the metaphor involves the experiential correlation of mass and weight – big objects exert more force on the environment than small objects (Corum, 2016, p. 73; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 50). The example possibly reflects the West African substratum of such languages as Twi and Igbo (Corum, 2016, p. 70). However, European lexifiers of NP also have similar concepts: the French expression *avoir les yeux plus gros que le ventre* have eyes bigger than one’s stomach ‘be greedy’ and the Portuguese expression *ter o olho maior que a barriga* have eyes bigger than one’s belly ‘be greedy’ have the same conceptual structure; the pattern is also present in BE. The three examples also reify attention and desire in terms of object schema mapping.

5.6. Metaphor + metaphor

The following expression involves the consecutive use of two metaphors:

- (25) *shuk leg autsaid* shake leg outside ‘engage in adulterous relationship by a married woman’ CHANGE IS MOTION + RELATIONSHIPS ARE ENCLOSURES.

The first metaphor is a common cross-linguistic way of conceptualizing change. It reflects “experiencing the change of state that goes with the change of location as you move” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 52). The sec-

ond metaphor, based on the image schema of containment, is motivated by the experience of closely related people living within “the same enclosed physical space” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 53).

5.7. Metaphor + metaphor + metonymy

In the present expression, two metaphors are followed by metonymy:

- (26) *get big hed* have big head ‘(be) able to do something’ metaphor THE MIND IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY + metaphor BIG IS STRONG + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION.

The example is related to the Hausa expression *yi girman kai* do big head ‘be full of concepts’ (Frąckiewicz, 2021, p. 226). As it also reifies the mind, the conceptual construal involves object schema mapping.

5.8. Metaphor + metaphor + metonymic chain

The present expression, a loan translation from West African languages, involves two metaphors followed by a simple metonymic chain:

- (27) *basket mouth* ‘talkative person’ metaphor SPEECH IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY + metaphor THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR SPEECH + metonymic chain THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION FOR THE PERSON.

An exemplary contextual use can be illustrated by the statement *Silas get basket mouth, he de talk too much* Silas has basket mouth, he PRES talk too much ‘Silas has basket mouth, he talks too much’ (Okpongette & Okon, 2016). The expression reifies speech and is thus based on object schema mapping.

5.9. Metaphor from metonymy

The next two expressions are based on one of the patterns of metaphonymy:

- (28) *difren ai* different eye ‘one’s own view, opinion’ metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING from metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION;
- (29) *your hand reach* ‘afford’ metaphor SPECIFIC IS GENERIC from metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION.

Metonymy in expression (28) gives rise to a structural metaphor motivated by the fact that much of human knowledge is possible thanks to vision. Metaphor in example (29) is motivated by the use of the expression in the contexts that do not involve direct physical manipulation. The origins of

the expressions cannot be straightforwardly stated – English, however, uses *eye* in the sense of understanding, as in *eye-opener* ‘event that brings understanding’, and *hand* in the sense of manipulation, as in *come to hand* ‘be within reach’, or control, as in *keep one’s hands on something* ‘exercise control over it’. The last two expressions are also used in non-physical domains.

5.10. Metaphor within metonymy

In each of the following three expressions, metaphor operates within metonymy:

- (30) *cut ai* cut eye ‘give an eye signal’ metaphor LESS IS NARROW within metonymy THE EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE;
- (31) *draw throat* ‘stimulate appetite’ metaphor HUNGER IS FORCE within metonymy THE EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE;
- (32) *tie face* ‘sulk’ metaphor EMOTIONAL RESTRAINT IS PHYSICAL RESTRAINT within metonymy THE BODILY EXPRESSION FOR THE EMOTION.

Expression (30) may have been motivated by the early modern English *cut[ty] eye* ‘look out of the corner of one’s eyes, leer, look askance’ (Corum, 2016, p. 76). Examples (31) and (32), in turn, are of African origin – the second one has a counterpart *daure fuska* tie face ‘give an angry look’ in Hausa (Frąckiewicz, 2021, p. 226).

5.11. [Metaphor from metonymy] + metonymic chain

The exocentric compound

- (33) *coconut head* ‘dunce’ [metaphor IMPERVIOUS IS HARD from metonymy THE WHOLE FOR THE PART] + metonymic chain THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION FOR THE PERSON

is a calque from the Efik expression *ibuot ísíp-mmàkárá* (Mensah, 2011, p. 224). The utterance *Sam na coconut head ein don write JAMB seven times e no fit pass* Sam is coconut head he PAST write JAMB he no can pass ‘Sam is a dunce – he wrote JAMB exam seven times and he cannot pass it’ illustrates an exemplary contextual use. The compound reflects the sense of imperviousness, albeit indirectly: the *coconut* stands for its hard shell, which then becomes the source domain of the metaphor. The noun *head* is the locus of the metonymic chain. Each of the two elements of the compound thus involves a two-step conceptual operation.

5.12. Metaphor + [metaphor from metonymy]

In expression

- (34) *put maut* put mouth ‘comment’ metaphor COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER + [metaphor SPEECH IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY from metonymy THE MOUTH FOR ITS FUNCTION],

the verb *put* implies that “thoughts and feelings are ejected by speaking or writing into an external ‘idea space’ ” and that “they are reified in this external space” in the process of verbal communication that takes the conduit-like form of transfer (Reddy, 1993, p. 170). Speech is again reified thanks to object schema mapping. The example reflects the influence of the West African substratum. However, British English has a slang sense of *mouth* ‘talkativeness’; American English has a rarely used expression *give mouth to* ‘express in speech, say’ (*Collins dictionary*, 2023). The American expression may have been motivated by its slavery-related contact with West African languages.

5.13. [Metaphor from metonymy] + metaphor + metaphor

In expression

- (35) *eye go come down* eye FUT come down ‘come back to reality’ [metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING from metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION] + metaphor TIME IS SPACE + metaphor REAL IS DOWN,

the previously discussed pattern of metaphor-metonymy interaction is further combined with two metaphors. The indigenous element in the expression is *eye* regarded as independent of the rest of the body. Such conceptualizations function in Cameroonian Pidgin English, also used in West Africa (Todd & Mühlhäusler, 1978). The verb *go* was grammaticalized into the marker of the future tense by means of the metaphor TIME IS SPACE – the pattern is also present in English (Heine, Claudi, & Hünnemeyer, 1991, pp. 32–35, 70). The construal of reality as *down* is motivated by the fact that people better understand things that are physically close to them – such expressions as *a flight of fancy* or *a flight of imagination*, based on the complementary metaphor UNREAL IS UP, represent the less obvious mental attitudes.

5.14. [Metaphor + metaphor] within metonymy

In expression

- (36) *kari am fo hed* carry it in head ‘take too much responsibility for something; become obsessed with something’ [metaphor THOUGHTS ARE

PHYSICAL ENTITIES + metaphor THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THE THOUGHTS] within metonymy THE EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE,

two metaphors are embedded within metonymy. The example is similar to the English idioms *get something into one's head* 'be convinced about something that is not true' or *take something into one's head* 'believe it'. The mappings of the object and containment schemata in the ontological metaphors reify thoughts into physical entities.

5.15. Metaphor from [metaphor + metonymy]

The exocentric compound

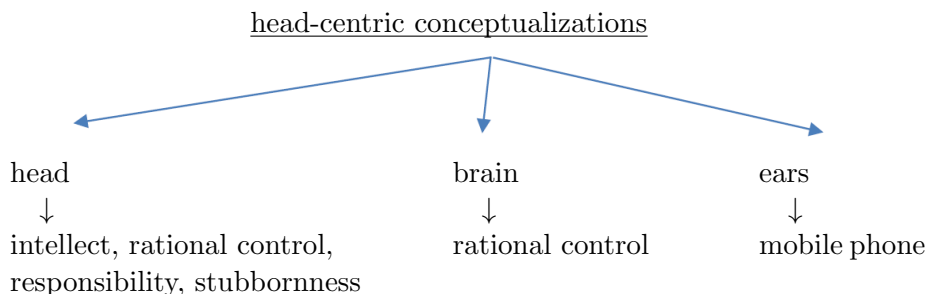
- (37) *bakhand* back hand 'illegal (business)' metaphor SPECIFIC IS GENERIC from [metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING + metonymy THE BODY PART FOR ITS FUNCTION]

extends the function of the hands in exchanging goods beyond the basic physical context. English refers to illegal and corrupt transactions by means of a similar expression *backhander* 'bribe'.

6. Body parts, domains of experience, and some grammatical patterns

The diagram 1, which reflects the top-to-bottom structure of the human body, represents the role of the discussed body parts in conceptualizing the respective domains of experience in NP.

Some body parts reflect cognitive models motivated by the West African substratum. It is, for example, the case of the abdominal area functioning as the locus of various emotions much more frequently than the heart, which is regarded as the locus of emotions in most European languages, including the lexifiers of NP.



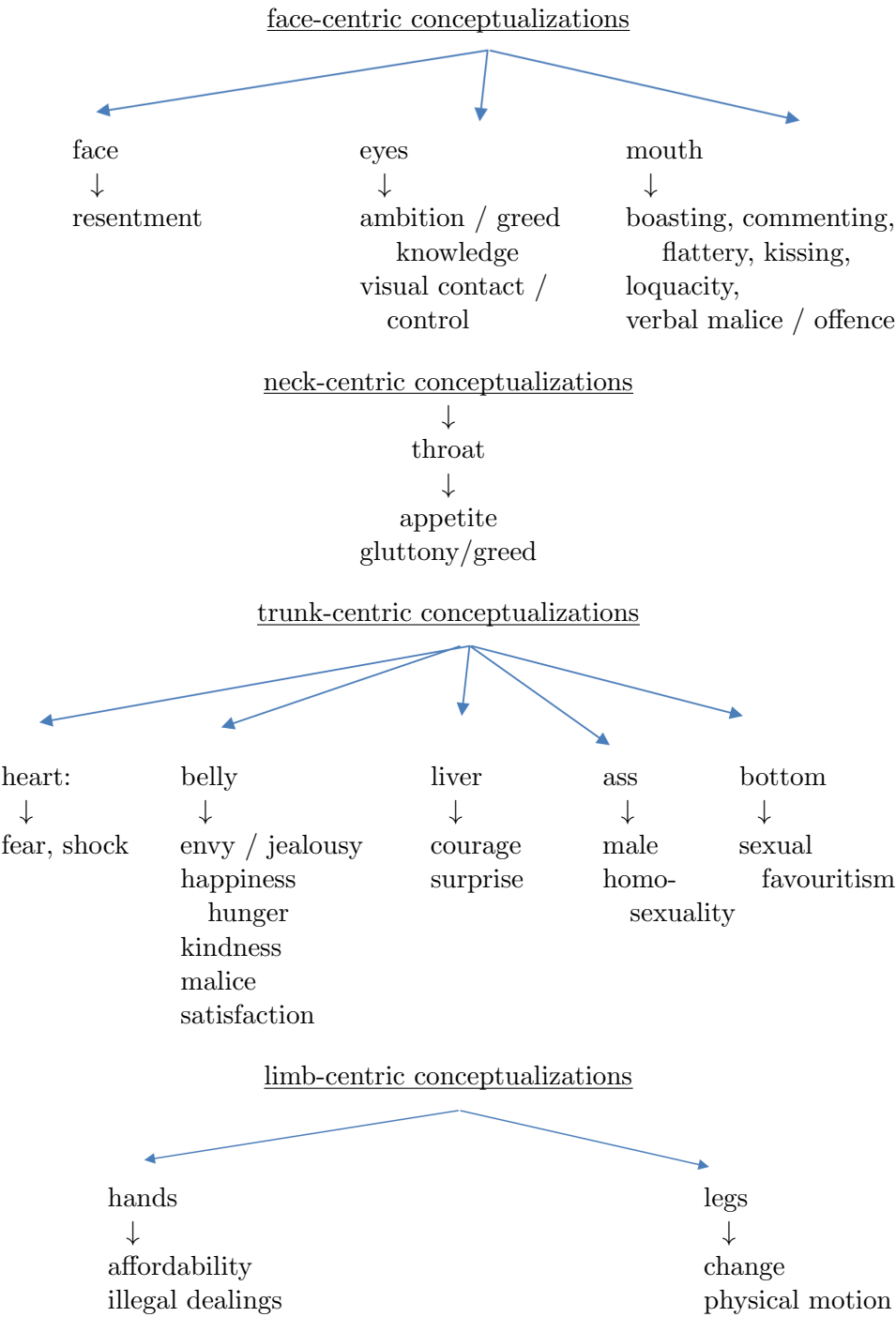


Diagram 1. Body part-based conceptualizations of experience in NP

The grammatical patterns used in the body part expressions are less varied. Most of the expressions are compounds or constructions with verb-noun combinations (Frąckiewicz, 2020, pp. 215–221). Many of the compounds can also be converted into verbs.

7. Summary and conclusions

The 15 conceptual patterns underlying the 37 body part expressions make it possible to formulate several conclusions related to patterns of cognitive processing employed by the users of NP. First, NP speakers employ individual and chained metonymies, all major types of metaphors, and interaction of metonymy with metaphor. Metonymic chains involve two or three elements. Some metaphors also operate in the grammar of the language. In the case of synesthetic metaphors, the lower senses always map onto the higher ones. Though the number of the examples is not representative for NP as a whole, most of them involve mappings onto the domain of sound. The interaction of metonymy and metaphor involves the consecutive use of the strategies and the conditioning of one mechanism by the other. Second, the construal operations reflect various pre-conceptual image schemata, for example container, object, or path. Some of them can be interpreted in terms of image schema transformations, for example whole-to-parts. Third, NP speakers use body parts as basic-level concepts in their prototypical functions – the mouth, for example, usually provides access to speech, the eyes to vision, etc. The structure of such categories is the same as in the systems of categorization used by the speakers of non-contact languages. The relatively larger number of expressions related to the mouth and the belly is motivated by the fundamental role of oral communication and emotions in human experience.³ Fourth, NP speakers draw the body-related concepts both from West African languages and from European lexifiers, and use them to represent various aspects of conventional experience. NP incorporates elements that reflect the socio-historical context of colonialism and thus fulfils the function of cultural transmission in a way that is not different from non-contact languages drawing on the resources of other languages outside the colonial context. NP speakers thus employ conceptual and expressive strategies similar to those used by the speakers of their lexifiers.

Seuren and Wekker, the advocates of the view of contact languages as conceptually simple, say that one of the possible creole linguistic universals is that such languages “place the burden of semantic expression on syn-

tax and the lexicon” (1986, p. 62). As grammatical languages with poorer lexicons and reduced morphologies (Haiman, 1985, p. 166), they tend to maximize semantic transparency (Seuren & Wekker, 1986, p. 62). The use of complex body part expressions by NP speakers seems to contradict this conclusion – creole languages do not rely on a linguistic code which associates every surface unit with a meaning that is clear, salient, and reasonably consistent (Seuren & Wekker, 1986, p. 62). From a cognitive semantic perspective, this reflects the fact that NP speakers employ the whole range of the “fundamental patterns of human thought” and “enduring metaphorical and metonymic conceptual structures” (Gibbs, 2007, pp. 697–698).

The analysed body part expressions also conform to all three aspects of the pluri-causal and trans-causal model of creole genesis propounded by Corum (2021, pp. 197–200). All expressions reflect element (i) of the model in that they are motivated by universal embodied patterns of imaginative reasoning. In many examples elements (ii) and (iii) are options or apply simultaneously – the expressions involve concepts and categories motivated by contact with diverse West African languages and colonial lexifiers, especially English. Such evidence, as well as the fact that NP is a contact language “in transition” between a pidgin and a creole, makes the claim that creole languages are deficient in conceptual and expressive potential impossible to uphold.

Abbreviations used in the text

FUT = future tense
PAST = past tense
PRES = present tense

NOTES

¹ Ofulue (2010) also draws on studies on Nigerian Pidgin Language Bible Translation (NPLBT).

² *Wantok Niuspepa* has been published in Tok Pisin since 1970. In 2004 *Le Matin*, Haiti’s official newspaper, published an issue entirely in Haitien Creole (DeGraff, 2005b, p. 556).

³ *NaijaSynCor*, a corpus-based study of NP, could be a useful tool for a frequency-oriented analysis.

REFERENCES

Adamo, G. E. (2007). Nigerian English. Is it – can it be – part of a quest for cultural expression and identity. *English Today*, 89(23/1), 42–47.

- Agence Nationale de la Recherche (2017–2020). *A Corpus-based Macro-Syntactic Study of Naija (Nigerian Pidgin) – NaijaSynCor*. Retrieved from <https://anr.fr/Project-ANR-16-CE27-0007>.
- Ativie, C. A. (2022). Cultural influences as inputs of development of Nigerian Pidgin. Retrieved from <http://www.uni-giessen.de.resolveuid>
- Bamgbose, A. (1995). English in the Nigerian environment. In A. Bamgbose, A. Banjo, & A. Thomas (Eds.), *New Englishes: A West African perspective* (pp. 9–26). Ibadan: Monsuro.
- Barcelona, A. (2002). On the ubiquity and multiple-level operation of metonymy. In B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & K. Turewicz (Eds.), *Cognitive linguistics today* (pp. 247–259). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Bartens, A., & Baker, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Black through white: African words and calques which survived slavery in creoles and transplanted European languages*. London: Battlebridge.
- Blench, R. & Dendo, M. (2005). *Dictionary of Nigerian English* (draft circulated for comment). Retrieved from <https://www.rogerblench.info> > Language > Niger...
- Brash, E. (1971). Tok pilai, tok piksa na tok bokis: Imaginative dimensions in Melanesian Pidgin. *Kivung*, 4(1), 12–20.
- Cambridge English dictionary: Meanings & definitions*. (2023). Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org> > ...
- Caron, B. (2020). Methodological and technical challenges of a corpus-based study of Naija. In N. Pawlak & I. Will (Eds.), *West African languages: Linguistic theory and communication* (pp. 57–75). Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.
- Collins dictionary*. (2023). Retrieved from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com> > dictionary > english
- Corum, M. (2016). *Cognitive semantics for creole linguistics: Application of metaphor, metonymy and cognitive grammar to Afro-Caribbean creole languages and cultural studies* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras). Retrieved from <http://www.researchgate.net> > publication > 312369508_Co...
- Corum, M. (2021). Conceptual construal, convergence and the creole lexicon. In N. G. Faracías & S. J. Delgado (Eds.), *Creoles, revisited: Language contact, language change, and postcolonial linguistics* (pp. 185–204). New York: Routledge.
- DeGraff, M. (2003). Against creole exceptionalism. *Language*, 79(2), 391–410.
- DeGraff, M. (2005a). Do creole languages constitute an exceptional typological class? *Revue Française de Linguistique Appliquée* [French Review of Applied Linguistics], 10(1), 11–24.
- DeGraff, M. (2005b). Linguists' most dangerous myth: The fallacy of creole exceptionalism. *Language and Society*, 34(4), 533–591.

- Dirven, R. (2003). Metaphor and metonymy: Different mental strategies of conceptualization. In R. Dirven & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 75–111). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elugbe, B. & Omamor, A. (1991). *Nigerian Pidgin: Background and prospects*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Enfield, N. J., Majid, A., & van Staden, M. (2006). Cross-linguistic categorisation of the body: Introduction. *Language Sciences*, 28, 137–147.
- Faraclas, N. G. (1996). *Nigerian Pidgin*. London: Routledge.
- Faraclas, N. G. (2021). Naija: A language of the future. In A. T. Akande & O. Salami (Eds.), *Current trends in Nigerian Pidgin English: A sociolinguistic perspective* (pp. 9–37). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fass, D. C. (1997). *Processing metonymy and metaphor*. Greenwich, CO: Ablex.
- Franklin, K. J., & Thomas, S. K. (2006). Some Tok Pisin idioms. Retrieved from <https://www.sil.org/silewp/2006/silewp2006-004.pdf>
- Frąckiewicz, O. (2015). *We sabi am: Kurs Nigerian Pidgin English* [We sabi am: A course in Nigerian Pidgin English]. Warsaw: University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies.
- Frąckiewicz, O. (2021). Nigerian Pidgin English phraseology in the context of areal influences. In N. Pawlak & I. Will (Eds.), *West African languages: Linguistic theory and communication* (pp. 213–229). Warsaw: University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies.
- Geeraerts, D. (2003). The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in composite expressions. In R. Dirven & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 435–465). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, D., & Grondelaers, S. (1995). Looking back at anger: Cultural traditions and metaphorical patterns. In J. R. Taylor & R. E. MacLaury (Eds.), *Language and the cognitive construal of the world* (pp. 153–179). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gibbs, R. W. Jr. (2007). Idioms and formulaic language. In D. Geeraerts and H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 697–725). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goossens, L. (2003). Metaphtonymy: The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions for linguistic action. In R. Dirven & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 349–377). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haiman, J. (1985). *Natural syntax. Iconicity and erosion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B., Claudi, U., & Hünnemeyer, F. (1991). *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Hilpert, M. (2007). Chained metonymies in lexicon and grammar: A cross-linguistic perspective on body part terms. In G. Radden, K.-M. Köpcke, T. Berg,

- & P. Siemund (Eds.), *Aspects of meaning construction* (pp. 77–98). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hollington, A. (2015). *Travelling conceptualizations. A cognitive and anthropological linguistic study of Jamaican*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Holm, J. (1988). *Pidgins and creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huttar, G. L. (1994). Lexical borrowing, creolization and basic vocabulary. In S. C. Herring & J. C. Paolillo (Eds.), *UTA Working Papers in Linguistics 1* (pp. 1–13). Arlington: The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Idegbekwe, D. (2015). Anthropomorphisms and the Nigerian Pidgin proverbs: A linguistic conceptual metaphorical analysis. *EBSU Journal of Social Sciences Review*, 5(2), 71–84.
- Jaggar, P. J., & Buba, M. (2009). Metaphorical extensions of ‘eat’ → [OVERCOME] and ‘drink’ → [UNDERGO] in Hausa. In J. Newman (Ed.), *The linguistics of eating and drinking* (pp. 229–251). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Keesing, R. (1985). Conventional metaphors and anthropological metaphysics: The problematic of cultural translation. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 41, 200–217.
- King, P. (2014). Tok Pisin and mobajl teknoloji. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia: Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea*, 32, 118–152.
- King, P. (2015). Papuan New Guinean sweet talk: Metaphors from the domain of taste. In E. Piirainen & A. Sherris (Eds.), *Disappearing metaphors and shifting conceptualizations* (pp. 37–64). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kövecses, Z. (1986). *Metaphors of anger, pride, and love: A lexical approach to the study of concepts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kraska-Szlenk, I. (2014). Semantic extensions of body part terms: Common patterns and their interpretations. *Language Sciences*, 44, 15–39.
- Kraska-Szlenk, I. (2023): Embodied lexicon: Body part terms in conceptualization, language structure and discourse. In B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & M. Trojszczak (Eds.), *Language in educational and cultural perspectives* (pp. 177–198). Cham: Springer.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.

- Littlemore, J. (2015). *Metonymy: Hidden shortcuts in language, thought and communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mafeni, B. O. W. (1971). Nigerian Pidgin. In J. Spencer (Ed.), *The English language in West Africa* (pp. 95–112). London: Longman.
- Majid, A., Enfield, N. J., & van Staden, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Parts of the body: Cross-linguistic categorisation*. [Special issue] *Language Sciences*, 28(2–3), 137–360.
- McElhanon, K. A. (1978). On the origin of body image idioms in Tok Pisin. *Kivung*, 11(1), 3–25.
- McPherson, L., & Prokhorov, K. (2011). The use of liver in Dogon emotional encoding. In G. C. Batic (Ed.), *Emotional encoding in African languages* (pp. 38–55). Munich: Lincom Europa.
- McWhorter, J. (2001). The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars. *Linguistic Typology*, 5(2), 125–166.
- Mensah, E. O. (2011). Lexicalization in Nigerian Pidgin. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics*, 37(2), 209–240.
- Mensah, E. O. (2012). Grammaticalization in Nigerian Pidgin. *Íkala, Revista de Lenguaje y Cultura* [Íkala, Review of Language and Culture], 17(2), 167–179.
- Migge, B. (2003). *Creole formation as language contact: The case of the Surinam creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1985). Variation in Tok Pisin. In P. Mühlhäusler & S. A. Wurm (Eds.), *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)* (pp. 233–273). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1992). What is the use of studying pidgin and creole languages? *Language Sciences*, 14(3), 9–16.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1995). Metaphors others live by. *Language & Communication*, 15(3), 281–288.
- Naijalingo. (Ed.). (2023). *The Nigerian Pidgin English dictionary created by you for you!* Retrieved from <http://naijalingo.com>
- Nordlander, J. (2007). The metonymic element in Krio conceptualization: The cases of bif and bush. In K. Kosecki (Ed.), *Perspectives on metonymy: Proceedings of the International Conference “Perspectives on Metonymy”, held in Łódź, Poland, May 6–7, 2005* (pp. 271–287). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Ofulue, C. I. (2010). Towards the standardization of Naija: Vocabulary development and lexical expansion processes. In *Proceedings of the “Conference on Nigerian Pidgin”, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 8–9 July 2009* (pp. 1–9). Ibadan: National Open University of Nigeria.
- Okpongette, A. S., & Okon, I. E. (2016). Word formation processes in the Nigerian English-based pidgin. *Journal of Qualitative Education* 12(2): 232–239. Retrieved from <https://www.academia.edu>>Word...

- Opara, C. G., & Kennedy-Otti, T. (2020). Aspects of lexical features of Nigerian English based pidgin in the South-South Region. *Pan-African Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1), 1–21.
- Osei-Tutu, K., & Corum, M. (2013). Metonymic reasoning in Ghanaian Pidgin: A focus on noun to verb conversions. In *Creolization and commonalities: Transgressing neocolonial boundaries in the languages, literatures and cultures of the Caribbean and the rest of the African diaspora: Proceedings of 16 Annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Conference "The Islands in Between: Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Eastern Caribbean"*, Aruba, November 2013 (pp. 66–77). Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316860327>
- Ponsonnet, M. (2017). Conceptual representations and figurative language in language shift: Metaphors and gestures for emotions in Kriol (Barunga, Northern Australia). *Cognitive Linguistics*, 28(4), 631–671.
- Radden, G., & Kövecses, Z. (1999). Towards a theory of metonymy. In K.-U. Panther & G. Radden (Eds.), *Metonymy in language and thought* (pp. 17–59). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Reddy, M. J. (1993). The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 284–324). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rohrer, T. (2007). Embodiment and experientialism. In D. Geeraerts & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 25–47). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sebba, M. (1997). *Contact languages: Pidgins and creoles*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seuren, P. A. M., & Wekker, H. (1986). Semantic transparency as a factor in creole genesis. In P. Muysken & N. Smith (Eds.), *Substrata versus universals in creole genesis: Papers from the Amsterdam Creole Workshop, April 1985* (pp. 57–70). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sharifian, F., Dirven, R., Yu, N., & Niemeier, S. (2008). Culture and language: Looking for the “mind” inside the body. In F. Sharifian, R. Dirven, N. Yu, & S. Niemeier (Eds.), *Culture, body, and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages* (pp. 3–23). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Todd, L., & Mühlhäusler, P. (1978). Idiomatic expressions in Cameroon Pidgin English and Tok Pisin. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, 1, 1–36.
- Ugot, M., Offiong, O. A., & Oyo, O. E. (2013). Nigerian Pidgin variations in the Ikom-Ogoja axis of Cross River State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 2(2), 223–231.
- Yu, N. (2003). Synesthetic metaphor: A cognitive perspective. *Journal of Literary Semantics*, 32, 19–34.
- Zlatev, J. (1997). *Situated embodiment: Studies in the emergence of spatial meaning*. Stockholm: Gotab Press.