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ABSTRACT

Part One of this study consists of a survey of the changing relationship of the West African writer to English as the medium of literary creation throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The African writer is followed through the almost complete cultural and linguistic dispossession of the eighteenth century which by its close showed signs of slackening. In Chapter Three the changing attitudes towards the African, his education in English, and the gradual re-establishment of his literary independence in the new medium during the nineteenth century are discussed. The process of the 'externalisation' of the African, the emergence of undeniable evidence of his cultural dignity and the final divergence from the British tradition which arose from the early nationalism are also considered as necessary background to the study of the later use of English in West African writing. In Chapter Four, the question of the choice of a language for literary expression in English-speaking West Africa is examined with reference to linguistic thinking.

Part Two is a study of present-day attempts to adapt the English language for literary purposes. The various methods by which this adaptation has been attempted are subjected to linguistic examination, and their varying success is discussed in the light of the writers' bilingualism, which provides a useful insight into the literary effort in West Africa.

The study as a whole is an attempt to provide the foundation of objective precritical criteria upon which a sounder criticism of the language of West African writing in English might be based.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The following study grew out of the recognition that while a great deal has been said in the last few years about West African writing in English, very little of it has taken the form of a cohesive examination of it as a tradition distinct in itself and examinable in its own terms. The tendency has most commonly been to acknowledge the individuality of the literature and to judge it in terms of European tenets of literary criticism, a contradiction that has occurred to very few. This view has been encouraged for two simple reasons. First, the literary forms which have been adopted are largely European ones. Secondly, the language in which it is written is English.

A consequence of the importation of forms has been that the West African writer, even when he has been praised, has felt himself admired for the 'wrong' reasons.¹ It was, indeed, to this reaction against the European critics that Astrachan was replying when he wrote on the alleged absence of individuality of character in West African fiction,

It is noteworthy that the attacks ... have been on critics who praised Nigerian novels, but for the 'wrong' reasons. The reasons are not in fact wrong, only 'European' - but so is the novel.²

From a similar standpoint, Tucker was moved to talk of the tendency towards the sociological and political pamphlet in novelists 'only beginning to tackle the problem of individual characterization in the modern world'

in the following terms.

Topicality is ruining the modern novel written in English about Africa. The English and American commentators are mostly to blame, but the West African novelists must share in the blame.³

Tucker cannot have foreseen the violence with which Ekwensi, in collaboration with Achebe, Nzekwu, Clarke and Soyinka, demanded to know, 'Who the hell is Martin Tucker to be telling Nigerian writers what they should be writing about?..... The fact that Dickens was writing in a hurry about topical issues did not preclude his novels from becoming literature'.⁴ The answer to this would get us nowhere at all, for the whole argument reflects the stalemate to which such criticism has come. In an article in Black Orpheus some years ago, Beier remarked of West African poetry:

The West African poet writing in a European language finds himself in a difficult position. He is almost bound to be a nationalist and more often than not he is actively engaged in the fight for self-government. His poetry is naturally concerned partly with a criticism and rejection of European values - and yet he has to use a European language to express the same rejection.

The poet's paradoxical situation is of course symptomatic of the West African situation as a whole. The people best qualified to lead the nationalist movement are also the most westernised Africans.⁵

The political implications have changed for the West African writer, but the paradox remains in the search for a distinctive artistic expression in another man's language. Indeed, it is here that we would seem to have the valuable constant we have been looking for. The forms in which the West African has expressed himself in English have changed while the medium he has generally used has not.

The criticism of African literature has foundered on the subjectivity of approaches to it. On the one hand, the apparent objectivity of such critics as Tucker and Astrachan is inseparable from their Western sense of proprietorship for the imported literary forms. On the other hand, the West African writer's closeness to his subject goes no further towards the resolution of a sharp critical focus, any more than do such desperate attempts to arrive at critical conclusions as Moore's comparison of The Palm-wine Drinkard to the quest in European myth in the stories of Aeneas and Orpheus and the allegory of Bunyan.⁶

The major fault with the approach to West African literature in English is surely that it has been wholly 'critical' and almost never 'pre-critical'. The obvious similarities of forms and language have obscured the very things that matter in criticism, the things that make a literature different from any other.⁷ Criticism may not proceed without the pre-critical assumptions and if these are not clear they must be defined with a certain amount of objectivity. The aim of this study, therefore, is to attempt to define at least something of this pre-critical background on which evaluation can be based. Paradoxically, the most consistent source

of such pre-critical criteria can be seen after some reflection to be in one of the factors that has tended to obscure them, the English language as used by the writers themselves. Furthermore, it soon becomes apparent that any attempt to isolate the pre-critical criteria from the body of writing in English has to go back a very long way beyond the beginnings of serious critical attention to West African literature in English which can be said to have begun most noticeably in 1952 with Thomas's review of The Palm-wine Drinkard.⁸

In that year Brother Stanislaus Joseph attempted a survey of African 'literature' which included a very diverse body of writing ranging from the technical to the imaginative. However, though he often has useful things to say, his criticism fights an unequal battle with his mysticism and paternalism, simply because, while he mentions earlier writers, he has failed to delimit his pre-critical criteria.⁹

It is maintained in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study that a high degree of insight into the African's relationship to his writing in English is discernible in the language he has used from the eighteenth century onwards through the close affiliation to the English literary tradition and the gradual process of the establishment of a separate tradition which took firm root in the early nationalism of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The suggestion is that the much discussed 'violence to the English language'¹⁰ arises out of this background rather than out of the more recent attempts to establish the uniqueness of African writing in the adaptation of language. It is a process moreover, which has been evolved from the whole complex of the African's changing relationship to the land

from which he has taken his language and the changing attitudes to him, and to his education, on the part of the British themselves. Contemporary efforts to refashion the English language to its new task in the expression of what is felt to be uniquely African can be fully understood only in relation to the socio-historical environment in which the West African writer has moved throughout two centuries. Such attempts to use Africa's 'new voice'¹¹ are part of the gradual adjustment of the writer to the medium and not, as is generally assumed, simply the faltering, fledgeling flights of the writers of an Independent Africa. Independence has removed a major obstacle in the path of the African's artistic emancipation - at least in Western terms - but it cannot with justice be said to have started the whole process. If the objection is raised that such a view, in starting from the close association with an internal British tradition, denies the African writer his originality, we can only reply that the great literatures of the world would have a sorry time of it if this were to become an acceptable critical criterion. To say that the springboard is anchored at one end is not to deny the grace of the diver. If in Chapters 2 and 3 the African writer edges out over the water, in Chapter 4 he contemplates the drop.

Clearly, the debate over the choice of a language for West African literary expression precedes the whole question of the adaptation of English to meet the specific needs of the writer. In Chapter 4, the argument proceeds from early attempts to establish the dignity of the African and his culture in terms of the 'linguistic' arguments of the early nationalists, to the debate concerning the use of the indigenous

languages rather than English, in the statements of Abraham, Awoonor-Williams, Achebe, Wali and others. We do not wish to anticipate the discussion unduly, but it is clear that the solution is not to be found in the selection of an African lingua franca rather than English. Knappert's extraordinary statement that 'since Swahili is more than a century older than any other African literature ... there can be no better language for Africans to write their literature in than Swahili',¹² solves nothing in its failure to recognise that the 'age' of a literature is neither the most obvious nor the simplest linguistic criterion and that the selection of simply another second language makes rather less pedagogical sense, in West Africa at least, in spite of an appeal to pan-Africanism. Towards the end of the chapter, an attempt is made to consider the claims made for the use of either English or the indigenous languages in West African creative writing in the light of recent linguistic thinking.

Part II of this study is concerned with the results of the tendencies discussed so far as they are manifested in contemporary West African prose writing in English. If, as Irele has recently,¹³ we here make an appeal for a consideration of West African literature in terms which are in the broadest sense 'sociological',¹⁴ we must also point out that, since the argument advances on observations about language, the study must similarly be linguistic.

It would appear to be a truism that, since literature is conveyed by language from which it is inseparable, linguistics has an important part to

play in literary criticism. However, linguistics cannot replace literary criticism. Indeed, the very notion that it should do so is abhorrent to the linguist who looks at literature in the light of his linguistic knowledge. There is no reason to suggest that because some of his critical tools are different the linguistically informed critic's intentions are sinister, or that he is a new beast incapable of sensitive thinking in literary matters. Ball, in a review in Essays in Criticism, observed that

linguists will not make literary criticism redundant. The place of linguistics in the study of literature is alongside such other disciplines as psychology and social history: it is one of the several tools which ideally should be in the hands of the literary critic ... To paraphrase B.L. Whorf, whenever a literary effect is obtained this effect is achieved by linguistic processes, or else it is not achieved; an understanding of the nature of language in general and the structure of the particular language in question would seem to be a prerequisite to the study of literature.¹⁵

Even this modest assertion of the usefulness of linguistics in criticism evoked an immediate, sharp rejoinder. It is true, perhaps, that Ball was unnecessarily dogmatic in seeing linguistics as 'a prerequisite to the study of literature', for critics such as Empson, Blackmur and Burke have been illuminating in their discussions of literary usage without formal linguistics, in an intuitive response to language. Linguistics is not more a 'prerequisite' than a thorough psychological training. It is, however, helpful. Ball's minor dogmatism in the interests of his

case raised a more awesome spirit in F.W. Bateson's editorial postscript to his review.

Oil does not mix with water. It is an obvious fact of life that the literary critic doesn't want to be a linguist and vice versa.¹⁶

It promises ill for literary criticism if the nature of the critic is as immutable as oil or water. It is even more alarming that, being made of sterner stuff than the interested linguist, he suggests that an insight into the nature of the medium of a work of literature is of no value.¹⁷ If it is the way of looking at the medium that is objected to, then the critic must be accused of putting the interests of his approach to literature before the interests of the literature it is his job to illuminate.¹⁸ Further, Bateson's objection that the linguist's 'real concern is not with memorable words in the page but with spoken language'¹⁹ is very much out of date as recent work has shown.²⁰

The object of linguistic stylistics is not the accumulation of data - the 'grubbing out of facts' as Fowler has termed it²¹ - but with the handling of the data as a preliminary to critical conclusions. As Freeman observes in his review of Fowler's collection of essays in linguistic stylistics:

The crucial question in linguistic stylistics is not facts, but what is to be done with these facts: to borrow a metaphor from Noam Chomsky, meter-reading is not physics. The practitioner of linguistic stylistics must have enough sympathy with

literature to know what meters to read. When the linguist has elicited a set of meaningful evidence about a piece of literature, the literary critic may then use this linguistic evidence along with other kinds of evidence - biography, the history of ideas, theory of form, etc. - to evolve a full critical reading of the work. This, in brief outline, is linguistic stylistics: an activity prior to and distinct from, but not irrelevant to, the act of criticism itself.²²

It is, of course, true that much linguistic attention to literature has gone no further than the collection of facts. The worst aspects of such an approach can be found readily enough in Sebeok's collection of papers Style in Language²³ where the reader, as George Messing remarked in a mordant review, has the feeling that he has wandered into the Grand Academy of Lagado.²⁴ It is evident that linguistics can tell us a great deal about the facts of style, or more narrowly what some of these facts are, but to do so is not of itself sufficient. It is a recognition of the inadequacy of the merely descriptive approach that has led certain critics to dismiss linguistic stylistics in the absence of a more inclusive theory of stylistics.²⁵ Clearly, linguistics cannot stand alone in an approach to a literary work under normal circumstances. Once again, Roger Fowler has something valuable to say:

The good Practical Critic needs to be a very good linguist. But even the most excellent linguists have failed to gain respect as critics,

for technical virtuosity is not a guarantee of critical success. It is not, as I think linguists have tended to believe, that critics have failed to acknowledge the efficiency of linguistic techniques. Nor, except superficially, is it a question of interdisciplinary hostility, though we linguists have given enough cause for hostility. The fault is with the linguists: to be critics, we must be competent linguists and then become less linguists. The development of precise techniques, and theorising in linguistic terms, though essential, can carry us only a short distance. A programme for linguistic criticism cannot be proposed in terms of a theory of language only. After the refinement of methods, and some thought on elementary questions (literature is basically a use of language, a literature is a part of a particular language, etc.), all remaining issues are critical problems. We should not ask 'how can linguistic criticism be established as a branch of linguistics?' More proper and rewarding is 'what is the place of objective formal description in literary studies'²⁶

On one matter at least the linguist and the critic are agreed: 'In order to talk about a work of literature, one must be able among other things to talk about the language of it'.²⁷ Both of them do so. It must be said that in connection with West African writing in English, which has been noted to be 'different' mainly in matters of language, the critic has often done so in terms which would have profited from a more precise knowledge of the nature of language. The fact that the

language of West African writing is sufficiently noticeable to require critical attention does not excuse the wooliness of the attention it has received. The transgressions have been frequent and have been confined to neither the European nor African critics alone.

Dylan Thomas spoke of Tutuola's language as 'young English'²⁸ and Tom Hopkinson said of African writers that they 'don't learn English; they don't study the rules of grammar; they just tear right into it and let the splinters fly'.²⁹ Hopkinson is making a grave mistake in that he fails to recognise the highly conscious nature of the literary act in general and of this feature in the work of West Africans in particular; but more of that later. The point for the moment is that certain descriptions are offered for the English used by African writers which need more objective justification. Occasionally, these views are even more challenging in their implied assertions as to the nature of language. Gladys Casely-Hayford, noted for her Krio poetry, represents the more extreme, and linguistically less sound, views that have found a platform from time to time.

To a tribe which uses the masculine and feminine genders to describe inanimate objects, everything is invested with life - life denotes action.

Action is the keynote of drama. For instance a Creole, or an Aboriginal, trying to move a heavy box and failing, would say, 'The box no 'gree walka', which means, 'The box refuses to walk'. This shows that the poetic and imaginative spirit that most nations lose with adolescence is the possession of the African till death.³⁰

The case heardly requires an answer and it is not suggested that it is typical except in so far as it represents attempts to remark on what is perhaps the most notable characteristic of West African literature in English, in wholly emotive terms. For the critic, no less than for the linguist, it is difficult to assess the value of a criticism which is sufficiently pleased with its terms of reference as to accept the idea, as Can-Themba apparently does, that African prose can exhibit 'a language that thinks in actions, using words that dart back and forth on quick-moving feet, virile, earthy, garrulous'.³¹

More restrained, but in their own way no less suspect, are views such as Echeruo's of J.P. Clark's 'The Imprisonment of Obatala' in which a design on a pot is described.

The language is English, but the 'stick-insect figures' is not really English. That is to say, it is a combination of original English words with non-English meaning.³²

Echeruo is mistaken in supposing that the lexical item 'stick-insect' is new to English (and also on the evaluative plane of thinking the collocation with 'figures' remarkable), but the real question is not in the example itself but in the implied claim of a distinctly 'African' nature in the collection. Once again, a linguistic assessment might be expected to throw more light on the actual language event concerned and in doing so to add precision to the literary value judgement.

A similar case comes to mind in which Moore, writing about Tutuola's Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle, says of the sentence 'I believe

the two ladies shall come back to this jungle and I shall kill both of them' :³³

The use of the word 'lady' in such a context heightens the comedy of the scene. Gentility is a disease in modern Nigeria; no one is ever described as a 'woman', even by a Satyr.³⁴

Moore's critical judgement would have been more accurate, and a linguist could have helped, if he had known that 'lady' in Nigeria is commonly used to refer to any adult woman whatever her degree of gentility (indeed in some circumstances it may imply the very opposite of the genteel). Moreover, the gentility which 'is a disease in Nigeria' might, to a reader more linguistically aware of the West African situation with regard to the use of English, have appeared to reflect differences of usage, particularly degrees of formal or informal usage, in Nigeria.³⁵

To these, and to other related questions, linguistics can provide a more precise definition.³⁶ When Moore says of Okigbo that he 'chooses to empty the language of all unwelcome content so that he may fill it anew'³⁷, or Clark speaks of 'Soyinka's very English poem Season',³⁸ what grounds justify their judgements? To what degree is an evaluative statement about language acceptable in the absence of objective justification if such justification is available? The critical judgement must frequently be incapable of objective analysis, but where it depends on the analysable element in literature it is less mysterious and may be shown to be true or false. As Fowler remarks:

There is no logical step from linguistic criticism to evaluation or interpretation (except of points of detail); but linguistics does provide ways of unfolding and discussing precise textual effects, and may be a means of assuring a sound factual basis for many sorts of critical judgement.³⁹

'Interpretation' in any literary sense is not possible or verifiable through linguistic means, but in certain secondary ways 'evaluation' is. First of all, a linguistic dismissal of a critical judgement constitutes not only an evaluation of that judgement, but also an implied limitation of the possible evaluations of a particular textual phenomenon. Secondly, if, as is the case with language experimentation in much West African writing, the handling of the language medium can be shown to controvert, or not to controvert, certain inalienable considerations in the nature of language, a judgement can be made about the consequences in the work in question. The discussion of Okara's experiments in Chapters 6 and 7 in some degree constitutes an evaluation of his method in so far as it ignores the nature of language. If it can be shown that a literary work has failed for very unmysterious reasons, there is no need to preserve the mystery of art for its own sake. In much the same way, the assertion that certain habitual operations, such as translation from an African language into English, restrict the possibilities of stylistic choice, is in some degree an evaluative statement. Linguistic stylistics is precritical, but as it may point out which evaluative statements may be ignored, it may also suggest a more objectively verifiable alternative. This process is not of itself linguistic, but it is impossible without

the preliminary linguistic description.

We have special advantages over the linguists who have generally attempted to apply the precise observations made possible by their training to the study of literary texts. Whereas they have almost exclusively approached literature in monolingual situations, we are able to exploit the bilingual situation inherent in nearly all West African writing in English. This advantage is of paramount importance and a major justification of the approach. If linguistics is of importance as a critical tool in the criticism of works by monolingual writers, or writers who may be bilingual but are writing in their mother-tongues, it is doubly important in the approach to works which are the product of the writers' bilingualism. A great deal is known about the effects of bilingualism on individual linguistic performances which adds an objective dimension to the useful comment possible for the linguist. Furthermore, the linguist's abstractions are of even wider significance when certain constants are apparent in varying degrees in a number of authors at once. West African writers using English are united in their bilingualism and their work can with profit be examined in the light of such a common element. It is not too much to claim that while linguistics may reveal much about literary works taken separately, and the abstractions which are hoped for are difficult or even impossible, in the bilingual situation the linguistic description more easily passes from the statements about particular works to those about a literature allowing certain valid generalizations. This becomes most markedly true when one is able to move from the constant of bilingualism which is part of the

writer's linguistic nature and therefore affects his work, to the deliberate use of the bilingualism to artistic ends declared by a number of writers.⁴⁰ Linguistics can illuminate much of value to the critic in his wider task of evaluation in the more frequented literary provinces, but in a literature employing an overt bilingualism it must inform an essential part of his pre-critical knowledge.

It is clear that in any approach such as that envisaged here, descriptions at the levels⁴¹ which have until now represented the linguistic approach to literary texts will not be enough. The earliest attempts to apply precise linguistic techniques to literature were largely interested in the level of phonology in the light of the work of Trager and Smith which so fired the imagination in the early 1950's.⁴² Later attempts to apply transformationalist models to poetry have been interesting in their examination at the grammatical level.⁴³ Levin, however, was forced to recognise the fact that 'since the grammar can ... not determine the semantic equivalence of poetic forms for us, we are forced to resort to an extralinguistic reference'.⁴⁴ It should, perhaps, be mentioned that not a great deal of Levin's book is actually concerned with grammatical description and that, having made his allegiance to Chomsky clear, his most valuable contributions are contextual as in his examination of 'coupling' in William Carlos Williams' 'Theocritus: Idyll I' and his discussion of the nature of poetic language.⁴⁵ It would seem, indeed, that the most valuable statements may not arise from the consideration of the levels of form but from the concern with the inter-level of context.⁴⁶ Binns,

in his contribution to Fowler's volume 'Linguistic' Reading: Two Suggestions of the Quality of Literature'⁴⁷, provides one example of this type of approach. It will become apparent in the following study that the contextual dimension provides the most profitable field of study in connection with West African writing in English.⁴⁸ The investigator's task is made somewhat easier by the fact that a considerable amount of the material that constitutes the corpus is characterized by a common concern in the conveying of 'African meanings' into 'English words'.⁴⁹ We reserve closer discussion until later, but it is worth mentioning that in a monolingual situation the concern with the inter-level of context is not as readily presented for objective study as it is in a situation in which writers are overtly and consistently exploiting their bilingualism.

So far as we are aware, there has been no study so far of the completeness we are attempting here. Fowler's book is a collection of essays on a very wide range of subjects which has been most useful, but it was not intended to exhibit more than a number of possibilities for the linguistic study of literary texts.⁵⁰ Lodge's Language of Fiction is likewise a collection of essays on different topics, though in this case a certain cohesion is apparent in their demonstration of a type of linguistically informed approach in the work of one man.⁵¹ Most work to date has either been fragmentary in its attention to literature - or rather in its attention to larger units which may be termed 'literatures' - or it has only included descriptions of literary texts as part of a more comprehensive intention. Such work, of course, has been invaluable and this study would not have been possible without it. The debt to the linguistic

theories of J.R. Firth and to their expansion in the work of Halliday, Gregory and Spencer has already been mentioned briefly and this debt will become more obvious in the pages that follow. Short studies of particular texts or short outlines of approaches embodying similar principles which have been useful are to be found in McIntosh and Halliday's joint collection of papers Patterns of Language⁵² as well as in the works mentioned above and in the chapters that follow. One larger study, namely Kachru's work on Indian English, has been valuable in suggesting useful principles for our approach, though it was itself more sweeping in its attempt to define an Indian English.⁵³

Kachru's attempt to define an Indian English distinct from all other regional varieties differs from the present study in certain important respects. Kachru's evidence is drawn from both spoken and written sources, though the latter is the major, and covers a wider range of specialised uses of the language, such as speeches in parliament and novels, from which his abstractions emerge. Both these sources are, however, of a highly restricted application being used in narrowly defined situations by rather small numbers of people. Novel-writing in particular would appear to involve an approach to the use of the language too highly conscious and different in kind to make it the most suitable companion to other varieties of the language chosen to help establish the description of a regional variety. Literary sources should be secondary in such a survey, the main body of which would serve to provide means of distinguishing the 'literary' from the 'non-literary'

within the corpus provided by novels in the wider variety of the language. Alternatively, the use of the language for literary purposes can be examined separately, the investigator contenting himself with statements about the characteristics of the regionally defined corpus he has selected. Further, the investigator must define the limits of his corpus more closely in view of the fact that within the wider category of the use of the language for literary purposes comes the consideration of the kind of literature being written, whether novels, drama or poetry, each of which requires a specific effort of its own. The economies and conventions of poetry for example, must initially receive an attention quite different from that of the language appropriate to novel-writing generally, to particular novels, and within each novel the language appropriate at different points. Consequently, we do not hope to define anything which might be called a 'West African English', which requires a more complex system of surveys to establish it.

Fortunately, the literature under consideration, when restricted to its manifestations in the novel form, is still sufficiently small as a corpus to permit ease of examination. Moreover, approaches to the writing of novels yield a sufficient number of constants from writer to writer to make a degree of abstraction valid. The declared aims of language adaptation in the light of indigenous languages, the common characteristics of many of these languages as well as shared social and educational backgrounds provide a more than adequate justification for considering the literature as a unity in a way that would be impossible in a study of a

monolingual literature.⁵⁴ It may be possible to speculate about a 'West African English' on some of these grounds, but it is not possible to establish its existence in the literary use of the language alone.

Apart from the works mentioned, the most useful preliminary work has been theoretical rather than attempts to put the theory into practice. Gregory and Spencer have provided a useful framework for stylistic description, but they have made no continuous attempt to go further, though they have both provided essays after their model.⁵⁵ Catford's A Linguistic Theory of Translation⁵⁶ has also been of importance as a source of some of the terminology and principles for our examination of the effects of bilingualism on the adaptation of English for West African literary expression.

The present study, then, sets out first to provide a survey of the African writer's changing relationship to his work through the observable changes in his relationship to the English language in which he expresses himself. Secondly, the work of present-day writers, constituting a part of the whole process which, as is a prerequisite of a living literature, still continues, is subjected to examination in the light of recent linguistic discussion. Having considered the factors that motivated the West African writer's adaptation of the medium, we go on to consider some of the ways in which these changes have been brought about.

Notes to Chapter One.

1. cf. Gleason, J., 'Out of the Irony of Words', Transition, 4/18, 1965, pp. 34-38. One of the critics felt to have done so was Dylan Thomas in his review of Tutuola's The Palmwine Drinkard (London, 1952) in The Observer, 6th July, 1952, p.7. Banjo, L.A., 'Towards a Definition of a "Nigerian Spoken English"', Paper given at the 8th West African Languages Congress, Abidjan, 1969, p.9, offers a linguistic explanation of this enthusiasm, pointing out that deviated due to L₁ is both grammatical and in the semantic compound. The closeness of the latter to the poetic effort has often misled the critics in Europe.
2. Astrachan, A.M., 'Does it take one to know one?', Nigeria Magazine, 77, June, 1963, p.132. Cf. Reed, J., 'Between Two Worlds', Makerere Journal, 7, 1963, pp. 1-14. Cf. Rubadiri, D., 'Why African Literature?', Transition, 4, 15, 1964, p.39; Parry, J., 'Nigerian Novelists', Contemporary Reviews, 200, 1961, p.377.
3. Tucker, M., 'The Headline Novels of Africa', West Africa, 2356, 31st July, 1962, p.829. Cf. Aig-Imoukhuede, Mabel, 'On being a West African Writer', Ibadan, 12, 1961, pp.11-12; Blair, D., 'African Literature in University Education', in G. Moore, ed., African Literature and the Universities, Ibadan, 1965, pp. 74-79.
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5. Beier, U., 'The Conflict of Culture in West African Poetry', Black Orpheus, 1, 1957, pp. 17-21.
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8. op. cit.
9. Stanislaus (Brother Stanislaus Joseph, F.I.C.), 'The Growth of African Literature: a Survey of the Works Published by African Writers in English and French', Ph.D. thesis, Montreal, 1952.
10. See Mphahlele, E., in 'Literature as Symptom', TLS, 3176, 11th January, 1963, p.25.
11. Achebe, C., 'Handicaps of Writing in a Second Language', Spear, August, 1964, p.43.
12. Knappert, J., 'The Dead End of African Literature: Swahili as an African Language', Transition, III, 13, March-April, 1964, p.6.
13. Irele, Abiola, 'The Criticism of Modern African Literature', a paper given at the Conference on African Writing in English, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, December 16th, 1968 (unpublished).

14. It should, perhaps, be pointed out that the term 'sociological' is only useful in its broadest sense embracing the total complex of motivations (and opportunities) informing West African writing in English. In its narrow sense of 'social comment' it is of less demonstrable usefulness. e.g. Izevbaye, D.S., 'The Relationship of Criticism to Literature in Africa', unpublished paper given at the Conference on African Writing in English, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, December 16th 1968, especially p.7.
15. Ball, C.J.E., 'Language for its own Sake', Essays in Criticism, XVI,2, April, 1966, p.226. Cf. Leech, G.N., '"This bread I break" - Language and Interpretation', Review of English Literature, VI,2,1965, p.66.
16. Ibid, p.226, 'Editorial Postscript' by F.W. Bateson.
17. Cf. Freeman, D.C., rv. of Roger Fowler, ed., Essays on Style and Language, Journal of Linguistics, 4, 1, April, 1968. p. 109.
18. A continuation of the debate and a fuller discussion of Bateson's objection see Fowler, R., and F.W. Bateson, 'Argument II: Literature and Linguistics', Essays in Criticism, XVII, July, 1967, pp. 322-347; 'Argument II (continued): Language and Literature', Essays in Criticism, XVIII, April, 1968, pp. 164-182, especially pp. 164-171.

See also Chomsky's discussion 'competence' and 'performance', which embrace a similar distinction to that of langue and parole in Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar, The Hague, 1966, p.91. For an example of a linguist with an aversion to linguistics in criticism see F.W. Householder's review of Ullmann's Language and Style, Oxford 1964, Language, 42, 3, I, Sept. 1966, p.639.
19. Bateson, F.W., 'Editorial Postscript' to Ball, op. cit., p.228.

20. cf. Fowler, R., 'Linguistics, Stylistics; Criticism?', Lingua, 16, 2, April, 1966, p. 153; 'Linguistic Theory and the Study of Literature', in Fowler, ed., Essays on Style and Language, London, 1965, p.4. See also Preminger, op. cit. Halliday, M.A.K., 'The Linguistic Study of Literary Texts', IXth International Congress of Linguists (ed. Lunt), The Hague, 1964, pp. 302-307; Gregory, M., 'Old Bailey Speech in A Tale of Two Cities', REL, VI, 2, April, 1965, pp.42-45; Leech, G., '"This bread I break" - Language and Interpretation', REL VI, 2, April, 1965, pp. 66-75; Levin, S.R., Linguistic Structures in Poetry, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, XXIII, The Hague, 1962; Hill, A.A., 'An Analysis of The Windhover: An Experiment in Structural Method', PMLA, lxx, 1955, pp. 968-978. See Chapter 5 for references to similar or related work.
21. Fowler, Essays on Style and Language, p.27.
22. Freeman, op. cit., p.110.
23. Sebeok, T.A., Style in Language, New York, 1960. See p.5 where Sebeok's mention of the Academy's scheme for extracting sunbeams from cucumbers invites an unfortunate comparison.
24. Messing, G., Language, XXXVII, 2, April-June, 1961, pp. 256-266, especially p.266. cf. Lodge, David, The Language of Fiction, London 1966, p.57.
25. e.g. Vickers, Brian, Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose, Cambridge, 1968, Chapter I (especially pp. 6-7); Lodge, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
26. Fowler, 'Linguistics, Stylistics; Criticism?', loc. cit., pp. 159-160. Cf. 'Linguistic Theory and the Study of Literature', pp. 27-28. See also Mowatt, D.E., and P.F. Dembowski, 'Literary Study and Linguistics', Canadian Journal of Linguistics, II, 1, 1965, pp. 40-62.

27. Halliday, M.A.K., Angus McIntosh and Peter Stevens, The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, London, 1964, p.246. Cf. Wimsatt, W.K. and Cleanth Brooks, Literary Criticism: a Short History, New York, 1964, p.58.
28. loc. cit.
29. Hopkinson, Tom, 'Afro-English Awakening in Our Time', rv. of Langston Hughes, An African Treasury, London, 1961, in The Observer, 17th Sept., 1961, p.28. Cf. also Laurence, M., Long Drums and Cannons, London, 1968, p. 146, for similar statements.
30. Casely-Hayford, Gladys, 'The Progress of African Drama and Literature', West African Review, 22/285, June, 1951, p. 663. (The confusion between grammatical gender and sex differences, which may or may not be marked with the appropriate grammatical gender, is perhaps one of the most common among non-linguists.)
31. A half-page Preface in Peggy Rutherford, Darkness and Light, London, 1958, (no page number). Rather more vague is Nicol, D., 'The soft pink palms', Présence Africaine, 8-10, 1956, p.113.
32. Echeruo, M.J.C., 'Traditional and Borrowed Elements in Nigerian Poetry', Nigeria Magazine, 89, June, 1966, p. 147. See Clark, J.P., 'The Vision of Obatala', in Moore, G., and Ulli Beier, eds., Modern Poetry from Africa, London 1963, p.87.
33. Tutuola, Amos, Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle, London, 1955, p. 80.
34. Moore, Gerald, 'Amos Tutuola. A Nigerian Visionary', p. 185.

35. See also J.P. Clark's comments on this topic to Moore two years earlier in Moore, G., ed., African Literature and the Universities, London, 1965, p. 108.
36. cf. Spencer, J. and Gregory, M., 'An Approach to the Study of Style', in Enkvist, N., et al. Linguistics and Style, London, 1964, pp. 84-85.
37. Moore, G., 'The Arts in the New Africa', Nigeria Magazine, 92, March 1967, p. 96. Cf. Gilliat, Penelope, in The Observer, 19th Sept., 1966.
38. Clark, J.P., 'Themes of African Poetry of English Expression', PA, 26/54, 1965, p.83 (This article is reprinted in Transition 4, 18, 1965 pp. 20-26). Soyinka's poem 'Season' can be found in Moore G., and Ulli Beier eds., Modern Poetry from Africa, op. cit., p. 117 and in Idanre and Other Poems, London, 1967, p.45.
39. Fowler, 'Linguistic Theory and the Study of Literature', p.28.
40. See further Chapters 4 and 5.
41. See Part II for a fuller discussion of the concepts and terms used. The greater part of my terminology is drawn from the work of the so-called 'neo-Firthians'. See e.g. Halliday, M.A.K., 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', Word, 17, 3, 1961, pp. 241-292; Catford, J.C., A Linguistic Theory of Translation, London 1965; Halliday, et al., op. cit.: Spencer and Gregory in Enkvist, N.; M. Gregory and J. Spencer, Linguistics and Style, pp. 59-105. See Firth, J.R., Papers in Linguistics, 1934 - 1951, London, 1957.

42. See two reviews of Trager and Smith, Outline of English Structure, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, 1951; Whitehall, H., Kenyon Review, xiii, 1951, pp. 710-714; Sledd, J., Language, xxxi, 1955, pp. 312-335. See also Hill, loc. cit.: Whitehall, H. 'English Verse and What it Sounds Like', Kenyon Review, xviii, 1956, pp. 411-421. Cf. Fowler, 'Linguistics, Stylistics; Criticism?', pp. 153 ff., for a useful survey of earlier approaches.
43. e.g. Levin, op. cit.
44. Ibid., p. 32.
45. Ibid., pp. 30ff., 60ff.
46. See Part II. Cf. Fowler, 'Linguistic Theory and the Study of Literature', op. cit., p. 11. Also Banjo, op. cit., p. 9.
47. Binns, A.L., '"Linguistic" Reading: Two Suggestions of the Quality of Literature', in Fowler, ed., op. cit., pp. 118-134.
48. There may, indeed, be grounds for suggesting that the 'level' yielding most may differ from 'literature', to 'literature'. Cf. Rodway, A., 'By Algebra to Augustanism', in Fowler, ed., op. cit., pp. 53-67. Rodway suggests that since Augustan poetry is interested in and is fascinated by economy of grammar and the epigram, sometimes at the expense of 'correctness', the most profitable study is at the level of grammar (e.g. pp. 64 ff.).
49. See Chapter 6 especially.
50. passim.

51. op. cit.
52. McIntosh, Angus, and M.A.K. Halliday, Patterns of Language, Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics, London, 1966, especially McIntosh, 'Linguistics and English Studies', pp. 42 - 55; '"As You Like It"; a grammatical clue to Character', pp. 70-82; 'Some Thoughts on Style', pp. 83-97; 'A four-letter word in Lady Chatterley's Lover', pp. 151-164. Halliday, 'Descriptive linguistics in literary studies', pp. 56-69.
53. Kachru, Braj, 'The Indianness in Indian English', Word, 23,3, Dec., 1965, pp. 391-410; 'Indian English: a Study in Contextualisation', in Bazell et al. eds., In Memory of J.R. Firth, London 1966, pp. 155 ff.
54. A valid exception to this generalisation may possibly be in the examination of the use of dialects in a monlingual literature e.g. Ives, Summer, 'A Theory of Literary Dialect', Tulane Studies in English, II, 1950, pp. 137-182; 'The Phonology of the Uncle Remus Stories (of J.C. Harris)', Publications of the American Dialect Society, 22, Gainesville 1954, 'Dialect Differentiation in the Stories of Joel Chandler Harris', in H.B. Allen, ed., Readings in Applied English Linguistics, New York, 1958, pp. 413-419.
See also Tidwell, James Nathan, 'Mark Twain's Representation of Negro Speech', American Speech, 17, 1942, pp. 174-176; Brooks, Cleanth, The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain, Louisiana State University Press, 1935, also cites material from Harris.
55. Gregory and Spencer, op. cit.; Gregory, M., 'Old Bailey Speech in A Tale of Two Cities', Spencer, John, 'A Note on the "Steady Monologuy of the Interiors"', Review of English Literature, VI, 2, April, 1965, pp. 42-55 and 32-41 respectively.

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PART ONE:

'The Background'

CHAPTER TWO

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY - THE AGE OF
DISPOSSESSION.

The paradox contained in seeing the eighteenth century as the age of the birth of a tradition of West African writing in English is that it was the age of Africa's dispossession. That this dispossession became evident, in its physical terms, in the general awakening of the discussion on the slave trade is well known. More germane to our purpose, the direct consequences of the general upheaval included a marked cultural and linguistic dispossession.

Unmistakably sub-Saharan Africans have appeared in European art from the thirteenth century and many had risen to positions of eminence in Europe before the eighteenth century. Henrique, Bishop of Utica, and Saint Gregory of Ethiopia are two early examples who, in common with most similarly distinguished Africans of the earlier period, achieved their distinction in ecclesiastic rather than secular life.¹ Such figures were rather remarkable, isolated individuals than the products of a social upheaval affecting the whole of Africa. Such a generalization depends on the somewhat unsatisfactory fact that the arguments regarding the slave trade and the abolitionist incentive brought such remarkable individuals to a more general attention which weights our view of them today.

This need not deter us, however, for it is almost certainly true that such notable individuals as there were in this category before the eighteenth

century did not use English as the main medium of written expression. They need not, therefore, concern us here. The Latin works of Latinus and later Amo and Capitein represent, if not a long unsung line of African writers of Latin treatises, at least the adherence to European traditions of learning before the inception of writing in English to a less specialised, though more emotionally and politically receptive, audience in the light of abolitionist opinion.² The later African writer inclined to express himself in writing, by virtue of the humanitarian and political climate of his time, gained access to a readership that he alone could satisfy.

The African, expatriated perforce in an alien society, was subject to the prevailing winds of that society. Caught up in the sociological currents of his time, he was borne along by the interest in the slave trade debate and served as convincing proof in the arguments for abolition. This is to detract in no way from the achievement of the individual writer. It is indeed a measure of his achievement that, even in its simplest form of his triumph over the circumstances bedevilling his people, that it was possible for the African writer to fill the gap in public interest as effectively as he did.

Few in the eighteenth century, of whatever level of literacy, could have been ignorant of the existence of the African. Thomas Cooper, writing in 1788, of the transportation from West Africa of 100,000 slaves a year, 20,000 dying at sea and 20,000 more in the period of acclimatisation, mentions a ratio of four Africans and their descendants to every white man in the West Indies and a total of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million slaves in the hands of

Englishmen alone.³ Whatever may be the case regarding the accuracy of Cooper's figures, the point is well enough made. The African had become a part of the European scene in physical presence at least, having either been taken there directly or having found his way there from the West Indies. He was at once the economic stability of many and to others the proof of man's inhumanity. In his dispossession, however, he was without a voice of his own.

Though the African's presence in England in the first half of the eighteenth century may be seen as external to society as a whole, the arguments concerning him were not. They were internal and above all middle-class, whether in the extreme economic involvement of the merchants or in the enlightenment of some of the clergy and more radical politicians. Indeed, there is no contradiction in the assertion that the African writer later in the century, the voice of his people, was the essential instrument of the voice of the middle-class Christian-humanitarians.

The Africans of the eighteenth century are an essentially middle-class phenomenon. Naturally, we take care not to pigeon-hole them neatly according to their own social status. What is important is not the social class to which they themselves belonged, the respectable servant class in the cases we are concerned with, but the section of society which fostered them for reasons often no more complex than the kindness of individuals and later, as part of a more general reaction, produced them as incontrovertible evidence of the African's equality and ability, and paraded them as the badges of their conscience. Phillis Wheatley, widely acclaimed, honoured by the universities, chose to stay after her freedom,

until her marriage to the wastrel Peters, in the middle-class society of Boston of which she was so representative.⁴

The period of the greatest public attention to the African in eighteenth-century England was probably from about 1770 until its peak in the late 1780's and the 1790's. However, a vigorous, if more idle curiosity had been present hitherto. It would not be in place here to consider the ideas of the African and his appearance in English literature before the eighteenth century - most notably as a symbol - for the matter has been dealt with at length by Professor Jones,⁵ and involves wider literary questions than are our immediate concern. A case has recently been made for traces of African-orientated speech in The Tempest and connections with later traditions,⁶ but we feel it is more useful in a study of the present kind to see the rise of the sociological climate we have mentioned, if not the tradition proper, in its earliest manifestations in the era of the travel books. It is possible, and here most convenient, to see a distinct division between the use of the African in a literary tradition and an interest in him for his own sake. This change from the African as symbol to the African as the subject of more general interest is perhaps the beginning of the tradition that survives to the present day. The older tradition continues in British literature, having interested Conrad among others. Much of this interest was, of course, a part of the general awakening of curiosity in Europe at the time, but for us it marks the beginning of the objectification of the African. We suggest that this period of division is usefully seen as beginning in the era of the travel books before the arrival of the modern novel; from about 1680 until the publica-

tion of the first part of Robinson Crusoe in 1719.

The travel books and the elements of them that survived in the early novel served by their enormous popularity to bring to public notice, if not things exclusively African, at least the exotic in an easily digestible form. As Paul Hazard has put it:

Travel literature with its indeterminate frontiers provided a convenient reservoir for the most diverse material, from dissertations of the learned, to museum-catalogues and love stories, and so it came to the fore. It might take the form of a weighty discourse chock full of the most erudite matter, it might be study in psychology; it might be a plain, straightforward novel; or it might be a combination of all three. It had its eulogists; it had its detractors. But praise or blame, both made clear the important place it had to occupy and indicated that it was not a thing to be ignored.⁷

The increase in a general readership, particularly the expansion of the reading middle-class, meant the stimulation of interest, even if perhaps by the way, in a section of the community not previously reached by an interest in the exotic. The currency of the concept of the Noble Savage,⁸ albeit as an element in more specifically European social arguments, similarly played its part in the growth of interest in the African. The later literary sentimentalization of the same concept was to be much in evidence at the peak of the abolitionist debate in the 1780's. However, the interest in the African, as opposed to the 'native' in general, was not

distinct at this stage. He was rather part of the general interest and discussion that characterised the age. But his part in these arguments and discussions survived and connected him to the later interest.

It is not remarkable that an interest in foreign parts and their inhabitants should have given rise to an interest in their languages, though the age of true linguistic scholarship in Africa was to hold off until well into the nineteenth century and the work of such men as Köelle.⁹ Something of a specific interest in African languages is evidenced by the fact that Defoe included 'A Vocabulary of the Madagascar Language' as Section VII of Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's Journal,¹⁰ but it as yet wanted the impetus provided by the missions of the nineteenth century and the awakened interest in exotic languages following Sir William Jones's famous address of 1786.¹¹ It is not our task to discuss the history of linguistics with regard to African languages, however. Our main concern is with the development in interest in Africa and the African during the eighteenth century. It is, indeed, a very gradual process towards the establishment of individuality in literary terms.

Distinct 'Negro' varieties of English speech were evolving throughout the eighteenth century on a scale quite different from the pidgin which, in one form or another, had long been in use on the West coast of Africa. The swing from pidgin to sizeable creole speech communities in the New World was well advanced. However, these emerging varieties were to have no direct bearing on writing in English for some time to come. They are, though, worthy of brief mention here for their distinctiveness serves to emphasise

the extent to which the African writer was in his work divorced not only from his origins, but even from the new linguistic environment in which he now found himself.

The work of Defoe presents us with a convenient cross-section of observation and opinion. The less subtle attitudes towards strange tongues and the tendency to treat them as gibberish are eternal to ignorance. Dekker represents this attitude at its least complicated with his Dutchman in The Shoemaker's Holiday and Defoe himself in a verse reference to his Journey to the World in the Moon (1705)¹² carries on the tradition of ridicule; the use of the exotic or parodies of the exotic have always been a part of England's special insularity. Defoe, however, spurred on by the travel books and their popularity, gives on occasion evidence of a steadier observation. As Secord has shown, Defoe was at pains over the accuracy of his information.¹³

Certain exotic 'words', it is true, seem to be less the fruits of observation than parts of the exotic setting, included to reaffirm an imaginative geography. Clearly, it cannot be said how far such authentication is due to Defoe's obsessional commitment to detail and how much to genuine observation. The opportunity to study West African languages was widely available in the Europe of the seventeenth century, but few took the trouble.¹⁴ There is no reason to think that Defoe went any further in his attempts at authenticity. However, the fact that he chose detail of this particular kind is in itself significant. A certain amount of accuracy, for example, is suggested by

the Scripture allows this woman to
paw waw as the Indians in America
call it ... 15.

This example appears in The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe and bears sufficient resemblance to modern pow wow to be easily recognisable. However, such resemblances are probably fortuitous for where aarah (gold), huttash (sheep)¹⁶, chiaruck (bread) and okoamo (help!)¹⁷ occur we are unable to establish their origins. While okoamo (help!) is remarkably 'African' in character, aarah (gold) is remarkably like the Latin for that metal. Indeed, travellers were often notable for their inaccuracy of exotic vocabulary.¹⁸ Defoe was not a linguist and he was as vague as everyone else in his time in his distinctions between the American Indian and the African,¹⁹ but his catering for public taste avid for the exotic contributed in some measure, as did the same trend in the literature of his time, to bringing the exotic in language to general attention. Such an assertion is appropriately illustrated by the following more specifically 'linguistic' passage from The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719) :

We had one prisoner, as I have said; and 'twas a long time before we could make him understand anything; but in time our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable. Afterwards we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoke in the throat in such a hollow manner, that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of

opinion that they might speak that language as well if they were gagged as otherwise; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate, but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune with an open throat ... Where it is to be observed, that all those South American natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, they always add two e's at the end of the words where we use one, and make the accent upon them, as makèè, takèè, and the like; and we could not break them off it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did. ²⁰

In this passage we are presented, in the reference to gags and a hunting horn, with the heavy-footed humour with which we are familiar in connection with strange tongues, as well as with the bracketing of the African and the South American. However, we note a depth of detail which, though detail may be characteristic of our man, indicates a more receptive curiosity than we may at first have noticed. Strikingly, too, the observation concerns less the strange tongue than its effects on English.

Earlier than this, in The Family Instructor (1715), Defoe set down the following conversation between a white boy and Toby, a young Negro servant from Barbados, who 'though born on that island, spoke but imperfect English'.

Toby. Me be born at Barbadoes.

Boy. Who lives there Toby?

Toby. There lives white mans, white womans, negree mans,
negree womans, just so as live here.

Boy. What and not know God?

Toby. Yes, the white mans say God prayers, - no much know
God.

Boy. And what do the black mans do?

Toby. They much work, much work, - no say God prayers, not
at all.

Boy. What work do they do, Toby?

Toby. Makee the sugar, makee the ginger, - much great work
weary work, all day, all night.

.....
Toby. Yes, yes, teaché me to read; pray teaché me.²¹

This passage, notably consistent with the later one already mentioned,²² is revealing for a number of reasons. It is an early example of a form of West Indian creole. It expresses sympathy for the lot of the transported slave (without actually dismissing slavery). It also advocates his literacy for evangelical reasons and in doing so is an interesting foreshadowing of educational pleas for the African later in the century and throughout the early nineteenth century. Though all these things remain true, the passage, like the earlier one, asserts the proprietary feelings of the Englishman for his language. It is unlikely to have been accidental that Toby's analogical substitution of 'mans' for 'men' is set side

by side with the Boy's childish committal of the same analogical mistake. Such a patronising attitude to the African using English survives for a very long time; indeed to the present day. Defoe, indeed, was on the whole remarkably well-informed for his time both about the plight of the slave and the nature of the African continent.²³

A rather more curious example of early interest in Negro forms of English speech, this time from America, is to be found in Cotton Mather's Angel of Bethesda (c.1721), a tract urging inoculation against smallpox and citing the case of a slave, Onesimus, given to Mather by his parishioners, who claimed to have been inoculated in Africa. It combines once more the elements of linguistic curiosity and an acute consciousness of emergent forms of the English language in the New World.

I have since mett with a considerable number of these Africans, who all agree on One Story; That in their Countrey grandy-many dy of the Small-Pox; and Cutty-skin, and Putt in a Drop; then by'nd by a little Sicky, Sicky: they very few little things like Small-Pox and no body dy of it; and no body have Small-Pox any more.²⁴

Mather and his slave were ridiculed, but linguistically and otherwise herald things still far off. It is possible to trace through them and through others like them a growing awareness of the African and his use of language. Interest in matters as diverse as the philosophical and political possibilities of man in his natural state, simple curiosity, commerce and faithful reporting, isolated the African for special attention and are the discernible

path by which he approached the wings to await his entrance later in the century.

However, though such figures as these we have mentioned noted the fact of the growth of distinct forms of the English language, they did not, nor could they, foresee their permanence. They had none of what Mencken calls Daniel's 'florid vision' of the future of English as a world language when, in 1599, he wrote in his Musophilus:

And who in time knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May come refined with th' accents that are ours? 25

Though the observers of the eighteenth century may have lacked his vision, they shared to the full the profound sense of ownership of 'th' accents that are ours' to the degree that for many of their children later in the century it was to be difficult to accept the possibility that Africans could write in English at all. In the following century ✓ all their pride of heritage was to be seen in African mission education and the belief in the 'civilizing' influence of English.²⁶

In a nation preoccupied with the fixing of the language the time was not ripe for radical departures from the norm or for tolerance in the use of the language, quite apart from the fact that the evolution of forms of the language sufficiently stable for wide use in literature is by no means so rapid a process. It was the century of Johnson's Dictionary and

and of the 'appeal to authority'²⁷. Indeed, something of the feeling involved is illustrated by the opposition in America to Noah Webster's linguistic patriotism, though he had little conception of the differences between British and American English in his day, as expressed in his Dissertations on the English Language²⁸ and the later development of the argument into the Webster-Worcester Dictionary War.²⁹ Webster's prediction of 'a language in North America, as different as the future language of England, as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from German, or from one another'³⁰ has perhaps by now been given at least part of the lie. But, he is expressing sentiments not markedly different from those which in our own time have been expressed for English in India and in Africa.³¹ It remains to be seen how far the fact that these last are based on second- rather than first-language communities will alter the future of the English language. The African writer, however, was in the eighteenth century less the reflection of a language he had made distinctly his own than he was the evidence of his own linguistic dispossession.

The latter half of the century revealed a growing scholarly interest in African languages, especially on the Continent, which can be seen as part of the swing from the curiosity of the travellers' tales towards a more particularised interest in the African.³² The Mansfield Judgement of 1772, by no means universally popular, together with the increasing number of Africans in employment in England, particularly in the servant classes, produced a relatively mild xenophobia, explained in part by the competition for employment, which, though far from happy, brought the

African into even more general notice.³³ The growing humanitarian agitation of Sharp, who had forced Mansfield to his decision, also had a great deal to do with this centring of attention in public affairs on the Negro. The concept of the Noble Savage, the general literary interest in the African, the Swedenborgian emphasis on the distinct separation into two main species of men, the white and the black,³⁴ all served to isolate the African in public attention as a real presence rather than as a part of the fiction that went to satisfy the Englishman's enormous ignorance about the African.

In addition a further trend assured that deviations from the current ideas of the norm in English language by Africans, or anyone else, became less acceptable - the apparent increase in the consciousness of socially distinguished forms of speech. Defoe and many others before him may have scoffed at the 'outlandish' in language, but he was far more intent on seemingly authentic detail. It is striking that in Moll Flanders he nowhere makes a distinction between the forms of speech used by Moll to her extremely varied acquaintance. It is true, of course, that Defoe had a predominantly middle-class audience in mind and may have restricted himself on that account, but it would seem to be inconsistent in one everywhere else preoccupied with realistic detail. It seems just as likely that the distinctions did not occur to him. This feature must be seen as separate from the familiar use of dialect or foreign 'accents' for comic effect which arises from quite different motivations. The contrast is easily seen later in the century with such an overtly 'social' preoccupation

as that shown in Walker's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language (1791)³⁵, used by many as 'a sure guide to the most fashionable type of pronunciation, and hence a means of acquiring social distinction'.³⁶ It is significant that this increased social awareness of forms of the language, and the wider forces of the age of authority in the history of the English language, should have coincided with the increased and altered awareness of the African.

Had the African's written expression not been confined for the most part by the general social and political climate of the times, it is certainly unlikely that his deviations would have found a receptive audience in England. Moreover, any experimentation was precluded not only by the literary climate but also by the nature of the part the African played in the sociological movements of his time. For though such figures as the hero of Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko (1688) had been no more than masquerading as an African, and though the notion of the Noble Savage served him no better justice,³⁷ it would be mistaken to suppose that the increased interest in Africa, African cultures and languages, as well as the lot of the African in America, Europe and the West Indies, brought about his acceptance on equal terms when he set pen to paper.

The idea that the Negro could write at all was to many in itself novel. The travellers had always presented their savages as men, with good and bad in their characters in about the same proportions as everyone else.³⁸ The influence of the fashion of the Noble Savage in literature, served to distort the image of the African rather than define it clearly. It is another of the ironies that follow the eighteenth-century African

in Britain that as information about him became more accurate other considerations distracted attention. To many he remained more of a fad than the object of an informed attention. However, fad or not, the wide currency of such views demanded a counter from the advocates of slavery whose economic welfare was clearly seen to be facing an immediate threat from roughly 1760 onwards. This growing enthusiasm naturally suffered occasional lapses into the uncritical. John Hill's Adventures of Mr. George Edwards, a Creole, this time concerned with the uninteresting doings in London of a West Indian landlord, first appeared in 1751 and was republished as a result of general interest in 1788 at the peak of the abolitionist debate in The Novelist's Magazine and embellished with two new engravings.³⁹ Its very unremarkable nature serves to emphasise the extent of the awakened interest. This feverish scraping of the literary barrel is more easily understood if it is remembered that it was in May, 1787, that the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded. The founding of the French Amis des Noirs at the Society's prompting in the year following likewise contributed a great deal to the increase in abolitionist pamphleteering and general interest in things relating to the Negro in Europe.

The work of the biological writers, concerned first with the classification of mankind and later with the non-biological evaluation of them as part of the classification, added fire to the armoury of the advocates of slavery. Their writings, with the exception of those of Blumenbach who did much to correct the error,⁴⁰ provided the economic interest with

the sheep's clothing of respectable science.⁴¹ Once again ideas of cultural and racial inferiority took on force from the characteristically unscholarly information available. It is, therefore, hardly remarkable that the reception of writing by Africans should, from Phillis Wheatley onwards, have exhibited a pig-headed denial of the possibility as well as a more generous acclaim.

Phillis Wheatley, as well as being the first African writing in English to receive real critical notice, evoked something of this unwillingness to accept the African on equal critical terms. However, her verse came rather early in the progress of the trend we have described and was sufficiently of the fashion of the moment to be absorbed readily. Her being a Negro was most certainly remarked upon, but rather in the tradition of the earlier curiosity. Her moderately competent verse, in a fashionable eighteenth-century mode, conformed sufficiently to current taste to escape offending on its own account. Indeed, her being a Negro tended, if anything, to make what was competent remarkable. Voltaire writing to Baron de Rebecq in 1774, in a passage reflecting the temper of the argument, afforded her some praise:

Fontanelle avait tort de dire qu'il n'y aurait jamais de poètes chez les Nègres: l y a actuellement une Nègresse qui fait de très-bons vers anglais.⁴²

Ten years later, however, Thomas Jefferson was to remark that, 'Religion indeed produced a Phillis Whately [sic]; but it could not produce a poet'.⁴³ Indeed, it can be fairly remarked that Phillis

Wheatley's piety - and we are reminded on the continual harping on the Negro's supposed ignorance of God as with Defoe's Toby - was at the same time witness to her achievement in the face of staggering odds and the final seal on her conformity. She offered no threat in the way that later Africans involved in the movement against slavery may have appeared to. She owed her attention to the familiar primitivist interest and an awakening public opinion. She was, even in her success, utterly inoffensive in a medium about which the society felt possessive and, comfortably, she did not include abolitionist sentiment in her work. Phillis Wheatley was, in short, the easy way out - a joy to the genuine humanitarians and, for the less humane, an easy pill to swallow.⁴⁴ We may not, however, dismiss her in so cavalier a fashion, for she was widely honoured in her time being on one occasion dined by Washington at Harvard and on another welcomed at Cambridge on her visit to England. Her work has continued to go through respectable editions until today.⁴⁵ Mason sums up her importance as a poet succinctly:

It is quite clear that Phillis Wheatley was not a great poet ... [but] she was a better craftsman than most of the others attempting the same type of thing in America in the 1770's, a time and a place which certainly produced more craftsmen than true poets.⁴⁶

A discussion of Phillis Wheatley's use of English is perforce a discussion of her linguistic dispossession, for her verse is quite unremarkable eighteenth-century journeyman's work. As a poet she might be expected to fall outside our terms of reference, but some attention

must be given her for she represents the earliest manifestations of the process we are describing. She was profoundly influenced by the neo-classical idiom, especially as exemplified in the poetry of Pope, and this, together with an all-pervading heavy piety of a conventional kind, are the dominant influences in her work. Mason has dealt with the influence of Pope on her verse at some length,⁴⁷ and anything of a detailed nature is not of direct concern here. However, the following passage from Thoughts on the Works of Providence is typical:

When tasks diurnal tire the human frame,
The spirits faint, and dim the vital flame,
Then too that ever active bounty shines,
Which not infinity of space confines.
The sable veil, that Night in silence draws,
Conceals effects, but shows th' Almighty cause.⁴⁸

Cliches as unapologetic as 'tasks diurnal', an unconcealed echo of the hymnal, and 'sable veil', the personification of Night and the unbending conventionality of the thought, albeit sincere, can hardly excite an immediate sympathy. However, just as these lines show her weaknesses, so do they reveal the facility of her craftsmanship. Its entirely conventional form, to a more positive way of thinking, may indeed be said to demonstrate the degree to which she was at home in a language she had no contact with until she was eight. Her total conformity is in itself a measure of her achievement. The careful juxtaposition of 'flame' and 'shines' and the equally careful opposition of them to 'dim', 'sable' and 'Night'; the semantic association of 'vital' and 'active' in opposition

to 'tire' and 'faint'; the conceit contained in 'Which not infinity of space confines' - all reveal a more than average control of the semantic resources of the language. The echo of the hymnal remains, however, notably in the first two lines of the passage given - redolent of nothing so much as hymns after the fashion of 'As pants the heart'. Indeed, a very good idea of her typicality can be confirmed by comparison with much of the anti-slavery verse of the same period. Phillis Wheatley, most of the time, compares very favourably.⁴⁹

The influence of Pope often mentioned as informing Phillis Wheatley's verse is everywhere apparent in her work. Brawley mentions that 'Pope's translation of Homer was her favourite English Classic' and we know that her neo-classical sympathies were stimulated by her pride in Terence's African birth,⁵⁰ but her preferences are nonetheless typically those of the cultivated person of her class. If Pope is her model, perhaps one should add, it is the early Pope. The poems appeared collected in 1773 to announce her conformity and competence, half a century too late to justify more than a passing literary interest. However, her part in the process we describe is significant for the very reasons that cause us our critical reserve.

It is a pity that the reception of her talent should have been inseparable, then as now, from her African origins, but she came to notice in a time preoccupied with the question of whether Negroes were capable of writing poetry at all.⁵¹ The following remarks from a contemporary review reveal one side of the argument:

These poems display no astonishing power of genius, but when we consider them as the production of a young, untutored African who wrote them after six months casual study [sic] of the English language, we cannot suppress our admiration of talents so vigorous and lively.⁵²

Phillis Wheatley was young, but certainly not 'untutored'. Her reception, of course, reflects the familiar primitivist preoccupation, and its irony remains that of eighteenth-century primitivism proving its thesis by reference to the Negro's conformity to English society. Much later, in 1808, the same tone remains in the opinions of Grégoire, when he remarks to his readers, in judging three poems included in his book, that they should remember that 'l' indulgence est un acte de justice'.⁵³

Thomas Jefferson, though no Edward Long, represents the other side of the dispute very readily. Indeed, it was Jefferson whom Grégoire specifically set out to refute.

Jefferson, qui semble n' accorder qu' à regret de talens aux Nègres, même à Phillis Wheatley, prétend que les héros de la Dunciad sont des divinités comparativement à cette muse africaine.⁵⁴

This was an argument that was also to surround the later prose writers of African origin.

Certain points of interest in Phillis Wheatley's use of the language should be mentioned. She is, for example, credited with the first use in print of Columbia as the personification of America.⁵⁵ But, though

this asserts a certain independence on her part, it also reflects her following of the common poetic practice. There is also little to be gained from a study of evidence of her pronunciation, for she conforms, as Mason remarks, to the standard in this respect.⁵⁶

More distinctive, perhaps, is the fact that Phillis Wheatley 'only occasionally used such devices as alliteration or onomatopoeia, and they were not significant in her poetic method'.⁵⁷ Mason leaves the bald statement, but it is interesting to speculate as to whether this absence might not be due to Phillis Wheatley's command of English as a language learnt second. It seems fair to say, not to labour the point, that responses in the writer on which these devices rely are of an especially intuitive nature, less easily controlled than the more simple setting up of oppositions and similarities in the directly lexical aspect of the semantic component. They are also secondary in terms of the individual linguistic experience and are subject to varying degrees of responsiveness in the individual concerned. Moreover, the phonological devices of the kind cannot function without the more specifically referential component in the text. Further, Phillis Wheatley's occasional use of such devices need not deter us, for they can be seen as reflections of the acquisition of her competence, founded as it was on practice in the light of the work of others. It is also true that the inclination to use devices as a writer is a very different thing from the ability to recognise and respond to them as a reader. To bring our fancy down in flight, there is no reason to expect Phillis Wheatley to have been fond of either alliteration

or onomatopoeia. The fact remains that she appeared to have used them rather less than was usual for the day.

The love of invocation which is a dominant characteristic of Phillis Wheatley's work⁵⁸ can be similarly described in terms of her relationship to the eighteenth-century poetic conventions. This dominance of a feature so closely related to the spoken rather than the written medium, may be no more than coincidence. The oral element is to be found as the inseparable part of a great deal of English poetry, but its more overtly declamatory manifestations in Phillis Wheatley's verse provoke interesting speculation when we remember the first eight years of her life in the all-pervading influences of an oral literary tradition. Equally, of course, the influence on her work of hymnal and chapel cannot be denied. Unfortunately, these speculations are likely to remain unverifiable, but the fact remains that the shades of her prison-house belong to the eighteenth-century British literary tradition and the bars are too narrowly spaced to allow more than speculation about any light that may find its way between them. The juvenilia of the ten years' practice of her craft before the publication of the elegaic poem to the Rev. George Whitefield, in their greater imitativeness, are also unlikely to solve the question if they are found.⁵⁹

It is, of course, true that Phillis Wheatley was always vague about her own African origins. However, this is to point out no more than her own attitudes to her art in the general literary vagueness in the use of terms such as 'African', 'Ethiopian' and 'Indian' in the earlier literature

from which she derived her artistic allegiance.⁶⁰ 'Rousseauistic native' serves to sum up usage for a long time after her. Jupiter Hamon, for example, the first Negro poet in the United States, in his tribute to Phillis Wheatley described her as 'Ethiopian'⁶¹. We have to look to the Cambridge-educated Jamaican Negro, Francis Williams, for anything like an overt, contemporary assertion of a Negro muse. A concept that the racist Long, in his History of Jamaica (1774), was to treat with his usual vulgarity.⁶² However, any such assertion could hardly have been in accord with the apolitical, specifically religious nature of Phillis Wheatley's work. Her pride in the African birth of Terence, and the nature of her critical reception are a part of her, but they do not inform her work.

Phillis Wheatley died on December 5th, 1784, in poverty and misery largely brought about by her marriage in 1778 to the shiftless John Peters, 'an enigmatic Negro who seems to have tried his hand as a baker, a grocer, a doctor, a lawyer ... [and who] is reported to have had somewhat grandiose notions and to have possessed a wig and a cane, and a feeling of being superior to labour.'⁶³ In one sense at least she died the victim of the eighteenth-century. This marriage coming at the height of her powers precluded all future hope of poetry, and the death of her child and the loss of her belongings after her death close her tragedy - the tragedy of a complete cultural dispossession. As she had reflected something of the century's elegance, so did she die the victim of its irresponsibility and squalor.

The debate that characterised the critical reception of Phillis Wheatley's work continued to preoccupy the reading middle class. Indeed, the dispossession of the later prose writers is emphasised by the fact that they attracted a more virulent attack as well as a more stalwart defence. The absence of expressions of abolitionist opinion in her work has been commented upon above, and it was no doubt due to this, as much as to the fact that the debate had not reached its height, that she had so smooth a critical passage. The later writers were without exception closely identified with the Christian, humanitarian abolitionist sentiment. In the clash with the slavery interests that followed, they served as the target for attack as well as the examples by which the more humane interests could demonstrate the folly of the racist case. The closeness of this association, by implication the denial of individual expression, is borne out by the fact that the 1780's, the most intense period of anti-slavery publication and activity, working up to the projected resettlements of liberated Africans to Sierra Leone, also saw the appearance of the three best-known Africans writing in English in the eighteenth-century: Ignatius Sancho, Ottobah Cuguano and Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa.

We should regret to give the impression that these three were the only Negro^es writing in English in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Grégoire mentions Phillis Wheatley, Sancho, Cuguano, Equiano and Gronniosaw, but he also mentions James Derham, a polyglot slave of Philadelphia, Thomas Fuller, of Alexandria, Virginia, Benjamin Bannaker, of Maryland, Venture Smith of New London and 'Othello' of Baltimore.⁶⁴ However, what we have of them is either so fragmentary as to be useless, or lost altogether.

'Othello's' work survives, but its authorship is unknown.⁶⁵ These considerations, as well as the more pressing one that the Negro writers in Britain were both closer to the current of the trend we are interested in and the most prolific, are sufficient justification for our confining attention to them here.

Similarly, James Albert Gronniosaw is deserving of only passing mention, though for somewhat different reasons. His major disqualification, in view of the nature of this enquiry, is that Gronniosaw almost certainly did not write the narrative of his life himself.⁶⁶ Indeed, his little book, running to only forty-nine pages, is remarkable in that in contrast to other works of suspect Negro authorship,⁶⁷ it did not claim that he did. It is true that the Newport, Rhode Island, edition changed 'related by himself' in the title to 'written by himself',⁶⁸ but it was the exception and the second American edition, as well as changing the spelling of his name to a more satisfyingly exotic (and possibly more accurate) 'Ukawsaw Granwasa', altered the authorship claim to 'dictated by himself'.⁶⁹ Seven editions of his book until 1810 are mentioned by Jahn and the work seems to have enjoyed a steady interest all this time.⁷⁰ Its highly pious nature - the third edition went as Wondrous Grace Displayed in the Life of James Albert ... - seems to have saved it from particular attack. At the same time it emphasises the familiar fusion of the evangelical motive and the concept of the noble Negro. Again, the lack of overt abolitionist sentiment, as in the case of Phillis Wheatley, and its appearance at a relatively early stage of the trend we have mentioned, offered a certain neutrality.

It is interesting, however, in that it re-emphasises the evangelistic concern with the conversion and 'civilisation' of the Negro while conforming to popular conceptions of the Rousseauistic 'native'.

It would seem unnecessary to continue the debate as to authorship in the light of the declaration in the Preface to the Dublin edition of 1790 that,

This account of the life and spiritual experience of James Albert was taken from his own mouth and committed to paper by the elegant pen of a young lady of the town of Leominster, for her own private satisfaction, and without any intention at first that it should be made public.⁷¹

It is also quite clear that the editor Shirley had a hand in the embellishment of the tale as well as in this mannered disclaimer. We are thus unable to rely on conclusions as to the language used in any part of the Narrative. It may be said, though, that the near certainty of other hands in Gromniosaw's book, by the closeness of it to those books by other writers whose work is not suspect, illustrates powerfully the extent of the eighteenth-century African's dispossession of language. He represents possibly the last of the interest of curiosity, as well as a narrower evangelism than that apparent in the abolitionist movement proper and a comparatively subdued Rousseauism, which no doubt prompted later editions of his book. His linguistic dispossession is complete, and this in itself is likely to have sheltered him from the more spiteful forms of the debate on the ability of the Negro to write at all. He could

continue to serve the humanitarian, Christian agitators as an example, but could be smugly ignored by the detractors of the Negro because no claims for his literacy were openly made for him.

Gronniosaw's book appeared in 1770, the same year as the first of Phillis Wheatley's work, but its transitional nature is emphasised by the appearance in the following year of perhaps the most influential single work in the cause of the Negro, Anthony Benezet's Some Historical Account of Guinea.⁷² We shall see how this and the works it prompted exerted influence on the use of English in the work of Negro writers in their role as the badge of the abolitionist movement, as well as its more far-reaching influence on the humanitarian case as a whole. However, it should be remembered that the major notice and influence of Benezet was to come rather later than the publication date of the first edition and was to become most evident in the work of Thomas Clarkson in 1785 and 1786.⁷³ It is no accident that Some Historical Account of Guinea, like many of the works it prompted, was to appear in its New Edition in 1788, the most prolific year of anti-slavery publication. Nevertheless, the more retrospective view of his influence and his reflection of the current of the debate can be said to show a distinct quickening in the arguments concerning the Negro and can be seen to have contributed in no small way to the enlivened interest that was to help to get the writings by Africans that are here our concern into print.

It did not happen, however, that the increased accuracy of the data about Africa and Africans, such as that evidenced in Benezet's work,

assured the Negro's independence of literary effort. The embracing Christianity and humanitarianism of the opponents of the slave trade was to some degree thwarted by the nationally internal nature of the interest in the African. Inevitably, the larger issues of humanity were at times obscured by the national issues. For one thing, the economic case for the continuation of the slave trade had to be answered at its own level, in terms of hard cash and the cost to the merchant marine in lives of trained seaman lost in pursuance of the trade.⁷⁴ The widespread notion that the slaves were taken to a more comfortable environment in the New World, also had to be exploded by demonstrating the natural fruitfulness of Africa, and the perfection of the climate.⁷⁵ The first was a nationally confined argument, and the second, based on a comparison founded on national ignorance, similarly restricted discussion. The fact that the battle had to be fought on a national, internal level, and the clear knowledge that the victory must first be won at home before any wider reform would be possible, resulted in a fight for the wider humanitarian issues with narrowly national weapons. The result was not surprisingly to distract attention from the African, as an African, at the centre of the battle. The paradox of the African's case was that the fight for the assertion of his dignity, in which he was the central example, demanded his removal from the real centre of the stage. He could use what weapons he had, but he was forced by fewness of numbers sufficiently western-educated to join the painstakingly literate skirmishes, to stand and watch a more practised sword-play.

The whole effect of abolitionist championship was, therefore, rather to smother individuality in any literary sense. If the African could write, his energies were directed by the internal nature of the dispute. The people to be won over, or their opponents, formed his readership. The nature of his involvement absorbed him into a national debate and it was to be a considerable time before he could be looked at, or function, independently again. This general tendency is also apparent in the language the African writer used, for he was bound as much as anyone by the observable fact that the use of a language at any one time is decided, and therefore restricted, by the wider situation as well as the specific situations in which the language is employed.⁷⁶

This observation is well borne out in the letters of Ignatius Sancho with their total orientation to an English middle-class readership.⁷⁷ The popularity of these letters is indicated by the fact that in the two years following their publication in 1782 they went into three editions, and were published at the expense of 1,200 subscribers of substance. Sancho's own respectability is evidenced by his circle of acquaintance. Gainsborough's portrait of him was used for the third edition,⁷⁸ he was in correspondence with Sterne with whom he was widely compared,⁷⁹ and Garrick would have had him for Othello or Oroonoko had it not been for 'une articulation défectueuse'.⁸⁰ Whatever may have been the case about his pronunciation his complete acculturation in the written language can hardly be in doubt. In more wordly terms he was afflicted by that most respectable of eighteenth-century ailments, the gout.⁸¹

The general tone of the Letters is light and mannered, if not at times trivial.⁸² However, there are occasional moments of good sense and righteous indignation, as in the letter to the young Negro wastrel whom, in the best British tradition, he had helped financially in his flight to Madras to escape his creditors.⁸³ It is perhaps unfair to judge a man's literary performance on the basis of his personal letters gathered two years after his death by '1,000 of his friends'.⁸⁴ The fact that they were chosen by Englishmen for English motives may well have weighted the evidence that has come down to us. Some of the letters are too trivial and concern the borrowing of books or the laundering of a handkerchief left behind by one of his daughters, but on the whole a valuable picture of his relationship to his social circle remains. Much later we find Grégoire reproaching those who would analyse Sancho's letters, or would attack his 'adoption' of the epistolary form, by citing the respectability given to the genre by Madame de Sevigny and Sterne.⁸⁵ The comparison, however, is still unfair for this is a collection of letters, nothing more, and was never a deliberate attempt to produce a cohesive literary whole in the epistolary style. 'Sterne a little watered',⁸⁶ Sancho follows Sterne at least in an almost desperate pursuit of the aristocratic elegances of style.

The extent of Sancho's acculturation to eighteenth-century England is seen strikingly in his indulgence in fashionable gossip in a fashionable turn of phrase. In recommending a friend to visit an old gentleman, for example, he writes:

His age is 86; he had a paralytic stroke and has a rupture. He has the honour to be known to Dr. Johnson and the luck to be sometimes remembered by Mr. Garrick. If you help him you do yourself a kindness, me a pleasure and he, poor soul, a good which he may one time throw in your teeth⁸⁷

Noticeable too is the ease with which he moves, not entirely seriously, into the fashionable colloquialism and a very English indignation.

Zounds, Sir! would you believe Ireland has the *** to claim the advantages of a free unlimited trade or they will join in the American dance! What a pack of *** are ***! I think the wisest thing the administration can do (and I dare wager they will) is to stop the exportation of potatoes and repeal the act for the encouragement of growing tobacco ***.⁸⁸

Occasionally Sancho indulges a natural geniality in passages charitably described by Grégoire as 'poetic'.⁸⁹ Such passages do, indeed, possess their individuality, but it is wonder at the depth of their purple that strikes us rather than the felicity of the expression.

The powerful little god of mischief and delight now at this blest season prunes [sic] his beauteous wings, new feathers and sharpens his arrows and takes too sure his aim. Oh! lads, beware the month of May. For you, blest girls nature, decked out as in a birth-day suit, courts you with all its sweet where-e'er you tread the grass and wanton flowerets fondly

kiss your feet and humbly bow their pretty heads to the gentle sweepings of your under-petticoats the soft and amorous breezes toy with your curls, and uncontroul'd steal numberless kisses the blackbird thrushes suspend their song ... the cuckoo sings on every tree the joys of married life the shrubbery throws out all its sweets to charm you, though, alas! an unlucky parciplepliviaplemontis seizes my imagination my brains are on the ferment Miss C. will excuse me.⁹⁰

The passage, in its breathless, unpunctuated transport, largely speaks for itself. However, we detect here a certain coyness of humour that reminds us powerfully of the performer who knows what is expected of him. The heaviness elsewhere of 'The Sanchos in full synod humbly present their respectful compliment ...', 'he promises like a tradesman, and performs like a lord', 'a letter that a body may read with pleasure and improvement none of your circumroundabouts for I. Sancho',⁹¹ all demonstrate a certain predictable wit, or at least a dependable good humour.⁹² It is true, of course, that the whole of the above passage confirms this. The idea of a corpulent benevolent uncle fits Sancho very well in his address to Miss C. and there is a deliberately avuncular note to the puzzling nonsense of 'parciplepliviaplemontis'. However, since we know nothing of Miss C., speculation can go ^{no} further and we must be content to add the passage to the evidence of Sancho's cultural assimilation. The still undeniable love of the verbose remains throughout the Letters where it can be seen at an almost random glance. If Sancho was less than

remarkable as an eighteenth-century writer, he was a very remarkable greengrocer.

Inoffensive as this mixture seems, it attracted a certain amount of spite. One can only assume that this was stimulated by the fact that Sancho's complete acculturation was an embarrassment to the detractors of the Negro. The fact that his circle of acquaintance was sympathetic to the Negro cause and made no secret of it cannot have endeared him to the merchantile and racist interest. Indeed, Sancho himself often signed his name 'Africanus', or conveyed his respects to 'all who enquire after Blackamoors',⁹³ and in so doing associated himself and, posthumously, his work with the opponents of slavery.

Predictably, Jefferson was scathing and was in his turn attacked by Inray on the grounds that his error of judgement of Negroes in general could not recommend his critical judgement of Sancho.⁹⁴ However, the debate surrounding him was the familiar one for the time. What is striking about Sancho is his complete assimilation into eighteenth-century England in a manner which would not have been possible a few years later at the height of the slave trade controversy. Paradoxically, this is illustrated by his letters which, but for that controversy, however boundless the goodwill of his friends, may never otherwise have appeared collected in print. Such a high degree of dispossession could hardly have escaped its reflection in his language.

As the tempo of the humanitarian debate quickened in the years following Sancho's death on the 5th December, 1780, an element was introduced into

the argument that had for the most part been missing earlier; the fusion of the Rousseauistic and the evangelical/humanitarian in the sentimentalisation of the Negro. We have already remarked on the germ of this tendency in the more popular manifestations of the concept of the Noble Savage of which it was the lineal descendant. It is an element still strong, for example, in Grégoire's survey containing the biographical sketch of Sancho, which provides a convenient source for our immediate purpose.

Grégoire records Sancho's birth on the voyage to South America after the enslavement of his parents in 1729, his mother's early death and his father's suicide to escape the horrors of slavery. The account is perhaps too close to popular taste to be accepted unreservedly and cannot be taken as the final word on his African origins. Sancho was educated at the request of the Duke of Montagu, patron of Francis Williams, who had taken an interest in him, but he was till the end of his life never to enjoy other than a fluctuating fortune.⁹⁵ All this is factually described as background to the introduction of an overtly sentimental note.

Sancho, réduit à la misère, employa 5 shellings
[sic] qui lui restoient, à l'achat d'un
vieux pistolet, pour terminer sa vie de la même
manière que son père.⁹⁶

Such a tendency towards sentimentality is hardly surprising in an age of a frequently masochistic sensibility and it is an element to be found, though no doubt for slightly different reasons, in the work of West African writers of the present day.⁹⁷ Whatever the humanity of the

motive, and however its expression was moulded by current taste, the sentimental was to be a recurrent element in works by and about Africans for a considerable time to come. It is no mere chance, then, that the later writers, Cuguano and Equiano, should also be the only ones of the eighteenth century to include recollections of their African childhoods.⁹⁸

Ottobah Cuguano's Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species appeared at the climax of the abolitionist debate in 1787, and signalled, in its overtly committed nature, a notable departure from the writings by Negroes we have so far considered.⁹⁹ We have little information of Cuguano's origins or history except, for example, that he was^a Fanti from Achimota,¹⁰⁰ and that he is described in the title of the French translation of his book as 'esclave à la Grénade et libre en Angleterre',¹⁰¹ and also went under the name of John Stewart. Quite how he got to England and his position as valet to Cosway, painter to the Prince of Wales, is unclear, and we can only assume that he was, like Sancho and Equiano, part of the trickle of slaves from the West Indies and South America¹⁰² before the organised resettlement attempts of the late eighteenth century. His description of himself as a 'native of Africa' would not necessarily mean much more than that he was a Negro, but his somewhat vague memories of Africa,¹⁰³ apparently considered authentic at the time, seem reasonable. It is also likely that even if he had, as Sancho possibly had been, born outside Africa, the environment of his early years would have certainly been one of close contact with people only recently divorced from their

heritage. The forcibly expatriated slaves had formed a new community, but not one so far from their various cultural heritages as all that.

Naturally, Cuguano's authorship would have been in question, and there are grounds in his very unequal style for acknowledging the possibility of another hand. We must in fairness note the closeness of the title of Cuguano's book to Clarkson's Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,¹⁰⁴ but this could indicate no more than a substantiation of Clarkson's general influence on the anti-slavery debate and its literature. Indeed, as we shall see, there is a more specific influence of Clarkson, or the anti-slavery pamphleteers generally, on Cuguano's book. Clearly, though, we must produce more substantial grounds for doubting his authorship than such observations as the following on Africans writing in the eighteenth century.

They may well have been helped to write [their books]: a holograph letter of Cuguano's that survives (written under his English name of John Stewart) is stylistically different from the high-flown periods of his book.¹⁰⁵

Unfortunately this proves nothing at all, for it is an observable linguistic fact that the language used in a personal letter will be substantially different from that employed in a highly conscious piece of propaganda. Indeed, what has happened to Cuguano's style could well be what happened to writing by Africans generally; the transition from a more passive literate presence to an open involvement in the abolitionist

pamphlet war, and the changes that such an altered relationship to the readership demanded in the language employed.

However, there are striking resemblances between some passages in Cuguano and some of those in the works of Clarkson and Benezet. Indeed, Cuguano acknowledges his indebtedness though he does not say whether it is literary or a more general debt to the prime-movers in the abolitionist movement.¹⁰⁶ The following passage, for example, shows all the characteristics of the abolitionist rhetoric:

The farther and wider that discovery and knowledge of such enormous evil, as the base and villainous treatment and slavery which the poor unfortunate Black People meet with, is spread and made known, the cry for justice, even virtue lifting up her voice, must rise the louder and higher, for the scale of equity and justice to be lifted up in their defence. And doth not wisdom cry, and understanding put forth her voice? But who will regard the voice and hearken to the cry? Not the sneaking advocates of slavery, though a little ashamed of their craft; like the monstrous crocodile weeping over their prey with fine concessions (while gorging their own rapacious appetite) to hope for universal freedom taking place over the globe. Not those inebriated with avarice ...¹⁰⁷

The general impression is additionally striking when in juxtaposition with a passage such as the following from Clarkson:

The lion does not imbrue his claws in blood, unless called upon by hunger, or provoked by interruption; whereas the merciless Dutch, more savage than the brutes themselves, not only murder their fellow creatures without any provocation or necessity, but even make a diversion of their sufferings and enjoy their pain.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Cuguano's arguments regarding the alleged inferiority of the Negro, the mark of Cain, the African climate, the refutation of the charge that Africans sold their own people into slavery, are all the familiar ones that are to be found recurring from Benezet to Armistead well into the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹

We might remark, purely impressionistically, that Cuguano's style is considerably less cohesive and consistent than Clarkson's powerful rhetoric which, though often purple, was highly effective. Though Cuguano's style may appear 'chaotic',¹¹⁰ it is only fair to point out that his book was less a unified literary endeavour than a highly functional and effective piece of propaganda. The unevenness of style which has so often been produced as evidence of another hand may no less reveal the unevenness of performance in a foreign tongue. We can perhaps go no further than this. What is important about Cuguano is the indication that the literate African himself had joined the fight against slavery as something other than a symbol. The first real evidence of the last stage in the trend towards the placing of the African outside Europe had begun. To such a spirit literary merit was only secondary, and he found a rhetoric and a medium for it ready to hand. It

is a cruel irony that in his first magnificent assault in the cause, closer to him as a Negro and a former slave than it could be to even the most involved white man, he should even then declare the extent of his cultural dispossession.¹¹¹

Much the same stand can be taken over those specifically, propagandist, ornate passages in Olaudah Equiano's Interesting Narrative (1789),¹¹² which from its first appearance attracted a generous notice. The Gentleman's Magazine for June 1789, though enthusiastic, notes its 'very unequal style' and the fact that the part of the book concerning Equiano's conversion to Calvinism is quite uninteresting.¹¹³ In the same month The Monthly Review, equally enthusiastic, and equally paternalistic, noted:

We entertain no doubt of the general authenticity of this very intelligent African's interesting story The narrative wears an honest face: and we have conceived a good opinion of the man from the artless manner in which he has detailed the variety of adventures and vicissitudes which have fallen to his lot.¹¹⁴

The reviewer, however, could not resist remarking that 'it is not improbable that some English writer has assisted him in the compilement, or at least the correction of his book, for it is sufficiently well written'.¹¹⁵ That this should have been so publicly expressed at the height of the abolitionist debate indicates something of the extent to which the prejudices regarding Negro authorship were ingrained even in the more liberal reaches of society.

Equiano was very openly aligned with the activities of the anti-slavery movement and those parts of his book which are in question are notably those couched in the familiar abolitionist rhetoric.¹¹⁶ A pair of examples will serve to illustrate the closeness of these passages to the pamphlet rhetoric of Thomas Clarkson, with which it shares a strong infusion of the sentimental and the Calvinist.¹¹⁷

O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God, who says unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you? Is it not enough that we are torn from our country, to toil for your luxury lust and gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice? Are the dearest friends and relations, now rendered more dear by their separation from their kindred, still to be parted from each other, and thus prevented from cheering the gloom of slavery with the small comfort of being together and mingling their sufferings and sorrows? Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their sisters, husbands their wives? Surely this is a new refinement of cruelty which ... adds fresh horrors even to the wretchedness of slavery.¹¹⁸

The strong leavening of pulpit rhetoric, the blind faith in the rhetorical question, are the raw stuff of the anti-slavery pamphlet.¹¹⁹ We have seen how Cuguano adhered to the abolitionist mode of writing and the following passage from the 1786 edition of Clarkson's Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species offers a striking comparison to the

passage of Equiano's just quoted. The protest is put into the mouth of an African:

And now I have mentioned the name of Christians, a name by which the Europeans distinguish themselves from us. I could wish to be informed of the meaning which such an appellation may convey. They consider themselves as men, but us unfortunate Africans they term Heathens, as the beasts that serve us. But ah! how different is the fact. What is Christianity but a system of murder and oppression? The cries and yells of the unfortunate people, who are soon to embark for the regions of servitude, have already pierced my heart. Have you not heard me sigh while I have been talking? Do you not see the tears that now trickle down by cheeks? And yet these hardened Christians are unable to be moved at all: nay, they will scourge them amidst their groans, and even smile, while they are torturing them to death. Happy, happy Heathenism! which can detest the vices of Christianity, and feel for the distresses of mankind.¹²⁰

Further comment is hardly necessary, but what has been established is Clarkson's influence, not his hand. Indeed, most of the suspect passages in Equiano are a pale shadow of Clarkson, though effective enough in their way. The question must remain open, but there is no reason why at the age of forty-four,¹²¹ after spending the greater part of his life among educated people in an English-speaking environment, Equiano should not have been sufficiently fluent in English to have managed to produce

his book himself.¹²²

Whatever the case, these passages in Equiano's Interesting Narrative emphasise the extent to which, in common with Cuguano, he was absorbed into the abolitionist debate. Like Cuguano, he represents the irony of a man involved in the struggle for the welfare of his people and of necessity being no longer one of them in the degree of his acculturation to English society.¹²³ It is, indeed the paradox of the debate as a whole that it should have been at once local, decided on English domestic issues, and universal, concerning a wider humanity.

There seems to be no doubt that Equiano wrote the major part of the book, if not all of it, himself. The latter part concerning his conversion to Calvinism is tedious and a painful monument to his middle-class acculturation. We are left, therefore, with the account of the travels as certainly Equiano's own and it is the best of the book.¹²⁴ The narrative style is plain, often highly effective, and characterised by an English very different from the abolitionist tirade (just as the subject was different), that earned it the description in a contemporary review of 'a round unvarnish'd tale ... written with much truth and simplicity'.¹²⁵ It was the narrative sections, indeed, that were most generally approved; partly no doubt because they were less relentlessly abolitionist, but mainly because they were the best of the book. Twenty years later this opinion resolved itself into a favourable comparison with Defoe.¹²⁶

Loggins' assertion that 'it is certain that the Life underwent editing before it was submitted to the public' is based on the polite, formulaic

opening of the book.¹²⁷ However, we would suggest that such stylised expressions of good manners are simply evidence of Equiano's English respectability. He had ample opportunity as friend and valet to observe the fashionably mannered forms of speech and his reading would have provided him with many an example of the formulaic disclaimers characteristic of any eighteenth-century writing purporting to be at all autobiographical.

It must be confessed, that there is nothing specifically 'African' about Equiano's narrative style, for in its unembellished, often highly effective,¹²⁸ frequently clumsy expression it associates itself with many an orthodox travel journal.¹²⁹ The scenes from Equiano's African childhood and capture are vividly recalled in comparison to Cuguano's vague attempts and they seem genuine enough. However, they are too sentimentalised to be of direct sociological or historical value.¹³⁰ Some weight, though, is given to the belief that the childhood recollections are genuine by the comparative accuracy of detail about his Ibo origins. Edwards has attempted reconstruction of his name as ekwuano ('when they speak others listen') or ekweano ('if they wish I shall stay')¹³¹; both are tantalisingly appropriate to our man's history. The few Igbo words that Equiano does give - 'Ah-affoe' (modern (central) Igbo afò, year); 'Embrenché' (modern Igbo mgburichi, men with ritual scars) - also seem to be outstandingly accurate.¹³²

We must, though, record our caution over Edwards' attempt to go further in discovering the West African in Equiano's excruciating incursions into religious verse.

It is a fairly competent though dull piece of religious verse, and bears the unmistakable imprint of a West African author in its rhymes - rhymes which are false unless spoken with a West African English accent, and which can still be found in modern West African verse. There is, for example, the merging of the long and short [i] sounds, so that Equiano rhymes 'between -sin', 'relieve-give', 'sin-clean'. Then there is the similar pronunciation of the long [i:] and the diphthong [ei] in 'been-pain', 'conceal-prevail', and of the [ü] or [u:] and the diphthong [ou] in 'do - woe', 'good - showed', 'know - do'. And finally there are examples of the confusion of the central vowel [ə:] and the vowel [ɔ:] in 'word - Lord' (though this is also found as an eye rhyme in eighteenth-century verse); and the confusion of [s] and [z], in 'please - release'. If Equiano was capable of writing these verses himself, there is no reason why he should not have written the whole book. 133

Unfortunately, these challenging assertions appear to have been made without reference to eighteenth-century pronunciation or rhymes. To take them one at a time, the rhyme [i] - [i:] is, of course, quite a normal eighteenth-century one. Pope,¹³⁴ to take a convenient example, consistently rhymes the two, e.g. 'chagrin - spleen',¹³⁵ 'relieves - gives',¹³⁶ 'between - been' (/bin / or /bi:n/).¹³⁷ In case there should be any doubt, Walker, in his Critical Pronouncing Dic-

tionary of 1791, provides a later confirmation almost contemporary with Equiano's book, in his discussion of the 'the different sounds of the letter I',¹³⁸.

The rhyme 'conceal - prevail' is, similarly, quite normal, e.g. 'great - complete',¹³⁹ 'heirs - ears',¹⁴⁰ 'away - tea',¹⁴¹ 'obey - tea',¹⁴² and so on. The rhyming of [ou] to [u] or [u:]¹⁴³ and the lack of regard to voicing in the [s] - [z] rhyme¹⁴⁴ are likewise in agreement with eighteenth-century practice. Finally, the same general usage characterises the rhyme 'woꝛd - Lord',¹⁴⁵ which though a possible eye-rhyme, could, in the light of Equiano's East Anglian influence, have been the middle-class [uə] for both the modern vowels.¹⁴⁶

Clearly, Edwards has allowed himself to draw conclusions about the eighteenth century from present-day observations of 'West African English', which is itself hardly defined or described adequately as yet. The [i] - [i:] confusion is indeed a common feature of the pronunciation of English in West Africa today,¹⁴⁷ but in the present instance it would appear to/a coincidence having little application to the classification of the African character of Equiano's poetry. We have not been able to locate the 'been - pain' rhyme as a feature of West African English at all, though it may have a local distribution. Indeed, it is likewise certainly not a common eighteenth-century rhyme. However, the inconsistent rhymes of eighteenth-century poetry in general, and of that of the later century in particular, is well known. An almost casual glance at, say, Gray's Progress of Poesy brings to light the possible eye-rhymes

'move - love', 'loves - roves', as well as 'war - car', which is a normal rhyme, and 'car - bear', which is not. A similar look at Coleridge's Ancient Mariner reveals an even more striking inconsistency of rhyme, made more forceful for our purposes in the closeness of the date of publication to Equiano. With the Romantics, of course, the eye-rhyme became commonplace.

It is true that problems of dialect were common in the poetry of the eighteenth century. Pope, for example, moves at will from 'middle-class' to 'aristocratic' pronunciation for the sake of a rhyme, and the problems raised by the regional pronunciations of Defoe, Goldsmith and, later, Wordsworth are legion. The fact remains that we have no way of knowing the dialect influences on Equiano's learning of English. His service in the Royal Navy must have made them complex. His service as a valet and his later close association with highly educated speakers of the language would tend to suggest an environment of educated speakers over a significant period of time. We have even fewer grounds for speculation over the influence of Igbo in his idiolect after thirty-seven years in an English-speaking environment. His recall of a few Igbo words does not alter this at all. Furthermore, as the pronunciation of English has changed since the eighteenth century, so presumably has the pronunciation of Igbo, and its influence on the English language.

What Edwards has unwittingly given us is a convincing exposition of the extent of Equiano's linguistic dispossession. The verse does in fact give strong evidence of the possibility that Equiano wrote the whole of

the book himself. The hand of another may be suspected in the passages of abolitionist rhetoric, but we have seen that Equiano was sufficiently at home in the English language to construct a type of eighteenth-century verse which, though ordinary, requires a high degree of facility in the language. Equiano was of the tradition of dispossession that marks writing by Africans in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁸ We are content to let the following lines be their own critical testimony to the awkwardness this dispossession could often bring about. They are also in their contrast to the tradition at its best a tribute to the success of Phillis Wheatley, to whom they offer a less articulate piety.

The English nation call'd to leave,
How did my breast with sorrows heave!
I longed for rest - cried 'Help me, Lord!
Some mitigation, Lord, afford!' 149

Equiano appears to have been very eager to return to Africa and in this he is exceptional. His appointment as Commissary for Provisions and Stores for the Black Poor going to Sierra Leone seems to have been a step in his repatriation. But, his quarrel with the Agent and his dismissal before the ships left England prevented his ever reaching Africa.¹⁵⁰ He represents in his association with the plans of Smeathman and others for the resettlement of African slaves, a hint of the end of the first major phase in the trend we are examining. He is representative of the beginnings of the process we shall call the 'externalisation' of the African. The factors that were to emerge in the nineteenth century as

characteristic of the changed interest in Africans and Africa, particularly with regard to matters of language, established him ~~as~~ once and for all as outside Europe and were to add to a developing nationalism towards the end of the century, the germ of the African writer's long-awaited linguistic independence.

We have maintained here that the development of this linguistic independence arises from trends observable in the literature of the eighteenth century. We have also attempted to trace, in the attitudes towards the African in the England of the day and in the position he occupied in the literary life of society, ~~the~~ a movement from an ill-informed curiosity and an affliction in Rousseauism towards a deep involvement in contemporary taste and debate, and an almost complete acculturation. It is, furthermore, argued that this trend is observable in the use of the English language, both in the curiosity of Europeans and particularly in the writing by Africans themselves.

We should not care to give the impression that the linguistic dispossession of the African writer ended with the turn of the century, for it has not ended yet. West African writers today give ample evidence to the contrary. Just before the Second World War the following lines came out of Ghana:

Arise, my lovely muse! Take up thy lyre
Strike up the strain! Attune it to my song!
The cadence of my pláintiff [sic] notes suffuse
Mine eyes with very many bitter tears.
Alas! while 'neath the palmy groves I wail
My groans the zephyrs waft to distant vales.

O Africa - Land of my Sires and birth -
The stories of thy thousand bleeding wounds
Do often weigh me down with painful grief;
For though from servile chains thine arms are freed
By British love of justice and fair play
Yet dreadful foes thy gates beset today. 151

Appah's lines and the shades of Shelley are of 1939, and equally imitative examples can be found in the second rank of West African writers today almost at random. What is important is not that the linguistic dispossession of the West African writer can be seen to have survived, but that it is no longer the major characteristic of his work. Indeed, it can be said that it is precisely because the major West African writers are preoccupied with asserting an independence of language that the dispossession that remains has descended in the hands of the minor talents to the merely imitative - a fault which cannot fairly be attributed to the best in the writers of the eighteenth century.¹⁵²

Notes to Chapter 2.

1. I am indebted here to Dr. Asa Davis for his collection of photographs of African figures in European art, and for his permission to see his unpublished material on the early African embassies to Europe. See e.g. his 'Background to the Zaga Zaab Embassy, an Ethiopian Diplomatic mission to Portugal (1527-1539)', forthcoming Studia (Lisbon), April, 1969. Zaab found to his chagrin that the diplomatic so far presupposed the ecclesiastical that he found himself in the hands of the Inquisition. Ironically, one of his interrogators was to become Bishop of the Congo.
2. Latinus, Ioannes, Ad catholicum pariter et invictissimum Philippum dei gratia hispaniarum regem ..., Granada, 1573; Amo, Antonius Guilielmus, Dissertatio inauguralis philosophica de humanae mentis ..., Wittenberg 1734 Capitein, Jacobus Elisa Ioannes, Dissertatio politico-theologica, de servitute, libertati christianiae non contraria ..., Leiden, 1742. Capitein's treatise is exceptional for a Negro writer in its pleading of the compatibility of slavery and Christianity. Later in the century, this was a common enough part of the argument among the English clergy. Slavery could even be the instrument of evangelism. See Abraham, W.E., The Mind of Africa, London, 1962, p.124f. See also for further comment on these writers, Jahn, J., A History of Neo-African Literature, London, 1968, pp.26 ff.
3. Cooper, Thomas, Supplement to Mr. Cooper's Letters on the Slave Trade, Warrington, 1788. Cf. Little, K., Negroes in Britain, London, 1948; Sypher, Wylie, Guinea's Captive Kings, Chapel Hill, 1942, p.2, mentions 14,00 Negroes in Britain by 1770. We also know that Mansfield, before he was forced to his judgement, was reluctant to listen to Sharp, and the agitators on the grounds that there were too many owners involved in England alone whose displeasure might be felt.

4. Wheatley, Phillis, An elegaic poem, on the death of that celebrated and eminent servant of Jesus Christ, the Reverend and learned George Whitefield, ..., Boston, 1770?; Poems on Various Subjects Religious and Moral, London, 1773. See Mason, J.D., The Poems of Phillis Wheatley, Chapel Hill, 1966, pp. xi - xvi.
5. Jones, E.D., Othello's Countrymen, London, 1965.
6. Clark, J.P., 'The Legacy of Caliban', Black Orpheus, 2, 1, 1968, pp. 16-39.
7. Hazard, P., The European Mind 1680 - 1715, trans. J. Lewis May, London, 1965, p.22.
8. See Fairchild, Hoxie Neale, The Noble Savage, New York, 1928. See also e.g. Grimmelshausen, J. von, Simplicissimus (1669), especially Book VI. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 103-155.
9. Koelle, Sigismund Willhelm, Polyglotta Africana, London, 1854.
10. Defoe, Daniel, Madagascar: or Robert Drury's Journal During Fifteen Years Captivity on that Island, London, Meadows, 1729, pp. 457-464. See Secord, Arthur Wellesley, Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe, Illinois Studies IX, 1924, regarding Defoe's debt to 17th - century travel literature. Of particular interest is the influence of John Ogilby's Africa (1670), on Robinson Crusoe, pp. 87, 107; see also pp. 49ff., 74ff., 89ff.; cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 29-37. For one example of Defoe's allegiance to 'Noble Savagery' see Madagascar, pp. xiii-xv.
11. Jones, Sir William, in an address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, 1786; cited inter alia, Robins, R.H., A Short History of Linguistics, London, 1967, p. 134; Leroy, M., The Main Trends in Mod-

ern Linguistics, Oxford, 1967, p.11; Bloomfield, L., Language, New York, 1933, pp. 12-14.

12. See the nonsense poem and translation in Review, 16 Oct., 1708.
13. Secord, op. cit., passim.
14. See Hair, P.E.H., 'The use of African Languages in Afro-European Contacts in Guinea 1440-1560', Sierra Leone Language Review, 5, 1966, p.10.
15. Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe (1720), G.H. Maynadier, ed., Boston, 1903, p.250.
16. A New Voyage Round the World, (1724), G.H. Maynadier, ed., Boston, 1903, pp. 133 & 160.
17. Captain Singleton (1720), G.H. Maynadier, ed., Boston, 1903, pp. 81 & 93.
18. Some force is added to such a suspicion when almost a century later in 1816, we find a short list of words from the 'language of Timbuctoo' in Robert Adams' The Narrative of Robert Adams, pp. 43-44:

Man	<u>Jungo</u>
Woman	Jumpsa
Camel	so
gold	or

The last of these is very like the French. Adams' journey was verified by the British Vice-Consul at Mogadore and is not in question. Adams was a very ordinary sailor and his inventive idea of gibberish is no less lively than Defoe's. The other 'words' are almost certainly fabrications.

19. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 105-106.
20. Maynadier edition, Boston, 1903, pp. 181-182. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., p.47, who quotes Crèvecoeur in a passage maintaining the -e as characteristic of Negro speech. See also Read, A.W., 'The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America', Journal of Negro History, XXIV, 3, 1939, pp. 247-258.
21. The Family Instructor (1715), II, Part II, Dialogue IV, cited G.P. Krapp, The English Language in America, New York, 1925, pp. 263-264; see also Sypher, op. cit., pp. 238-239 where a very similar example from Foote's Cozeners (1774) is given.
22. Equally consistent are 'muchee', 'beggee', 'whippee' etc. in the conversation between Jack and the Negro in Chapter IX of the Life of Colonel Jacque (1722), Defoe's Works, Vol. I, Bohn's English Classics, London, 1854, pp. 385-387.
23. For more of Defoe's attitudes towards slavery - the whole of his humanity does not appear to have embraced the African - see Secord, A.W., ed., Defoe's Review, VII of the facsimile edition New York, 1938, reprinted 1964, Review nos. 32, 34, 40, 42, 46, 146, 150, 156. For a brief account of the relatively liberal views of Defoe see Sypher, op. cit., pp. 259-264.
24. Mather, Cotton, Angel of Bethesda, Boston, 1721, in Kitteredge, 'Lost Works of Cotton Mather', Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLV, 1912, p.431; cited Krapp, op. cit., pp. 264-265. Read, op. cit., pp. 247 & note, mentions the passage as occurring without some of the deviations in Mather's pamphlet with Zabdiel Boylston, Some Account of What is Said of Inoculating or Transplanting Small-Pox. Boston, Gerrish, 1721, p.9.

25. Cited Mencken, H.L., The American Language, 4th edition, New York, 1936, p. 615.
26. See Chapter 3 below.
27. Baugh, A.C., A History of the English Language, London, 1951, Chapter 9.
28. Webster, Noah, Dissertations on the English Language, Boston, 1789.
For a full discussion see T. Pyles, Words and Ways of American English, New York, 1952, pp. 73 ff.
29. See Friend, J.H., 'The Development of American Lexicography from its Beginning through the Webster-Worcester Dictionary War', Ph.D., Indiana, 1962.
30. Webster, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
31. e.g. Rao, R., Kanthapura, London, 1938, pp. 9-10.
32. e.g. Potten, C., En nyttig grammaticalsk inledning til tvende hindintil gadanske ubekjendte sprog, Fantiesk og Acraisk, Cöpenhagen, 1764.
33. Curtin, Philip D., The Image of Africa, Madison, Wis., 1964, p.35.
See also Sypher, op. cit., pp. 103-155.
34. Curtin, op. cit., pp. 49-51, 26-27.
35. London, 1791; facsimile, Menston, The Scholar Press, 1968. Walker constantly cites social figures such as Sheridan, Garrick and Chesterfield and (pp. ix-xvi) has sections for the 'correction' of Scots, Irish and 'Foreigners'.

36. Pyles, op. cit., p. 107.
37. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 106ff. Mrs. Behn is at great pains to point out that Oronooko is not physically a Negro. She picks out for alteration in her African king, his nose, his hair, lips etc. Her attempt gives a good idea of popular views at the time. Indeed, Oronooko himself is given to the most overt racism and support of the 'natural' state of slavery. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., p. 114.
38. E.g. Norris, R., Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahadee, King of Dahomey, London, 1789; Astley, T., printer, A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1745-1747, 4 vols.; Matthews, J., Voyage to the River Sierra Leone, London, 1788, pp. 91-94. For a survey of many more in a different connection see Curtin, op. cit., pp. 35ff. Cf. also Sypher, op. cit., pp. 232ff, who suggests that in the eighteenth-century drama the Negro remained a man, whereas this was not true of the other genres.
39. Hill, John, The Adventures of Mr. George Edwards, a Creole, London, 1751 and Novelist's Magazine, XXIII, 1788; engravings dated 1 May and 2 June, 1788.
40. Blumenbach, J.F., 'On the Natural Variety of Mankind', (1775 & 1795), translated in T. Bédyshe, ed., The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, London, 1865; cited, inter al., Curtin, op. cit., p. 38 and note 11. Cf. David Hume's dismissal of the idea of the influence of climate in Essays Moral, Political, and Literary, T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, eds., London, 1875, I, Part I, Essay XXI, 'On National Characters', pp. 244-258. Hume's clear sightedness, however, does not extend to the whole world, see p. 251, Cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

41. On the ranking of all forms of life see e.g. White, Charles, An Account of the Regular Graduations of Man ..., London, 1799, p.1; cited Curtin, op. cit., p.37f. See for a full account Lovejoy, A.O., The Great Chain of Being, Cambridge, Mass., (1936), 1953, pp. 186-200, 234f.
42. Oeuvres, ed., Moland, Paris, 1877-1885, XLVIII, p.595. The same passage is cited by Mason, op. cit., p. xliii and by Seeber, W.D., 'Phillis Wheatley', Journal of Negro History. XXIV, 3, 1939, p.260.
43. Jefferson, Thomas, Notes on Virginia (1784), in A.E. Bergh ed., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, 1907, II, p.196. See also Mason, op. cit., p. xliii.
44. See Mason, J.D., 'The Critical Reception of American Negro Authors in American Magazines, 1800-1885', Ph.D., North Carolina, 1962, pp. 64-65. Mason mentions the very few Negro authors reviewed at this time and also suggests as the reason for Phillis Wheatley's reception the lack of abolitionist opinion in her work.
45. The latest is Mason, op. cit., On George Washington's invitation and praise see, Seeber, op. cit., p. 262.
46. Mason, op. cit., pp. xv; See also xx-xxi.
47. Ibid., pp. xxff.
48. From Poems on Various Subjects, 1773, Mason, edn., p.21.
49. For an idea of the quality of the greater part of anti-slavery verse, see Sypher, op. cit., pp. 156-230.

50. Brawley, B., The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States, New York, 1934, pp. 17-18.
51. Cf. Mason, op. cit., pp. xxxv ff.
52. The London Magazine; or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, XLIII, September 1773, p. 456. This reference to the learning of English in six months is possibly drawn from gossip arising from public enthusiasm, but Brawley, op. cit., pp. 17-18, mentions the only slightly less remarkable period of sixteen months.
53. Grégoire, Henri, De la littérature des Nègres, Paris, 1808, p. 263. An English translation, witness to the current interest, appeared as D.B. Warden, trans., An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes and Mulattoes ..., Brooklyn, 1810. The new title conveniently reveals the predominantly non-literary aspects of the argument.
54. Ibid., p. 262, Grégoire reviews contemporary critical reception of Phillis Wheatley in the course of his argument, pp. 260-272. Cf. Galbreath, C.B., 'Thomas Jefferson's Views on Slavery', Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XXXIV, 1925, pp. 184-202.
55. Mason, op. cit., p. xxvii; see also Moore, G.H., 'The Name Columbia', Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, II, 1885-86, p. 163; cited Mason, p. xxvii.
56. Mason, op. cit., p. xxix. She rhymes, for example, 'join - divine' in the conventional manner.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. xxii.

59. Wheatley, Phillis, An Elegaic Poem, on the Death of ... George Whitefield, cited above.
60. Cf. Jones, op. cit.
61. Cited Mason, op. cit., p.xxxvi.
62. Williams called his Muse Nigerrima and the racist Edward Long, in his History of Jamaica, London, 1774, 3 vols., changed this to Ethiopissa (vide Grégoire, op. cit., p. 237.) The literary vagueness, and the possibly derogatory suffix given by Long are almost certainly deliberate. Grégoire (p.237) replied to Long by quoting from R.B. Nickolls' letter to the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, London, 1788, p.46: 'I have never heard of an orang-outang which has written odes. Among the defenders of slavery one would not find half the literary merit of Phillis Wheatley and Francis Williams.' The general virulence of the debate is well-illustrated. Its pettiness is equally so in the attempts to deny Williams the ability to have composed the popular ballad 'Welcome, welcome, brother debtor', (Grégoire, p.237). See also Hume, David, Philosophical Works, T.H. Green and T.H. Grose eds., 1875, III, p.252n.; and 'Of the Populosity of Ancient Nations', in Green and Grose, eds., Essays Moral, Political, and Literary, London, 1875, I, Part II, Essay XI, pp. 385-390, where slavery is discussed in typical terms. On one occasion slaves are compared to 'cattle' kept at a loss of 30 per cent. per head per year.
63. Cited Mason, op. cit., p. xv. See also Brawley, op. cit., p.31. For greater detail of Phillis Wheatley's life see Loggins, Vernon, The Negro Author, New York, 1931, especially pp. 16-30; Renfro, G.H., ed., The Life and Works of Phillis Wheatley, Washington, 1916; see also Heartman, C.F., Poems and Letters of Phillis Wheatley, New York, 1915; Phillis Wheatley. A Critical Attempt and a Bibliography, New York, 1915.

64. Grégoire, op. cit., pp. 197-225. See also Smith, Venture, A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a ^{Native} of Africa, but Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America, New London, Conn., 1798. Cf. Jahn, History of Neo-African Literature, pp. 34 ff.
65. 'Othello', pseud., Essay against the Enslavement of the Negro, Baltimore, 1788.
66. Gronniosaw, J.A.U., A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince, as Related by Himself, intr. W. Shirley, Bath, ca. 1770.
67. See below, of Cuguano and note 65 above.
68. Newport, Rhode Island, reprinted, Southwick, 1774.
69. A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert, Akawsaw, Granwasa, as Dictated by Himself, ed. Catskill, New York, Eagle Office, 1810.
70. Jahn, J., A Bibliography of Neo-African Literature, London, 1965, sections 303-305.
71. Dublin, Dugdale, 1790, p.iii.
72. Benezet, Anthony, Some Historical Account of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of its Inhabitants. With an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and Lamentable Effects, London, 1771; 2nd. edition, 1788. See also Woodson, G.G., 'Anthony Benezet', Journal of Negro History, II, 1, Jan. 1917, pp. 37-50; and the copies of Benezet's letters in the same issue, pp. 83-96.

73. Clarkson, Thomas, An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African, Dublin, 1786; ...; translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was Honoured with the First Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785, 2nd. edition, revised and enlarged, London, 1788. Something of increased public interest is indicated by this revision of the Dublin edition two years later in the metropolitan edition. His Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade, in Two Parts, London, 1788, went into two editions within the first year of publication.
74. E.g. Clarkson, Impolicy of the African Slave Trade, pp. 58-59.
75. Benezet, op. cit., Ch. I. See also James Field Stanfield, Observations on a Guinea Voyage in a Series of Letters Addressed to the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, London, 1788. Stanfield was employed at Benin and represents the introduction of eye-witness fact into the general debate following Benezet. A typical statement is (p. 21): 'My simple observations go no further than to declare, that through the course of a sea-faring life, to almost all parts of Europe, the West Indies, and North America, I never saw a happier race of people than those of the Kingdom of Benin!'
76. See Chapters 5 and 8 below.
77. Sancho, Ignatius, Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African. To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, ed. Joseph Jekyll, 2 vols., 1782.
78. Grégoire, op. cit., p.255, mentions this as used for the second edition of 1783. It does appear as the frontispiece of the third edition of 1784 marked accordingly. The second edition seen had several leaves missing.

79. Ibid., p.256.
80. Ibid., p.254.
81. Sancho, op. cit., Letter XC, to Mr. R --, May 1779, p.240 (3rd edn.).
82. Grégoire, op. cit., p.257.
83. Sancho, op. cit., Letter LXXIX, to Mr. S--., 29 November, 1778, pp. 217-221 (3rd edn.). See also the proposals for a stand-ny naval reserve, ibid. pp. 102-104; also the comments 'on reading the tragedy of Semiramis, from the French of Mons. Voltaire', ibid., p.99.
84. Cf. Nicol, D., 1st Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, Paris... 1956, Présence Africaine, VIII-X, 1956, p.108.
85. Grégoire, op. cit., p.256.
86. Sypher, op. cit., p.153.
87. Sancho, op. cit., 3rd edn. p.175. See also the comment on the commander of the frigate Flora English: 'Captain Peere Williams is a first cousin to Lady N-; and he will not fare the worse for that.'; ibid., p.370.
88. Ibid., Letter CX, pp. 283-284.
89. Grégoire, op. cit., p.257: '... quelquefois s' élevant avec son sujet, il est poétique; mais en général il a la grâce et la légèreté du style épistolaire.'

90. Sancho, op. cit., Letter LXII, to Miss C--, p.172, Sancho's punctuation is left, breathless as the prose, after the 3rd edition.
91. Ibid., Letter LXII, p.171; XC, p.239; CX, p.285; respectively.
92. Cf. Dathorne, O.R., 'African Writers of the Eighteenth Century', in U. Beier, ed., Introduction to African Literature, p.239. Dathorne would seem to be wrong in seeing a complete lack of humour in Sancho.
93. Sancho, op. cit., e.g. Letter XLII, p.104; Letter CXLIV, p.372.
94. Grégoire, op. cit., pp.255-260, cites Imray and Jefferson.
95. Ibid., pp. 252 ff.
96. Ibid., p.253.
97. See, for example, Wellesley-Cole, Robert, Kossoh Town Boy, London, 1960; also some of Camara Laye's African Child (1953), trans. James Kirkup et al., London, 1955. Both of these writers idealize their African childhoods. Cf. Herskovits, M.J., and W.R. Bascom, 'The Problem of Stability and Change in African Culture', in eds. Bascom and Herskovits, Continuity and Change in African Cultures, p.4, for the survival of the concept in Europe and America today and its effects on sociological investigation.
98. Cf. Loggins, op. cit., p.43.
99. Cuguano, Ottobah, Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great Britain by Ottobah Cuguano, a Native of Africa, London, 1787.

100. Ibid., p.6: 'I was born in the city of Agimaque on the coast of Fantyn ...'
101. Reflexions sur la traite et l' esclavage des nègres, traduite de l' anglais, d' Ottobah Cuguano, Afriquain, esclave à la Grénade et libre en Angleterre, Paris, 1788.
102. Cf. Sypher, op. cit., pp. 16 ff.
103. Cuguano's claims of noble birth may be simply because they add the necessary primitivist romance to his origins. Cf. Gronniosaw, op. cit., where in the title he is described as an 'African Prince'. See also Sypher, Wylie, 'The African Prince in London', Journal of the History of Ideas, II, 2, 1941, pp.237-247, especially p.237 f.
104. op. cit.
105. Fyfe, Christopher, A History of Sierra Leone, London, 1962, p.13.
106. Cuguano, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
107. Ibid., p.19.
108. Clarkson, Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, 2nd edn., 1788, Part I, p.47.
109. Viz. inter alia the works of Benezet, Clarkson, Stanfield and Grégoire, cited above. Armistead, Wilson, A Tribute for the Negro, Manchester, 1848; Anthony Benezet, London and Philadelphia, 1859.
110. Loggins, op. cit., p.43.

111. We have been unable to trace any of the 'African' words that Cuguano uses, e.g. : bounsam (devil), p.6; browsow (white-faced people), p.9. We assume that they are included for effect rather than accuracy.
112. Equiano, Olaudah, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself, London, 1789. Cf, Edwards, Paul, Equiano's Travels, London, 1967, p.xv.
113. The Gentleman's Magazine, June 1789, p.539.
114. The Monthly Review, LXXXII, June 1789, pp. 551-552.
115. Ibid., p.551.
116. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., pp. xv-xvi. See e.g. such a typical work as Liddon's Cruelty the Natural and Inseparable Consequence of Slavery, London, 1792; and Priestley's Sermon On the Subject of the Slave Trade, Birmingham, 1788.
117. Cf. Loggins, op. cit., p.44.
118. Equiano, op. cit., pp. 87-88.
119. E.g. Liddon, op. cit.
120. Clarkson, Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, 1786 edn., Part II, p. 125. Cf. Benezet's A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies, Philadelphia and London, 1784, p.46.
121. Equiano gives his date of birth as 1745; Equiano, op. cit., p.5.

122. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., p.xv.
123. Cf. Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, p.155: 'the crusade needed a symbol'.
124. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., pp. xv ff.; Loggins, op. cit., pp.46-47; Young, P., 'Equiano', African Literature Today, 1, 1968, pp.54-55.
125. General Magazine and Impartial Review, July 1789, cited Edwards, op. cit., p.xviii note 17.
126. Grégoire, op. cit., p.247 (misprinted as p.427).
127. Loggins, op. cit., pp. 46-47. Equally tenuous is his view of The Interesting Narrative as 'one of the chief adornments of American Negro literature' (p.47) on the grounds that Vassa visited America and no one in England had bothered to 'claim' him. The real separation of American and British Negro writing came some twenty years later. Further, Equiano belongs most clearly to the tradition on the European side of the Atlantic in his relation to the internal debate.
128. See, for example, the naval engagement, Equiano, op. cit., pp. 125 ff.
129. Equiano's travels were more than usually wide and adventurous. He compares very favourably to, e.g., Adams, op. cit.
130. Cf. Loggins, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
131. Edwards, op. cit., p.xi.

132. Ibid.
133. Ibid., p.xvi.
134. All line references to Pope's poetry are according to John Butt, ed., The Poems of Alexander Pope: the One Volume Edition of the Twickenham Pope, London, 1963.
135. The Rape of the Lock, Canto IV, ll. 77-78.
136. Epistle to Bathurst, ll. 269-270.
137. Ibid., ll. 289-290.
138. Walker, op. cit., pp. 15-21. Also see, inter alia, Whitehall, H., 'Middle English u and Related Sounds: their Development in Early American English', Language Monograph 19, Supplement to Language, 15, 4, Oct.-Dec. 1939, especially sections 33 and 45; Kökeritz, Helge, 'English Pronunciation as Described in the Short-hand Systems of the 17th and 18th Centuries', Studia Neophilologica, (Uppsala), III, 3, 1935, pp. 73-146; especially Tiffin's phonetic shorthand of 1751, p.95, who gives a rhyme 'eat - sit'.
139. The Dunciad, Book I, ll. 141-142.
140. Epistle to Bathurst, ll. 87-88.
141. The Rape of the Lock, Canto I, ll. 61-62.
142. Ibid., Canto III, ll. 7-8.
143. E.g. The Dunciad, ll. 145-146, 'Rome - Broome'.

144. A very general rhyme feature, e.g. Dunoiad Variorum, Book I, ll. 205-206, 'eyes - sacrifice', etc. Cf. Coleridge who in the Ancient Mariner gives an example of the ignoring of voicing in a rhyme which is almost contemporary with Equiano, 'breathe - beneath', Coleridge. Poetry and Prose, H.W. Garrod, ed., Oxford, Clarendon, 1925, (p.70), Part V, ll. 374 & 376.
145. Kokeritz, op. cit., pp. 129 ff.
146. See Tiffin's phonetic shorthand cited Kokeritz, op. cit., p.95, See also for a letter source of the rhyme 'Lord - Word', 'A Freemason's Song', in J. Marshall, printer, A Garland of New Songs, Newcastle upon Tyne, ca. 1800. The 'oral' nature of this source as well as the later date make it especially interesting. I owe the information on 18th century East Anglian middle-class pronunciation to Professor H. Whitehall.
147. See e.g. Strevens, P.D., 'Pronunciations of English in West Africa', in Papers in Language and Language Teaching, London, 1965, pp. 110-122.
148. Cf. Dathorne, 'African Writers of the Eighteenth Century', p.240.
149. Equiano, op. cit., p.163. Phillis Wheatley was capable of no better at times. E.g. 'On being brought from Africa to America';
- 'Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God - that there's a Saviour too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye -
'Their color is a diabolic dye.'
Remember Christians, Negroes black as Cain
May be refined and join the angelic train.

from Memoirs of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave, Boston, 1834. p.42. Phillis Wheatley's piety played down her anti-slavery argument but the points she makes ('Cain', e.g.) are typical. She and Equiano are seen in convenient perspective if they are compared to the following by Mrs. 'Perdita' (?) Robinson, in A Garland of New Songs, Marshall printer, Newcastle upon Tyne, ca. 1899, p.3.

Why seek to mock the Ethiop's face?
Why goad the hapless kind?
Can features alienate the race?
Is there no Kindred Mind?
Does not the cheek that vaunts the roseate hue,
Oft blush for crimes that Ethiop never knew.

Mrs. Robinson is more overt than Phillis Wheatley. A good idea of the quality and method of anti-slavery verse is to be had from Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, pp. 156 - 230. The contrast between such overtly committed verse as Mrs. Robinson's (and even the verse of Phillis Wheatley) can be seen on looking at such a product of the vagueness about Africa as Thomas Chatterton's African Eclogues (1770). See also Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, pp. 175 - 177.

150. Cf. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 160 - 169. Equiano appears to have been victimised by the agent whom he accused of carelessness. Sharp censured him also and an inquiry was held. Later he was cleared. An undated contemporary journal clipping affixed to the flyleaf of the Bodleian copy of Henry Smeathman's important Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone on the Grain Coast of Guinea, London, 1786, asserts that: 'the principal crime of which caused his dismissal, was an information he laid

before the Navy Board, accusing the Agent of unfaithfulness in his office, in not providing such necessaries as were absolutely necessary for their existence, which necessaries could not be obtained from the Agents.' (Smeathman set the 'necessaries' (!) at 19/2d a head.)

151. Appah, E.H., 'Ode to Africa' in An Ode to Africa, and Other Verse, London, 1939.

152. It is true, of course, that the Negro population as a whole would have exhibited varying degrees of bilingualism. We refer only to the very few who published writing in English. Some idea of variation in Negro bilingualism is to be had from the study of it in America by A.W. Read, 'The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America', cited above. That their bilingualism varied just as much as that in other bilingual immigrant communities is clear from Read's companion article, 'Bilingualism in the Middle Colonies 1725 - 1775', American Speech, XII, 1937, pp. 93-99, on continental European immigrant speech.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER - 'PENMEN AND ORTHOGRAPHISTS'.

We have remarked that the African's relationship to English society during the eighteenth century was internal in nature and that as the century advanced a greater accuracy of information, and an involvement as the point of argument and illustration in the abolitionist campaign, served perceptibly to objectify the African in European eyes.¹ This tendency can be seen to have received a certain emphasis in the plans for resettlement in Africa put forward by such men as Smeathman.² It was as yet too early, however, to look upon this as any real process of externalisation, of a view of the African pursuing an entirely separate literary development. The Christian humanitarian element was still very much in evidence as to the internal involvement of the African in English national affairs, for to many even an enlightened Christianity seemed to be a very English counter to the errors of Rome and an unfeeling Europe.³

Curtin has drawn attention to the gradual disillusionment during the years 1788 to 1808, the years from the peak of the slavery debate to the abolition of 1807, when the Christian humanitarian opinion became increasingly aware of the discrepancy between their assertions of potential spiritual equality and the evidence afforded by the obviously un-Christian state of Africa.⁴ The slackening of commitment at home that evolved from this disillusion was a blessing in disguise from a

long-term literary point of view, for with it went a corresponding relaxation of the possessiveness that the previous stage of the trend involved. The autobiographical passages in Equiano and Cuguano may have had much of Rousseauistic sentiment in them, ^{but} the Noble Savage had become a markedly Christian (even Methodist) Savage.⁵ Equiano's people may interestingly cicatrize⁶ their foreheads and fondle and worship pythons, but only Equiano's conversion to Calvinism made it an acceptable admission.⁶ As Sypher has remarked, 'the century that fashioned the noble Negro ended with worry about the salvation of souls in Africa, and with the acceptance of the white man's burden.'⁷ Most important, European eyes were directed overseas and the English-speaking African writer was at last in Africa; this time to stay.

The writers of the eighteenth century had brought home the success with which the educated African was able to assimilate to western society. Grégoire listed a considerable number of such outstanding individuals⁸ and in doing so recalled Blumenbach's point that if Africans could be so successfully assimilated in Europe, Africa could be 'civilised'.⁹ This belief, coupled with the discrepancy presented by the absence of Christianity was behind the direction of the evangelical attention to Africa that characterised the nineteenth century.¹⁰ One result of this redirection of attention, involving as it did a vast increase in the number of missionaries in the field, was to carry the argument concerning the African back to Africa; to re-establish him as outside and apart from Europe.

Further, the failure of the settlement at Sierra Leone became apparent

very early in the century,¹¹ but it was a failure mainly in that the project had not produced the results the promoters had hoped for. True, the point had been made that Africans could govern themselves without the use of a big stick, but there was a feeling of failure among the humanitarians reinforced by the financial disaster of the Sierra Leone Company.¹² Quite simply the movement seems to have blamed the African for this failure and to have reverted to the insistence on potential spiritual equality for the Negro. However, this carried less weight with the investors and British opinion, which in general preferred pounds sterling to souls, than it did with the humanitarians¹³ who, perhaps suffering from the lull after the storm of the 1780's were easily demoralised. These events also tended to weaken English possessiveness towards the literate African, who was now free to progress towards a slow literary independence.

The debate over the Negro's capabilities lasted very much longer than we may seem to have suggested. Grégoire made this quite clear in 1808.¹⁴ Armistead, as late as 1848, argued the case against the pseudo-anthropologists in terms that owed much to Benezet a century earlier.¹⁵ By Armistead's time, though, a distinct change had come about that subtly altered the nature of what appears at first to be no more than a survival of the debate of the eighteenth century, for we find him expressing the opinion that it is impossible to know the Negro under the false conditions of slavery.¹⁶ In doing so he acknowledges the beginnings of the reseparation of two continents. The huge increase in African exploration after

the end of the eighteenth century and the increased number of missionaries that reflected changed interests in Europe, had in the first forty years of the century provided an idea of Africa's cultural wealth that would not have been possible before. The slow process of the European objectification of the African had begun. For the English-educated African it was to be no less an objectification of himself.

Clearly, the missionaries cannot be said to have been free of any possessiveness towards the African. Though they wished to see his betterment, it was an advancement based on their own ideas of what was best for him. This does not alter the fact that in working towards this goal they uncovered a great deal more about the African, particularly in relation to the richness of his languages, than was of the purely practical kind. This increase in available accurate data was to play a powerful role in the emergence of an independent African literary development.

The beginnings of this process are strikingly emphasised by the observation that though we could, like Grégoire, bracket the Negro writing in England with his counterpart in America before the turn of the century, chiefly in the preoccupation with abolition, one could not do so after that.¹⁷ It was no longer possible to equate the two predicaments so obviously. Whereas the American tradition developed its own distinct characteristics culminating in the poetry of Dunbar at the end of the nineteenth century,¹⁸ the writings of the Africans, owing most to the British side of the debate, were most importantly by Africans in Africa. There was no longer the vagueness implied by the term

'Negro' during the eighteenth century, the product of assimilation to western society, and 'African' became the unambiguous term. The African's linguistic and cultural dispossession did not cease to inform his writing for a considerable time to come, but he began to function on his own terms.

It very early became apparent that if missionaries were to operate effectively in the field there would have to be a considerable reorganisation of the knowledge of African languages. Such information as was available was either inaccurate or unsuited for the specialist tasks of evangelism and Gospel translation.¹⁹ Similarly there was a need for vocabularies of some sort to cope with the problems met with in the increasingly frequent expeditions in Africa. This body of material was considerable, but it was diverse and for the most part inaccurate.²⁰

The Church Missionary Society had been in Sierra Leone since 1804 and there was an already established tradition of collaboration between German and British linguists in the field when Baron de Bunsen, linguist and Prussian Ambassador to London from 1841, the year of the Niger Expedition, onwards, helped to form firmer links between the new German school of scientific linguists and the missionary societies. The CMS adopted a uniform orthography for African languages in 1848 and abandoned it in 1854 for the system of Lepsius. The CMS also employed trained linguists such as the first Hausa scholar, Schön,²¹ who went with Crowther on the Niger Expedition, and Köelle, whose Polyglotta Africana was the first reliable comparative vocabulary of African languages.²² Similarly, based predominantly on Sierra Leone, several missionary linguists made studies of Sherbro, Temne and Bullom.²³

The enormous increase in the volume of West African linguistic research,²⁴ and on the whole its accuracy, did much to remedy English ignorance about Africa; though it could not cure it. Racist ignorance, always so closely linked to conceptions of language, continued to appear in attitudes towards 'primitive' languages.²⁵ However, history was not on the side of the racists and, though they could resist Grégoire, Armistead and the rest, they could not long ignore the accomplished voice of Africa. Indeed, they were rather survivals of the older debate than representatives of the serious scholarly attention from which they tend to distract attention. They give some idea of linguistic ignorance in the West, but from the point of view of the African writer this is already of lessening importance.

Samuel Crowther had accompanied Schön on the Niger Expedition in 1841, and in 1843, with the publication of his Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language, he became the first African to publish on African languages. Not only did Crowther meet contemporary European scholars on their own ground, but he greatly improved on their work in distinguishing three tones in Yoruba, a feature which had also escaped notice in other African languages.²⁶ Crowther represents the first manifestations of the professionally independent African in Africa. It is true that he was still orientated to the western assimilation that characterised the work of his later compatriots writing in English, but his dispossession, like theirs, was infused with a sturdy independence of thought. Cultural and linguistic dispossession remained general, but it had profoundly changed its nature.

The mid-nineteenth century also saw a significant addition to the initially practical study of West African languages for ethnographical or missionary reasons: the interest in the oral traditions of the continent. This interest was greatly stimulated by a shattering blow to the advocates of a view of Africa as at one of the inevitable stages on the road to 'civilization',²⁷ as well as to the continuing pseudo-anthropological arguments about the African's inferiority²⁸ - the discovery of an indigenous written language. A naval lieutenant, F.E. Forbes, had in 1849 come across the Vai syllabary in Liberia and publicised his find widely in a speech to the Royal Geographical Society,²⁹ lecture tours, and later as an appendix to his very ordinary travel journals.³⁰ The impact of this event on European complacency accustomed to think of the absence of a written literature as irrefutable evidence of the continent's low state of civilization can be imagined. Its importance to the African writer will be considered in the chapter that follows on the choice of a medium for literary expression. However, the event had its more immediate effects. Köelle was sent from Fourah Bay to confirm Forbes' findings and immediately did so taking care to point out the recent invention of the script,³¹ though his conclusion has been disputed more recently.³² Before this time, interest in African oral traditions had for the most part been confined by the practical evangelical problems concerning the rendering of the indigenous languages into writing and culminating in Lepsius' orthography for the purpose.³³ Most texts in African languages were also of a religious nature whether published in

Europe or, in small amounts, in Africa.³⁴ Such concern as there was with African customs and beliefs was largely in proportion to their nuisance value in the progress of African conversion to Christianity.³⁵ Koëlle, however, on his return from his Vai expedition, in nineteenth-century mode involving fever and capture by 'natives', noted the 'highly figurative' nature of the Vai language.³⁶ Similarly, the second edition of Crowther's Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language, when it appeared in 1852 had appended to it a set of 'Introductory Remarks' by O.E. Vidal, Bishop of Sierra Leone, which drew attention to Yoruba proverbs as worthy of aesthetic consideration.³⁷

If brevity and elegance be regarded as the two main excellencies of a proverb, the Yoruban aphorisms may claim an equal rank with those of any other nation in ancient or modern times. 38

Two years later Koëlle published his African Native Literature, a collection of proverbs, tales fables and historical fragments from Kanuri, and managed to communicate the growing excitement in the recognition of Africa's rich store of creative traditions while harking back to the earlier concern with the African's place in nature after the tradition of Benezet.

The narratives which are here communicated deserve special attention: they are not compositions, formed with difficulty by a foreigner, but they are the work of a genuine Negro mind, both in conception and expression:

in them we hear the real Negro tongue speaking to us, we hear tales in the same language, and about the same words, in which they have been told over and over again to beguile many an idle hour where nature's richest bounties are obtained without almost any labour. 39

The ubiquitous Sir Richard Burton, having been Her Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and Fernando Po, later matched the fashion with his collection of 2,268 proverbs from Wolof, Kanuri and Yoruba, in Wit and Wisdom from West Africa (1865) and joined with Vidal in praise of Yoruba proverbs on aesthetic grounds.⁴⁰ From the mid-nineteenth century onwards the interest heralded first by Köelle, Vidal and Burton, was to grow until in the first decade of this century the major volume of writing was to come from the anthropologists and folklorists.⁴¹ Such opinions serve to emphasise the growth towards the re-establishment of the dignity of African culture, the product of 'a genuine Negro mind', which was in the last forty years of the nineteenth century to exert so lasting an effect on writing in English by Africans as well as on the writing of certain Europeans about Africa. The missionary linguists were not always right in feeling that they were breaking new ground and opening up the literary treasures of Africa for the first time. Even Schön advocated the use of an Arabic-based script for Hausa in order to record its traditions when there had long been one in use in a vigorous written literature.⁴² But their advocacy was on the whole most successful in the stimulation of interest in Africa and overseas. The import-

ance of these attitudes to the subsequent use of the English language in literary expression in Africa was considerable. Meanwhile, however, we must direct our attention for a while to the position of English in Africa during the years we have been considering, as similarly indispensable background to its later use.

Negro forms of English speech had been remarked upon throughout the eighteenth century, especially in America and the West Indies, and certain written examples survive from the Africa of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Perhaps the best known of these is the diary of Antera Duke which in common with other examples of so early a date came from Old Calabar in the Delta, a coincidence easily explained by the fact that it was one of the major contact points in the trade between West Africans and Europeans in the years following abolition. The original of Duke's Diary was lost in a fire after bombing in Glasgow during the Second World War, having been brought to the attention of Dr. Wilkie formerly of the Church of Scotland Mission at Calabar, by a clerk in the United Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Office. Fortunately, Wilkie copied some of the diary when he first studied it and it is this copy that survives and is reproduced by Forde in Efik Traders of Old Calabar.⁴³ The diary was written in Duke's own hand and exhibited a form of the language strongly reminiscent of Pidgin though it is far closer to what is now termed 'talkee - talkee', than it is to the present-day forms of Nigerian Pidgin.⁴⁴

about 6 am in aqua landing with small Rain morning so I walk up to see Esim and Egbo Young so Jimimy Henshaw com to see wee and we tell him for go on board Rogers for all Henshaw family coomey and wee have go on bord Rogers for mak Jimimy Henshaw name to King Egbo in Coomy Book * so hear all Captin meet on bord Captin ford about ogan Captain Duk was fight with ford soon after 2 clock time wee com ashore and I hear one my Ephrim abashey Egbo Sherry * women have Brun two son one Day in plower * andam Duke Brun young girl in aqua town. 45

[* coomey - levy exacted by Efik chiefs on the merchants; Egbo Sherry - Ibibio; plower ---? palaver, trouble: see note 45.]

If one ignores the orthographical errors in Duke's diary it is clear that his English is rarely as far from the standard as 'talkee - talkee' and never as far as Krio or Nigerian Pidgin which are better seen as distinct languages today.⁴⁶ Those obscurities that remain which are not due to orthography are lexical and are easily resolved when their referential meanings are established. This becomes doubly clear when the above passage is compared to the following which, though it is later and has clearly been anglicized by Captain Owen who first recorded it in 1824, maintains in 'peaks', 'dat', 'lookee', 'sabby', 'cappen', 'mònt', a distinct impression of the writer, King Opubu's pidgin pronunciation that recalls equivalents in modern Nigerian Pidgin.⁴⁷

Brudder George ... send warship look um what
 water bar ab got, dat good, me let um dat.
 Brudder send boat chop um slave, dat good. E
 no send warship for cappen no peake me, no
 lookee me face. No, no, no, me tell you, No;
 Suppose you come all you mont full palaver,
 give e reason whye do it, me tell you,
 you peake lie, you peake lie, you peakeed-n
 lie. Suppose my fader, or my fader fader,
 come up from ground and peake me why English
 man do dat, I no sabby tell um why. 48

This passage was written almost half a century after Duke's diary⁴⁹
 and serves as a useful contrast to it as well as indicating something of
 the extent to which at least one form of English had deviated from the
 standard. Other early examples in the nineteenth century, once again
 from Calabar, demonstrate an adherence to the standard more marked than
 Duke's which is at the same time distinctively individual. The closeness
 to the standard is no doubt a reflection of the work of the Church of
 Scotland Mission at Calabar under Waddell and Goldie.⁵⁰ The following
 is from a letter to Waddell from Young Eyo Honesty, later King Eyo III
 of Old Calabar, in 1848:

My dear beloved friend, I hope you are quite well, as
 you been left me; and I hope God will keep you well,
 and bring you again safe by his love and goodness. And
 please give my good compliment to Mrs. Waddell, and
 tell her that I have sent a bag made of beads, and also
 some nuts to put for chop; and I hope to see her with

you; and I hope God will spare her life to live in this country as well as in Scotland; and I hope she will take this country for her own country. 51

Our impression is strengthened when this passage is compared to the following from King Eyo, Young Eyo's father, at Creek Town, December 1, 1842:

To Commander Raymond, Man-of-War-Ship Spy.

I am very glad you have come and settle treaty proper, and thank you for doing everything right for me yesterday ... One thing I want for beg your Queen, I have too much man now, I can't sell slaves and I don't know what for do for them. But if I can get some cotton and coffee to grow, and man for teach me, and make sugar cane for we country come up proper, and sell for trade side, I very glad. Mr. Blyth tell me England glad for send man to teach book and make we understand God all same white man do. If Queen do so I glad too much, and we must try do good for England always. What I want for dollar side is proper India Romall and copper rods, I no want fool thing, I want thing for trade side, and must try do good for Queen Victoria and all English woman. 52

Young Eyo Honesty was a product of the growing missionary interest ✓
in education in the English language which took firm root in the 1820's and to which ultimately is owed the African writers of the nineteenth century. West African Pidgin was to become more developed, but it existed

side by side with the standard language and was increasingly distinct from it . As The Religions Tract Society remarked in its Missionary Records. West Africa of 1836:

The frequency of Europeans in the coast has introduced among the natives a sort of lingua franca sufficient for the purposes of trade, though it is not uncommon to meet with individuals among them who can speak English, French, Dutch or Portuguese with tolerable fluency. 53

It is also likely that those who attended school for a short time, or those who came into contact with them and with Europeans, added to the development of Pidgin in West Africa. Hannah Kilham, herself one of the earliest and most forceful advocates of West African education in English, remarked in 1837 of the emerging Krio:

From observing how generally a few words are adopted by all the tribes here, as 'done' and 'for', and used on so many occasions to express what others would express in a great variety of ways. I am ready to conclude that the time may arrive in which a kind of general vocabulary may be formed on a limited scale, whether in English or in a mixture of languages, and be adopted, not to supersede any more complete or extensive vocabulary, but as a common medium of communication when people of some education meet from different quarters of the globe, to facilitate their intercourse with each other. 'Done' is used for the past tense in the liberated African English, and even among Maroons, and 'for' for any purpose in

view, or object to be attained. 'I done go' - I have been. 'I done full 'em' - I have filled them. 'I done tell him' - I have told him. 'I want thread for sow' - I want thread to sow [sic] with, etc. 54

Whatever inaccuracies have been revealed by time in this prophetic observation, it demonstrates very well the already distinct division between the development of Pidgin and Krio and the history of the standard form of the language in West Africa. It is, furthermore, striking in that it is an observation founded on something more substantial than the curiosity that was the general case, and showed a more than ordinary linguistic tolerance for the day. Curiosity of an uncritical kind did survive such as that behind Mrs. Melville's appendix of letters from Africans in her memoirs, A Residence at Sierra Leone.⁵⁵ However, these letters certainly show an individual flavour, but they are not Pidgin or Krio, and behind a variable orthography they hide an articulate literacy in English.

Sir, I have the Honour of wrighting these few lines to you Sir, I am in need of work, and will be very much obliged to you if you will be kind as to give me some work to do, or put me in some place as a fourman. I am a cook by trade, your honour. I humble beg and pray that you will be enable to give me something to do, so that I may not be an Idler in the town, and so your honour I will do the best of my necessity to please the world. 56

Mrs. Melville speculates that such letters are the products of 'scribes' who use set forms of wording for certain types of letter, and we cannot therefore build too much on them, but she goes on to affirm that 'a very great many of the people can write letters without assistance, though they occasionally transpose the meaning of the words they use.' ⁵⁷ Some idea of this generally high level of literacy in English in Sierra Leone is given by the following 'genuine specimen of African literature, written by a man released from prison', and its acknowledgement of a British paternalism is reminiscent of much writing by Africans later in the century. ⁵⁸

I humbly feel myself to be under every obligation to great Britain for the privileges which I am allowed from that most Gracious, most benevolent and Fatherly Nation and well-wisher to all human race on Earth. I humbly kneel down at your honour's feet by praying and begging that your honour will pardon me for the liberty I am taking on thinking that it was by your honour's Wisdom, Power, and Protection that I am this day a Freeman, and that I feel that it is my bound duty, my honoured sir, to make you many thousand thanks for the kind part which you have taken in my behalf; and may the Almighty God bless you for it, and that you may reign for ever in your Wisdom and Power to Protect the Poor, and may ever reign over us all for evermore. Honoured Sir, I am truly ashamed of myself for not having returned you the due thanks for the liberty you have given

me in delivering me out of the hands of the Wild
Lion, and have set me at liberty the mean time. 59

The strong influence of ecclesiastical language on this passage hardly needs comment.⁶⁰ It is, indeed, typical of many a letter written in West Africa today in this respect and it shares its biblical tone with much writing by West Africans later in the century⁶¹. In particular, of course, it is direct evidence of the missionary educational influence of the nineteenth century.

It had been apparent from the first that the choice of a medium of instruction for use in the mission schools posed special problems. As early as 1808, conflict arose over the use of Susu rather than English at the CMS school at Basia in Sierra Leone. Interestingly, the major opposition came from the people themselves.

The great object which the parents had in sending
[their children] to school was the acquirement
of the English language, Therefore, according
to their strict instruction, not a word of Susu
was allowed to be spoken in school. 62

In 1816, Bickersteth, Assistant Secretary to the CMS, had asserted the need for initial teaching in the indigenous languages,⁶³ but the major impetus in this direction was derived from the work of a group of Quaker missionaries interested in the indigenous languages, the best known of whom is Hannah Kilham, for many years missionary at Charlotte in the Mountain District above Freetown. Hannah Kilham had learnt Wolof in England before coming to Africa from two liberated African

boys,⁶⁴ and was a considerable linguist in her own right whose vocabularies were used by Norris after her death in his pocket dictionary for the Niger Expedition.⁶⁵ She constantly stressed the need for the initial teaching of reading and writing in the mother tongue and the need for the provision of adequate material in 'country books', books in the first languages.⁶⁶ Like all her contemporaries she also regarded the teaching of reading as the necessary preliminary to religious instruction and one of her school books for use in Sierra Leone contained, as well as vocabularies of the local languages, passages from the Scriptures for translation.⁶⁷ Mrs. Kilham also insisted on the separation of her pupils from their home backgrounds both because 'there is much in them that may through divine grace become bright and beautiful, [though] their passions in their present untutored state are often frightfully strong and uncontrolled'⁶⁸ and because she saw educational benefits in the policy. Her school at Charlotte was a minor boarding establishment and she had very early, on her first visit to the Colony, noted the need for a suitable environment for learning English in her report to the Friend's Committee for African Instruction.

At present the liberated African children are learning English under the same disadvantages, which English children would have in learning French, were French books only given to them, without any English translation. The children in the villages have but little opportunity of hearing conversation in English, excepting in the barbarous broken form of it, which prevails in that district, and

which consists [of] a very limited number of words (some suppose not more than fifty) : the written language of their English books of course appears quite as a foreign tongue in comparison to this; therefore, although many may learn in time to read and to spell, those who are thus circumstanced cannot be expected to understand what they read. The children of the Free Town schools have superior advantages in this respect - their parents being chiefly from the American Continent or Islands, they are brought up by them speaking English as well as reading the English language. 69

Not all missionaries, however, were so exclusively devoted to educational theory, for there is a detectable growth in expressions of a British proprietorship of the English language. This vestigial British nationalism went very easily with the current notions of the graduated 'rise from "barbarism" to "civilization" [which] was often thought of as a process similar to recovery from a disease.' 70 The attitudes to the practical field problems of education had begun, as thinking was more firmly established as to the right way to cope with such immediate difficulties, to widen into a vision of unobtrusive linguistic imperialism. Something of the ambiguity of attitude is apparent in the following observation by Waddell on the schools at Creek Town and Old Calabar.

Our several schools were at first taught entirely in English, both because the people wished it, and because we could not do otherwise, having no books in their

language, and not able to speak it. But at first that was no disadvantage. I deemed it of great importance for them to acquire our tongue. It is over all the African coast what Latin was in Europe in the middle ages, while its modern languages were unwritten or barbarous. From the Gambia to the Gaboon, it is the general medium of communication. It is the learned language to the natives by which they study 'humanity', and get access to the literature of the world.

The Efik language was, however, studied and acquired by nearly all the missionaries, and the schools came gradually to be supplied with books in the vernacular, so that, both in English and in Efik, the education was afterwards carried on simultaneously. The rule came to be, that the scholars should learn to read in their own language first, a little at least, and then go into English; for it was obvious that they could learn more easily in their own at the first than in ours, ... Whether it was that the most intelligent youths cultivated a knowledge of English, or that the acquisition of a literary language promoted their mental improvement, it is certain that the two were closely connected. And, assured that the natives of Calabar will never be able to acquire so much general knowledge in their own tongue as in ours, I trust that the English language will always be prominent in their schools. 71

Waddell consistently emphasised 'the great importance of promoting among [Africans] the knowledge of our own language',⁷² but educational zeal has changed from a spiritual to a secular force. The notion of the civilizing influence of the language itself, and its constant comparison to Latin in the Europe of the middle ages, had by 1848 progressed to a point where the arrival of three new missionaries at Abeokuta was welcomed because it 'will give a considerable impetus to the progress of the English language which seems of itself to raise the person who is acquainted with it in the scale of civilization.'⁷³ Arising from this is the fear of educating 'too many' Africans,⁷⁴ that was at the foundation of the elitist group of African writers at the end of the century.

The interest in the indigenous languages remains, but it is an interest that is already tinged with the scholarly rather than the purely practical interest. Waddell hints at this phase in the externalisation of the African in European eyes (and a later realisation of this independence on the part of the African) when he says of the country around Calabar:

That is the country for philologists. The
Tower of Babel must have been in Africa
The blacks certainly have a rare aptitude for
language. 75

A little earlier, Rankin in his ironically titled White Man's Grave, based on his visit to Sierra Leone in 1834, also mentions the idea that

'Negroes are eloquent by nature', while taking care, in his facetious and patronising, if humane, manner to note that 'the rule by which their oratory seemed to be guided was a sensible one, - the less matter and the fewer topics, the more necessity for words.'⁷⁶ Through the condescension also comes a recognition of the parallel courses of English and the developing Krio. When attending a court case at Freetown he remarks that King Tom, who had captured a local slaver, 'spoke the usual English of the place, that lingua franca of the blacks sometimes well-termed talkee-talkee language ... into which the New Testament has been translated, or, as it might be properly called, travestied for the benefit of the negroes.'⁷⁷ He goes on to say that this form of the language was in most general use among 'the most ignorant and degraded of the blacks, who plead each his or her own cause, with great flow of words, in an unintelligible patois.'⁷⁸

However, Rankin, while he has his fun, and sustains his sense of ownership of the English language, is prepared to acknowledge even in the languor following a long Freetown sermon that the forms of speech in current use could be highly effective. Amused, but impressed, he gives the following excerpt from the sermon of a preacher who during the week is a blacksmith.

De way to hell him broad, easy for walk and ride;
de way to he'm like a blacksmith's yard, covered
all over with broken iron and nails, broken glass
and stones, and every other sort of combustibles. 79

Rankin also includes, after the fashion of the West African memoir writer, an 'epistle' by a Colony man to a benefactor.⁸⁰ Again, he has his fun, we are to suppose, but he notes its excellent orthography and style and remarks that it was written in a 'better hand than is common even in merchantile houses.'⁸¹ Rankin is, of course, less part of the major trend than he is the reflection of the general interest in Africa at the time which, by 1842, had risen to a point where the African Civilization Society could congratulate itself that, partly due to its efforts, 'books on that country are eagerly purchased, and essays on the means of improving its condition stand foremost in the field of our periodical literature.'⁸²

The narrow initial aims of education in English, the belief in isolating the pupils from their own cultural environment, a growing sense of proprietorship in the teachers themselves - all would seem a fairly effective recipe for the continued dispossession of the African writer. Indeed, this is in some respects what happened, but it was an alienation very different from that which had arisen from the African writers' internal involvement in English society at the end of the eighteenth century. In Africa, and on his own terms, with the growing awareness in himself and in the minds of others of his cultural heritage, the African was provided with the material of a literary independence uniquely his own. But first it was necessary to establish his intellectual and professional equality with his English counterparts as the essential foundation on which to build a later, indigenous heritage in the English language. The way in which he chose to do so was notably in the asser-

tion of his own proud past and distinct cultural inheritance. This expression of the rising nationalism of the last forty years or so of the century was essential to the future of African creative writing in English, though it was itself non-fictional. It was to be a hard fight. Killam has shown how deeply ingrained were the notions of the African's inferiority in the imperialism expressed in British literature of this period,⁸³ but the obstacle was in fact even more formidable than that, for the attitudes Killam suggests as founded in imperialism were far older and, though they gained new life from Victorian imperialism, they came of centuries of carefully argued prejudice.

The first expressions of the African's independence in his own fight are directly related to the arguments that had occupied England over the last century. Edward Blyden, the Liberian academic,^{for} example, asserting African achievement in his Voice from Bleeding Africa (1856), relies entirely on the lists provided by Arnistead and Grégoire and repeats the familiar Exeter Hall anti-slavery arguments.⁸⁴ Indeed, Blyden's use of the language is very firmly in the tradition of the abolitionist rhetoric of the 1780's and suited to its purpose, yet it has added to it an independent, if dramatised, nationalist vision.

Africa! There is no heart beating under a covering of sable hue which does not throb with emotion at the sound of this word. To the exile from these shores laboring under the burning, though congenial, sun of South America, or shivering under the influence

of Northern snows, it brings comfort, consolation and hope It assures him that, though an outcast among strangers, whose bearing towards him is haughty, insulting and cruel, he has a country of his own, where his own race, being lords of the soil exercise uncontrolled sway. 85

Blyden's florid prose retains the linguistic dispossession and sentimentalization of Africa to which we have become accustomed, and it is interesting that he saw nothing contradictory when he suggested laying open Africa to English educationists to found a system culminating in a West African University and using Africa as 'a sort of tabula rasa' on which to write their ideals.⁸⁶ The realisation of his ideals was perhaps less independent, for a compromise was reached when Fourah Bay College was affiliated to the University of Durham four years later in 1876.

Much the same debts to the traditional arguments are apparent in the work of Africanus Horton, a Sierra Leonean and one of the leading early nationalists. In his West African Countries and Peoples (1868), he harks back in applying his own medical training to the refutation of the biological writers and the pseudo-anthropologists in his chapter on the 'False Theories of Modern Anthropologists';⁸⁷ and like Blyden he relies heavily on Armistead.⁸⁸ However, he points out that Africans can only be expected to compare favourably with the European when they enjoy equal opportunities. Interestingly, he blames the 'want of energy in its native element' for the low state of development of the

Gold Coast, 'a country which should be one of the richest in Africa' and in doing so admits unknowingly to the origins of his argument in the still current debate on a coast where slavery did not die with the decision of the English Parliament.⁸⁹ Like Blyden, Horton saw nothing inconsistent in wedding his nationalism to the earlier British paternalism expressed in the following lines of Montgomery's with which he heads Chapter VIII of his book. Significantly, Montgomery had long represented the best of middle-class abolitionist verse.

High on a rock in solitary state,
Sublimely musing, pale Britannia sate;
Her awful forehead on her spear reclin'd,
Her robe and tresses streaming in the wind;
Chill through her frame foreboding tremors crept!
The mother thought upon her sons and wept.
.....
.....

Shame flush'd her noble cheek, her bosom burn'd,
To helpless, hopeless Africa she turn'd;
She saw her sister in the mourner's face,
And rush'd with tears into her dark embrace.
'Oh hail,' exclaim'd the empress of the sea,
'Thy chains are broken - Africa, be free!' 90

It was most fitting that Africa and England should confirm the middle-class nature of their intellectual and educational contact by meeting so girlishly thus in a Victorian drawing-room. Indeed, it soon becomes apparent that, though Horton's style remains necessarily bound

to the expository nature of his task, he is neither more nor less susceptible to sentimentalism or paternalism than the general tenor of the debate from which he takes his cue. For him also the English language is indivisible from the fate of his people.

The language of self-government when formed must of necessity be English, and all official and private business must be done in it. It comes readily to all born in the Colony. There will be no spirit of a native language counter-acting, modifying and balancing it, because it is now the universal language of the Colony. 91

Horton would not have the African languages overcome in the process and, in an argument strongly reminiscent of Waddell's, he sees them less as the vehicles of an indigenous cultural heritage than as the means of importing western culture. He also foreshadows the dilemma of the twentieth century and the need to find a balance between the demands of a national or international language and a language more closely the expression of an African's own culture.

But as the African has the wonderful gift of learning a foreign language, such as seldom met with in any other part of the globe, it is certainly of the greatest importance to encourage the study of the old (classic) and modern languages among the educated and gifted Africans, to make the riches of classic and foreign literature accessible to them, to translate them into the native languages, and

by that means make them by-and-bye [sic] the property of all, but not as some foolish young gentlemen seem to understand, to forget and despise the mother tongue. 92

Horton recognises the argument of the gradual civilizing process ('Rome was not built in a day', he acknowledges.), but he gives expression to an impatience that, while accepting that 'the English element is the best civilizing agency', affirms that modern transport and communications should mean that Africa should have to wait considerably less than the eleven hundred years it took Britain and France to be civilized.⁹³ Horton is a curious mixture of nationalist and imperialist, but in this he was in accord with his time. As the Gold Coast lawyer, journalist and politician Casely Hayford put it later in his United West Africa (1919):

Again the future of West Africa demands that her sons should have a due appreciation of her place within the British Empire. There will be no harm either in Great Britain recognising her value and assigning her due recognition. 94

It is not surprising that since they were themselves, by education and imitation, so much the product of the Victorian middle class, Horton and the others should have had difficulty in imagining an Africa that was neither middle-class nor Victorian. They were too close to both to be separate from the monolith even in their use of the language which is for

the most part conventional nineteenth century, formal expository prose.

A refreshing diversion in the course of this commitment is provided about this time by A.B.C. Sibthorpe whose History of Sierra Leone was first published in Freetown in 1868. A flamboyant character, he largely allowed his self-esteem to obscure his nationalist record of his people's recent history. He also seems, ahead of his time, to have had a sound idea of the commercial value of his scholarship. The flyleaf of the History bears the following jingle:

Read Sibthorpe once, and still persist to read
Sibthorpe will be all the First Books you need. 95

If indeed Sibthorpe did have such an intention, it is an additional pointer to the growing nationalist interest in the community at large.

The History is very largely documentary, but occasional flashes of wit and a sometimes charming egocentric eccentricity come through.

Religion - The Maroons as a race are neither religious nor educated; the settlers consider themselves both. 96

Some of the best masters in Freetown made it a rule of enforcing upon their younger domestics regular attendance at the schools; the result was that good penmen and orthographists were produced. 97

And under Memorable Events of the Governorship of Sir A.E. Kennedy (1868-1870) :

Mr. Sibthorpe became a phrenologist, by studying the subject in a borrowed book. Among those who came under his examination, were persons who can never be imposed upon ... His charge was half-a-crown a head. 98

(1871) Mr. Sibthorpe practised wood-engraving without a master; found the wood fit for it, and instructed the children of Hastings in the art. 99

Sibthorpe's 'scientific' discoveries take pride of place in the History as 'nutmeg-de-Sibthorpe', 'indigo-Sibthorpe', 'Sibthorpe-yellow' fall to his lot and the occasional advertisement is slipped in to the minds of the enquiring young.

The Magic Lantern is the drama of the age; and A.B.C. Sibthorpe is the favourite exhibitor for the villages during Christmas and New Year Weeks, when boat-race and merry-go-round satisfy the capital. 100

Charming though this diversion is it serves to remind us of the unremitting middle-class nature of Africans writing in the last decades of the nineteenth century, even when the eccentric bursts through the commitment of their work.

Carl Christian Reindorf, native pastor in the Basel Mission at Christiansborg, proceeds at a staid, more typical pace in his History of the Gold Coast and Asante (1895).¹⁰¹ He takes care in his introduction to apolo-

gise for his 'poor English' and for his use of Lepsius' Standard Alphabet in writing the African names as the English orthography was unsuitable. Christaller, who saw the work through the press, similarly remarks on the need to revise the style and discusses the manner of finding equivalents among English titles for those of African nobles and officials.¹⁰² This preoccupation with the acculturation of English was to become more marked in the first decades of the new century. In spite of Reindorf's apology his style is quite suited to the informational purpose of his book and is uniformly dull.

The Akra form of government may be said to consist of three divisions. The king or chief and his grandees have to make their own laws for the town people, and have the political power in their hands. The military power is vested in the principal headman of the quarters in a town, known as Akuashong. 103

The interesting thing about this work is perhaps that both Reindorf and his editor show an awareness of the need to adapt English in one way or another to cope with an African content and in this they are an early warning of the problems that were first to face the anthropologists as ideas of African cultures grew more distinct and later the African creative writer himself.

The rising nationalist opinion began to turn its attention to a reunion of the divergent courses of 'English as spoken by English people' and emergent varieties of the language in West Africa. It is interesting

that the earliest manifestations of this should, in casting back to the earlier arguments regarding the need for initial instruction in the indigenous languages, point to the wide separation that had come about between English and Krio and the alleged inability of English to cope with a distinctly African cultural environment. Bishop James Johnson not only maintains the nationalist voice, but adds to its emotion a rational argument based on his experience of teaching in the Yoruba Mission.

I refer to what has generally been described as 'Sierra Leone English' which is the English language Africanized. Unfortunately this language has not been considered elegant enough for either the schoolroom or the pulpit, though it is, like every other language in the world, an outcome of the people's own situation; though it is the language that they readily understand and really enjoy, and that which touches their hearts and influences them in a way no other language has done or can do; though it has become to them what the Mendi, Timneh, Yoruba and Ibo and other African languages also are to the natives inhabiting those regions where these languages are severally spoken; and so it is come to pass that the language in school and church is very different from that spoken generally in the streets and in every native town in the Colony I have no hesitation in saying that 'Sierra Leone English' conceded its proper place in the matter of teaching

young people would enable them to understand England's English better and take in English teaching more readily and more intelligently, and with greater appreciation. Attempting to pitchfork nature as has unfortunately been often the case in West Africa, has always proved futile 104

Some years earlier, Johnson had also based a similar statement on the need to recognise distinct African cultures as conveyed through African languages and he is much more direct than Horton had been only three years earlier. To Johnson, African languages are the bearers of African culture and not the means of importing western culture and values. They also offer a major way of asserting African equality on its own terms.

In the work of elevating Africans, foreign teachers have always proceeded with their work on the assumption that the Negro or the African is in every one of his normal susceptibilities an inferior race, and that it is needful in everything to give him a foreign model to copy; no account has been made of our peculiarities; or languages enriched with the traditions of centuries; our parables, many of them the quintessence of family and national histories; our modes of thought, influenced more or less by local circumstances; our poetry and manufactures, which though rude, had their own tales to tell ... God does not intend to have the races confounded,

but that the Negro or African should be raised upon his own idiosyncrasies ... the result has been that we, as a people ... have lost our self-respect and our love for our own race, are become a sort of nondescript people ... and are, in many things, inferior to our brethren in the interior countries. There is evidently a fetter on our minds even when the body is free; mental weakness even where there appears fertility. 105

This is a fairly perceptive indictment of the early nationalists, but even Johnson would not abandon the English language altogether. He does, however, recognise the futility of a purely political independence, such as that envisaged by Horton and Hayford within the British Empire, without an accompanying assertion of the worth and dignity of African cultures. It was to be some time before this kind of opinion made itself heard in writing in English by West Africans. A half-century more of anthropology, and anthropology disguised, lay between the reality of the new African writing in English and Casely Hayford's dream of literary patriotism.

In my midnight slumbers quite recently I dreamt a dream. I dreamt, and behind I saw a Shakespeare in the guise of an African, one of my own literary friends. And I beheld him with wonder and questioned him. I said unto him, 'Are you in very truth Shakespeare?' And he said, 'Yes.' I said again, gazing at him admiringly, 'And you wrote Romeo and Juliet?' And he said, 'Yes, why?' 'Why?' I said, 'you look so ordinary, so unlikely

a person to have written this immortal work.' ...
But remember this, that it is the ordinary which
under God, becomes extraordinary, and that the
part Ethiopia will play in the new era is yet
unrealised by men. 106

Deliberately biblical in tone, this vision was almost forty years ahead of a distinctly African literature in English. The immediate results of the nationalist-inspired emphasis on the role of culture in language took the form of an anthropological interest¹⁰⁷ that was later to manifest itself again in the 'anthropological' West African novel of such writers as Nzekwu¹⁰⁸ and the 'personal' anthropology of the type represented by Rupert East's translation of Akiga's Story from Akiga's Tiv¹⁰⁹ and, later still, Mrs. M.F. Smith's use of modern recording techniques to capture the reminiscences of Baba of Karo and to translate them from the Hausa.¹¹⁰ This interest is at once at the root of both the document and the experiment of West African writing in English and even in the use by expatriate novelists of 'African' forms of speech. It is perhaps with this latter form of the interest that we become really aware of the extent of the West African divergence from the British literary tradition, ironically in the work of Englishmen who, prompted by the same influences, pause a while at the crossroads before departing along their way. They are briefly worthy of our interest here for they reveal much about the changes that had come about in the African writer's relationship to his medium before he took the other fork towards a more real literary independence in the English language.

It is not generally remembered that Captain R.S. Rattray, one of the most distinguished of the early twentieth-century anthropologists, wrote a novel, The Leopard Priestess, with an African setting.¹¹¹ It is interesting to note in a non-African the echo of the earlier opinion of men like Bishop Johnson, confirmed and articulated by nearly thirty years close acquaintance with African culture and society. Especially notable is Rattray's attempt to achieve his avowed aim of anthropological information through the novel form by endeavouring to represent in English the forms of speech he found in African languages.

The story has been written as a novel but the main facts and also most of the dialogue are as I heard them from my native friends. I have endeavoured to make my characters speak, act, and react, as unsophisticated Africans would. 112

Rattray's novel retains much of the earlier primitivist fascination and is almost without the paternalism characteristic of the first three decades of this century. Rattray's aim though, in revealing itself to be more than the solution of the artistic problems raised by the attempt to render African content and expression in English, emphasises the objectification of the African following the early nationalism.

Of what is about to be recorded some part might possibly be classified as Anthropology. Although I hasten to disclaim any such dull intention, I have hopes that the tale may

serve a purpose, because, sometimes with little real knowledge of Africa's past history, traditions, legal code, constitution, religion we have attempted to build up working plans of Government for various regions, which are ostensibly based on native institutions but in reality are sometimes only our own Western ideas of constitutional Government under a thin disguise. 113

Indeed, Rattray goes even further, echoing Bishop Johnson in attacking those Africans who would forget all that is distinctively African in favour of Western models.

There is growing up in Africa today, a body of black opinion, which, while at heart somewhat indifferent to, or even unsympathetic with, African institutions and traditions - of which, indeed, they are often themselves sadly ignorant - seems to resent the foreign stranger's interference with his time immemorial custom. Some Africans are, in this strangely illogical. In their secret hearts they are inclined to sneer at their own unsophisticated brethren. For them progress for their race means progress on European lines. 114

Strongly as this passage is influenced by the concept of indirect rule, Rattray does not suggest, as later writers were to in their anthropological novels, that African culture should remain unchanged.

Not surprisingly, even so 'assimilated' a European as Rattray could not feel the pull of tradition or appreciate the power of the nostalgia that the western-educated African could feel. In words that recall the arguments of the nineteenth century, Rattray imagines a future cultural amalgam witness to the truth that 'every great culture has been the result of the mingling of cultures'. The African still needs to become 'civilized', but not in turning his back on Africa.¹¹⁵ Like many a later African writer, Rattray crushed his novel under the weight of its informational load. He fails, as Nzekwu fails later in Wand of Noble Wood, because he is unable to strike the balance between information and interpretation in his depiction of the African setting. Similarly, the victim of the declared informational motive, Rattray's attempt to solve the problems raised by language fails. He proceeds along too literal lines - 'the English tongue is incapable of illustrating this idea' - ¹¹⁶ and founders in archaic, vaguely biblical, forms of speech rather than attempting to solve the problems of the acculturation of the English language to African expression through experimentation. Twenty years are to pass before Achebe is to strike anything like the balance for sustained artistic success, and he will be exceptional even then.

Rattray attempts, notably through the use of calques in dialogue, to overcome the problems of linguistic inequivalence he meets with, but his solution is superficial and for the most part settled by the graphological device of enclosing a loose English equivalent in inverted

commas, as in 'house-father', 'father' or 'sister', for members of the same organic social group. Occasionally this lapses into the unnecessary use of deliberately re-acculturated items, such as 'mother's brother' when 'uncle' would have been no less adequate.¹¹⁷ The following passage illustrates this uneasy union between instruction and imperfectly acculturated (recontextualized) language.

'A son does not stay with his own father. Go home, thou leopard-rising man, and let neither thou nor any of your house nor any of your descendants, in the male line, ever again raise a hand against them who are their kinsmen. Let this bond bind you and your son and your son's son, for ever. Let it be a bond as close as the blood tie which only your mother can transmit. Let it be a bond which shall cause all those males who have life from your bowels, to be brothers, and all the females, their sisters.' 118

On occasion, there is a careful use of proverbs from the indigenous language (Twi?) which is in many respects the forerunner of Achebe's technique, though careful parenthetical explanation of each saying is far more obtrusive.

'This is going to be a serious matter, I fear,' hazarded Opoku's "father" at length. 'We shall have to discuss it with the heads of the sections and ultimately with the Master of the Earth.'

'That is so,' answered the other, 'one does

not break off a leaf to measure with it the girth of an elephant's belly, and this matter, I fear, is beyond our power or authority to probe further.'

'Yes,' answered his companion, also lapsing into proverb, 'but you know what tortoise says: 'Haste is all very well, but slow deliberation is also a good thing.' 119

Perhaps it is that even Rattray is too far outside the language he draws upon to match Achebe's later success. His is a relationship through observation rather the conscious attempt to express a culture deeply one's own in another man's tongue. When virgins taking part in the most significant ceremony of their lives, caught up in the rhythm of their dance, sing 'The potto will show you', the situation is itself not enough and Rattray contributes a footnote: 'Bosman's Potto, proverbial for its tenacious grasp of everything of which it takes hold.'¹²⁰ The everyday exercise of counting is even subjected to the demands of the instructional motive: 'One, two, three, four, five, five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four, two fives.'¹²¹ We are soon aware of Rattray's confusion of literal translation and linguistic acculturation. Opoku alone in the forest listens to the sounds of the animals during his hunt, perfectly at one with his environment - until, that is, observation again asserts itself over expression.

An Aburoburo bird, which always seems to be unhappy, began her usual plaint:

One other indication of the crossroads that had been reached in the West African literary tradition remains to be mentioned briefly: the use of 'African' forms of speech for artistic and interpretative effect in novels by expatriates. It is much narrower in range than Rattray's attempt at language acculturation, or the later African writer's experimentation with English, and takes the form of an immediate contribution to character detail. This is not the place to consider the changing themes and attitudes towards the African in British literature of the twentieth century - Killam has given a very full account - ¹²³, but it is striking to note that, so far as we are aware, no English novelist before Joyce Cary employed African speech as an integral part of his technique. ¹²⁴ Winifred Holtby in Mandoa! Mandoa! (1933), almost exactly contemporary with Cary's early African novels, satisfies her irony with a mixture of flashy 'American' and Latin in the speech of Talal, the 'sophisticated' Mandoan prime minister who hankers after western ways. ¹²⁵ Evelyn Waugh in Black Mischief (1932) similarly does not even mention African forms of speech in his inventories of uncivilized behaviour. Connolly's soldiers eat boots, but Emperor Seth and cannibal alike speak impeccable British English, or are talked to by Basil in equally impeccable Sakuyu. ¹²⁶

Cary's experience as a political officer in Nigeria, and as commander of a Hausa company in the Cameroons campaign, brought him into close contact both with African forms of English and the language of his men to the point where on one occasion he describes himself as

'thinking in Hausa'.¹²⁷ This close contact was to stand him in good stead later in his African novels, but it did not of itself liberate him from the attitudes to Africa and things African that were current in his time. As a young man, Cary appears to have been as conventionally English as his less imaginative polo-playing compatriots and even 'a little bit of a dandy'.¹²⁸ We know, too, that he read, and even annotated, such typical books about Nigeria of the first thirty years of this country as Dennett's Nigerian Studies, Hazzledine's The White Man in Nigeria, typical in its favouring of the Northern over the coastal peoples, and Claridge's Wild Bush Tribes of Topical Africa.¹²⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that Cary, consciously or unconsciously, came under their influence insofar as they were the expression of the colonial attitudes current among his acquaintance, which though often colourful were equally often paternalistic in the best British tradition. Indeed, Cary himself was able without any apparent sense of incongruity to compare an alleged African resignation to disaster to the helplessness of children.¹³⁰ However, there is a change in the approach to the English language in West Africa which is discernible in Cary's African novels from the publication of Aissa Saved in 1931¹³¹ to that of Mister Johnson in 1939.¹³² Naturally, Cary's intentions were far more comprehensive than this would appear to suggest, for he was interested in the ideas and values of his characters as well as the impact of western culture upon them. In Mister Johnson, of course, some of the songs of Johnson, as well as those of minor characters who share them, reveal the superficial nature

of the kind of western culture that had been imported. More generally, and closely related, are Gary's attitudes towards the role of English in West Africa which provide a useful insight into changing attitudes in his work and in contemporary European thought.

Aissa Saved, at first glance, seems to contain much the same ingredients as Mister Johnson almost a decade later. It soon becomes apparent, however, that they are mixed in a different way. Ojo's heretical preaching, Aissa's hymns, have much of Johnson in them, but they are less integral to the development of theme. They are more often 'local colour', if an inseparable part of it, than they are an important part of character exposition. They also retain the traces of the colonial attitudes of the time.

What made the best effect was the sermon. Illiterate people love to hear speeches, and especially stories. Besides, Ojo preached, or rather acted as interpreter, and Ojo had already become a name of power in Kolu. It was thought by many people that he and Carr between them had caused the drought. 133

There are times in Aissa Saved, of course, when the 'African' form of speech is indivisible from the theme being elaborated: Ojo's heresies, Aissa's pidgin conversation with Jesus, and the final terrible irony when the baby is decapitated before a rude cross.¹³⁴ However, the language is expository of the theme, the situation, rather than an

aid to the interpretation of the individual like many of Johnson's songs. The same division in Cary's technique is evident in Mister Johnson, though the situational use has become secondary. Compare, for example, Aissa's inadequately translated hymns and their consequences with the revelation of the same kind of cultural gap in the following passage. Both concern/imperfect acculturation of western ideas and values, some of which are hardly relevant to Africa's needs anyway, but Johnson's song rises above the introductory idea in a crescendo of personal interpretation. The passage is quoted at length since Cary's intentions are lost in extract.

Two of the gossipers dimly seen in the shadow
are clapping softly while they talk about
their own affairs; an old Yoruba trader in the
corner, very drunk with an English cloth cap
on his head, sings the chorus with Johnson
and utters loud sobs. God knows what the word
'England' means to him, but he is an old man
who has probably learnt his English at some
English mission.

'Oh England, my home, away der on de big water.
England is my country, dat King of England is my king.
His heart is big for his children -
Room for everybody.'

Johnson sings alone, falsetto, dancing with peculiar
looseness as if all his joints are turned to macaroni.

'I say hallo, I act de fool.
I spit on de carpet of his great big heart.'

'Oh England,' the old Yoruba sings with a loud sob,
'Away, away, over de big water.'

'Hi, you general dar, bring me de cole beer,
'I Mister Johnson, from Fada, I belong for
King's service,
Hi, you judge dar, in yo' crinkly wig,
Roll me out dat bed, hang me up dat royal net.'

The clapping grows louder into syncopation ...

'De Pramminister he come running from his
clerk-office.
He shout out to de King. Up on top; you majesty,
I see um,
I see um like lil black ting no more big dan
stink bug.
He drunk he play de fool, he black trash,
He no care for nobody, He dirty boy,
He spit all over de carpet of you great big
heart.
All right, you majesty, I go catch him now,
I go trow him right out right over de top of
Pallament right
In de river Thames, kerplash.
De king, he say, oh no, Mr. Pramminister, don't
do so,
I know dat Johnson from Fada, he my faithful
clerk from Fada,
He drunk for me, he drunk for love of his
royal king...'

It is precisely this ascendancy of character interpretation over thematic commentary and local colour which makes Mister Johnson a better book than Aissa Saved. Both novels, however, are to a degree patronising towards the African. Cary ironically states that Aissa spoke to her Jesus in English 'because she knew that it is God's language',¹³⁶ but his own pidgin or 'African English' is entirely anglicized, depending as it does on leaving off final [d], substituting [d] wherever possible for initial [ʒ], rather than on the more specifically pidgin elements such as 'for', 'done', 'belong', which are used sparingly. The nature of Johnson's musical jiggling also amuses in a very English way - 'right over de top of Pallament right / Right in de river Thames, kerplash.' Al Jolson, white gloves waving is never far away, but then in one aspect that is precisely what Cary sees happening to the West African. To say that Cary's attitudes are circumscribed by his time, is not to cast aspersions on his integrity either as artist or as intellectual. Cary, from time to time, expressed himself firmly on the question of the role of English in West Africa both in his novels and in his non-fictional writing after the decision to write no more African novels. As early as 1932, he had, in An American Visitor, expressed the germ of an interest in the civilizing role of English that was to preoccupy him for a long time to come.

'Of course I'm not up in these things,' said Cottee,
'but it does seem strange that we won't let these
poor devils have any of the comforts and conveniences
we couldn't do without ourselves. I sometimes think

it's due to a kind of prejudice - like that of the old squires who tried to keep their labourers in smock frocks and wouldn't let them learn to read and write ... Why, we don't even teach them English. We behave exactly as if English books and English ideas would poison them.' 137

But even this idea of the liberating power of the English language, challenging as it is to the notions of indirect rule, is accompanied by the idea that Empire itself is a civilizing force, 'the only League of Nations in the whole world that has really worked.'¹³⁸ Four years later in The African Witch, Judy makes a plea for education appropriate to Africa's needs, this time more in conformity with indirect rule.

Judy interrupted, 'But, Captain Rubin, what does the sergeant read?'

'Ammunition boxes and signals. He's a dab at figures, too, any side up'; and he told a long story about the astonishing skill of his company signallers in taking down and sending messages in a language they did not understand. At the end of it Judy declared suddenly and foreefully that people had a right to learn reading, it was an elementary right.

The air was full of the clichés of a thousand years.

'What would they do with it?'

'Making them discontented.'

'Shakespeare for a lot of apes.'

'Slow but sure is the secret.'
'Give me the real old bush pagan.'
'The worst horse-boy I ever had was from the mission school.'

'But not mission schools,' cried Judy, 'and not Shakespeare, and not everybody, and not in English unless they are going to be clerks. It isn't slow and sure nowadays, it's slow and dangerous.' 139

In the discussion that follows the argument of the danger of educating too many Africans, familiar in the nineteenth century, and the imperialist clinging to white prestige, are brought under attack.¹⁴⁰ It is interesting to speculate how much Cary was influenced by his close association with the Liberal Party throughout the 'thirties.¹⁴¹ But Cary did not simply follow the intellectual drift of the day, but, as Professor Mahood points out, 'his reflections on colonialism, if they were to have any validity for him at all, had to be related to that "satisfying general idea" which he had sought ever since his retirement from Nigeria, and which had become more clearly defined in each successive novel up to Mister Johnson.'¹⁴² Even in The Case for African Freedom, which was written at the request of the Liberal Book Club, Cary took great care to disclaim any standing as a pundit on African affairs.¹⁴³

In 1943, Cary visited Nigeria, Uganda and Tanganyika and it is clear that he was by then convinced of the power of English as a second language as a liberating force. Indeed, he put down the contrast in

development between East Africa, Northern Nigeria ('an anachronism but very nice to look at') and Southern Nigeria to the fact that the former two had in common the use of an African language as a lingua franca.¹⁴⁴ As in An American Visitor, - but not, interestingly enough in Judy's outburst in The African Witch - this was in direct opposition to the policy of indirect rule. Nonetheless, Cary's anger, in an unpublished article written a year after his return from his African tour and cited by Professor Mahood, is provoked by the obvious deprivation caused by the exclusion of western technology and thought. Professor Mahood in expansion of this point, gives a passage strongly reminiscent of Winifred Holtby declaring that the African was

getting our cheap clothes, our cheap songs, our popular music, our mass slogans. our mass produced pots and knives and furniture, and is not getting our magnificent art or science or literature or philosophy ... If we give a full European civilization to Africa, we won't get a Europe in Africa. Africa will still be Africa and have its own culture. 145

It is, however, worth remembering that this idea was not entirely brought about by the 1943 trip to Africa, as Mahood seems to suggest, but had in fact been present over a decade earlier in An American Visitor. Cary no doubt felt freer to make direct political comments on Africa after his decision to write no more novels after Mister Johnson,¹⁴⁶ but this was less a change in thought than a change in the medium for expressing it to one not dominated by the primary motives of

art. In Britain and West Africa, written in 1946, Cary is even more explicit in advocating, not the Europeanization of Africa, which he does not believe possible or desirable, but the right of Africa to take from the West what is useful and appropriate to its role in the modern world.

As for those who fear that Africa, in gaining a modern equipment, will lose by that its own quality, colour, humour, its exuberance and native dignity, and, above all, that positive affirmation of life, which in extremest misery and oppression has been the strength of the Negro and the Bantu, one can only ask if any great and rich culture ever weakened a race ... The secret of a rich local and national culture throughout the world is not the shutting out of foreign ideas but their assimilation ... You could not make an imitation Europe in Africa if you tried. Freetown, I suppose, was such an attempt. It was formed of refugees without African tradition, and speaking only English. It was Christian from the beginning But these villages [of the Peninsula] with their European names, and Freetown itself, have a character, a quality, so intensely their own that it stays in the mind long after that of up-country villages, more primitive but more bare, has faded quite away. And this quality seems not only richer but more African. There is no fear that tropical Africa will lose its

local qualities when it is permitted to take its place in the world; rather it will bring to the world a new African civilization, new arts, new religion. 147

We have come a long way from the eighteenth century. Cary's views are dated, but they are most relevant to an appreciation of the forces working on the English language and its connection with literary expression in Africa.¹⁴⁸ The result that arose from Cary's circumscription by contemporary English opinion,¹⁴⁹ as well as his being deeply familiar with and generously responsive to Africa, is not very different from such educated African opinion as that of Horton, Blyden and Hayford at the turn of the century. It has taken Britain longer to get there, so much longer, in fact, that she is out of date when she does. It can, though, be claimed that with Cary we have come to the parting of the ways. The age of externalisation now gives way to the next stage in the progress of the literature: the African's assessment of his identity and, that which most concerns us, the attempts to express it in his use of the English language.

We should not like to give the impression that with Cary and Oxford of the 'thirties, Africa's problems are over. A great deal of scholarly effort was still being spent in attempting to prove that Africa could not have achieved her cultural development independently. In 1931, the year of Aissa Saved, Williams, noting like Burton and Basden before him the allegedly 'semitic' nature of West African thought, devotes his efforts to a largely spurious demonstration of Hebrew influence on

African cultures.¹⁵⁰ Many Africans today perpetuate the Negro stereotypes of centuries.¹⁵¹ But the stage has been set, through the changing relationships of African and European, the rise of the early nationalism, and the consequent changes in the African writer's relationship to English as the literary medium, for the independent evolution of an African literature in English. Many connections with the past are maintained, but out of the commitment to the reassertion of African dignity in the eyes of the West (and, most importantly in the eyes of the educated African himself) that has occupied the last half-century, has arisen, with political independence for the English-speaking countries of West Africa an established fact, a more specifically artistic literary preoccupation. We shall examine in the chapter that follows on the choice of a medium for literary expression in West Africa, some of the ways in which, through experiment and the evolution of appropriate critical criteria in matters of language, the West African writer has attempted to meet the challenge.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. Cf. Sypher, W., 'The African Prince in London', Journal of the History of Ideas, II, 2, 1941, p.237.
2. Smeathman, op. cit.
3. Cf. Curtin, op. cit., pp. 138-139. See also the passage cited in the last chapter from Clarkson's Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, op. cit., Part I, p.47; Cuguano, op. cit., p.3, equates slavery to 'the bloody edicts of Papish massacres.'
4. Cf. Curtin, op. cit., p.241. Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, p.313, also places the terminus of the 'noble Negro tradition' at around 1800. L.D. Turner, 'Anti-slavery Sentiment in American Literature prior to 1865', Journal of Negro History, XIV, 1929, pp. 373 & 489 also selects the date 1808 as significant as from then on importation of slaves was prohibited in the United States and the tradition undergoes a change. Turner gives five periods for Negro literature in all.
5. Cf. Curtin, op. cit., pp. 240 ff.; Turner, op. cit.
6. Equiano, op. cit., Chapter I, mentions many 'savage' practices, but also, as Benezet had earlier, a morality in African society in accord with the tenets of Christianity. In the same chapter, for example, he mentions that the punishment for adultery in 'Eboe' is death or slavery unless the woman is pregnant or has an infant. This, of course, mixes in exactly the right proportions for the audience a stern morality and a humane sentiment (pp. 7ff).

7. Sypher, 'The African Prince in London', p.247.
8. Grégoire, op. cit., pp. 197-225.
9. Blumenbach, op. cit., cited Curtin, op. cit., p.241
10. Cf. Sypher, 'The African Prince in London', p.247.
11. Curtin, op. cit., pp. 136 ff.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 138-139.
14. Grégoire, op. cit.; see also as well as Armistead's Tribute for the Negro, H.G. Adams, God's Image in Ebony, London, 1854.
15. Armistead, A Tribute for the Negro, pp. 17, 70. See also Killam, Africa in English Fiction, 1864-1939, Ibadan, 1968. Killam points out the influence of the ideas of African inferiority on English fiction.
16. Armistead, A Tribute for the Negro, pp. 105 ff.
17. It should be remembered that Benezet, so influential in Britain, worked and founded his schools for Negroes in Philadelphia. Armistead published his Anthony Benezet, revised and enlarged from the memoirs of Benezet, in 1859 in both London and Philadelphia. Cf. Turner op. cit., on the divergence of the British and American traditions.

18. Cf. Mason, op. cit., p. xxxii, on Dunbar. See also Walsher, R., The Black Poet, New York, 1966, on George Moses Horton, who seems to have been the main representative of American Negro writing between 1790 and 1840. On both, cf. Loggins, op. cit., The tendency to take the American Negro and African writing in English together to the present day is attacked by George Lamming, the West Indian writer, in 'The Negro Writer and his World'. Présence Africaine, (1st Congress of Negro Writers and Artists), VIII-X, 1956, p.318. Jahn is perhaps the best known supporter of this kind of view outside Africa, e.g. Muntu, London, 1961.
19. Cf. Curtin, op. cit., pp. 392ff.
20. See Norris, E., Outline of a Vocabulary of a Few of the Principal Languages of Western and Central Africa: Compiled for the Use of the Niger Expedition, London, 1841.
21. Schön, J.F., in Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schön and Mr. Samuel Crowther, who with the Sanction of Her Majesties Government Accompanied the Expedition up the Niger in 1841, London, 1842. See also Schön's Vocabulary of the Hausa Language London, 1843; Vocabulary of the Ibo Language, London, 1843; Grammar of the Hausa Language, London, 1862.
22. Koelle²² S.W., Polyglotta Africana, or a Comparative Vocabulary of Nearly Three Hundred Words and Phrases in more than 100 Distinct African Languages, London, 1854.
23. See Hair, P.E.H., 'The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages', Sierra Leone Language Review, 1, 1962, pp. 7-18. Ajayi, J.F. Ade, 'Christian

Missions and the Making of Nigeria 1841-1891', Ph.D., London, 1958, pp.320ff.; Curtin, op. cit., pp. 393 ff. For Crowther's part in the provision of an orthography for Yoruba see Ajayi, J.F.A., 'How Yoruba was Produced to Writing, Odu, 8, Oct. 1960, pp. 49-58, especially pp. 55-57.

24. See Cust, R.N., A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa, London, 1883, pp. 24-38, for a convenient sketch of the development of African linguistic research during the 19th century.
25. E.G. Guenebault, J.H., The Natural History of the Negro Race, Charleston, South Carolina, 1837, had a theory that all races that could not pronounce the 'r' sound were inferior; Thomas Hodgkin, 'On the Importance of Studying and Preserving the Languages Spoken by Uncivilized Nations, with the View of Elucidating the Physical History of Man', London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine, VII, July-August 1835, pp. 27-36, 94-106, believed as many uninformed still do that the different races were physically unable to pronounce the languages of others. Both cited Curtin, op. cit., p.395.
26. Raban, J., Vocabulary of Eyo, or Aku, a Dialect of Western Africa, in 2 parts, London, 1831, had only mentioned that certain sounds were 'uttered with a depressed voice'. Riis, H.N., Grammatical Outlines of the Oji Language, with Special Reference to the Akwapim Dialect together with a Collection of Proverbs, Basel, 1854, did not mention tone at all in his study of Twi. Also mentioned by Curtin, op. cit., p.394n.
27. For an example contemporary to this event see Brodie Cruikshank's Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, London, 1853, 2 vols., especially Volume 1, Ch. XI.

28. Some idea of the survival of such attempts at scientific 'proof' of African inferiority can be gained from J. Africanus Beale Horton's West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native, London, 1868, Ch. IV, 'False Theories of Modern Anthropologists'.
29. Forbes, F.E., (Lt., R.N.), Despatch Communicating the Discovery of a Native Written Character at Bohma ... Read before the Royal Geographical Society on the 23rd of April, 1849. In this volume Norris, compiler of the small dictionary for the Niger Expedition, reflects the general enthusiasm that had been aroused when he remarks in his conclusion that the syllabary's use 'in a few tracts in a simple style may be available to awake a spirit of inquiry which may ultimately result in the civilization of the negro.' (p.25)
30. Forbes, F.E., Dahomey and the Dahomans, London, 1851, 2 vols.
31. Koëlle, S.W., Narrative of an Expedition into the Vy Country of West Africa, and the Discovery of a System of Syllabic Writing recently invented by the Natives of the Vy Tribe, London, 1849; also Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language, together with a Vocabulary of the Vei Language. And an Account of the Discovery and Nature of the Vei Mode of Syllable Writing, London, 1854.
32. Dathorne, O.R., 'The Use of a Few Strokes', New African, Dec. 1966, pp. 12-13. See also Eberl-Elber, R., West-Afrikas letztes Rätsel, Salzburg, 1936, pp. 73-75; S. Milburn, 'Kisimi Kamara and the Mende Script', Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, who cites Eberl-Elber, p.20.
33. Cf. Cust, op. cit., pp. 23ff.

34. See Hair, P.E.H., 'Early Vernacular Printing in Africa', Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 47-52.
35. See e.g. Waddell, Hope Masterton, Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa ... 1829-1858, London, 1863, e.g. pp. 346 ff. regarding funeral ceremonies in Calabar. Perhaps the most curious example of interest in the oral traditions of West Africa was Baron Roger's Fables sénégalaises recueillés de l'ouolof et mises en vers français ..., Paris, 1828, which had appeared well ahead of the general trend.
36. Grammar of the Vei Language, pp. 64 ff.
37. Crowther, op. cit., 2nd edition, London, 1852, pp. 1-38.
38. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
39. Köelle, S.W., African Native Literature, London, 1854, p.v.
40. Burton, Sir Richard, Wit and Wisdom from West Africa ..., London, 1865, p. xxiii. See also Schlenker, C.F., A Collection of Tenne Traditions, London, 1861.
41. See, inter alia, Dayrell, Elphinstone, Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria, West Africa, London, 1910; Tremearne, A.J. Hausa Superstitions, London, 1912; Basden, G.T., Among the Ibos of Nigeria, 1921; also R.S. Rattray's books on the Ashanti, e.g. Religion and Art in Ashanti, Oxford, 1927; Ashanti Folktales, Oxford, 1931; Cardinall, A.W., Tales Told in Togoland, London, 1931; etc. Roger, op. cit., had been very much in advance in his emphasis on the literary possibilities of the oral tradition in European languages. As far as the general current of opinion goes he was **solitary for almost a century.**

42. See Ajayi, op. cit., p.311.
43. Forde, Daryll, ed., Efik Traders of Old Calabar, London, 1956, pp. 79-115, 'Extracts of the Original Text of the Diary of Antera Duke, 1785-1788.'
44. Mafeni, B.O.W., 'Some Aspects of the Phonetics and Phonology of Nigerian Pidgin', M.Litt., Edinburgh, 1965, Part I, p.80.
45. Forde, op. cit., p.112, Entry for 25th October, 1787. Wilkie's translation, ibid., p.62, reads:

About 6 a.m. at Aqua Landing; there was a little rain, so I walked up to see Esim and Egbo Young. I saw Jimmy Henshaw coming to see us and we told him to go on board the Rogers to take comey for all the Henshaw family, and we went aboard the Rogers to have Jimmy Henshaw's name as King [Egbo] put in the comey book. I heard that all the Captains were meeting on board Captain Ford about Hogan [and] Captain Duke's fight with Ford. Soon after 2 o'clock we came ashore and I heard that one of Ephraim Abasi's Egbosherry women has borne two sons in one day [in great trouble] *. Ndem Duke's wife bore a young girl in Aqua town.

* [The words in brackets are mine. This is perhaps a reference to the practice of throwing away twins and banishing the mother. It could also mean that the mother had had a hard labour.]

46. West Africans generally distinguish very strongly between Pidgin and, say, 'Ghanaian English'. Duke's English is no further from the standard than many a variety in the British Isles. Cf. on this distinction between varieties, Quirk, R., 'Is Pidgin a Threat to English?', The Listener, September 27th, 1962, pp. 467-468.
47. Cf. Mafeni, op. cit., p.77.
48. Owen, W.F., Narrative of a Voyage to Explore the Shores of Africa, London, 1824, pp. 343-361, cited K. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, Oxford, 1956, p.17 note 1.
49. King Opubu, 'Peppel' in Owen's book, took exception to Owen's carrying out the Bonny section of his famous survey of the coast of Africa in 1824 without permission. For the identification of 'Peppel' as Opubu see Dike, op. cit., p.16 note 1.
50. See Goldie, Hugh, Calabar and its Mission, Edinburgh and London, 1890, for his early work on Efik and for a brief survey of the work done on African languages at that date: Ch.XIV, pp.259ff.
51. Waddell, op. cit., p.386.
52. Ibid., p.664.
53. The Religious Tract Society, Missionary Records, West Africa, London, 1836, p.20.
54. Biller, Sarah, ed., Memoir of Hannah Kilham ..., London, 1837, p.414. Cf. M.D.W. Jeffreys, 'Pidgin English', African Studies, 22, 3, 1963, p.118.

55. Melville, Mrs., ('A Lady'), A Residence at Sierra Leone, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, ed., London, 1849.
56. Ibid., p.334, Letter 5.
57. Ibid., p.335.
58. Cf. Killam, op. cit.
59. Melville, op. cit., p.335.
60. Cf. the highly biblical language of Okbo's letter given by Waddell, op. cit., pp. 538-539.
61. The following, for example, is from a letter to an employer in Freetown in 1966:

In this period of my perils brought upon me by no fault of mine, I am pleading to enjoy your understanding heart and I know the Architect Divine will show you how to continue to govern Israel.
62. Quoted Sumner, D.L., Education in Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1963, p.13. See also Ajayi, op. cit., p.332 for the same situation in Nigeria.
63. Bickersteth Edward, 'Special Report on the West African Mission', Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, V, London, 1816-1817; cf. Curtin, op. cit., who puts this kind of thinking much later (p.266). For a recent view see Hazoumé, Paul, 'L' Humanisme occidental et l' Humanisme africain', Présence Africaine, 14-15, p.42.

64. Religious Tract Society, op. cit., pp. 422ff.
65. Norris, E., op. cit.
66. Kilham, Mrs. Hannah, African Lessons, London, 1823; Present State of the Colony of Sierra Leone ..., 2nd edition, Lindfield, 1832, especially pp. 4, 18-26.
67. African School Tracts, London, 1827; 'Claims of West Africa to Christian Instruction, through the Native Languages', pamphlet cited by the Religious Tract Society, op. cit. p.426.
68. These methods were late in becoming general but were established after forty years of attempts to establish an educational system in West Africa. Cf. Curtin, op. cit., p.266.
69. Kilham, H., Report of a Recent Visit to the Colony of Sierra Leone, London, 1828, p.7 Cf. Waddell, op. cit., p.349.
70. Curtin, op. cit., p.265.
71. Waddell, op. cit., pp. 348-349.
72. Quoted from Waddell, Missionary Record, 1848, p.146, by Ajayi, op. cit., p.333.
73. Ibid., p.332, again quoting Waddell, loc. cit.
74. Ibid., pp. 338ff.
75. Waddell, op. cit., p.461

76. Rankin, F. Harrison, The White Man's Grave, 2 vols., London, 1836, I, pp. 259-260.
77. Ibid., p. 245 and note. Note that 'talkee-talkee' is used quite differently by Rankin than it is earlier in this chapter; see note 44 above.
78. Ibid., p.254. Cf. Jones, E.D., 'Mid-nineteenth Century Evidences of a Sierra Leone Patois', Sierra Leone Language Review, 1, 1962, pp. 20-21, points out that it is relevant that all the participants in the trial were Africans. The 'talkee-talkee' used between Africans and Europeans could well have been different, See also Mafeni, op. cit., pp. 82ff; Spitzer, L., 'Creole Attitudes toward Krio', Sierra Leone Language Review, 5, 1966, pp. 39-49.
79. Rankin, op. cit., p.262. This close relation between the variety of the language to which the West African learner is most exposed and its occasional manifestations in the creative use of the language is discussed in Chapter 8 below.
80. Ibid., pp. 277-278. Letter from Joseph Macaulay to a benefactor, York, 29 April, 1832.
81. Ibid., p.277.
82. African Civilization Society, Report of the African Civilization Society to the Public Meeting of the Society Held at Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, the 21st of June, 1842, London, 1842, p.30
83. Killam, op. cit.

84. Blyden, Edward W., A Voice from Bleeding Africa, on behalf of her Exiled Children, Liberia (Monrovia), 1856, pp. 14ff.
85. Ibid., p.9.
86. Blyden, The West African University, Freetown, 1872.
87. Horton, J. A.B., West African Countries and Peoples, London, 1868, Ch. IV.
88. Ibid., p.50.
89. Ibid., p.107.
90. Ibid., p.87. For further discussion of Montgomery as a representative abolitionist poet see Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, pp. 228-229.
91. Ibid., p.89.
92. Ibid., pp. 112-113.
93. Horton, J.A.B., Letters on the Political Condition of the Gold Coast, London, 1870, pp. i-iii.
94. Hayford, Casely, (i.e. J.E. Casely Hayford. His books are all written under the shorter name). United West Africa, London, 1919, p.16.
95. Sibthorpe, A.B.C., The History of Sierra Leone, 3rd edition, London, 1906, flyleaf, (1st edition, Freetown, 1868, decayed therefore reference is made to the 2nd edn.)

96. Ibid., 2nd. edition, London, 1895, p.21.
97. Ibid., p.45.
98. Ibid., p.78.
99. Ibid., p.79.
100. Ibid., p.86.
101. Reindorf, C.C. History of the Gold Coast and Asante,
intr. by J.G. Christaller, Basel, 1895.
102. Ibid., pp. vi, viii-ix. (See also Christaller's own collection
of folktales for sale in West Africa, Interest in Europe had
not yet quickened to the extent of thirty years later. J.G.
Christaller, Twi Mmusem Mpensa Ahansia Mnoaano, Basel, 1879.)
103. Ibid., p.118.
104. Johnson, Bishop James, in Sierra Leone Weekly News, 22nd Feb.
1908, quoted by Fyfe, C., Sierra Leone Inheritance, London,
1964, p.222. It is interesting to note that West African
varieties of English or Krio received comparatively little
interest when compared to the emergent West India varieties.
E.g. Russell, T., The Etymology of Jamaican Grammar, Kingston,
1868; Heaven, Violet, Jamaica Proverbs and John Canoe Alphabet,
Kingston and Montego Bay, 1896; The Negro Alphabet, Kingston,
1897; Cruikshank, J.G., Black Talk, Demerera, 1916. All cited
by Cassidy and LePage. Dictionary of Jamaican English, Cam-
bridge, CUP, 1967, pp.xxiv-xxv; and by F.G. Cassidy, Jamaica
Talk, London, 1961.

105. In The Negro (Freetown), 1st Jan., 1873. Cf. Blyden, E.W., Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, London, 1887, p.245 (quoted Fyfe, op. cit., pp. 219-220). For an historical survey of such attitudes see Spitzer, 'Creole Attitudes toward Krio'. An account of further early nationalist opinion in the press in West Africa is to be found in Edmonds, W.D., 'The Newspaper Press in British West Africa', M.A., Bristol, 1951, pp.81ff. Also see Jones, E.D., 'Some Aspects of the Sierra Leone Patois or Krio', Sierra Leone Studies, New Series, 6 June 1956; and for its literary uses 'The Potentialities of Krio as a Literary Language', Sierra Leone Studies, New Series, 9 Dec. 1957, pp. 40-48; also for its wider use 'Krio in Sierra Leone Journalism', Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 24-31.
106. Hayford, C., United West Africa, Part II, 'Patriotism', pp.41-42.
107. Cf. Obiechina, E.N., 'Growth of Written Literature in English-speaking West Africa', Présence Africaine, 66, 1968 (bilingual edition), pp. 74-75.
108. Nzekwu, Onuora, Wand of Noble Wood, London, 1961.
109. Akiga, Benjamin, Akiga's Story, Rupert East, trans., London, 1939.
110. Smith, M.F., ed. & Trans., Baba of Karo, London, 1954.
111. Rattray, R.S., The Leopard Priestess, Foreword by Stephen Gwynn, London, 1934.
112. Ibid., Introduction by the author, p.21.

113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., pp.26-27.
115. Ibid., p.27.
116. Ibid., p.173.
117. Ibid., e.g., pp. 69, 71, 73, 115 etc.
118. Ibid., p.65.
119. Ibid., p.116.
120. Ibid., p.92.
121. Ibid., p.186.
122. Ibid., p.173.
123. Killam, op. cit.
124. Adelaide Casely-Hayford, wife of Casely Hayford, uses a form of anglicized Krio for one of her characters in her short story 'Mistah Courifer'. Born in Freetown in 1868 she was educated in Germany and Britain, in 1903 she married Casely Hayford. From 1914 she lived in Freetown with her daughter Gladys, known for her Krio poetry, whom she outlived, dying at the age of 91. In view of her long writing life and the fact that we have only been able to locate this story in a recent anthology where it is given no date (P. Edwards, ed., West African Narrative, Edinburgh, 1963, pp. 164-180.), she has been excluded from the general argument. 'Mistah Courifer' is also to be found in

- Langston Hughes' An African Treasury (1960), New York, Pyramid Books, 1961, pp.132-140. Again it is undated.
125. Holtby, Winifred, Mandoa! Mandoa!, London, 1933. For further information about her views on Africa see Brittain, Vera, Testament of Friendship, London, 1941; also Killam, op. cit., pp. 106-120.
126. Waugh, Evelyn, Black Mischief, London, 1932.
127. Mahood, M.M., Joyce Cary's Africa, London, 1964, p.18
128. Ibid., p.31
129. Ibid., pp. 200-201, for a list of these works used by Cary. See especially such typical ones as Hazzledine, G.D., The White Man in Nigeria, London, 1904; Claridge, C.C., Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa, London, 1922; Dennett, R.E., Nigerian Studies, London, 1910; Talbot, P. Amaury, Life in Southern Nigeria, London, 1923; Migeod, F.H.W., Through Nigeria to Lake Chad, London, 1924. Hazzledine, pp. 225-226, gives a very good example of the humane, if misguided, sense of mission; 'Langa Langa' (Harry Baldwin Herman Hodge) Up Against it in Nigeria, London, 1922, is typical of the aging 'schoolboy master of the world'; the others demonstrate the variety of interest from the travel tale to anthropology. All show the paternalism of the age. Hazzledine's is 'advanced' and the most practical: 'if we don't the Germans will'.
130. Mahood, op. cit., pp. 12 ff. Especially the quotation from A House of Children, pp. 135-136.

131. Cary, Joyce, Aissa Saved, (1931), Carfax Edition, London, 1952.
132. Mister Johnson, (1939), Carfax Edition, London, 1952.
133. Aissa Saved, p.41.
134. Ibid., pp. 42, 156 ff., 207ff.
135. Mister Johnson, pp. 36-37.
136. Aissa Saved, p.156. An interesting example of highly anglicized Pidgin for religious purposes is Herder & Co., Bible History, Buea, 1930. Significantly this is a revision of a European children's bible history.
137. An American Visitor (1932), Carfax Edition, London, 1952, p.97.
138. Ibid., p.98.
139. The African Witch, London, 1936, pp. 441-442.
140. Ibid., pp. 131, 442. See above and Ajayi, op. cit., pp. 338 ff.
141. See Mahood, op. cit., pp. 68 ff.
142. Ibid., p.69.
143. The Case for African Freedom, London, 1941; 2nd edn. 1944 Cf. Mahood, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
144. Mahood, op. cit., p.72.

145. As quoted by Mahood, op. cit., p.73. Cf. Hazzledine, op. cit., pp. 143ff.
146. Cf. Mahood, op. cit., p.68.
147. Britain and West Africa, London, 1946, pp. 70-71.
148. Barba, H., 'Image of the African in Transition', University of Kansas City Review, XXIX, 3, March, 1963, pp. 215-231.
149. Cf. Mahood, op. cit., pp. 79-80; Killam, op. cit., p.166.
150. Willäams, Joseph J., Hebrewisms of West Africa, New York, 1931. Cf. Basden, op. cit., p.31; Burton, op. cit., p.xxix; Goldie, op. cit., p.304. Initially this emphasis on the 'semitic' modes of thought exhibited in West African languages was part of the attempt to show them as suitable for Bible translation and also part of the general growing fascination with African cultures and traditions. Later this gave way to the attempt to show Jewish influence and came to be another manifestation of the unwillingness to allow African cultures their originality. Recent scholarship has shown the connection between the Afro-Asiatic family of languages and 'semitic' languages, but this information was not available at the times referred to. Moreover, these writers do not refer to the languages of the North but most often to the languages at the Coast. For the Afro-Asiatic family see J.H. Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, Branford, Conn., pp.43ff. (Greenberg's map, section 6, especially 6E). I also owe information on this point to Professor Carl Hoffmann, of the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan. The long-term effects of such attitudes as these on West African

Scholarship are well illustrated in the work of Archdeacon J. Olumide Lucas. See his The Religion of the Yorubas, Lagos, 1948, pp. 293ff; and Yoruba Language, Lagos, 1964, pp. 69-108, especially pp. 72-73.

151. For a recent discussion see Fanon, Frantz, Black Skin White Masks, C.L. Markmann, trans., London, 1968. Also see the review of this by Anthony Storr in The Sunday Times, 12 May, 1968, p.57.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHOICE OF A LANGUAGE

The redoubtable Bishop Johnson, forever distinguished from the rest of Sierra Leone's regiment of Johnsons by the Nigerians as 'Holy' Johnson, Horton, Blyden and the rest heralded in their early nationalism a vehement awareness of questions of language.¹

Their views on language have been touched on in the preceding chapter and, no doubt, they were no more than part of a wider nationalism at first. The question of pride in a language, with the consequent urge to trace its origins - and if they could not be traced, to establish them according to the Bible 'linguistics' of fundamentalist sectarian religion² - was one of the earliest manifestations of nationalism. More accurately, in the vagueness of the very beginnings of nationalism certain indigenous phenomena offered a greater degree of concreteness than did unsupported assertions of separate and noble traditions.

Indeed, the reason that such an illustrative role should have fallen to the lot of language is less accidental than it may sound. Throughout the nineteenth century, the missionary organisations had placed great emphasis on the use of the indigenous languages in the propagation of the Gospel. It was indeed mainly for this reason that the early grammars of indigenous languages were produced.

All such work was aimed primarily at being of use in the mission field. The acceptance of the indigenous languages in this way lent them a degree of dignity which singled them out as one of the few traces

of the African heritage to come through to the missionary-educated which were not in opposition to the new order. It is no accident that the earliest citations of language in the cause of an incipient nationalism should have come from members of the Church⁴. It is a measure of the strength of this early impetus that in South Western Nigeria the language of the Church has always been Yoruba, and English is rarely if ever used in the service in Protestant churches.

Not only did the language of West African offer an impregnable fortress for 'Africanness', for the myth that they are learnt by Europeans only on some kind of divine intervention still survives, but like all languages they are the vehicle for the literary tradition. Indeed, attention to them strayed from the narrow demands of biblical translation towards the rediscovery by the western-educated of the oral tradition and the riches of a creative past of great complexity and of a certain bewitching mystery.

The most overt insistence on these lines in the twentieth century was to find full voice not in West Africa at all but in negrismo in Cuba and in the writings of Césaire and Senghor and others of the négritude school of the nineteen-thirties.⁵ A discussion of négritude is not in place here, but it is relevant to later writing in English-speaking West Africa in that it heralds the connection of nationalism, the indigenous literary tradition and modern, western literary models. Indeed, it indicated at a comparatively early date the paradox of West African writing in general; the irony of insisting on a demonstrably noble African cultural

tradition, closely bound up with the languages of Africa, in another man's language. A paradox that can make it seemingly logical for Senghor to talk of 'an authentic African poetry which will not cease to be French'.⁶

However, the concern with language 'integrity' in the course of literary creation was to come rather later in English-speaking West Africa. It can be said with some truth that nationalism in West Africa before the Second World War was largely, and understandably, a political pre-occupation. In part, this would explain not only the lack of widespread pronouncements on this matter, but also the dearth of writing in English generally. Writing much later, Storch points out that whereas the political aims of nationalism are often associated with aspirations for a truly national literature, Ghana has produced remarkably little imaginative writing in English in comparison with, for example, Nigeria. Rather, unhelpfully, however, he concludes that this indicates the relative superficiality of nationalistic sentiment, for literature 'seems to spring from all levels of human experience where national frontiers are not regarded'. It might with equal justice be pointed out that nationalism in pre-Independence West Africa was a sentiment sufficiently powerful, sufficiently vital to 'all levels of human experience', to have pressed literary creation for the moment into the background.⁷

Whatever the truth of the matter, it is more fruitful for our purpose in tracing the social and historical background and motivations of recent West African writing in English to concern ourselves with more

recent manifestations of the West African's deep concern with the language he elects to use for literary creation.

It can be said that, in spite of Brother Stanislaus's useful, if, as events have shown, premature survey of West African writing in English and French,⁸ English creative writing in West Africa grew dramatically in volume in the years immediately following the war when eventual political independence was no longer in serious doubt. Ekwensi's minor fictions Ikolo the Wrestler (London, 1947) and When Love Whispers (Enugu, 1947?) can be disregarded here as being revealing neither in language nor in literary merit. Indeed, they are perhaps noted more for the fact that they came of a man who later, much later apart from The Leopard's Claw (London, 1950), was to gain a more considerable reputation.

The service done to African creative writing by Tutuola has been for the most part obscured by the controversy surrounding his use of the English language. The distaste with which his work was widely received in West Africa is referred to in Chapter One, but there is a strong case for believing that the enthusiasm with which The Palm Wine Drinkard was hailed by Dylan Thomas and the rest in 1952 increased overseas, for whatever mistaken reasons, a widespread demand for writing by Africans in English at a date when 'to get a publisher' in effect meant 'to be published in Europe'. It is interesting, for example, that Ikolo the Wrestler was republished by Nelson in 1954, seven years after its first appearance and that this year saw the publication for

the first time of People of the City, a work which heralds Ekwensi's later novels, as well as the quick succession of novels from Achebe, Nzekwu, Conton, Aluko and the rest.

Indeed, it might be said that the objections to Tutuola's language were a sign of the same dilemma in that they were normative. Trollope's remark that, "Readers will expect (the writer) to obey those rules which they, consciously or unconsciously, have been taught to regard as binding on language; and unless he does obey them he will disgust",⁹ is no more than a general truth regarding public attitudes. A readership is bored into, or educated towards, accepting literary experiment in the West. As Soyinka has suggested, the enthusiasm for Tutuola reflected a boredom with the language on the part of the European readership.¹⁰ In West Africa the situation is complicated by the second language situation and the powerful feeling among many Africans that English should be spoken just as it is spoken in England, and that to suggest otherwise is patronising. The strength of this feeling has constantly been manifested in the course of this research. It is indicated in the sometimes extreme prescriptivism of educational workers in West Africa, and elsewhere in the developing world. Partly it is due to the fact that education in a language is in one way or another normatively based for practical reasons, but in addition the feeling is sustained by something far more emotionally powerful.¹¹

The situation is further complicated by the ambivalent attitude of the European critical readership. Something of this fluctuation between

traditional British feelings of proprietorship for the English language was pointed out by Hopkinson, when he spoke of Europeans who explain to 'Africans eager to write what they have to say in English ... that such attempts are not only doomed to failure, since English is not their "mother language", but a "betrayal" of their own background and heritage'.¹²

Hodgkin has remarked that the particularist tendencies of nationalism in West Africa 'may be strengthened by the fact that Africans, unlike Arabs or South Slavs, lack a common religion and common language, or closely related languages'.¹³ This is, indeed, partly true, but West Africans do have in common the era of colonialism and, ironically unifying, its legacy of a world language. There had indeed been earlier attempts at adding force to the nationalist voice which were concerned with language concentrated mainly on the African languages. In this connection, we return for a moment to an event we have mentioned earlier. On the 18th of January, 1849, Lt. F.E. Forbes wrote to his commanding officer of his discovery of the Vai syllabary:

Sir, - It has fallen to my lot to make a discovery of such importance to the civilization of Africa, that I am anxious my own profession should bear the honour that it may deserve.

The discovery consists of a written language of the Phonetic order.¹⁴

Later, in a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, Forbes enlarged on the discovery:

It will be observed that the language is of the Phonetic order; that the characters are not symbolical and, according to my teacher, it was invented ten or twenty years ago ... by eight men. 15

Koëlle, who had arrived in Sierra Leone two years previously, did not take up a close study of the script, though he did go to meet Doalu Bukele whom he says was helped in the invention of the script by five others. It consisted of 215 syllables and was later described by Koëlle as 'independent, original, syllabic, and phonetic'.¹⁶

The impact of such a discovery on a people engaged in the reassertion of their independence and dignity can be imagined, especially when it is remembered that it has long been the weapon of the more bigoted to remind Africans that they had no written language before the coming of the European.

Both Kup and Delafosse argue the case for the Vai people's being in their present location some time in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Migeod mentions the Dutchman Dapper's geographical work of 1686 which mentions the Vai as being where they are today 'on the sea-coast at the north-western extremity of Liberia and partly within the borders of the British colony of Sierra Leone'.¹⁸ Delafosse argues an early dating for the script on the grounds that after the Islamic invasion and defeat of Songhai in 1590, by the Sultan of Morocco, Arabic script would have been used. This need not follow. Indeed, if the script existed, it is no more speculative to suggest that its preservation might have been a

matter of group feeling accentuated by defeat.

Hair mentions that 'a vocabulary of Vai had appeared two centuries earlier (than Forbes's discovery) under another name'¹⁹ but this does not aid the dating of the script. It seems safe to suppose, in view of the evidence of Forbes and no less a man than Kòelle, that the more recent dating is the more likely. It must, however, remain a matter for debate. The importance to be attached to it is, we feel, that it existed at a comparatively early date, indicating a pre-occupation with independence in matters of language among some people in West Africa. In the thirst for such evidence in the days of early nationalist feeling, it became of more than scholarly interest.

At the beginning of the present century, Sultan Njoya of the Bamum people of the Cameroons attempted to introduce an ideographic script for Bamum.²⁰ It was not a success, but it is remarkable in that he did so in spite of the fact that it was the period of German domination with a firm line in matters of language and in that it was motivated by a more vigorous effort at independence and assertion of his people's dignity and identity.

Though ultimately unsuccessful, Njoya's script was not quick to die out and it demonstrated a certain amount of evolution over a period of fifteen years. It began in 1895, when Njoya was thirty, with 500 signs, reduced in 1900 to 437 and then 380, and finally, in 1910, with the help of the Basel missionary Gohring to a comparatively economical 80 signs.²¹

Dathorne cites Malcolm's description of the Bamum script as 'imitations or perversions of Roman capitals or else of the trade marks stencilled on the goods of European traders'.²² Whatever the origins, it is Njoya's motivations that are of interest to us here. It seems certain that he saw in a written form of his own language a positive attempt to give his people new intellectual freedom and equipment.²³ In this he was, no doubt influenced by the Arabic books of the Hausa traders and the part they appeared to play in the success of those people.

Marginally interesting also is the Nsibidi written language found in the Calabar region of Nigeria where it is the script of the Ekpe Secret Society. It consists of thirty-two large and small letters and in 1931 it was used, according to MacGregor, in the recording of legal proceeding:

I have in my possession a copy of a court case from a town in the Ebion Creek taken down in it and every detail except the evidence, is most graphically described - the parties in the case, the witnesses, the dilemma of the chief who tried it, his sending out messengers to call other chiefs to help him, the finding of the court and the joy of the successful litigants and of their friends are told by the use of a few strokes. 24

MacGregor emphasises that users of the script seemed able to communicate in parts rather than in all aspects, but this would seem reasonable in view of the script's specialised origins.

More recently, Kisimi Kamara, in Sierra Leone, produced a syllabary for Mende. Kamara told Milburn, who gives a facsimile of a foolscap page of the script, that after wandering in Liberia he returned to his house for two months and fifteen days, after which he emerged with the script.²⁵ Again we have the case of an individual originator, and interestingly this time we have at least a hint of the magical associations that have long gone with written forms of languages in the mysterious journey and the retreat.

Kamara certainly took the teaching of his script very seriously indeed, but it was up against strong competition in the alphabetic 'Africa' script of the 'Mass Literacy Campaign in Mende' of the Revs. R.R. Young and R.A. Johnson. This had the advantage of being much simpler than Kamara's syllabary, and, in fact, Kamara's sons learnt the Africa script rather than their father's. In a modest way the script still survives and it can be seen where it was written in the wet cement above the doorways of some houses in Potoru.²⁶

Strikingly, all the scripts mentioned so far have been independent and original. Equally striking is the fact that they all owe their origins to individuals or to small groups of people and gained no really widespread currency. However, they do indicate at least the fact that, independent of the missions, Africans themselves saw the viability of written forms of their own languages and recognised the problems presented by the absence of a written form. In the case of Njoya, there are good grounds for thinking that he was also aware of the need for an indigenous, intellectual independence.

Alongside these attempts ran efforts to use Arabic script for West African languages. Naturally enough this trend was closely bound up with Islam with the consequence that, for the most part, the transcription of the indigenous languages remained in the hands of a comparatively small number of individuals, the scribes. Sakiliba has pointed out that since these scribes were not always of a high standard of education in Arabic their attempts to fit the sound systems of the indigenous languages to the imported script were frequently unsatisfactory. He also points out that the texts transcribed were exclusively religious and played no part in the awakening of a distinct African literature, nor in the revitalising of the oral traditions of the people.²⁷

Balandier likewise remarks:

The erudite karamoko of the Fulani or the Malinkes is a confirmed Muslim and often uses Arabic characters in an entirely personal way in his transcriptions. But the transcription of the Koran could never come into common usage. It serves only to preserve the religious text or the chronicles relating great deeds of the past. There is no question here of Negro literature transcribed with the help of Arabic characters. 28

Commentators on the subject are almost without exception discouraging about the usefulness of Arabic script in the transcription of African literary texts. Lavergne de Tressan in Inventaire Linguistique d' AOF (p.21) is more than usually cutting.

The so-called scholars who used the Arabic characters were automatically Muslims and the subjects dealt with were generally Islamic religious texts in verse. The results are deplorable: bad transcription, a lexicology limited to abstractions with wholesale borrowings from Arabic, disfigured, shortened and inverted syntax, alien to the spoken tongue which, for all that it was not usually a written language, was nevertheless the normal mode of expression of the people. The comparison between the heavy pathos of the Arabic-Fulani so-called mystical religious songs and the light rhythmic prose of the Fulani shepherd songs is particularly significant. 29

We may not share the degree of de Tressan's horror, but we may certainly see a marked disadvantage in attempts to use a language introduced for the restricted purposes of religious instruction and ritual for the purposes of literary expression, if only in that in West Africa Arabic, to the devout Muslim, is exclusively religious in its connections. However, such was not always the case. In 1913, we find Migeod expressing extreme pessimism over the future of the English language in West Africa because it was in opposition to Arabic:

Arabic and English literature have been the two great civilizing influences in West Africa. It is true that the French rule over more territory than the English, but there is no French literary influence worth mentioning.

If literature be defined as pure composition, in comparison with the quantity of indigenous Arabic literature, that based on English is very small. There is, of course, a borderline of conflict between the two, and where they meet the latter makes no headway. It is entirely a matter of religion. The Mohammedan is an advocate for his own religion. The Christian European only too often apologises for his. In such circumstances it is doubtful whether the learning of Europe will, in view of the rapid advance of Islam, make any permanent progress in Africa. 30.

Migeod goes on to speculate as to whether the restriction to a few fields of intellectual pursuit by the dominant religious functions of Arabic makes its user more likely to concentrate and therefore excel, whereas the diversified interests of the English-speaking West African tend to make him settle to nothing. Quaint though this may sound, it does at least indicate the extent to which the emergence of Arabic as an international language of literary expression has slowed up since Migeod made his observations.

On the one hand, then, were a group of written forms lending themselves to the interests of nationalist feeling but restricted by the localised nature of their origins and use. On the other hand, Arabic suffered at the hands of unskilled 'linguists' and in its primarily religious function in West Africa. In addition to this there was the legacy of nearly half a century of colonial rule after Migeod, the need to reach a wide audience in the cause of nationalism, the virtue of a

world language for nations demanding their rightful place in a modern world and the need for national languages for use within the artificial boundaries of the linguistically multifarious new nations.

It would be mistaken to suppose that the failure of such attempts as those mentioned indicated either that there was no future for written forms of the indigenous languages or a loss of the assertive nationalist impetus. There has been of recent years a marked increase in imaginative literature in the indigenous languages as well as a growing dispute as to the applicability of the world languages in one form or another, to the literary needs of modern Africa.

Banham and Ramsaran have pointed out that in the case of present-day Nigeria it would be wrong to suggest that creative writing is confined to writing in either English or pidgin.³¹ Indeed, there is ample evidence of the great increase in vernacular writing even to the casual observer. The Yoruba novels and school readers of D.O. Fagunwa are perhaps the best known examples, but they are merely representative of a large body of writing throughout Nigeria. Obi Wali's novel, Chukwu,³² in Igbo, is the product of a writer far more consciously concerned with the use of the West African languages in literature. Wali is one of the most outspoken advocates of the use of indigenous languages for literary purposes, as will become apparent in the following argument.

The case for the indigenous languages need not be argued wholly on nationalistic, emotional, or even artistic grounds. The latter, it is

true, is our main concern here, but the desirability of the use of the West African languages, on grounds of practicality alone, is a matter worthy of attention here, though the examination must necessarily be brief.

Berry has at least twice put forward the case for the encouragement of the indigenous languages both generally and in education.³³ His prognosis has been at once practical and romantic, for he has suggested ways in which the first languages can be encouraged on a sufficiently wide scale and envisaged a world where the possession of a world language by the educated West African would be no more than what he considers the minimal requirement of the cultivated cosmopolitan in a modern world. He has gone so far as to suggest that bilingualism, in any complete sense, need not be the aim.

Basically Berry's pessimism over a viable future for the world languages hinges on the enormous educational problems involved in achieving literacy in a second language as the very basis of future educational and social opportunity in the new nations. He does, however, recognise that 'so long as the English language is the instrument of power in the land it will be difficult to get fathers ambitious for their sons to take their own languages seriously.'³⁴ Indeed, as he points out, it is this factor which more than any other hinders the development of the indigenous languages in literature and in education.

The advantages of the use of the mother tongue in the early attainment of literacy have been pointed out by Cheavens, in his careful survey

of the uses of the vernaculars in education from Babylonian times until the present. Of the experiments in the Phillipines he writes:

The vernacular was shown clearly to have advantages as the language of instruction, and the students, with whom it had been so used, were able in six months of studying a second language, to catch up with a matched control group which had been studying the second language for two years, and using it as the language of learning for all school subjects. 35.

This is in itself a powerful enough argument. In addition the work of Pollard in the introduction of a phonetically based script among the Miao, a non-Chinese people of South West China, has demonstrated the great advantages of a phonetically based script.³⁶ The latter is an advantage already held by many of the West African languages; the former remains victim to the ambivalence induced by a genuine nationalist, or artistic feeling, and the position of the world languages in relation to social advancement and government commitment.

Asamoah has urged the adoption of some form of basic Akan as the national language of Ghana, but he, like others before and after him, has been faced with the same problems.³⁷ The problems raised in the adaptation of the indigenous languages for all the purposes to be fulfilled by an official language are perhaps no less great than the provision of adequate instruction in the second languages such as English or French.

Often overlooked is the great financial burden imposed on the resources of developing nations by the need to provide instruction in the world language.³⁸ It is all the more urgent, and expensive, when it is remembered that this has to happen before any higher education can become, under present circumstances, available to the student. Under the circumstances it can have come as no surprise to anyone involved in education in West Africa when Carroll found in his survey that even the best African school included in the survey fell far short of the English educational norms that were used.³⁹ The disadvantages are in themselves tragic, but the situation is doubly so when the possible advantages are perforce surrendered.⁴⁰

The extent to which education in Africa is dependent upon the men on the ground, the village teachers, is often forgotten. Murray, writing before the Second World War on the seven hundred vernacular schools in Nyasaland, described the situation at that time thus:

The village teacher takes with him a Bible, a few small books in the native language, an English or French grammar, and his own notebooks. He has in his head the lessons that he has made his own, and the memory of what is, for all its crudity, an intellectual and religious society. These are his whole stock in trade for creating a new world... The thing deserving of comment is not that African education does so little, but that it accomplishes so much. 41

We may find such an image dated, but it has in many areas not yet ceased to be a true one.

The Asquith Commission, while stating the need for special consideration to the problems of teaching English as a second language, advocated the use of the indigenous languages at some stage of education, though it held reservations on the function of non-literary languages in the universities as media of instruction. It was felt that the study of the mother tongue in the universities must necessarily increase regard for it among its users who may come to recognise the literary possibilities of such languages. Further, it was felt that research in indigenous languages should be encouraged in the countries concerned in an effort to increase their prestige. However, such an enlightened view was tempered by the feeling that such research was best done in Britain - except presumably those findings released for native attention! - and that researchers should take as their priority the study of the comparison of the indigenous languages to English. 42

For its time the Report of the Commission allowed itself remarkably little of the ambivalence of opinion that has been commented upon. Nonetheless, the force of such opinion to which it was subjected in its enlightenment is indicated by the objection which they were obliged to enter on behalf of Sir Richard Livingstone:

I dissent with regret from one item in this chapter - the proposal to encourage the survival of the native languages of Africa. This seems to me to need

thorough examination from the point of view not only of its immediate but its ultimate effect. There are grave objections to keeping these languages alive, especially as they have no literature to justify it. Their survival must be a dividing force between the peoples of Africa and in the future an encouragement and support to various nationalisms. The world would not have gained if the pre-Roman languages of Spain and Gaul had survived instead of giving place to a great common tongue. 43

We do not choose to take up arms against Sir Richard's definition of 'literature', or even against his sinister sense of history. We merely offer his reservations as indication of the ambivalence of opinion already remarked on and as a rare, overt declaration of a form of language imperialism. It is part of our consideration that Sir Richard and his compatriots are taken by the advocates of the use of the indigenous languages in literature as the rule rather than the exception. With justice, they are seen as prolonging an imagined proprietorship of both the language and the 'old days'. It is equally natural that the motives of the more enlightened are sometimes taken to be the same.

The argument persists, for Rowlands would have us accept the rather impatient view of Yoruba 'that if the ideas cannot be expressed except by the use of many loanwords from English it would be better to go over to English entirely' and that 'English will continue to spread and Yoruba to decline'. 44

On the other hand, Shelton urges the expatriate teacher to learn proverbs in the indigenous languages to aid him in the classroom.⁴⁵ Both of them may be said to rate the native speaker's language 'loyalty' too low. The one apparently sees it as hardly existent, the other tries to foster it at too low a price.⁴⁶

The indecision among the national leaders themselves is apparent from the decision of the O.A.U. Conference of African Heads of State, held at Addis Ababa in 1963. Following the request of President Nasser that Arabic should be added to French and English as the official languages of the O.A.U., African languages were added to Article 29 of the Organisation's languages "where possible", meaning as long as they were written. In the final version of the article the African languages were mentioned first, then the ex-colonial languages, but Arabic was not, at least by name. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that Tanganyika adopted Swahili as its official language in 1963, thereby creating a precedent to which it would have been convenient to refer.⁴⁷

Though one can sympathise with the agonies that can be induced by thus appearing linguistically stateless, it is difficult to imagine how the problem would be solved by resolutions such as the ones taken at Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, at Rome in 1959.

- (a) that independent and Federated Negro African should not adopt any European or other foreign language as a national language.

- (b) that a preferential African language should be chosen. It need not necessarily be that of a relative majority, since the flexibility and wealth of the genius of a language are the most important qualities from the linguistic point of view. Every African should learn this language in addition to his regional language and the European languages of secondary education (French, English, etc.) the latter being optional.

- (c) that a team of linguists should be instructed to introduce into it as soon as possible all the concepts necessary for the expression of philosophy, the exact sciences and technology.⁴⁸

Quite apart from the difficulty of deciding on which language should be chosen, there is evident in (b) no lessening of the indecision that has been remarked so far. It is a pity, moreover, that no 'team of linguists', possessed of whatever transcendent vision, can at present sufficiently govern language so as to create what is described in (c). Here is no mere riddle of language, but a demand for a verbal expression of a whole culture, an amalgam of the cultures of all the peoples of Africa as yet undefined, a request for visible evidence of a powerful feeling. The resolution also contains the following remark:

The desire for an ordered language expressing coherent cultures, is embodied, among other

things, in work within a national reality from which the flagrant disorder specifically inherent in the colonial situation will be banished. This language, transcending the various languages used, transcending the legitimate forms of the national cultures, will thus contribute towards strengthening the unity of Negro peoples, and will furnish their writers with a working tool. 49

'Language' here, indeed, seems to mean something very like 'mode of expression', an African style, at once distinguishable from any other. It is at this point that the debate brings us closer to our concern with the use of the African languages for literary expression. Whatever may be in doubt, it cannot be strength of feeling, nor can it be a denial of the viability of creative writing in the indigenous languages. The claims of the European languages are obvious, indeed they are rather apologetically acknowledged in (b) of the resolution above, but it is well to remember that vigorous literatures can and do exist in the indigenous languages. Moreover, work such as that of Cheikh Anta Diop in translating the work of Racine, Marx and Einstein into Wolof, or Thomas Decker's translations of Shakespeare into Krio, has shown that some at least of the indigenous languages are sufficiently flexible to make the creation of literature in them attainable realities. This has, however, not demonstrated itself purely in the realm of translation, though such flexibility as that shown by the translation of the Lysistrata into Hausa is sufficient evidence in itself. The novels of

Fagunwa have been mentioned already, and to them should be added Decker's Krio poems as examples of the treatment of old forms in new ways. The work of Shabaan Robert in Swahili and Wali in Igbo shows them to be deeply concerned both with the future of their languages and the integrity of their art to a degree that excludes any consideration of them as mere literary curiosities. 50

Citing Sartre, Hodgkin has remarked that 'the movement for African liberation is, in one of its aspects, a struggle to break out of the 'prison-house' of alien languages and culture which Europe has imposed:

Like the scholars of the sixteenth century who understood only Latin, the Blacks rediscover themselves on the terrain full of traps which White men have set for them... This syntax and this vocabulary, forged in another time, in thousands of places, to answer to other needs, and to designate other objects, are inadequate to provide the Negro with the means to speak of himself, of his cares or of his hopes. 51

In this passage from 'Orphée Noir', perhaps the most famous expressions of the nationalist position on the question of language. Sartre speaks not only for the poets of the negritude school but for all writers whose lot it is to use a second language in that which is most private to him and of which he is most fiercely proud, his literature.

The Indian novelist Raja Rao has given us one of the clearest statements of the writer's position with regard to the second language

in his novel Kanthapura, and it is substantially the dilemma that has confronted the West African writer.

The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own a spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought movement that looks maltreated in an alien language.

.... We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of use. Our method of expression will have to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and as colourful as the Irish and American. Time alone will justify it. 52

His fellow novelist and countryman, R.K. Narayan spoke in similar terms of the unsatisfactoriness of 'Anglo-Saxon' English as a model and in this they represent the middle way between the extreme proprietary opinion and prescriptivism with regard to English on the one hand and the vocal defenders of the indigenous languages and their suitability for literary creation.⁵³

Obi Wali has said that any true African literature must be written in the indigenous languages.⁵⁴ However, the argument now shifts from one of an essentially nationalist point of view towards a justification in more generally artistic terms. Following as it does upon Independence in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, the lessening of the purely nationalist motive is easily appreciated. The Ghanaian poet,

Michael Dei-Anang, in the following passage, conveniently demonstrates an attitude as yet ambivalent. The expression of a patriotic resentment of the colonial experience remains, but his preoccupations are shifting to the preservation of the African languages as much for their own sake and literary beauty as for a citadel against the colonial humiliation.

Because I was myself trained in the old school system in which everything African was disparaged as part of the colonial system of subjection and control, I have lost much of the beauty and excellence of our traditional poetry, more especially as I learnt to express myself most of the time in a foreign language. But the new generation of Ghanaians need not suffer this humiliation. They should sing with the true voice of Africa in their mother tongue so that they can preserve the beauty and vitality of the musical cadence in traditional poetry for posterity. 55.

Abraham, writing in the same year, puts forward a more overtly 'artistic' argument in his discussion of Akan literature. His plea for the indigenous languages is based on the inadequacies of English for the African writer's purposes. No doubt some nationalist motivation remains, as indeed it must, but the case is one for adequate interpretation as being above all else the function of the creative writer.⁵⁶ Dwelling on the characteristic forms of expression in the indigenous language, Abraham points out the difficulty of conveying

such contributory aspects of interpretation as the use of 'rustic' speech. Proceeding along the lines that 'descriptive realism is not ... the same as reproductive verisimilitude', the former being appropriate to the essayist and the latter to the novelist, he concludes not with the total rejection of the use of English in literary creation but with the case for adaptation of the language in the light of the mother tongue:

Admittedly, it is proper for our new African novelists to do for Africa what Hardy and Lawrence did for Britain. They can do this by putting their vernacular behind their English and their French, by writing of the mass of traditional Africa as though they were translating into English or French. The freshness of their work will rest squarely on those modes of the hypothetical original which can survive in the hypothetical translation. Their vernacular will reflect moral attitudes, idiom, stylistic mannerisms, personalities and situations. What a situation is for a novelist should be how a situation is grasped, and when two languages differ in their ability to state things with generality, to take an example from the differences between African languages and certain European languages, it is evident that a novel about traditional Africans has to show finesse in the construction and building up of situation. It is features like this that will make modern African literature in European languages African, and not the simple fact that the literature has been written by an African.

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Humour, too, 'firmly rooted in the vernacular, and ... nourished by the bizarre and the fantastic', requires special form in its manner of expression.⁵⁸ Presumably this would extend to irony, satire and to all but the blatantly ribald or obvious not dependent on the peculiar subtleties of language.

Clearly, there is a case to answer here. However, it would seem that Abraham has, while pointing out a serious limitation on the African writer, overestimated the importance of dialect representation of speech in literature. It is surely the case that the writer's achievement, if it is to be of lasting importance, will be less an induced parochialism of dialect than universality of interpretation. There will always be situations that are further illumined by the manner of speech of the participants, but they are not created by language. Indeed, that the nature of language is manifestly the converse, is the very basis of modern linguistic thinking.⁵⁹ The problem is further increased by the fact that what Abraham envisages is the creation of a dialect, and it by no means follows that features of an indigenous language or dialect will transfer sufficiently adequately to this new dialect to achieve the same effects. Moreover, it may be argued that whereas the difficulties inherent in the use of a foreign language are immense, they are equalled, if not exceeded, by the difficulties presented by the prospect of what amounts to an entirely new language. It must seriously be asked whether some form of an established language such as English, fraught with difficulty that it may be, is not a more

viable proposition. If this is in itself unacceptable, it would appear that the only possibility is the use of the indigenous language and not a European language at all. Whichever may be found to be the solution for the individual artist, whether he uses his mother tongue or a world language such as English, he will have to adapt it in one way or another. He may choose as his task the fitting of English to the African experience, or he may change the mother tongue to deal with the demands of imported literary forms and modern experience. In either case the permanent value of his art will depend on the way in which he interprets experience and orders his interpretation in the finished work of art. Language is his major tool, its use is indivisible from the art, but 'language' as a term at the highest level of abstraction should not be confused with particular forms of a language.

Further, it would appear that 'translation' is not the answer. Achebe, indeed has put forward the view that 'African writing in English or French should attempt to secure verisimilitude by rendering African speech literally into the metropolitan language'.⁶⁰ But, though it is true that African writers will have to use the language in unusual ways to reflect their unique experience, it is difficult to accept literal translation as a feasible proposition. Whether translation involves 'the transfer of information content from one language to another',⁶¹ where 'information content' implies all aspects of the language event, or 'substituting a text in one language for a text in another',⁶² where the implications are the same, it would be naive to suggest that this

result is achieved by literal translation. The fallacy lies in the assumption that context of situation can be recreated in another language by a mechanistic, lexical or syntactical transfer.⁶³ For, as Brosnahan has pointed out, 'a segment of experience which is symbolised by a word in one language need not necessarily correspond at all closely with that symbolised by a word in another language'.⁶⁴ Such lexical inequivalence is in itself a severe restriction on the viability of such a simplistic approach to translation. It should be remembered, however, that such inequivalences may exist at other, more complex, levels of language and make the possibility of finding a solution in this way even more remote.

As Whorf has remarked 'most people ... naively suppose that speech is nothing but a piling up of lexations, and that is all one needs in order to do any and every kind of rational thinking; the far more important thought materials provided by structure and configurative rapport are beyond their horizons.'⁶⁵ It is here that the main paradox of the confused nationalist position is to be seen and, if Whorf is right, there may be no possibility of ultimate success in such innovations as those suggested above. As we have remarked earlier, what is being attempted is in its extreme form no simple adaptation, but a total transference of a culture. However, the situation is hardly so irretrievable. Christophersen has observed:

Any existing language is the medium of a particular culture (in the anthropological sense). English

under variant forms, is the vehicle of at least two cultures. If it is to serve as an international language it would be desirable to detach it in some sort of way from its 'native' backgrounds and turn it into a vehicle for other forms of civilization, possibly in each case with some adaptation.⁶⁶

The kind of language adaptation referred to here is in no way so violent as that which has just been under discussion. It is more a recognition of the fact of regional variation than a formula for creating such a variation.

Achebe writing on 'English and the African Writer' felt that 'the English language will be able to carry the weight of (his) African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.'⁶⁷ For, together with the change from the dominantly nationalist motivation in matters of language towards a more general artistic theory, there has come an increased willingness to think of the problem in terms of the possibilities of the language, and of the nature of language generally. Nationalist feeling on the matter gives way more openly to practical considerations of writing and there is a lessening tendency to consider language in terms of the committee or the conference table. The 'team of linguists' so gloriously rallied at Rome in 1959⁶⁸ has been superseded by the individual writer's effort to solve the interpretative and aesthetic problems of his art. Ben Obunselu writes:

An African literary work translated into the language of a European literature almost immediately ceases to be African. It loses those native virtues - vernacular rythms, the allusions that depend on auditory effects, sound texture etc. - which make it rich and resonant in the original. It may attain a new opulence in translation, but this depends entirely on the resources of the medium and the translator's control of these resources.⁶⁹

As Professor Nketia has shown so well, the dependence of the traditional forms on repetition and other devices based almost entirely on phonological features is very great.⁷⁰ This is, after all, to be expected from a literature almost wholly oral. However, it should be observed that the predicament facing the African literary artist is not one of the choice of a language alone, but also of transference, even should he adhere to the mother tongue, from the spoken to the written medium. Should this transference involve a change of language as well, the problem becomes correspondingly more acute. Such a change in the relationship of the artist to his audience has as its corollary a change in his relationship to his art.⁷¹ More attention is given to this important re-adjustment and its effects on language in Part II of this study, and we shall therefore reserve discussion here. However, it is a further dimension added to the complex situation and should be borne in mind.

Adaptation of the second language to too high a degree contains hazards in itself. Wali has observed, with justice, that if such an

adaptation is aimed at approximating to the original it would be better to keep to the original.⁷² It is largely a question as to whether the adaptation should consist of a re-building upon the standard metropolitan language, as Achebe would have it, or an attempt at a complete 'reforming' of the second language in terms of the indigenous language. At its worst the latter would be little more than the substitution of prescriptive grammar for creative endeavour.

Wali lays the blame for what he calls the 'drab, dull' results of criticism of African literature firmly on shortcomings in the language used. He goes so far, moreover, as to exhort the critic to learn the indigenous languages as a basis for his criticism.⁷³ On the face of it this would appear to be what Reckford saw in his reply to Wali as the use of language for mere refuge from the critics in a form of literary 'racism'. His challenge demanded that Wali 'be able to show that there are significant elements of human feeling known to one language, one people and unknown to another' that one language is more 'potent' than another.⁷⁴

In his haste Reckford has perhaps done Wali less than justice, for, as Paul Edwards reminds us in the course of the same exchange between the critics and Wali, some attempts to see African writing in terms of the European or American literary tradition have been disastrous.⁷⁵ It is also true that what is acceptable as one writer's influence on another in one tradition tends to be taken, rather jealously, as an unforgivable lack of originality and imitation on the part of the African writer.

As Mphahlele has reminded us with his usual good sense, we do not 'get anywhere if it is implied that because [critics] see the theme of J.P. Clark's Song of a Goat as reminiscent of Greek tragedy (indeed it is!), then the reader or Clark is parroting Aristotle'.⁷⁶ While in general agreement with both these opinions, we would treat with reserve Edwards' assumption that when a writer of a second cultural tradition influences an African writer, the African writer is following that tradition. There is no reason why such influence should, of necessity, be a weakness. Writers in Africa as elsewhere are there to be judged for their quality, rather than to be penalised with the unprecedented suggestion that to be part of a literary evolution is disgraceful, and that in some unique fashion revolution is required. To demand such a thing is to demand of African writers that they be 'not as other men are' and to apply absolute standards to whoever dares to put his carefully provided pen to paper. This, of course, only applies if what the writer attempts is evolutionary. Stagnation and sterility of art remain no less condemned. By the same token, Wali's belief that 'it is unscientific to formulate theories of African literature in terms of the aesthetics of other languages'⁷⁷ can only remain true as long as that literature is in the indigenous languages, or until a distinct form of English evolves sufficiently to elicit its own aesthetics.

Citing Chiari's contention that the themes of literature belong to the age and the language in which the literature is written to the country, Wali extends the proposition to cover his belief that the

African writers 'must belong to their countries first by way of writing in their languages before they can offer anything of universal validity'.⁷⁸

However, if we are to accept the indivisibility of a language from its culture, it would appear the implication is that, pending some wholly satisfactory medium, we are condemned to little more than parochialism.⁷⁹

But this need not be so. Gerald Moore has summed it up in part:

If there are distinctively African modes of thought and experience a real writer will fight his way to expression of them in a language which gives him a hearing (and a living). If the words are not there, he will put them there, as countless other writers have done before him, as Achebe does in Things Fall Apart. 80

Moore's impatience is understandable in its insistence on the merit of the writer's art, but begs the question. It presupposes the hearing that the writer wishes, and this is outside the province of the critic. Moreover, his sweeping verdict that 'the development of the vernaculars must be left to those who are content with a vernacular audience, unsympathetic and biased as it is, will not do.'⁸¹ For, like many of those who have entered the lists over the choice of a language, it misses the criterion of the individual artistic effort. It is the integrity and development of his art with which the writer ultimately seeks to make his peace. A wide audience is desirable, but it is not, and never has been, essential.

'No writer,' writes John Clare, 'wants to be told what he must and must not say and no more does he want to be told in what language he must say it, (The creative mind) will create its own opportunities'.⁸² It will do so whatever the language. It is naive to accuse Wali, as Egudu does, of quarrelling 'with the reading of Frazer, Freud, Darwin and Marx in relation to the criticism of African writing, as if he thinks that these writers wrote for one section of humanity and not for others'.⁸³ Wali seeks to approach the universal not to reject it. Where Marx is relevant he will not be excluded. If Frazer contributes to the establishment of a critical framework valid for African literature, he is putting his universality to the test, not jeopardising it.

Ekwensi has suggested a definition of African literature 'based on African character and psychology' and in doing so has once again begged the question regarding communicability, or indeed the existence, of distinctively African experience.⁸⁴ Inherent in the argument is the now familiar confusion of nationalist feeling and art. Nationalism may inspire, colour and direct art, but it is not in itself art. However, the argument is not so easily concluded. Along lines suggested by the work of Whorf, Brosnahan presents the concept of the indivisibility of language and culture:

A language predisposes its speakers to interpret their experience of the external world in ways which are characteristic of the language. The individual ordinarily, in other words, views the

world in terms of the language which he uses as his mother tongue. He sees objects processes and states for which he has words, he acquires concepts or ideas or experiences as he acquires the corresponding words or classes of words, and he relates these named entities in his thought along the lines laid down by the grammatical patterns of his language. 85

While he recognises that the original or creative thinker is capable of transcending 'the confining effects of language', Brosnahan does not deny that 'languages of some degree of relatedness or languages of two peoples of similar collective experience are more likely to share parts of a world conception than languages which are completely unrelated or which are used by people of very different collective experience.'⁸⁶ Communication is not impossible between such communities, however.

The writer's ability to communicate depends on the approximative nature of language, no matter what language he uses. Primarily, the argument runs regarding his use of a second language, his task involves 'the interpretation of one conception of the world in terms of another.'⁸⁷ However, the predicament is made less acute in the case under discussion in that the West African writer shares a great deal of common experience, unpleasant though some of it may have been, with those who use the world language as a mother tongue. The problem of inequivalence in communication is not solved, but it is to a significant degree ameliorated. It is reasonable to suggest that this may be at the root of the themes dominant in West African writing today. Nationalism and the colonial exper-

ience are topical, and no excuse needs to be made for this, but they are also in the matter we are considering, points of contact between those involved. It need not follow that a stagnation of literary themes will result, but only that they will increase in proportion to the common experience. It is our good fortune that the modern world, while pressing all men to uniformity, thus opens up new possibilities of art.

Hjelmslev has put the problem of the cultural confines of language in the following terms:

Each language lays down its own boundaries within the amorphous 'thought mass' and stresses different arrangements, puts the centres of gravity in different places and gives them different emphases ... Just as the same sand can be put into different moulds, and the same cloud take on ever new shapes, so also the same purport is formed or structured differently in different languages. What determines its form is solely the functions of the language, the sign function and the functions deducible therefrom. Purport remains, each time, substance for a new form, and has no possible existence except through being substance for one form or another. 88

What we are considering here concerns this peripheral, if inalienable, overlap of languages as cultural interpretations of the totality of human experience. What remains is the universal; or rather that interpretation of the universal made possible by the writer's language. It would follow from this that the possibility of insightful interpretation in the

light of two or more languages is correspondingly greater.

It remains true, however, that expression and interpretation of what is unique in a culture will depend on the resources of the language of expression, but such an obstacle is not insurmountable. Bilingualism arranges the matter more practically.⁸⁹ Indeed, the matter finally becomes, in the ideal, less a matter of language than one of art, for the writer, in the interests of his art, will select the language that satisfies it.

Greenberg has criticised Bally for 'attaching too great importance to certain idioms' in his attempt to characterise French and German in terms of widely held views regarding French and German national character.⁹⁰ It is a caution to which we can profitably attend here. Any alteration of a language to cope with the problems of cultural inequivalence will involve more than an infusion of idiom. Indeed, the argument advanced for the indigenous languages is reminiscent of the Leibnitzian view that 'les langues sont le meilleur miroir de l'esprit humain' and that 'an exact analysis of the signification of words would show us better than anything else the workings of the understanding'.⁹¹

Spencer has seen in multilingualism the possibility of 'a greater capacity for understanding and tolerance'.⁹² Less spiritually, it can be seen to offer wider areas of common experience and potential communication. But, Greenberg, from an intimate knowledge of a great many languages, added further caution to our speed:

Since natural language is not devised by philosophers but develops as a living instrument of a community in its adjustment to changing needs, one would not expect and, in my experience at least, one does not find any underlying semantic patterns such as would be required for the semantic system of a language to reflect some over-all world view of a metaphysical nature. 93

Obumselu has suggested in connection with the anecdote in Karen Blixen's in Out of Africa in which Farah, her servant and friend, is unable to understand why Shylock did not exact his pound of flesh piece by piece until he had the exact weight, that breakdowns in communication are as often literary as they are cultural; an unfamiliarity with a literary form rather than with similar responses and emotions; a question of the form in which the feeling is expressed rather than the feeling
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itself. It would prolong the matter unprofitably to consider at this stage the connection of literary form, through language, to culture in any anthropological sense. But, it is evident that an increasing familiarity with forms is likely to be accompanied by an increasing facility in the handling of them, leaving aside, as we have declared, the cultural consequences. An 'adjustment to a variety of changing needs',⁹⁵ is in the dynamic nature of language, and it is neither profitable nor practical, in terms of the production of his art, for such a fact to prevent the writer's performance of his primary task. The right choice, whether of the second or the mother tongue, will only be

revealed by time. Of course, he can try to reform language for his immediate needs, but experiment is as individual as it is the prerogative of the writer. Reform of language, if such it is, can only be isolated as the artist is isolated; neither the committee nor the artist can ultimately alter the dynamics of language to provide ready-made the tools of art. Alasanne N'Daw has remarked:

Neither pseudo-scientific concepts (such as inferiority complex, narcissism, compensation etc.) nor humanistic reasoning can claim the liberating power of a sincere exploration of our existence as we live it. At the end of the search it will, we hope, be possible to found reflectively what is genuinely Negro, which pre-supposes an indissoluble coincidence with oneself and a welcoming glance through the window open to the world outside.⁹⁶

The use of Pidgin and Krio as literary languages is growing. If the point needed proving, they are not 'bastard English', to use Wauthier's unlightened phrase.⁹⁷ Krio is a distinct African language, not only a lingua franca but also a mother tongue. And, as recent work has shown, West African Pidgin exhibits sufficient divergence from the languages from which it is derived, as well as the characteristics of a dialect continuum, to be regarded for all practical purposes here as an equally distinct language.⁹⁸ In view of this, it is unlikely that they will in themselves solve the language problem for the African writer.

In drama, Pidgin, or a form of it, has been used as the language of comedy.⁹⁹ It is interesting to speculate what has caused the West African writer to see its main appropriateness in this function. For, though Soyinka has used it with more original dramatic effect in The Trials of Brother Jero, it is a medium curiously looked down on in literature.¹⁰⁰ J.P. Clark wrote to Moore who had criticised the appropriateness of some of his words in Masquerade:

Education and class consciousness, which pre-suppose and actually create levels of speech and language in European societies have, thank God, not done that havoc yet to the non-literary languages like Ijaw.¹⁰¹

This may be true, but, perhaps feeling Wauthier's sense of proprietorship, Europeans have exacted this toll in the literary forms they have handed on. The normal European reaction to Frank Aig-Imoukhuede's 'One Man for One Wife' is one of admiration, not for his treatment of cultural displacement that so moves the Nigerian reader, but for what is seen as its humour.¹⁰² Moreover, it is humour undistinguished by subtlety or irony in its reminiscence of traditional English ideas of the country bumpkin that appeals to the casually interested European.

The most promising solution is that suggested by the adaptation of standard English to suit the African writer's task, and a fuller discussion of the question in relation to particular examples occupies us later in this study. As Mphahlele has remarked, the African writers 'are doing

violence to standard English', though, like him, they may be puzzled by the implications of a label such as un style negro-africain, with its suggestions of a form of language universally acknowledged rather than localised attempts by individual artists to find a solution.¹⁰³ Indeed, it is the nature of this 'violence' that will be part of our concern here. Whether the violence might be more usefully done to the indigenous languages, is a matter for the individual artist to decide, remembering, in Herskovits' words, that cultural borrowing, far from being disgraceful, 'is one of the most widely recognised mechanisms in the dynamics of social change'.¹⁰⁴

Nothing will be solved by the 'benevolent eye' of professors of English, dearly as MacKenzie might wish it.¹⁰⁵ As John Spencer remarks:

This kind of language choice involves all kinds of extralinguistic considerations - sense of community, prejudices, desires, self-interests. Sense of community involves the fact that we are nowadays all involved in more than one group.

Solutions will not be found easily or swiftly. Whatever solutions are found must affect English literature. The English language as it slowly finds some kind of ecological stability in relation to the other languages, must clearly be an object of study. The interaction of language upon language, culture, upon culture, literature upon literature, must in each case involve unique factors; factors not present elsewhere, or in the past. This perhaps calls for a new conception of the university department of English. It certainly calls for a new view of English studies. 106

Senanu may admire Achebe's use of Igbo idioms, while Wali may find them studied and failing to be psychologically and dramatically appropriate'.¹⁰⁷ Both are united in the working out of the process Margaret Read has described for the African as the tendency to move from an imitation of European culture, towards a reassertion of African culture and the search for some kind of modern synthesis.¹⁰⁸ In literature it happened earlier this century in Australia.¹⁰⁹

Clearly, if English is to be more than 'a means to an end', which Guthrie sees as the difference from French which is taken as 'an end in itself',¹¹⁰ it will be the writer who makes it so. English need not be seen in total isolation from the African languages. It is not, for it is a problem of co-existence with which the writer is presented and not simply the elimination of one language or another.¹¹¹ If the West African writes in English it will be because it suits him to do so. At present we are witnessing, as Professor Jones reminds us, the ferment from which good literature, as distinct from heuristic, simply competent literature, can arise. If this involves 'heavily irreverence for language',¹¹² we are reminded that reverence is no tribute to be exacted by England. We are further reminded by Lewis that, as communication develops in the second-language situation, 'discords as well as harmonies become sharper; as the conflicts become more sharply defined they become sharper conflicts.' Lewis was referring to the Negro in the United States, but his observation is nevertheless appropriate to the West African situation.¹¹³

his own terms. He has much to offer and he can make the language his own as distinctively as the Indian or the American has made it his. He has, as Ekwensi puts it, 'taken his place in modern society and, rather than go back to his old ways, is bringing new influences to bear on what already exists. But his history and the present state of affairs have combined to place him at the crossroads from which he must now make a choice.'¹¹⁴ The choice will not be easy if he is to give to his art, and his traditions and history on which his interpretation depends, a current significance. We are privileged to examine an aspect of the beginnings of a literature at close quarters in a fashion that has perhaps only been possible once or twice in several centuries.

The price of this choice of the writer's will be high. For, as Professor Jones remarks, many of those who are artistically gifted may be excluded from an audience which could only have stood to gain. 'To be faithful to his own imagination whatever medium he happens to be using' is no less the aim of the African writer than it is of the aim of any writer worth the name. Meanwhile, we remember that:

It takes a great deal of time and effort to master a second language well enough to produce a work of art in it which is not at best a literary curiosity, tolerated because it is produced by someone from whom the world expected nothing and is pleasantly surprised to get anything at all.¹¹⁵

Notes to Chapter Four

1. See preceding chapter.
2. E.g. Merriman - Labour, A.B.C., An Epitome of a Series of Lectures on the Negro Race, London, 1899, 31 pp; Spitzer, Leo, 'Turning Back the Pages II', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English (Freetown), 3, November, 1965, pp. 44-47.
3. Cf. Hair, P.E., 'The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages', Sierra Leone Language Review, 1, 1962, pp. 7-18 and Chapter 3 of this study.
4. Notably Bishop James 'Holy' Johnson. Also, the 'semitic modes' of thought Burton, Goldie and others saw in West African languages also added to their dignity in the eyes of Europeans in that they were thus thought to be more suitable than the European languages for Bible translation. See preceding chapter.
5. See e.g. Kesteloot, Lilyan, Les écrivains noirs de langue française, 3rd edn., Brussels, 1965, especially Chapters VII - XI; Faray, Michael, 'Négritude and the Dakar Festival', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 4, March, 1966, pp. 1-12; Jahn, Jahnheinz 'Sur la littérature africaine', Présence Africaine, XLVIII, 1963, p.151-156; Soyinka, Wole, Horn, III, 6, June, 1960 for a reaction from the English-speaking writer's view-point.

6. Cited Obumsele, Ben, 'The Background of Modern African Literature', Ibadan, 22, June, 1966, p.46. On that aspect of 'the need to establish and express a sense of human dignity' in the African cultural identity see R. July, 'The African Personality in the African Novel', in ed. Beier, Introduction to African Literature, pp. 218-233, especially p.232 f. See also Talmadge, M., 'Themes in the African Novel', West African Review, XXX, 383, 1959, p. 657; Tchidimbo, R., 'L' étudiant africain face à la culture latine', Présence Africaine, 14, 1952; pp. 55-64.
7. Storch, R.F., 'Writing in Ghana', Universitas, March, 1957, p.148.
8. Stanislaus, op. cit.
9. Cited 'The Caribbean Mixture: Variations and Fusions in Race and Style', Times Literary Supplement, 10th August, 1962, p.578.
10. Soyinka, Wole, Horn (Ibadan), III, No. 6, June 1960; Gillliatt, Penelope, The Observer, 19th September, 1967.
11. Cf. Tomori, S.H.O., 'A Study in the Syntactic Structures of the Written English of British and Nigerian Grammar School Pupils', Ph.D., London, 1967.
12. Hopkinson, T., 'Afro-English Awakening in Our Time,' The Observer, September 17th, 1961, p.28.
13. Hodgkin, Thomas, Nationalism in Colonial Africa, London, 1956, p.23.

14. Forbes, F.E., Despatch Communicating the Discovery of a Native Written Character, pp. 1-2; again Dahomey and the Dahomans, op. cit., p.196.
15. Despatch, p.2; Dahomey and the Dahomans, p.196.
16. See Köelle, S.W., Outlines of a Grammar of the Vai Language, pp.64 ff; and Narrative of an Expedition in to the Vai Country of West Africa.
17. Cited by Dathorne, O.R., 'The Use of a Few Strokes', The New African, December, 1966, p.213.
18. Migeod, F.W.H., The Languages of West Africa, Vol. II, London, 1913, pp. 266-267; Eberl-Elber, R., West-Afrikas Letztes Rätsel, Salzburg, 1936, pp. 73-75.
19. Ibid., Ch. XIX, pp. 266-281; Dathorne, op. cit., p.213; For a fuller discussion of interest in the Vai script see, P.E.H. Hair, 'Notes on the Discovery of the Vai Script with a Bibliography', Sierra Leone Language Review, 2, 1963, pp. 36-49.
20. Martin, H., 'Pays Bamum et Sultan Njoya', IFAN, Etudes Camerounaises, 4, September/December, 1951, pp. 33-34; Littlewood, M., 'Peoples of the Central Cameroons', Ethnographic Survey of Africa, International African Institute, 1954, pp. 56-57; Dathorne, op. cit., p.213.
21. loc. cit.
22. op. cit., p.213.
23. Martin, op. cit., p.33.

24. Dathorne, op. cit., p.213. For a similar comment on the esoteric nature of most West African scripts of this type and others such as Njoya's see Obiechina, op. cit., pp.58-59.
25. Milburn, S., 'Kisimi Kamara and the Mende Script'. Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 20-23.
26. Ibid. The power of the missionary education system in such matters is judged by the fact that in 1960, 96% of the schools of Nigeria were still missionary-controlled. See Paul Bohannan, Africa and Africans, Garden City, N.Y. 1964, p.23. cited by P.A. Spann, 'Descriptive Survey of Creative African Literature and the Social Forces Influencing It,' M.A., Chicago, 1965, p.21.
27. Sakiliba, D., 'Présent et Future des Langues Africains,' Présence Africaine 12, 1957, p.135.
28. Balandier, G., 'La littérature noire de langue française' Présence Africaine, 8/9, 1950, p.394.
29. Cited, Wauthier, C., The Literature and Thought of Modern Africa, (English translation of L'Afrique des Africains: Inventaire de la Négritude), London, 1966, p.34.
30. Migeod, op. cit., p.246.
31. Banham, M., and J. Ramsaran, 'West African Writing', Books Abroad, 36, 1962, pp. 371-374. Cf. East R.M., 'An Experiment in African Literature', Nigerian Teacher, 1,4, 1935, pp.17-18; Ramsaran, J.A., 'African twilight: folktale and myth in Nigerian literature,' Ibadan, 15, 1963, pp. 17-19. For an idea of the

- influences bearing on the continuity of an oral tradition (and hence the results of its being written down) See Sinclair, J.M., 'When is a Poem like a Sunset', Review of English Literature, VI, 2, 1965, pp. 76-91.
32. Wali, O., Ngozi dili Chukwu, Nsukka, 1963. See review, Shelton, A.J., Transition, 3, 10, September 1963, p.8. See also Olubummo, A., 'D.O. Fagunwa - a Yoruba Novelist', Odu, 9, 1963, pp. 26-30.
33. Berry, Jack, 'Problems in the Use of African Languages and Dialects in Education', African Languages and English in Education, Unesco, Paris: 1953, pp. 41-48; 'African Languages and linguistics', in Brokensha, D. and M. Crowder eds., Africa in the Wider World, Oxford, 1967, pp. 208-221. Cf. Junod, H.P. 'Langues vernaculaires et vehiculaires en Afrique', Genève-Afrique, 2,1, 1963, pp. 21-45.
34. Ibid., 1953, p.41.
35. Cheavens, S.F. Vernacular Languages and Education, Ph.D. thesis, Texas University, University Microfilms Publication, No. 25, 185, Ann Arbor 1957, p. 51; see also Auchamp, A.J., Bilingual Education and Nationalism with special reference to South Africa, Pretoria, 1926, pp. 215-216; Hazoumé, Paul, Présence Africaine, XXIV-XXV, Paris, 1959, pp. 42 ff; Bright, J.A., 'English in the Commonwealth', English Language Teaching, XVI, 2, January - March, 1962, p.89.
36. Cheavens, op. cit., pp. 333-334.

37. Asamoah, E.S., 'The Problem of Language in Education in the Gold Coast', Africa, XXV, 1, January, 1955. Cf. Ansre, G., 'A Study on the Official Language in Ghana', CCTA/CSA, Symposium on Multilingualism, pp. 211-218; Spicer, A., 'National and Official Languages for the Gold Coast', Proceedings of the W.A.I.E.S.R. Conference, Ibadan, 1955, pp. 4-11. Cf. Le Page, R.B., The National Language Problem, London, 1964, pp. 51-52, for a discussion of this problem.
38. Cheavens, op. cit., p. 445, mentions ten bureaus or committees in all of British Africa in 1953 which were concerned with the promotion of the indigenous languages and literature in them; Unesco figures for Nigeria in 1951 of 350,000 pupils in school and 140,000 in literacy classes, (Cheavens, p. 439) Languages Spoken in British Territories in Africa, Unesco Regional Paper No. 4., Paris, 1951, give some idea of the size of the problem.
39. Carroll, B.J., 'An English Language Survey in West Africa', English Language Teaching, XVI, 4, July/September, 1962, p. 209.
40. See the next chapter for some discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism.
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42. Asquith, Mr. Justice, et. al. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, HMSO, London, 1945, p. 89.
43. Ibid., p. 93. See also Pearson, Jenny, 'Safeguarding English from Becoming Patois', Times Educational Supplement, November 24, 1967, pp. 199. The Lanham Report, Teaching English in

Bantu Primary Schools, Publication No. 411, English Academy of Southern Africa, Johannesburg, 1967. Compare this view to those of the early African nationalists and Joyce Cary mentioned in the preceding chapter.

44. Rowlands, E.C., 'Yoruba and English: A Problem of Co-existence', African Language Studies, IV, 1963, pp. 213-214.
45. Shelton A.J., 'Proverbs and Education in West Africa', Overseas Education, 34, No. 4, January, 1963.
46. For a discussion of Weinreich's concept of language 'loyalty' see the following chapter.
47. See Wauthier, op. cit., pp.40 ff. Cf. Mahood, op. cit., pp.71 ff. and the mention of Cary's 1943 tour of East and West Africa in chapter 3.
48. Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, Rome, 26 March - 1st April, 1959, Présence Africaine, XXIV-XXV, Paris, 1959, p.436.
49. Ibid., p.425.
50. Diop, Chiekh Anta, Nations nègres et cultures, Paris, 1954; cited Hodgkin, op. cit. p.176; Harrison, T.W., and J. Simmons, trans., Aikin Mata: The Lysistrata of Aristophanes, London, 1967; Decker, T., 'Three Krio Poems', Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 32-34; 'Julius Caesar in Krio', Sierra Leone Language Review, 4, 1965, pp. 64-78. Wali, op. cit., note 34; Robert, Shabaan, Hotuba Juu ya Ushairi (Lecture on Poetry) in Harries, Lyndon, Swahili Poetry, London, 1962, pp. 273-286.

51. Sartre, Jean-Paul, 'Orphée Noir', Preface to L.S. Senghor Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malagache de langue française, Paris, 1948.
52. Rao, Raja, Kanthapura, London, 1938, pp. 9-10.
53. Narayan, R.K., 'English in India', in Press, John, ed., Commonwealth Literature, London, 1965, pp. 120-124, especially p.123.
54. Wali, Obi, 'The Dead End of African Literature?', Transition, III, 10, September, 1963, p.13-15; cf. also Henshaw, James Ene, Dinner for Promotion, London, 1967, 'Introduction', p.10.
55. Dei-Anang, M., Ghana Semitones, Accra, 1962, p.7. For something of the strength of feeling connected with first language loyalty in this connection see, Forge, K.B., 'The future of our languages', Nigeria Magazine, 80, March, 1964, p.80.
56. Abraham, W.E., The Mind of Africa, London, 1962, pp.97-100.
57. Ibid., pp. 99-100. Cf. this kind of thinking in relation to African expression in the plastic arts where the problem is seen in much the same light: Ben Enwonwu, 'Problems of the African Artist To-day', 1st Congress of Negro African Writers and Artists, Présence Africaine, VIII-X, Paris, 1956, pp. 174-178, especially p.175.
58. Ibid., p.100.
59. See Chapter 5, below.

60. Achebe, Chinua, 'The English Language and the African Writer', Spear, (Lagos), July-August, 1964. See also Okara, Gabriel, 'African Speech ... English Words', Transition, 3, 10, September, 1963, p.15; Nicol, Davidson Africa: A Subjective View, London, 1964, pp. 65-80.
61. Tosh, Wayne, Syntactic Translation, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, No. 37, The Hague, 1965, p.35.
62. Catford, J.C. A Linguistic Theory of Translation, p.1.
63. See Malinowski, B., 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages', Supplement I in Ogden, C.K., and I.A. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning, 10th edn. 1949, pp. 306 ff; See also below Chapter 5, note 46.
64. Brosnahan, L.F., 'Problems of Linguistic Inequivalence in Communication', Ibadan, 13, November, 1961, p.27.
65. Whorf, Benjamin Lee, 'A Linguistic Consideration of Thinking in Primitive Communities', in Carroll, J.B., ed., Language, Thought, and Reality, New York, 1956, p.83; See also Stuart Chase in the Foreword to the same volume, p.vi. See also Whorf, 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behaviour to Language', in Collected Papers in Metalinguistics, who warns that 'there are connections, but not correlations or diagnostic correspondences between cultural norms and linguistic patterns' (p.45).
66. Christophersen, Paul, 'Towards a Standard of International English', English Language Teaching, XIV, 3 April - June, 1960, p.127.

67. Achebe, Chinua, 'English and the African Writer', Transition, IV, 18, 1965, p.30.
68. See note 48.
69. Obumsele, Ben, 'The Background of Modern African Literature', Ibadan, 22, June, 1966, p.46.
70. Nketia, J.H., Funeral Dirges of the Akan People, Achimota, 1955, see especially pp. 75-100. See also Ramsaran, J.A., 'African Twilight: Folktale and Myth in Nigerian Literature', Ibadan, 15, 1963, pp. 17-19; Abraham, op. cit., p.93.
71. Crowder, Michael, 'Tradition and Change in Nigerian Literature', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 3, November, 1965, pp. 1-17. See also Green, R., 'Under the Mango Tree', Journal of the New African Literature and the Arts, 3, Spring 1967, pp. 25-30.
72. Wali, Obi, 'The Dead End of African Literature?', Transition, III, 10, September, 1963, pp. 13-15.
73. Ibid. p.15.
74. Reckford, Barry, 'Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature', Transition, III, 11, November, 1963, p.7.
75. Edwards, Paul, 'Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature', Transition, III, 12 January/February, 1964, p.8.
76. Mphahlele, Ezekiel, 'Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature', Transition, III, 11, November, 1963, p.8; cf. Egudu,

R.N., 'The Matter and Manner of Modern West African Poetry in English', Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1966, p.69;
E.B., 'Modern Influences on African Verse', Insight, 7, no date, p.30.

77.

Wali, Obi, 'Polemics: A Reply to Critics from Obi Wali', Transition, III, 12, January - February, 1964, p.7. A continuation of the debate is to be found in the articles by Tai Solarin and Chinua Achebe in The Daily Times (Lagos), 20 October, 1966, p.10; 7 November, 1966, p.7; 17 November, 1966, pp. 7 and 11.

78.

Ibid., p.7.

79.

This should not be confused with Jones's Forsterian plea for the 'truly local', portraying the particular situation with such fidelity as to bring out its universal significance. See Jones, Eldred, 'The Decolonization of African Literature', Paper given at the African-Scandinavian Writers Conference, Stockholm, February 6-9, 1967, MS. pp. 6, p.2. Also in Topic, 21, 1968, pp. 18-20.

80.

Moore, Gerald, 'Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature', Transition, III, 11, November, 1963, p.9. Knappert in 'The Dead End of African Literature: Swahili as an African Language', Transition, III, 13, March-April, 1964, p.6, solves little, especially since he bases the main claim of Swahili on the age of its literature rather than on any special contribution to a solution.

81.

Moore, op. cit., p. 9; cf. Ekwensi, C. 'Problems of Nigerian Writers', Nigeria Magazine, 78, 1963, p.217: 'Perhaps the greatest problem facing Nigeria writers is finding Nigerian readers'.

82. Clare, John, 'Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature', Transition, III, 1, January-February, 1964, p.6.
83. Egudu, op. cit., p.77.
84. Ekwensi, C., 'African Literature', Nigeria Magazine, 83, December, 1964, pp. 294-299. See also July, Robert, 'African Literature and the African Personality', Black Orpheus, 14, February, 1964, pp. 33-45. An interestingly similar conclusion with regard to the need for 'shared experience' in the interpretation of 'regional' literatures, this time in a first language situation is to be seen in A. Delbridge, 'The Use of English in Australian Literature', Harvard Educational Review, 34, 2, 1964, pp. 306-311, especially p.310. For an account of the controversy that has surrounded the definition of African literature see, Moore, ed., op. cit.; Izevbaye, D.S., op. cit., and 'African Literature Defined: the record of a controversy', Ibadan Studies in English, I, 1, May/June, 1969, pp.56-69.
85. Brosnahan, op. cit., p.28.
86. Ibid., p.28. On a certain homogeneity of the oral traditions of West Africa, see Berry, J., Spoken Art in West Africa London, 1961, pp. 3-4; Innes, G., 'Some features of theme and style in Mende folktales', Sierra Leone Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 6ff; Rattray, R.S., 'Some Aspects of West African Folklore', Journal of African Studies, XXVIII, 1929, pp.2 ff.
87. Ibid., p.30.

88. Hjelmslev, Louis, Prologomena to a Theory of Language, (trans. F.J. Whitfield), Madison, Wisconsin, 1963, p.52. See also McQuown, N.A., 'Analysis of the Cultural Content of Language Materials', in Hoifer, H., ed. Language in Culture, Chicago, 1954, pp. 20-21; Lado, Robert, 'Linguistics across Cultures; Ann Arbor, 1957, p.113: 'Meanings, like forms, are culturally determined or modified. They represent an analysis of the universe as grasped in a culture'. See also for an extreme view somewhat earlier, Wilhelm von Humbolt's notion as expressed in Über die Kawi-sprache, Berlin, 1836, cited by M. Leroy, The Main Trends in Modern Linguistics, G. Price, trans., Oxford, 1967, pp. 26-27: 'Struck by the great differences of structure he found among so many diverse languages ... he cherished the hope of establishing so close a relationship between the mentality and the language of the people that, given one, the other could thereby be deduced'.
89. See Part II of this study.
90. Greenberg, J.H., 'Concerning Inferences from Linguistic to Non-linguistic Data', in Hoijer, H., ed., op. cit., pp.5-6; viz. Bally, Charles, Linguistique générale et linguistique française (2nd edn., Berne, 1944).
91. Leibniz, Nouveau essai sur l'entendement humain, (Book III, Chapter VII), trans., A.G. Langley, LaSalle, 1949, p.368; cited Chomsky, Noam, Cartesian Linguistics, New York, 1966, p.29. The mixture of French and English is Chomsky's.
92. Spencer, J.W., 'The Variety of Language', in Brosnahan, L.F., and J.W. Spencer, Language in Society, Ibadan, 1962, p.8.

93. Greenberg, op. cit., note 92, p.18.
94. Obumselu, Ben, 'The Background of Modern African Literature', Seminar Paper, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Ibadan, 1965, p.3 (stencilled); Blixen, Karen, Out of Africa, London, (1937), Penguin, 1954, pp. 233 ff; See also Shelton, A.J., 'Behaviour and Cultural Value in West African Stories: literary sources for the study of culture contact', Africa, XXXIV, 4, October, 1964, pp. 353-359; Simmons, D.C., 'Specimens of Efik Folklore', Folklore, LXVI, December, 1955, pp. 417-424, 'Analysis of Cultural Reflection in Efik Folktales', Journal of American Folklore, 74, April, 1961, pp. 126-141.
95. Greenberg, op. cit., p.18.
96. N' Daw, Alassane, 'It is possible to speak about "An African Way of Thought"?' Présence Africaine, XXX, 58, p.33.
97. Wauthier, op. cit., p.40.
98. Mafeni, op. cit., Part I; Schneider, G.D., 'West African Pidgin-English - an overview: phonology - morphology', Journal of English Linguistics, 1, 1967, pp. 49-56; West African Pidgin-English, Athens, Ohio, 1967. Also Dwyer, D., An Introduction to West African Pidgin English, Michigan, 1967; Alexandre, P., 'Aperçu sommaire sur le Pidgin A. 70 du Cameroun', Cahiers Etudes Africaines, 3, 4 (12), 1963, pp. 577-582. For an opposite view see Goodman, J.S., 'The Development of a Dialect of English-Japanese Pidgin', Anthropological Linguistics, 9, 6, 1967, pp. 43-55. See also D. Okafor-Omali, A Nigerian Villager in Two Worlds, London, 1965, p. 15, on the abandon-

ing by his parents of Igbo on going to settle in the 'artificial' town Port Harcourt. Omali's first language was Pidgin (as Mafeni's also was).

99. Young, P., 'The Language of West African Literature in English', forthcoming in J. Spencer, ed., The English Language in West Africa, London, 1969. Cf. the derogatory view of Pidgin in literature expressed by G. Moore, 'English words, African Lives', Présence Africaine, 26, 54, 2nd quarterly, 1965, p.96. For an opposite view see A. Nicol, 'Poetry from West Africa', West African Review 29, 368, May, 1958, p.373. See J.L. Dillard, 'English in the West Indies or the West Indies in English', Harvard Educational Review, 34, 2, pp. 312-215, for a mention of the unfavourable attitudes of speakers of Pidgin or Creoles to their languages elsewhere in the world.
100. In Three Plays, Mbari, Ibadan, 1963, See Young, op. cit., for a view of this handling of Pidgin, and Chapter 8 below.
101. Moore, Gerald, 'The Language of Poetry', in Moore, ed., African Literature and the Universities, London, 1965, p.108.
102. Aig-Imoukhuede, Frank, 'One Man for One Wife' in Nigerian Student Verse, 1959, Ibadan, 1960. See also Moore, G., 'English Words, African Lives', p.96, who sees pidgin as only used by educated Africans 'as a form of humorous relaxation' (!); and Nicol, A., 'Poetry from West Africa', p.373, who sees pidgin as 'intimate ... nearer the inner poetic consciousness'. See also E. Mphahlele, 'The Language of African Literature', Harvard Educational Review, 34, 2, 1964, p.299.

On the wider implications of Pidgin as a language of communication in West Africa see Kisob, J.A., 'A live language, "Pidgin English"', Abbia, 1, 1963, pp. 25-31. On the prestige of pidgin and for similar necessity elsewhere see Laycock, D.C., 'Papuaans and Pidgin', Te Reo, 9, 1966, pp. 44-51.

103. Mphahlele, E., Modern African Stories, London, 1964, p.12. See also Warner, Alan, 'A New English in Africa', Review of English Literature, V, 2, April, 1963, pp. 52-54. Achebe, C., 'English and the African Writer', Transition, 4, 18, pp. 27-30. J. Jahn, 'Sur la littérature africaine', Présence Africaine, 48, 1963, p. 156, makes the large claim that 'La poésie africaine est caractérisée par les procédés stylistiques définis plus haut, et non par la langue employée, non plus que par la couleur de peau de l'auteur'. For an opposite reference see Furay, M., 'Négritude and the Dakar Festival', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 4, 1966, pp. 1 ff.
104. Herskovits, Melville J., Dahomean Narrative, Evanston, 1958, p.73. On the West African's adaptability to change see Ottenberg, op. cit; Turnbull, C., The Lonely African, London, 1963, p.249 f.
105. MacKenzie, Norman, The Outlook for English in Central Africa, London, 1960, p.3.
106. Spencer, John, 'One Strand in a Pattern', in Press, John, ed., op. cit., p.113. cf. Christophersen, P., 'Towards a Standard of International English', p.127.

107. Senanu, K.E., 'The Literature of West Africa', in, McLeod, A.L., ed., The Commonwealth Pen, New York, 1961, pp. 179-180; Wali, O., 'Criteria other than linguistic', Seminar Paper, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Ibadan, 1965, p.5.
108. Cited Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 171. Cf. Duerden, Dennis, 'Black Orpheus', West African Review, December, 1969, p. 855; cf. Drayton, A.D., 'The Return of the Past in the Nigerian Novel', Ibadan, 10, 1960, pp. 27-30. See also Ottenberg, S., 'Ibo Receptivity to Change', in eds. Bascom and Herskovits., op. cit., pp. 130-143.
109. Banham, M., 'The Beginning of a Nigerian Literature in English', Review of English Literature; 3, 1962, pp. 88-89.
110. Guthrie, Malcolm, 'Multilingualism and cultural factors', in Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 1962, p.107.
111. Ibid., p. 108; See Spencer in discussion, ed. Moore, op. cit., p.122. Cf. Voorhoeve, 'Creole languages and Communication', CCTA/CSA, Symposium on Multilingualism, pp. 233-242, especially p.233.
112. See on this question the survey presented in The Times Literary Supplement, Special Number: 'A Language in Common', August 10th, 1962, especially pp. 570-571. Quote p.571.
113. Lewis, M.M., Language in Society, London, 1947, p.220.
114. Ekwensi, C., 'The dilemma of the African Writer', West African Review, 27, No. 346, July, 1956, p. 704. Cf. Reed.

J., 'Between two worlds', Makerere Journal, 7, 1963, pp. 1-14; 'Poetry in East Africa', Mawazo, I, 4, Dec. 1968, pp. 35-36.

115.

Jones, E.D., 'The Decolonization of African Literature', pp. 2, 1; See also Mphahlele, E., 'Out of Africa', Encounter, 79, 1960, pp. 61-63. India, too, faces the same problems, see K.R. SrinivasaIyengar, Indian Writing in English. Bombay and London, 1962, pp. 6-9; cf. Singh, K., 'After the Raj', New Statesman, 60, 10 September, 1960, p.349.

PART TWO

'The New Voice'.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THE BILINGUAL AUTHOR'

The claim has been made in the preceding argument for a consideration of present-day African writers of English expression in relation to the long-established contact with second-language situations either in West Africa or overseas. Further, it is suggested that this contact over a significant period of at least two centuries has been remarkable for its continuity rather than for its sudden occurrence. There seems to be the danger of insufficient perspective in the most commonly held view that West African writing in English is a wholly contemporary phenomenon.¹ The dignity of any literature must rest on its people's sense of its history, and the common view is doubly damaging when such a literature is not seen, as all literature must be seen, in its total social and linguistic context. That language is 'social' is taken to be an established fact.² That the sociological conditions under discussion, with their concomitant linguistic features, are not immediate, is also assumed to be self-evident. Increased literacy in English has accentuated their effects, and emphasised their existence, but present-day writing from West Africa should be seen arising out of long-standing sociolinguistic conditions rather than as a sudden appearance. This is of first importance in relation to the prestige³ of the nascent diatopic variety.⁴ Largely the paradox remains that while phenomena explained as normally resulting from diatopic differentiation are acceptable for many parts of the English-speaking

world - no one finds difficulty in accepting the concept of an American, Australian or Indian English⁵ - the idea of the same law of change with regard to West Africa seems more difficult to assimilate. For it remains broadly true to say that whereas Weinreich's definition of the primary factor of prestige as 'the value of the language in social advance'⁶ allows a very high valuation of the prestige of English in West Africa, this prestige is accorded, particularly by the educated West African himself, to the British English diatopic variety.⁷ We may, therefore, in the foreseeable future, be confronted with a standardised diatopic variety of low prestige in the larger sections of educated society.

Distinct forms of English in West Africa have, however, had their modest Albertis, and this has been especially apparent in the use of the language for literary purposes. West African writers generally, since Amos Tutuola's variously received Palm-Wine Drinkard of 1952, have been acutely conscious of the problems affecting choice of medium. They have, indeed, shown a practical awareness of the fact of which Angus McIntosh has sought to remind us, that language has a diatopic as well as a diachronic dimension.⁸ Not concerned with the kind of linguistic analysis this reminder has usually served to illuminate, the West African writer has been aware of dissatisfaction with the use of a prestigious diatopic variety so foreign to his creative intentions as to fail him in expression. To some extent this indicates a less firm prestige for British English than is the case for French in West Africa. This is no doubt historically explicable, in terms of the policy of assimilation.

This linguistic consciousness has given rise to the longstanding, and sometimes bitter, debate on the choice of a language for literary expression which was discussed in the last chapter.

Present-day writers in West Africa who use English as the medium of expression can therefore be seen as belonging to, and arising from, a socio-historical tradition spanning a reasonable length of time. Such writers can also be seen as possessing an additional dimension to their creative effort. They are both individually 'artist' and, in varying degrees, 'bilingual individual'.⁹ These characteristics, in their varying proportions, distinguish the writer in a second-language (L2) situation from the creative writer in a dominantly first language (L1) situation. The complexity is further increased if it is remembered that in such an L2 situation the L2 which is dominant¹⁰ may be so only in that situation of the writer's linguistic experience involving the creation of literary texts. Though this is theoretically imaginable, by far the more common occurrence is for the L1 or L2 to be dominant according to the particular situation in which the user of the language finds himself at any particular time. The L1 may or may not be dominant in more situations than English, but it remains true that the dominant language in the cases we are considering is English, the medium of expression, though its degree of dominance is by no means so easily established.

The situation can, then, be usefully seen as dichotomous. The present concern is further an enquiry into the establishment of relationships between the generalised sections of the dichotomy. That these relationships involve bilingualism, which can to a large degree

be viewed objectively, and the artistic process, which largely cannot, need not deter their being taken together. Indeed we will try to show that these factors interact sufficiently closely so as to be of almost equal importance in relation to the total process of literary effort.

It is suggested that one of these relations is the restriction of freedom of selection of linguistic material according to the individual's state of bilingualism. More attention will be given to this major relation in the succeeding discussion.

Such an overt invocation of non-literary criteria in a consideration of certain aspects of a literary tradition is seen as justified in view of the heuristic nature of the present study. It is fully realised that such criteria have no immediate place in a system of literary value judgements, but for the time being such judgements are carefully kept in a secondary position. What is under discussion is the sociolinguistic¹¹ environment of a literary tradition and its effects manifested in the literature. The social nature of language has already been asserted; that the linguistic manifestation here designated 'literature' is subject to the same law is similarly posited.

'Literature' is fortunately an extensive term and it has in part been chosen for its inclusiveness. Here it will be taken to be synonymous with 'imaginative writing'.¹² The term allows the exclusion of non-fictional writing by Africans, which, though it may prove a fruitful field of research, is excluded by virtue of its employment of forms of the language which are predominantly non-literary.

Scholarly work such as Dr. Kenneth Dike's Trade and Politics in the

Niger Delta: 1830-1835¹³, to take a random example, exhibits many excellences, but its motivation is non-literary and it cannot therefore be taken in conjunction with works of a different motivation. This is not to suggest that scholarly works are never 'literary' in the popular sense of the word, but only that the value judgement implied in it is not our concern. It is, moreover, held that 'literary' in that sense is more vague than the more usual definitions of literature. It does not, that is to say, refer to forms of writing, but draws on the socially accepted excellence of creative writing to imply a value judgement regarding linguistic performance.¹⁴

Critical value judgements of linguistic excellence are not, the writer hastens to add, discounted here. What is, however, suggested is that such value judgements are more valid if based on an examination of the complex language environment. As linguistic change can be said overtly to add a new dimension to literary language, so it can be said to add covertly a new dimension to critical criteria. It has been suggested that this dimension is that of bilingualism and that the writer in West Africa can be seen, at least in part, as the bilingual individual. Furthermore, such a view permits a study of literature more complete than it is normally our fortune to be able to make. We are in such a case confronted with an aspect of literary creation, presenting itself for a degree of objective study - a valuable encounter in literary study! - interacting with, and even forming, one which is less observable. It is conceivable that the psycholinguists will make this less true, but at present the fact remains that in a consideration of literary achievement in a mono-

lingual situation we are as yet confounded by the mystery of the creative process. And, awestruck, even the artist must stand by.

It has been suggested above that what Hill refers to as 'unchecked subjectivity',¹⁵ is not enough if it is seen as the only valid criterion for literary analysis. It fits comfortably, it is true, with the mystery, a mystery almost sacred. The creative writer, it has been said, is the best of all intuitive linguists. The brilliant leaps of such a man as Empson to the penetrating linguistic conclusion pay only casual court to the ordinary tools of the linguist. Generally, we cannot follow suit. Linguistics offers our tortoise to his hare, perhaps, but it is perhaps ultimately more valid in its potentially universal accessibility. This is true in monolingual situations. It is doubly true when the situation is bilingual, where linguistics has already ventured ahead in compiling a considerable body of information. Weinreich's assertion that 'the bilingual speaker is the ultimate locus of language contact',¹⁶ is a further maxim to our study. The bilingual is seen to exhibit certain factors pertinent to his performance as a bilingual writer.

Bilingualism is here taken to denote the use of two languages and it is seen as a variable. The degree to which the individual is able to employ more than one language will depend on a number of factors, both more widely sociolinguistic, including historical influences, and those peculiar to the individual's own circumstances. The terms monolingual¹⁷ and multilingual are respectively used to denote the user's possession of one language for all areas of his social activity and his degrees of ability in using more than two languages.

This last will be seen as involving further complexities of sociolinguistic inter-relations and it is by no means a rare phenomenon in West Africa. However, bilingualism, as used here, is seen as a feature more commonly applicable to the corpus here examined. Furthermore, even the multilingual writer has one language other than English which is dominant over his other languages and this will play a correspondingly more emphatic part in his performance than the less dominant, or lower, languages at his command.¹⁸ It is not denied that individuals maintaining equal states of bilingualism in two or more languages, bilingual balance, exist. However, they are rare, and they do not include those to be discussed here.¹⁹ It is to be hoped that sufficient light on a bilingual creative situation, just as it has been suggested that it may illuminate the mysteries of monolingual creative activity, will also clarify the greater complexities of the multilingual state. To emphasise this is merely to emphasise the heuristic nature of this study.

An early factor to be taken into account is the individual's aptitude for learning a second language. As Weinreich has pointed out, aptitude does not imply innate ability, though this may or may not exist, but rather early environment and opportunity.²⁰

According to some, early bilingualism has an adverse effect on language learning ability. Spoerl, however, in her investigation of 69 bilingual first year college students compared to a monolingual control group found that they were rather more successful in their command of English than the monolinguals.²¹ Similarly Malherbe's investigation in South Africa of English- and Afrikaans-speaking

bilinguals revealed no disadvantages for the bilinguals when they were compared to monolinguals in terms of their academic achievement. Indeed, they demonstrated a higher range of success academically. He also pointed out that far from being restricted, a fear commonly voiced with regard to bilingualism, his bilinguals showed up rather more favourably at all levels of intelligence tested. Leopold also produces evidence both for and against bilingualism, but concludes that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages.²² The evidence is, perhaps, still inconclusive, but one would venture to suggest that further research into the subject would substantiate such findings rather than disprove them. Indeed Stern, in his study of the role of foreign languages in primary education, points out that far from having an adverse effect on intelligence his tests indicate the opposite. No one is fully aware of the real dangers, educationally speaking, of bilingualism, nor does anyone know, by the same token, its advantages.²³ Research into the subject is urgently needed if the position is to be clarified. On the evidence available at the moment, however, it would seem safe to regard such factors as neutral in importance. They are also marginal to the present study in that one can safely assume comparatively high levels of intelligence and linguistic facility on the part of creative writers.

Such questions as those raised by Berry and Cheavens²⁴ with regard to the position of the indigenous language in education are certainly factors relevant to the individual performance, particularly with respect to the language learnt first, but they predate our interests somewhat in that we are here concerned with already existent states of

bilingualism. Nonetheless, it is germane to our purpose to examine certain additional factors which are generally applicable to the bilingual's performance in the L2.

Of the foremost importance is that ability termed the 'switching facility' by Weinreich.

The individual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. If he does include expressions from another language, he may mark them off explicitly as "quotations" by quotation marks in writing and by special voice modifications (slight pause, change in tempo, and the like) in speech. There is reason to suspect that considerable individual differences exist between those who have control of their switching, holding it close to the ideal pattern, and those who have difficulty switching or maintaining codes as required. Theoretically one could visualise two types of deviation from the norm: one on the direction of excessively rigid adherence to a language, and the other in the direction of insufficient adherence to one language in a constant speech situation.²⁵

This passage admirably states a great part of the case, though we would enlarge in one important respect. Whereas Weinreich includes 'topics' under his criteria of language switching, we should add that ideal bilingualism implies a comparable number of forms of the language matched to social roles, registers,²⁶ to that of a monolingual speaker of either language involved. The switching from a language according to topic should only be seen as commensurate with ideal bilingualism insofar as, the interlocutor being constant, that speech situation does not have adequate register provision in the

language from which the user has switched. Ideal bilingualism would therefore mean bilingual balance, or ambilingualism.²⁷ Whenever the bilingual has to switch languages for reasons arising from his own register range, the total number of registers in the language from which he has to choose, he lapses from the ideal.²⁸ It is rare for absolute bilingual balance to exist if only for the reason that in given situations the Bloomfieldian concept of dominant or lower language holds good.²⁹ Bilingual balance supposes an equivalent control of registers in either language, and therefore a wide range of speech situations in which the user employs both languages. However, since situations may differ from culture to culture such register ranges may not correspond at more than a few points. The individual differences ranging from keeping languages entirely separate, such that the user has two discrete systems, like Rosetti's Transylvanian lady who could not translate one language to another,³⁰ to great difficulty in keeping the languages separate, characteristic of states of bilingualism less than ideal, are extremes worth exploring. The Transylvanian lady exhibits a remarkable trait which can be described as bilingual, certainly, but only in the sense that she possesses two linguistic systems. It is more fruitful for our purposes to work from the other extreme towards states of lessening mixture. Such degrees of 'relative proficiency' in one or the other language are fairly easily observed in the bilingual's performance.³¹

The pattern that emerges thus far is, therefore, that the bilingual state can be seen to operate according to a scale dependent upon the individual's bilingual performance. For the purposes of this study

such a scale is seen to constitute a 'cline of linguistic westernisation' after Kachru's use of the concept of the 'cline of bilingualism' in his useful studies of Indian English.³² That the cline here described differs from Kachru's in several respects will be shown in the ensuing argument together with a discussion of the reasons for adopting 'linguistic westernisation' rather than 'bilingualism' for some purposes.

The first difference lies in its 'ranking' of the bilingual performers, hereafter also referred to as 'writers', in relation to their relative proficiency in the language. Kachru writes:

The cline of bilingualism may be divided into three 'measuring points'. These are the zero point, the central point, and the ambilingual point. The zero point is the bottom point on the axis. It is crucial in the sense that it provides us with the starting point on the axis. This, however, is not the end point at the bottom. In India it is not rare to find some people with some competence in English (or in some restricted form of English), and yet, in their overall faculty to use the language they may rank below the zero point. (For instance, the users of Baboo English, or Butler English - which is also called Kitchen English). In many cases the proficiency of the users of such forms is not only insufficient, but it also results in such forms of English as are not intelligible to the users of educated Indian English.³³

Though we would prefer the term 'relative proficiency' to 'proficiency' and as the corollary ask 'Insufficient for what?', we are in general agreement with the form of the cline suggested by Kachru. However, we should like to point out that the use of the word 'point', though the cline is described as arbitrary,³⁴ is not an

arbitrary term. It indicates a greater exactness of description of the bilingual's relative proficiency than is in fact possible without detailed individual testing to fix these positions. Indeed, such points are better visualised as overlapping circles covering inclusive areas on the cline.

It would, for example, be difficult to decide ascendancy on the cline on these terms between two hypothetical bilinguals one of whom is in perfect control of one register, mentioned by Kachru as characteristic of Indian civil servants, and the other who has less of a command, but one nevertheless adequate for a number of given situations, of more than one register. Such individuals are likely to be more or less proficient bilinguals according to the situations in which they find themselves. Such arbitrary points are therefore seen as zones of bilingualism, overlapping along the cline.

At the extreme end-zone of the cline which could be for purely descriptive reasons be termed 'upper' - that is to say towards the ambilingual ideal - would range those bilinguals able to move at will along the cline since their states of bilingualism can be said to be inclusive of all other states of bilingualism on the cline. Kachru's zero point would, in keeping with this, be seen as a baseline of bilingualism, since the minimal zone at the descriptively 'lower' end of the cline would overlap below it.

Regarding the lower end-point of the cline Kachru writes:

An English-speaking bilingual who ranks just above the zero point is considered a minimal bilingual. Such bilinguals may have some knowledge of the written and/or spoken mediums

of English, but they will not be considered proficient in the language (as, for example, the competence of postmen or travel guides in India).³⁵

However, this will not serve for the present study. In the same way the more usual use of the term 'minimal bilingualism' proposed by Haugen as beginning at the production of 'complete meaningful utterances' will not serve.³⁶ This sense of the term has the disadvantage of being too vague a measure for the present purposes. Quite apart from the difficulties inherent in a debate of the linguistic definitions of 'complete' and 'meaningful', applicable to one grunted bound morpheme in the final reduction,³⁷ such a term will not usefully operate here since it implies a position far below the lowest state of bilingualism to be considered. Kachru's zero point is similarly lower on the cline, which can be visualised as extending downwards to such a point as Haugen's lower than our base-line of bilingualism. At the lowest point on the present cline the bilingual performer, as in the case of the Onitsha novelettes to be considered later, has been educated in English to a level at least approximately equivalent to Standard Six in the secondary school. That is to say that he has a greater control of the language in both spoken and written modes than Kachru's minimal point implies.

'Minimal bilingualism' as used here is therefore seen as above the zones of bilingualism indicated by the uses of the term mentioned above. Writers of minimal bilingualism according to the cline have a comparatively high relative proficiency in both the spoken and written modes of the second language, English. That is to say that they have sufficient control of all linguistic levels of the language.

Further, since this study is concerned with manifestations of the written language we assume a control of the interlevel of graphology as self-evident.³⁸ Such control of the linguistic levels of the language, again, varies in proportion to the writer's relative position on the cline. However, no attention will be paid here to deviation from the norm at the interlevel of graphology, since deviation in this respect is largely attributable to error rather than to diatopic/diachronic dialectal differentiation. A full study of the phonology of spoken English in West Africa is urgently needed, but is not our concern here.³⁹

In keeping with our assertion that complete bilingual balance, or ambilingualism, is too exceptional for our purposes, though we may retain it as the theoretically ideal upper periphery of the upper end-zone of the cline, those writers ranged towards the uppermost end of the cline will be described as being in the maximal zone of bilingualism.

The bilingual writer's position in relation to the cline similarly depends on his control of the registers of the language, which may be defined, after Fowler, as the varieties of the language determined by the habitual co-occurrence of certain formal features with particular contextual features.⁴⁰ This use of the term is deliberately more inclusive than the precise uses of the same term suggested by Strang and others, and serves as a general term for the varieties of the language determined according to situational use.⁴¹ A more delicate sub-classification of register will become necessary later.

Further, the writer's control of restricted languages is relevant, though it should be remembered that such registers are characteristically

restricted to a highly limited number of formal items and patterns and that they admit little or no dialectal, even idiolectal, differentiation. The accepted examples at the one extreme^{are} the International Language of the Air, and the bidding language of contract bridge. The registers such as the 'legal', 'civil service', 'official documents' and the like. They are less restricted than the two examples just cited, but they are nonetheless restrictive of dialectal differentiation and therefore seen as restricted languages. A restricted language is thus that type of register in which the habitually co-occurrent formal and contextual features are most narrowly defined.⁴²

Such concepts are possible since in a general classification of dialectal varieties, as Catford has pointed out, 'we confine ourselves to a consideration of situational correlates which are constants in language situations. These constants are (i) the performer (speaker or writer), (ii) the addressee (hearer or reader), and the medium in which the text is presented'⁴³

Along the dimension of diatypic variation, 'mode of discourse', the spoken or the written medium, is here generally confined to a consideration of its written component.⁴⁴ The consideration is, therefore, confined to that area of situation variation suggested under 'writing' in Gregory's sub-categorisation of the contextual category mode of discourse, corresponding to the situational category of the 'user's medium relationship'; that is the performance or production of manifestations of the written mode 'to be spoken as if not written', as in drama, 'to be spoken', and 'not necessarily to be spoken', under which again there is suggested 'to be read as if head/overheard' and 'to be

read'. That is to say that the relation of the performer to the cline is threefold in that it depends on both a performer/addressee relationship and a performer/medium relationship as well as the narrower 'purposive role' implied by the contextual category, 'field of discourse'.⁴⁵ The performer's position in relation to the zones of the cline, therefore, depends upon his relative proficiency in the control of these relationships.

The performer, the writer, also maintains a dual relationship to the cline in his performance at the levels of grammatical/lexical form and context, where context is taken to mean 'the correlations of formally described linguistic features, groupings of such features within texts and abstracted from them, with those situational features constantly recurrent and relevant to the understanding of language events'.⁴⁶ The performance is thus placed relative to the performer's proficiency in establishing contextual relations, 'the relationship of grammatical or lexical items to linguistically relevant elements in the situations in which the items operate as, or in, texts'.⁴⁷ If the performance entails changing items in the text, where they would not occur habitually in the performance of the user with English as a mother tongue (EL1), which is here taken as the working norm, and the language situation remains constant, and no general diatopic distinction is apparent, the performer is said to lapse into the zone below his on the cline, or, indeed, if such failure of establishing relations is habitual he would be ranked on the cline according to the degree of deviation from the norm at the interlevel of context visualised as linking situation and (grammatical/lexical) form.⁴⁸

Useful here also is the concept 'contextual unit' drawing upon the notion of context of situation after Malinowski and Firth, defined by Kachru as 'an abstraction on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Syntagmatically it was viewed as having definite end-points in the time dimension, and paradigmatically it comprised bundles of 'features' which were termed the Contextual Parameters. Where 'the contextual parameters were tentatively defined (following Firth in a private conversation in August, 1960) as those formal and contextual variables which determine the effective operation of a text in a contextual unit'.⁴⁹ The relevant formal and contextual features being determined by simple commutation.

It emerges, therefore, that the relationship of the performer to the cline is fixed according to performance at the level of form and in particular at the interlevel of context. The main body of deviations distinguishing the bilingual's performance from that of an L1 user⁵⁰ lies along this dimension of context, one end-point of which is seen to be at situation substance, the particular instances of which may differ from those situations commonly met with in an L1 environment either in frequency of occurrence or in being peculiar to the new environment alone, and the other end-point is discerned at form, where the greatest deviation will be observable in the borrowing of lexical items from indigenous languages, all L1 interference, including the transference of L1 collocations (proverbs, etc.) for literary purposes, with their resultant influence on deviation at levels of both grammar and lexis, to be examined later.⁵¹

The ranking of the bilingual writer's performance, as has been

mentioned, also depends on his control of register. It will be seen that the writer's choice of the correct register varies in direct proportion to his register range, the total number of registers in the L2 possessed by him. It will be seen further that a restricted register range entails a restricted 'register choice'. The limitation of L2 registers does not, naturally, presuppose a limited experience of situations on the part of the performer, but only that he may select a register for a contextual unit inappropriate in terms of the usage of an L1 user of the language. Such an occurrence may be a mistake in which case the choice is said to be the result of 'register confusion',⁵² or it may occur on a sufficiently wide scale to make it reasonable to say that a form in English as L1 (EL1) has been reassigned in English as the secondary language (EL2) either to a different contextual unit than in EL1 or to include more than one contextual unit in EL1 in place of the features of those units in EL1. A fuller discussion of this feature of recontextualisation is to be found in later chapters of this study.

Also of importance is the concept 'tenor of discourse', which refers to the performer/addressee relationship, the degree of formality or informality between the participants. The selection of the proper degree of formality will also depend on the performer's register range.⁵³

The ranking of bilingual writers on the cline is more widely established according to a further dimension of sociolinguistic determinants. Such determinants are seen in simple relationship to one another. For example, Weinreich points out the importance of the

factors of 'order and age of learning', 'usefulness in communication', 'function in social advance', 'literary-cultural value' and the 'dominance configuration' of the L2.⁵⁴

As Berry pointed out, at a recent conference at Fourah Bay College:

The principal linguistic fact about Africa is surely its multilingualism. Not only in the sense that the number of languages spoken is large but, more significantly, that in almost every community, certainly in every urban centre, two or more languages exist in a kind of symbiosis each bearing part of the communicative burden. Most cosmopolitans find it necessary to use more than one language regularly.⁵⁵

Elsewhere, Berry makes similar observations when considering the role of the indigenous languages nationally and educationally. However, though he points out that all cultured individuals need at least one other language and that they need not be ambilingual in that language, it would seem that his remark regarding the cosmopolitanism of the individual is relevant only to a restricted social class, or it speculates so far into the future that it has no meaning. What is overlooked is, perhaps, that the West African bilingual is less concerned with his cosmopolitanism, which will be the attribute of a select group in every society, than he is with the brute reality of social advance, and education in a modern world.

The problems entailed in the adaptation of the indigenous languages to these roles are immense and it will take more than the 'team of linguists' recommended by the Conference of Negro Writers and Artists at Rome to make it otherwise, as the experiences of those involved in

legislating about the Turkish and 'New Norwegian' languages have demonstrated.⁵⁶ The Turkish experience attained an adoption of less than 50% of the 'modern' and scientific items adopted by decree into the Turkish language⁵⁷ and the Norwegian experience has been less to solve the difficulties of having two languages than to create a third. Indeed, it would seem that it is already too late in the case of languages such as Yoruba, where the amount of English used by the educated speaker seems to increase according to the specialisation of the register being used.⁵⁸

However, the great emotional attachment to the language learned first can hardly be in doubt.⁵⁹ Indeed, it is almost a truism, as is its consequent importance in the bilingual performance of the individual. The situation is further complicated when, as in Africa and Asia, bilingualism, or as in India, even multilingualism, is a question of governmental policy, and the only means to social advancement educationally, and therefore professionally and socially. Stewart, in his suggestions for a linguistic typology for multilingualism mentions two of the ways in which such governmental intervention is implemented.⁶⁰ It can take the form of the elimination by education and decree of all but one language which is used for official and general purposes, that is to say, induced monolingualism;⁶¹ or the support of nationally important languages supplemented by the use of one or more languages for official purposes and for use across language boundaries. The Anglophone countries of West Africa are in the latter category, though their situation is perhaps a little more extreme. It is true that Hausa has considerable status in Northern Nigeria, where

all government officers were expected to learn it and take examinations in it even in colonial days, and Yoruba is encouraged as a subject of study at 'Ordinary' level in the West African School Certificate and at university level, but for the most part the concern has been with the problems arising from a multiplicity of indigenous languages in the new nations all of them exacting allegiance from their L1 user and all of them requiring some large degree of adaptation to the needs of a modern society. It is also true that in the registers of higher specialisation borrowing increases to a level at which a high relative proficiency in EL2 is assumed. So great is this degree of borrowing that writers such as Rowlands have indicated a dim future for the indigenous languages in a rapidly modernising society.

The situation is rendered more complex when one reduces it from the national level to the individual bilingual manifestation, for in addition to such official *linguae francae*⁶² serving cross-cultural purposes, other *linguae francae* may exist within the same community on a significantly wide scale. EL2 is seen as crossing national boundaries as well as those of language, but it is not alone in this for, as recent investigations have indicated, there exists in West Africa a form of Pidgin-English, known as West African Pidgin (WAP), which exhibits the characteristics of a dialect continuum within West Africa.⁶³ It is interesting to speculate on what could well be at least one uniform influence on diatopic varieties of English in West Africa. However, in the absence of sufficiently wide and full description it is impossible to predict how far the diatopic varieties of English, perhaps as yet unstandardised, might themselves

prove to be arranged in a dialect continuum, within the wider continuum of the rest of the English-speaking world, established through such uniform influences as those described for WAP, or, for example, the influence of such widespread L1 similarities as those represented by the Niger-Congo language family.⁶⁴

Speculation of the kind indulged in here is, of course, no more than tantalising recreation for the student of language in the absence of wide-scale, scientific description of West Africa varieties of English. It is not too much to hope that the recently instituted survey of English and French in West Africa under the aegis of the West African Linguistics Association and The Dictionary of West African English, in preparation at the University of Ibadan, will in time throw light on such questions as these. Though this event is still some distance in the future, it would seem that there are some grounds for considering writers in the upper zones on the cline as a group of a certain homogeneity. One can possibly define a group in terms of common relationships to the cline throughout Anglophone West Africa. It was suggested in Part I of this study that this is so for historical reasons. For example, similarities in education arising from similar educational traditions, including teaching under missionary and later education systems, as well as the training of teachers in these traditions; whether or not the writer has lived in an ELL country; or attended a university where the medium of instruction is English (before 1948 this would mean Fourah Bay College, or a university in Britain or the United States, a much narrower common factor than it is now possible to discern). The question also arises of a common

literary experience of EL1, particularly the study of 'great works' of English literature inherited with the language, a factor the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. It is perhaps the most powerful single force towards uniformity in the literary language as employed in West Africa. Of similar importance are the socio-historical factors governing the types and nature of contact with EL2 which were outlined earlier. Such similar relationships certainly exist and justify, in themselves, our taking together authors from outside Nigeria wherever needful. Since these writers are without exception held to be in the upper zones on the cline, their parallel relationships are taken to be established upon a statement of the individual relationship, as the present argument shall from time to time require. It is possible, too, that such similar relationships can at some later time and place, be demonstrated to indicate potential standardising forces controlling dialectal differentiation on the diatopic plane without, we would hazard, entirely eradicating it. But in this we leave the realm of demonstrable relationships for the headier ambience of speculation.

In English-speaking West Africa those factors designated by Weinreich 'usefulness in communication' and 'function in social advance' very largely overlap, since EL2 is both the language of wider communication and the medium of education, government and administration.⁶⁵

'Literary-cultural value' as an element of prestige also applies to the position of EL2 in West Africa. However, it occupies a rather different place to that envisaged by Weinreich with regard to German

among German-Swiss bilinguals. For, whereas 'culture' and the study of 'great writers' is similarly in West Africa 'practically synonymous with bilingualism',⁶⁶ a new dimension has been added in that in West Africa this feeling informs a desire to adapt the language to a distinctly separate cultural identity. The attitude is rather that a language of such proven literary value and stability is an asset to be welcomed, but that it can be profitably redefined in literary terms to convey a departure from the models it presents. The literary models are points of departure rather than nuclei for conformity.

This move to adapt EL2 to a specifically 'African' character, particularly those seeking this 'Africanness' in an adaptation into EL2 of an African Ll, either by literal translation as has been suggested, or by syntactical experimentation such as that of Okara, can be seen in the first place as a tacit admission of the difficulties involved in the use of an Ll, and in the second place as indicative of the powerful transference of the emotional and cultural ties of a dominant Ll. It voices the frustration following upon the circumstantial subjugation of a dominant language. History, even accident, may have given the English language to the West African, it may even have given the language a certain dominance, but it did not, and could not, destroy the more profound attachments to a dominant Ll. Nonetheless, English remains the dominant language of literary creation and criticism.⁶⁷

With respect to the ranking of the West African bilingual writer in relation to the cline, an additional aspect of the performer/addressee relationship, a constant already mentioned above, remains to

be considered. It is, namely, that the addressee is often, in the present situation, a monolingual in EL1 and the bilingual takes this into account in his performance. Weinreich cites Braun on 'bilingual constraint' (Partnertzwang), the tendency to limit interference from the L1 or even to eliminate L1 borrowings already habitual in EL2 in deference to the addressee.⁶⁸ How far the possible European readership influences literary expression in EL2 is largely a matter of conjecture, but it would seem that whatever its extent it is balanced either by the transferred L1 dominance mentioned above, or by the purely literary motives of style and linguistic innovation.

As early as 1913, Migeod remarked of West African writing in English:

Unlike, however, the writings of the Mohammedan natives of West Africa, these works are less addressed to their own people than to Europeans. The Hausa, Mandingo, or Fula writes in Arabic, so that other Hausas, Mandingos, or Fulas may read and understand. The idea of foreign readers never occurs to him, and he does not court their attention. The coast native writes for the instruction of Europeans in the ways of his own country, often with a very narrow outlook, as, indeed, is only to be expected. He writes for material benefit, which can in no sense be said to be the aim of the Mohammedan writer.⁶⁹

Migeod put the larger amount of Arabic writing in his day down to a refusal to compromise with regard to his religion on the part of the Arabic writer - that is to say that his L2 obtained a greater dominance from its close connection with his religion and his more militant socio-religious outlook.⁷⁰ Indeed, Migeod, as we have seen, saw the survival of the English language in West Africa as a matter of

doubt, and though he has been shown to have been unduly pessimistic, at least one aspect of the situation as he saw it has only recently changed. Until quite recently, the West African writer has mainly had a European readership in mind. Tutuola, indeed, has come under his heaviest fire from those who have felt that African writers were being read for the wrong reasons in Europe. But Achebe writing on 'The Novelist as Teacher', referred not to the European audience, but to an increasing readership at home.⁷¹ While Ekwensi, with the cry 'Who the hell is Martin Tucker to be telling Nigerian writers what they should be writing about?' went into battle against that gentleman to make the changing attitude emphatically apparent in disputing the right to make novels 'topical' with regard to the present African experience.⁷²

This change has been accelerated both by an increasing national literacy and by the establishment of branches of many of the large British publishing houses in Nigeria and Ghana, with offices in Sierra Leone and the Gambia.⁷³ The fact that not very long ago the West African writer had to seek his publisher overseas had not a little to do with his orientation to his readership. There was a time in the late 1950's when the novels of Chinua Achebe were available in London, but not distributed even in Nigeria. This has undoubtedly been supplemented by the establishment of first-class bookshops, not so laden with tracts as has been the tradition, in connection with the new universities.

Symptomatic, also, has been the growth of university courses in both traditional and modern African literature, such as those at the

University of Ibadan and many of the other English-speaking universities of Africa. The inclusion of works by Africans in secondary school leaving syllabuses has also gone some way to gaining their acceptance as examples of an distinct branch of English literature, though in this case one tends to suspect a degree of lip-service to the principle of selecting texts of regional interest.⁷⁴

Some survival of the attention to the outside readership is still to be seen in the glossaries appended to such novels as Nzekwu's Wand of Noble Wood, Ike's Toads for Supper and Soyinka's The Interpreters,⁷⁵ widely different though these works are in other respects. However, with the possible exception of the first of these, which is perhaps in this sense something of an anachronism in West African fiction, a change in attitudes is again to be detected. Some glossing will always be necessary where cultural gaps have to be bridged within multilingual and multicultural nations, or between African nations. A foreign audience, or, better, a wide audience, is the desire of every writer who feels he has something to say or simply wants to make a living by the means he is fortunate to possess. Need we extend the perverse Western idea that it is better for the artist to starve, provided he gets rich in old age, to West Africa? The difference apparent is, notwithstanding, that this readership is now welcome on the writer's own terms rather than on the rather fortuitous opposite accorded him by recent history. Glossaries, 'cushioning',⁷⁶ and the like have become necessary to fill a cultural and linguistic gap, and rather than revealing a foreign allegiance, they indicate the few concessions made in the actual writing. The constant factor of the

addressee relationship must here, as always, be borne in mind, though the inhibitions of 'bilingual constraint' are seen as less powerful than might be supposed at first. That it does, on the other hand, restrict deviation within bounds of intelligibility in the wider English-speaking world, can hardly be doubted.

Closely related with respect to the performer is the consideration of cultural allegiance, which may influence ranking according to the cline in that the dominance of a culture has the corollary of the dominance of the language seen as synonymous with it in the mind of the performer. Lewis in a survey of the factors affecting the reception of a foreign or second language as the official language of a speech community⁷⁷ observes:

A bilingual or multilingual person may acquire the distinct cultures related to the languages he speaks - co-existent cultures - just as in some forms of bilingualism the two linguistic systems are kept entirely separate so the two cultures may be kept apart ... This kind of co-existent culture may indeed be possible for only a very few - those who can preserve a sufficient critical detachment from both ... Or the individual retains his firm attachment to his original culture and simply 'entertains', as it were, the 'possibilities' of the alternative cultures.⁷⁸

Similarly, the result may be a synthesis of two cultures or, in the case of the minimal bilingual, little or no synthesis may be achieved at all.⁷⁹ Indeed, this is simply to emphasise the graduated nature of the bilingual performer's relationship to the cline along a scale of acculturation in a second culture (C2) as well as along the dimension of relative performance so closely involved with it.

Further, a writer placed on the cline is free to move at will down it, since the inclusiveness of the zones on the cline is seen to increase in proportion to their proximity to the maximal zone. Indeed, a writer may choose to select from a zone lower than his for literary purposes. But, his freedom to do so varies directly in proportion to his own position. That is to say that the writer's relationship to the dimensions of the cline has direct bearing on the forms of the language that he will use, that is on his style.⁸⁰ The cline as set up, therefore, for bilingual performers in the literary effort is also seen to involve choice in that divergence from the norm in such a situation is dual in its nature. It may be non-deliberate, that is as already divided into deviation and mistake, or it may be deliberate, hereinafter 'experiment'.⁸¹

The cline here employed as the central working hypothesis thus differs from Kachru's for Indian English. Moreover, care must be taken to avoid evaluative implications of the cline. The nature of the cline is tripartite in its dimensions of bilingualism, acculturation and literary choice. It is therefore proposed that the cline shall also be designated the 'cline of linguistic westernisation',⁸² since in addition to the above factors the norms are those of ELL, linguistically, and/or culturally. It is emphasised that the cline is in no way set up to indicate social status or desirability of usage. It seeks to indicate already existent states of bilingualism and acculturation. It does not seek to assign any goal or 'ideal' zone on the cline for literary creation.

It now remains to suggest, by way of example, certain rankings for

particular writers on the cline. Such writers are, at this stage, chosen for their illumination of zones of linguistic westernisation rather than for their conformity to any scale of literary judgement values. That such ranking should be seen from time to time to be in agreement with a subjective ranking according to literary excellence is for the time being regarded as fortuitous.

An evaluative judgement would only arise where two authors might represent the same degree of illumination of zones on the cline. In such an event either the work generally considered to be of greater literary significance will be chosen or both will be used.

The greater concentration is here placed around the central and end zones on the cline, where the distinctions between performers in each case are seen as fine and therefore more suitable for abstraction. Representatives deemed typical are here selected for these zones. Writers considered later in this study will be assigned relative positions on the cline as they are mentioned in the discussion. The selection is further limited to writers of prose fiction,⁸³ though other genres will be drawn upon from time to time for further evidence and support. The reasons for the exclusion from investigation of the language of West African poetry, drama and newspaper sources set out in Chapter One, however, continue to hold.⁸⁴ For purposes of illustration, brief biographical outlines of the selected representatives for the three exemplifying zones on the cline are included here. Apart from this, however, such biographical details which may from time to time be relevant are mentioned in the argument.

Arbitrarily starting with the 'upper' or maximal zone on the cline,

the Nigerian novelist, dramatist and poet Wole Soyinka and the Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe, are put forward as representatives of maximal linguistic westernisation.

Soyinka was born at Abeokuta,⁸⁵ Western Nigeria, one of the earliest places in West Africa, outside Sierra Leone, to make a western education available to its citizens. He was educated in Abeokuta, and later at University College, Ibadan, and Leeds University where he graduated with Honours in English Language and Literature in 1958. He has been a Research Fellow in Drama at the University of Ibadan, Senior Lecturer and Acting Head of the Department of English in the University of Lagos, and was lately appointed Director of the School of Drama, University of Ibadan, though he has been imprisoned since the start of the present Nigerian civil war for political reasons.

Soyinka is, perhaps, best known at home and overseas as a playwright and poet and for his dramatic company, 1960 Masks. Latterly he has published his first novel, The Interpreters. He has travelled very widely both in Europe and the United States and has spent some time at the Royal Court Theatre in London. His first language is Yoruba.

Achebe is from Ogidi near Onitsha in Eastern Nigeria. He was educated at Government College, Umuahia, and at University College, Ibadan, where he took an honours degree in English language and literature, one of the first to do so there. He has published four novels, several short stories and a great many reviews and articles. From 1954 until the present crisis, Achebe worked for the Nigerian Broadcasting

Corporation where he rose to be Director of External Broadcasting. He has travelled widely in both America and Europe. His first language is Igbo, Onitsha dialect.

Both these writers exhibit social histories indicative of a high potential linguistic westernisation as well as great facility and innovation in performance. They are therefore placed in the maximal zone of the cline. Their ranking with respect to each other need not concern us here, since such distinctions as can be made are fine and of a low contrastive value.

Taking next a zone of linguistic westernisation rather below this on the cline we select two writers for their illustration of an important fact: that performance can be seen to vary whereas potential linguistic westernisation may not, at least ostensibly.

Cyprian Ekwensi was born in Minna, Northern Nigeria, and was educated in Ibadan, Ghana and London, where he studied pharmacology. He taught science at the secondary school level, and worked as a journalist until he joined the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation where he rose to become Head of Features. Thereafter, until the present crisis, he was Director of Information in the Federal Ministry of Information at Lagos. He was born in 1921. His primary L1 is Igbo.

Onuora Nzekwu was born at Kafanchan, Northern Nigeria. He worked first as a teacher and then as Assistant Editor, during Michael Crowder's editorship, on Nigeria Magazine, later becoming editor, a position he retained until the present crisis in Nigeria. Nzekwu was born in 1928. His primary language is Igbo.

Both these writers appear to exhibit a high degree of potential linguistic westernisation. This is particularly true of Ekwensi with his long stay (six or seven years) in Britain. However, as will be shown in the later chapters of this study, they demonstrate a significantly lower relative proficiency in performance, particularly along the dimension of register control. Both can be said to have been exposed more to the restricted languages of journalism than to the literary language. In Ekwensi's case there is also the exposure to the restricted languages of science, and in Nzekwu's to that of anthropology, to be taken into account. This is particularly interesting when compared to the high density of exposure to English as a literary language entailed by the university courses in English language and literature read by Achebe and Soyinka. This is especially true of the latter who read for a further degree in an ELL situation at an English university.

The problems of ranking here revealed by the cases of Ekwensi and Nzekwu are, however, quite in keeping with the plural nature of the cline and the inclusiveness of the zones on the cline. It is further seen as less of a problem when it is recalled that the nature of the performance under consideration is that concerned in literary creation, which is but one aspect of the performer's total linguistic performance.

We consider next the minimal end-zone of the cline. Those writers selected as representative in the present terms of reference are Amos Tutuola and Speedy Eric.

Tutuola, born at Abeokuta in 1920, received a minimum of formal education in the English language. He trained as a blacksmith and

during the Second World War joined the Royal Air Force as a copper-smith at Lagos, having given up the forge which was damaging his sight. After the war he worked as a storekeeper for the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation later moving in the same capacity to the N.B.C. in Ibadan, where he still works.

Tutuola places the order of his motivations for writing as to teach the folklore of his people, and to communicate 'feelings', though this last has been only modestly realised. Significantly, the audience is the foreign one, since he feels it to be more tolerant of his use of English than his countrymen. Yet, on seeing the Ogunmola Travelling Theatre's production of the dramatised version of the Palm-Wine Drinkard in Yoruba, he confessed himself acutely aware of the inadequacies of English in the expression of what he was trying to say.⁸⁶

Tutuola's first language is Yoruba and it remains dominant in most situations. His potential linguistic westernisation is low in that his contact has been markedly with a restricted register range. He is said to have taken, in distress at the criticism his use of English received at home, a correspondence course in English language and J. P. Clark has pointed out the 'self-consciousness' that appears in the changes made in his English with Feather Woman of the Jungle. Indeed, Tutuola's English is judged semi-literate at all levels of Nigerian Society and children are discouraged from reading his books for this reason.⁸⁷ Since such widespread opinion would be a powerful factor in any later standardisation of the diatopic variety, we are bound to take cognizance of it.

To questioning aimed at determining the degree of L1 dominance in his writing in English, Tutuola described himself as 'thinking in Yoruba and translating into English himself'. He also emphasised the importance of writing his stories longhand to ensure continuity of contact with his reader. This would seem to indicate a conscious attention to the spoken mode, as would his insistence on the use of indirect speech as more befitting the role of a story-teller.

'Speedy Eric' is the pseudonym of A. Onwudiwe, a printer, publisher and bookseller in the great Onitsha Main Market, where he shares a ten by six stall with Highbred Maxwell, another novelette writer of wide popularity. He was educated to Standard Six in English. Eric lists his motivations for writing in the following order: (1) Money, (2) the prestige gained from being known as a writer, (3) teaching (i) a moral lesson and (ii) 'facts', the florid vocabulary characteristic of the Onitsha novelettes being expected by the readership for this reason.

Some idea of the extent to which such writers as Eric are read at the lower levels of literacy in English is gained from the knowledge that, having started with a small foot press, he runs a modern electric press, publishes novelettes written by others, and claims an annual turnover of two thousand pounds from his stall. He receives a considerable, and highly critical mailbag, mainly from secondary school pupils. Indeed, during the course of a day spent with Eric at the stall, the writer saw a very large sale of novelettes, though the stall also stocks textbooks, all of them to schoolboys. Eric's L1 is Igbo, Onitsha dialect.⁸⁸

Tutuola is included here rather for the interesting possibilities he consciously or unconsciously reveals for EL2 in West Africa. However, both he and Eric clearly indicate the difficulty to be faced in distinguishing the components of non-deliberate deviation and experiment. The former predominates and in its turn is heavily weighted on the aspect of mistake. Both are, however, imaginative writers and constitute a convenient termination of the corpus at its minimal end-zone.

Our business here has been to set up an integrated instrument for the investigation of a corpus drawn from written literary texts in a bilingual environment.⁸⁹ We do not seek to describe adequacy, or, on our discussions of different types of deviation, to state what the utterance in question should have been. We only suggest why such utterances, observably deviant from ELL, are to some extent determined to be what they are.⁹⁰ This has been possible in view of the concomitant hierarchical relationships exhibited in both relative proficiency in EL2 and its accompanying degrees of acculturation in a second culture, which may be taken to be the maintenance of two discrete cultures, a synthesis of them, comparable to bilingual balance, or varying degrees of such a synthesis. It is emphasised that the framework provided by this hypothesis is descriptive of existent relationships to the cline, and not as socially evaluative of such relationships, nor as a Procrustes bed for literary value judgements.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Cf. Young, P., 'The Language of West African Literature in English'.
2. See e.g. Firth, J. R., The Tongues of Man (1937), pp. 14-15; Speech, p. 151; both reprinted in The Tongues of Men and Speech, London, 1964; 'Personality and Language in Society' in Papers in Linguistics, 1934-1951, London, 1957, pp. 177-189. 'General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar', *ibid.*, p. 225. Cf. also Malinowski, B., 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages', Supplement I to Ogden, C. K., and I. A. Richards. The Meaning of Meaning, London, 10th edn., 1949, pp. 296-336. Greenberg, Joseph H. 'The Study of Language Contact in Africa', Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 1962, p. 167.
3. Weinreich, U., Languages in Contact (1953), reprinted The Hague, 1963, p. 79. Roberts, Murat H., 'The Problem of the Hybrid Language', Journal of English and Germanic Philology, January, 1939 pp. 23-41, especially Section II; of. Pattinson, B., 'English as a Foreign Language over the World Today', English Language Teaching: XX, 1, 1965, pp. 2-10. On the role of prestige in language choice in multilingual societies see Hunt, C. L., 'Language Choice in a Multilingual Society', International Journal of American Linguistics, 33, Part II, 4, 1967, pp. 112-125.
4. Or 'geographical dialect'. See Catford, J. C., A Linguistic Theory of Translation, London, 1965, p. 85; Gregory, M., 'Aspects of Varieties Differentiation', Journal of Linguistics, 3, No. 2., October, 1967, p. 180; Halliday, M. A. K., et al., The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, London, 1964, pp. 83-87.

5. For American English witness the early Dictionaries of Noah Webster and of Worcester; for Australian English, Baker, S. J., The Australian Language, Sydney, 1966, or Morris, E. E., Austral English, Sydney, 1898; for Indian English, Yule, H., and Burnell, A., Hobson-Jobson, London, 1886, re-issued 1968, also the studies of Braj Kachru, and G. S. Rao, cited. See also above Chapter Three, note 104.
6. Weinreich op. cit., p. 79, Note 34.
7. The writer, in the course of this research, has constantly come across scepticism, even anger, at the suggestion of a possible distinct dialect of English in West Africa. At a conference for teachers of English held at Ibadan University, in November, 1967, the point was made in the opening speech. Cf. Tomori, S. H. O., 'A Study in the Syntactic Structures of the Written English of British and Nigerian Grammar School Pupils', Ph.D., London, 1967. Also Alisjibana, S. T., 'New National Languages: A Problem Linguistics has failed to solve', Lingua, 15, 2, 1965, pp. 515-530, with regard to the same feeling in Malaya.
8. Cited Utley, Francis Lee, 'Structural Linguistics and the Literary Critic', The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XVIII, 3, March, 1960, p. 320; cf. Weinreich op. cit. p. 103.
9. After Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 71-82.
10. Ibid. pp. 79 & 98 Note. 50; Bloomfield, L., Language, New York, 1933, p. 461, where 'upper or dominant language, spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group' is extended here to include dominance in a given situation. English in West Africa might be said to come under Bloomfield's definition, but it might also be said to be excluded from certain situations where only the speakers L1 will do.

11. Weinreich, op. cit., p. 102 etc., Bright, W., ed. Sociolinguistics, The Hague and Paris, 1966, p. 11.
12. It would include, for example, much of the Onitsha Literature. For instance, the Etudo Press at Onitsha caters for a more 'literary' authorship and readership. It is excluded from general references to Onitsha and Enugu literature. See also Beier, 'Public Opinion on Lovers', op. cit.; Nwoga, D., 'Onitsha Market Literature', Transition, IV, 19, 1965, pp. 25-33.
13. Oxford, 1956.
14. After Halliday, M. A. K., 'Syntax and the Consumer', Monograph Series in Languages and Linguistics, No. 17, 1964, pp. 11-24. Chomsky, N., uses the term differently in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, and in Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar, The Hague, 1966, p. 91, where it approximates to parole just as competence may be said to be close to langue. Cf. Kachru, Braj, 'The Indianness in Indian English', Word, 21, 3, December, 1965, p. 392 and Note 14.
15. Hill, Archibald A., 'A Program for the Definition of Literature', The University of Texas Studies in English, XXXVII, 1958, p. 47.
16. Weinreich, op. cit., p. 71.
17. Ibid., p. 73 etc., and Spencer, J., 'Language in the Multilingual State' in Brosnahan, L. F. and J. W. Spencer Language and Society, Ibadan, 1962, use the term 'unilingual', for the same notion.

18. Bloomfield op. cit., p. 461. West, Michael, 'Bilingualism', English Language Teaching, XII, 3, April-June, 1958, pp. 94 ff.
19. Halliday et al., op. cit., p. 78; Stern, H. H., Foreign Languages in Primary Education, Hamburg, 1963, pp. 18-19.
20. op. cit., p. 73. Weinreich cites the work of investigators such as Ittenbach on a 'language switching mechanism ... at the edge of the Sylvian fossa and in the adjoining parietal regiona of the brain' which seems to play a part in facility of switching languages. The implications of such a powerful physiological factor are enormous and require further investigation.
21. E.g. Spoerl, Dorothy Tilden, 'Bilinguality and Emotional Adjustment', Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38, 1946, pp. 37-57, cited Weinreich p. 73. For a comparison of monolingual and bilingual performance see Leopold, Werner F., Speech Development of the Bilingual Child, Evanston, Ill., 1949, Vol. III, pp. 186-189.
22. Malherbe, E. G., The Bilingual School: A Study of Bilingualism in South Africa, London, 1946, pp. 73 & 117. He also suggests that denying the child a bilingual education and its advantages is simply side-stepping administrative complications and South Africa's 'difficulties'.
23. Stern, op. cit., p. 20. See also Carroll, John B., 'Some Psychological Considerations Relevant to Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition', Symposium, Brazzaville, 1962, pp. 103-105; Fonlon, B., 'Pour un bilinguisme de bonne heure', Abbia, 7, October, 1964, pp. 7-47.

24. Berry, J., 'Problems in the Use of African Languages and Dialects in Education', in African Languages and English in Education, Unesco, 1953, pp. 41-48. Cheavens, S. F., Vernacular Languages in Education, Ph.D., Texas, University Microfilms Pub. No. 25, 185, Ann Arbor, 1957.
25. Weinreich op. cit., pp. 73-74.
26. Halliday et al., op. cit., pp. 87-98; Catford, op. cit., p. 85, Gregory, op. cit., p. 194. See also note 40 and text here below.
27. Stern, loc. cit.; Halliday et al., op. cit., p. 78. Cf. Nida, E. A., 'The Role of Language in Contemporary Africa', Practical Anthropologist, 4, 4, 1957, pp. 122-137.
28. Cf. e. g. Kachru, Braj, 'The Indianness in Indian English', p. 396.
29. loc. cit.,
30. Rosetti, A., 'Langue mixte et mélange des langues', Acta Linguistica, 5, 1945-1949, pp. 73-79; cited Weinreich, p. 74.
31. See Malherbe, op. cit., pp. 18 ff. and Weinreich pp. 63 note 1, 75. Malherbe mentions the use of a bilingual quotient, the quotient of the proficiency scores in L1 and L2.
32. Kachru, Braj, op. cit., and 'Indian English: A Study in Contextualisation', in Bazell et al., eds., In Memory of J. R. Firth, London, 1966, pp. 255 ff. Kachru's thesis 'An Analysis of Some Features of Indian English: A Study in Linguistic Method', Ph.D., Edinburgh, 1961, was withheld on being requested by the writer who was referred to the two papers mentioned as being more up-to-date. Nida, Eugene A., 'The Role of Language in Contemporary Africa' Practical Anthropologist,

4, 4., July-August, 1957, pp. 122-137, see bilingualism as peculiar to the upper class. This is likely where the language is powerful in social advance, but it depends on opportunity - not all those who become bilingual join the 'upper' class. Once again it depends what degree of bilingualism is referred to here.

33. 'The Indianness in Indian English', pp. 393-394.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Haugen, Einar, 'Problems of Bilingualism', Lingua, 2, 1950, pp. 271-290; Diebold, A. R., 'Incipient Bilingualism', in Hymes, ed., Language in Culture and Society, London, 1964, pp. 495-506.
37. Cf. Halliday, M. A. K., 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', Word, XVII, 1961, pp. 241-292; 'General Linguistics and its Application to Language Teaching', in McIntosh, A., and M. A. K. Halliday, Patterns of Language, London, 1966, pp. 1-41. Also Enkvist, Gregory and Spencer, Linguistics and Style, p. 78, where the same demonstration is made with Othello's 'Devil!'.
38. See Halliday et al., op. cit.; Halliday and McIntosh, op. cit. The controversy regarding phonology and graphology as independent levels rather than as 'inter-levels', with the implication that they are unworthy of separate study, need not concern us here in that graphology and its concomitant orthography, are not in question. Cf. Catford, op. cit., pp. 3-4 where Form after Halliday is designated grammatical/lexical form and the disputed interlevels medium form.

39. Work in this field has been initiated through the membership of the West African Linguistics Association under a grant from the Ford Foundation. Bernard Mafeni of the University of Ibadan has, in 'Some Aspects of the Phonetics and Phonology of Nigerian Pidgin', Part II, considered the phonology of the English-based pidgin. See also Laver, John, 'Assimilation in Educated Nigerian English', English Language Teaching, XXII, 2, 1968, pp. 156-160. See also Nuttall, C. E., 'Phonological Interference of Hausa with English; a study in English as a Second language', M. A., Manchester, 1962.
40. Fowler, 'Linguistic Theory and the Study of Literature', pp. 14-15. Cf. Halliday et al., pp. 89 ff.
41. Strang, B. M. H., Modern English Structure, London, 1962, pp. 19-20.
42. Cf. Halliday et al., op. cit., p. 96.
43. Catford, op. cit., p. 84.
44. Halliday et al., op. cit., pp. 91-92; Enkvist et al., op. cit., pp. 87-88; Gregory, op. cit., p. 184.
45. Gregory, op. cit., pp. 184-185, and Diagram 3, p. 189.
46. Ibid., pp. 177-178; cf. Halliday et al., op. cit., pp. 18, 38; McIntosh and Halliday, op. cit., pp. 4 ff; Catford, op. cit., pp. 1-5, Cf, Firth, works cited, Malinowski, op. cit., Bursill-Hall, G. L., 'The Linguistic Theories of J. R. Firth', Thought, 1961, pp. 137-250, 'Level Analysis: J. R. Firth's Theories of Linguistic Analysis', JCLA/RACL, Vol. VI. Nos. 2 & 3. Halliday, M. A. K., The Language of the Chinese 'Secret History of the Mongols', Philological Society Publications. No. 17,

Oxford, 1959, pp. 13-24; Mitchell, T. F., 'The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica', Hespéris, 44, 1957, pp. 31-71. Ellis, J., 'On Contextual Meaning'; Lyons, J., 'J. R. Firth's Theory of Meaning', Kachru, Braj. op. cit., all in Bazell et al., eds., op. cit. On the terms 'contextualize' and 'contextualization', see Firth, 'The Technique of Semantics', in Papers in Linguistics, pp. 13-14. For a summary see Robins, R. H., 'J. R. Firth', Language, 37, 2, 1961, pp. 191-200.

47. Catford, op. cit., p. 36.
48. Ibid., pp. 1-5, especially p. 5; Halliday, in the works cited, and in 'Class in Relation to the Axis of Chain and Choice in Grammar', Linguistics, 2, The Hague, 1963, pp. 5-15, 'Lexis as a Linguistic Level', in Bazell et al., eds., op. cit., has supplied the greater part of the terminology here.
49. 'The Indianness in Indian English', pp. 391-392. The words in brackets are substituted for Kachru's Note 3. Cf. Catford, p. 36. On the 'context of situation' see Firth, J. R., 'Personality and Language in Society', in Papers in Linguistics, pp. 181-182; 'Modes of Meaning', *ibid.*, p. 204; The Tongues of Men (1937), reprinted in The Tongues of Men and Speech, Chapter 10, pp. 110-114. For an opposed view see Sobelman, H., review, Word; 20, 3, December, 1964, p. 440.
50. Catford, J. C., 'The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language', in Quirk, R., and A. H. Smith, The Teaching of English, London, 1959; L1 is the abbreviation for 'primary language' or 'mother tongue and L2 for 'secondary language'. It is true, of course, that L2 can operate as L1 in given situations. However, EL1 is here used where English is primary and EL2 where it is secondary. L1 and L2 are therefore released for use as general terms.

51. It is pointed out that deviation is used descriptively rather than evaluatively and denotes unusual features where ELL is the norm. Deviations are as Kachru, op. cit., p. 397 and Note 25, writes, 'explained in terms of the cultural and/or linguistic context in which a language functions.' Mistakes are such deviations as are 'rejected by a native speaker of English as out of the linguistic 'code' of the English language, and which may not be justified in (the diatopic variety) on formal and/or contextual grounds.' The section in brackets is mine. A third type of deviation considered later in this study is deliberate deviation for literary effect, experiment. Cf. also Sebeck, ed., op. cit., pp. 101-102.
52. The terms register range and register confusion, 'the use of a register bound item in another register of English where such an item is not normally used in the natively used varieties of English', are adopted after Kachru. 'Indianness', op. cit., p. 396.
53. Halliday et al., op. cit., p. 93, used 'style of discourse'; See also Enkvist et al., op. cit., pp. 88-89; Gregory, op. cit., p. 184.
54. Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 76-80.
55. Berry, Jack, 'African Languages and Linguistics', in Brokensha, D., and Michael Crowder, eds., Africa in the Wider World, London, 1967, p. 215.
56. Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, Rome, 26 March - 1 April, 1959, Présence Africaine, XXIV - XXV, Paris, 1959, p. 436.

57. See Peters, Ludwig, Grammatik der türkischen Sprache, Berlin, 1947, pp. 9-10 mentions the Congress for the 'Turkishising' of Turkish, 1934, and the Pocket Dictionary which arose from it. Only a few words were adopted into common use and slightly more into foreign language dictionaries. See Chapter 4 above.
58. I owe this information to discussion with Dr. Ayo Bamgbose and Mr. Ayo Banjo in May, 1968. Cf.; However, Parsons, F. W., 'Some Observations on the Contact between Hausa and English', Symposium, Brazzaville, 1962, on the complete acceptance of English loans into Hausa. See Note 65 below. Also Sawyer, Janet B., 'Aloofness from Spanish Influence in Texas English', Word, 15, 2, 1959, pp. 270-281, where it is pointed out (p. 270) that the permanent influence on the L1 depends on sociocultural conditions favourable to the L2.
59. Vildomec, Věroboj, Multilingualism, Leyden, 1963, demonstrates statistically, the 'relative firmness' of the language learned first (p.188). Emotional factors were markedly high in the informants' ranking of their language preferences. Vildomec's sample of 40 seems small, but Labov in the discussion following his paper 'Hypercorrection as a Factor in Linguistic Change', in Bright, ed., op. cit., p. 105, recognises the viability of samples as low as 25-30, if properly selected. See also Hall (Junior), Robert. A., 'Bilingualism and Applied Linguistics', Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, 1, 2, January, 1952, pp. 17-18; Stern, G., Meaning and Change of Meaning, London, 1931, pp. 54-56.
60. Stewart, William A., 'An Outline of a Linguistic Typology for Describing Multilingualism', in Rice ed., Study of the Role of Second Languages, Washington, 1962, pp. 15-25.

61. Spencer, John, 'Language in the Multilingual State', in Brosnahan, L. F., and J. W. Spencer, Language and Society, Ibadan, 1962, where the advantages and disadvantages of monolingualism are discussed. See also Ansre, Gilbert, 'A Study on the Official Language in Ghana', Symposium, Brazzaville, 1962, p. 217, on disadvantages. Okoreaffia, C. O., 'Multilingualism in the New Africa', pp. 125-131, particularly p. 127, on advantages.
62. The term lingua franca here refers to any language used across language boundaries where the interlocutors have no language in common. The language may or may not be pidginised. Cf. e.g. Samarin, William, Word 11, 2, 1955, in Rice, ed., op. cit., pp. 54-64; in Bright, ed., op. cit., pp. 188-213, Richardson, I., African Language Studies, II, 1961, pp. 25-36. Whiteley, W. H., 'Swahili as a lingua franca in East Africa', Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 1962, pp. 183-187; etc.
63. See Schneider, G. D., 'West African Pidgin-English - an overview: phonology-morphology', Journal of English Linguistics, I, 1967, pp. 49-56, based on field work since 1947; and Mafeni, B.O.W., op. cit., and in Spencer ed., The English Language in West Africa, forthcoming (1969); see Chapter 4 above, Note 98.
64. Greenberg, Joseph H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification, Branford, Connecticut, 1955; 'The Study of Language Contact in Africa', pp. 174-175.
65. Northern Nigeria is in some respects an exception in view of the high prestige of Hausa. All government officials before Independence were required to learn it and to pass examinations in it. This has not been the general case with other indigenous languages elsewhere in Anglophone West Africa for though the learning of African languages was encouraged, especially by the

missionary organisations, they were generally avoided as 'too difficult for Europeans'. None of the writers studied here is from Northern Nigeria, though Ekwensi and Nzekwu were born there, so this need not affect the discussion of the coastal, non-Muslim areas. Yoruba is taught at W.A.E.C. 'Ordinary' level in the schools of southern Nigeria, but it has little official standing other than its acceptance as a 'qualification', and its use in the regional Parliament of the West, (though it appears it is rarely used there) and in the Council of Obas and Chiefs. This complies with Stewart's second category of governmental intervention mentioned above. The disadvantage of the widely differing dialects of a language, very important if it is used officially, are mentioned by Voegelin, C. F., and Z. S. Harris, 'Methods for Determining Intelligibility among Dialects of National Languages', Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 95, 1951, pp. 322-329.

66. Weinreich, op. cit., p. 79.
67. See, for example, Achebe, Chinua, 'English and the African Writer', Transition, 18, 1965, pp. 27 - 30. See also Chapter 4 above.
68. Weinreich, op. cit., p. 81; cf. Braun, Maximilian, 'Beobachtungen zur Frage der Mehrsprachigkeit', Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 199, 1937, pp. 115-137. Epstein, A. L., 'Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia', South Western Journal Anthropology, 15, 1959, pp. 235-253; emphasises the question of prestige in the formation of the lingua franca, Copperbelti.
69. Migeod, F. W. H., The Languages of West Africa, Vol. II, pp. 247-248.

70. Ibid., p. 246. See Chapter 4 above, notes 17, 18 and 20.
71. Achebe, Chinua, 'The Novelist as Teacher', New Statesman, 69, 29th January, 1965, pp. 161 ff.; also in Press, J., ed., Commonwealth Literature, London, 1965, pp. 201-205.
72. Ekwensi, C., 'The Headline Novels of Africa', West Africa, 2360, 28th August, 1962, p. 941, in reply to Tucker, M., in an article of the same name in West Africa, 2356, July, 1962, p. 829. See Chapter 1 note 4.
73. The major companies are at present Longmans, Oxford University Press and Evans Brothers. There are many other British companies with offices of less importance.
74. In the Cambridge Higher School Certificate syllabus for 1968/69, Lenrie Peters' The Second Round is given as the alternative to 1984. Quite apart from the fact that the teacher is likely to choose 1984, the novel with which he is most familiar from previous years, this is the only such choice offered. It can hardly be cited as typical of the 'best' in West African literature.
75. London, 1961, 1965, respectively.
76. Stone, Howard, 'Cushioned Loanwords', Word, 9, 1, 1953, pp. 12-15. See chapter 7 below for the use of the term here.
77. The term speech community here follows Weinreich's attempt to define a multilingual speech community. Bloomfield's (op. cit., p. 29) definition of a speech community as 'a group of people who use the same system of speech signals' holds if one recognises it as applying to EL2. Here reference will be made to EL2 speech community and L1 speech community-(ies). It is noted that the

performer may have command of more than one indigenous language, but one of these will remain dominant and it is the relationship of this dominant L1 to EL2 that is being examined here. Certain constants regarding prestige, loyalty etc., will also relate to the dominant L1 and the other L1's of which the user has command, but this is a subject for separate study. Cf. Ferguson, Charles A., 'The Language Factor in National Development', in Rice, ed., op. cit., pp. 8-14.

78. Lewis, E. Glyn, 'Conditions Affecting the 'Reception' of an 'Official' (second/foreign) Language', Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 1962, p. 99.
79. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
80. Style is here used as a general literary term and not after style of discourse, Halliday et al., op. cit., p. 93, or after Strang, Barbara, M. H., Modern English Structure, London, 1962, p. 19.
81. Cf. Young, P., op. cit.; cf. Bright, W., and A. K. Ramanujan, 'Sociolinguistic Variation in Language Change', in Lunt, ed., p. 1112, note similar means of innovation in the social dialects of Southern Asia.
82. For a use of 'westernised' in a related sense, see Warner, A., 'A New English in Africa', Review of English Literature, IV, 2, April, 1962, p. 52.
83. Cf. Young, op. cit.
84. In addition, a discussion of Kachru's abstraction from a few registers and restricted languages to talk in terms of an Indian English, as if it were standardised, is to be found in the following chapters.

85. This is significant in that, next to Freetown, Abeokuta has perhaps the longest tradition of education after the western model, in West Africa. The Egbas, who had gone to Abeokuta to escape the Yoruba wars, heard of the advantages enjoyed by the Sierra Leoneans through their western education. They therefore sent for missionaries. Freeman of the Wesley Mission arrived in December, 1842, and Townsend Wood of the C.M.S., in January, 1843, Cf. Tomori, S. H. O., op. cit., pp. 1-2.
86. The Ogunmola Travelling Theatre based at the Oshogbo Mbari Club also alternates an English version of the play. Tutuola originally revised his book for dramatisation in English. The information given here was supplied by Mr. Tutuola in Ibadan, in July, 1966.
87. Clark, J. P., 'The Legacy of Caliban', Black Orpheus, 2, 1, February, 1968, pp. 36-37. See also Nicol, Davidson, Africa: A Subjective View, London, 1964, pp. 69-70. The marked difference of the European reception of Tutuola's work is perhaps best seen in Dylan Thomas's eulogistic review of The Palm-Wine Drinkard, Obs- 6 July, 1952, p. 7. The facsimile manuscript page included by Tutuola's editor at Faber and Faber, indicates a contradictory interest in the 'correctness' of his language.
88. The information given here was obtained in private conversation with Mr. Onwudiwe in July, 1966. It should be said that since the shelling of Onitsha the facts have been tragically changed. However, they remain relevant to the points made later.
89. Text here refers to any written language event of whatever extent, subject to our examination at any particular time.
90. McIntosh, Angus, 'Some Thoughts on Style', in McIntosh and Halliday, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

CHAPTER SIX

GRAMMAR AND TRANSLATION

Proceeding on the assumption that we may regard West African writers as a group exhibiting a high degree of homogeneity arising from common socio-historical experience and cultural heritage,¹ in this chapter we shall be concerned with those results of the West African writer's bilingualism which are discernible at the linguistic level of grammar.² As we do so we shall keep before us the assertion we have made that it is only possible to see such deviations as occur in the social and cultural setting. As Greenberg has remarked:

The problems of languages in contact cannot be understood without reference to individual and social psychological factors and to the social and cultural environment in which it takes place.³

We shall first consider those types of deviation at the level of grammar in West African writing which are most immediately noticeable. They are, indeed, the most easily classified for they are comparatively the least complex. A mistake was defined in the last chapter after Kachru as any deviation which would be rejected by a speaker of English as L1 as not conforming to the linguistic "code" of English and which cannot be justified in the diatopic variety on formal and/or contextual grounds.⁴ That is to say that it involves a breakdown in performance in

Note: The abbreviations used for works from which examples have been selected is to be found before the Bibliography.

EL2. It is further said to be a feature that varies in direct proportion to the performer's relation to the cline of bilingualism. It may occur at any level of bilingualism, or even in the performance of an EL1 speaker, but can be seen to be more frequent at those levels of performance represented by the lower zones of bilingualism.

It is, of course, part of the nature of mistakes that they should be largely unpredictable and confined to the individual performer who may or may not make the same ones consistently. For this reason they are not easily subjected to analysis, particularly when the corpus is evidence of performance in EL2 at a relatively high level of bilingualism; the cline of bilingualism extending downwards towards L1 monolingualism from the end-zone we have selected to suit our purpose. However, certain types of mistake occur sufficiently regularly to allow generalisation and there are grounds for suggesting that a sufficient number are widespread enough to make their inclusion in the eventual diatopic variety possible, or even likely. It will be noted that in such cases the usage is in a transitional state between mistake and deviation.

Perhaps the most common form of such an incipient deviation is that which we may term 'analogical creation'.⁵ It is interesting to recall that Defoe, in conversation between the boy and Toby that we have mentioned, drew attention to the feature of the analogical creation of plurals as a feature of Negro speech in the eighteenth century. However, it is true to say that mistakes of this kind are among the most common among EL2 speakers generally whether West African or not. That is to say that the

feature is less a result of the bilingual situations peculiar to West Africa than of the process of second language learning generally. The specifically West African interest arises only in that such usages show signs of passing into the emergent diatopic variety. The criterion for selection on these grounds is therefore as far as possible that such incipient deviations are spread widely on the cline of bilingualism. The work of Tutuola offers a convenient source for this type of deviation in the lower zones of the cline.

When Tutuola writes 'eaten and drunken' (BAH 18) or "he pressed my waist hardly" (BAH 53,54), he is seen to have arrived at deviations by a simple process of analogy with existing British English (EL1) forms. In the first case the analogical creation is directly influenced by the accompanying non-deviant form 'eaten' and in the second the form 'hardly' in the result of analogy with EL1 '-ly' adverbial formations. However, the process of the analogy is rather more revealing than this, for both the deviant forms have orthographic equivalents in EL1 with different grammatical functions, the first adjectival 'drunken' and the second adverbial 'hardly' ('scarcely'). The analogical creation, therefore, does not simply arise from a restriction of open set items in Tutuola's performance, but also from a confusion of terms in a closed system. That is to say that in two apparently similar mistakes the one, 'hardly', is due to an open set confusion and the second, 'drunken', is a result of confusion in the selection of terms in a closed system.⁶ Interestingly, both mistakes are the result of orthographic confusion with existing EL1 items. Moreover, they reveal, when seen in this way, clear links with

socio-cultural factors in the relationship with EL2 on the part of the writer.

It should be remembered that performance in EL2 in the lower zones of bilingualism is figured by a marked bilingual imbalance and that the L1 is dominant to a powerful degree in almost all situations. It follows from this that EL2 is restricted to certain narrowly defined situations, in this case creative writing for publication, and performance is therefore not reinforced by its use in other situations. Further, the writer's learning of the language is similarly restricted and his acquaintance is almost entirely with the written language, and in particular with the reading of the printed word. The prevalence of the orthographic foundation of mistakes is, therefore, easily understood as the natural result of a speech community in which English is almost no one's first language.⁷ Similarly, it is readily appreciated that the higher the writer's relation to zones on the cline, with the use of EL2 in a wider variety of situations in both spoken and written modes, the less likely he is to make mistakes, or to contribute to the foundation of distinct West African EL2 deviations, on orthographic criteria.

A further form of deviation properly considered under the heading of analogical creation is that which we might term the 'simple semantic plural'. This feature is extremely common in the spoken forms of EL2 in West Africa; and is also to be found frequently in the written language. It is not confined to any particular zone on the cline and is in evidence in those zones approaching the ideal of bilingual balance. In its simplest form it involves the grammatical marking of the plural nature of collective

nominals by the analogical addition of the bound morpheme -s; e.g. 'stationeries', 'equipments', 'employments', (all general), undergrowths (C 231), beddings (HL 69), laps (C 135), venisons (C 150), invectives (C 15), refuses (SS 42). Occasionally, this deviation, particularly in the lower zones of bilingualism, involves an additional more delicate⁸ element of deviation which we may term 'class shift', that is to say the re-assignment of an item to a class in which it would not normally be included in EL1 and its conformity to the rules governing the elements in that class.

Examples: dumbs (BAH 55)
 deads (PWD 106, 107 etc; WNE 6; BAH 89 HL 30)
 braves (C 2, 19; DT 11/11/68, 6)⁹

It will be noted that the usual process of simple semantic pluralisation has been complied with, not solely by analogy with EL1 'the dumb' and 'the dead', but also under the influence of the L1 to bring about a shift from class adjective to class nominal.¹⁰ Interestingly, this form of reduction from adjective and nominal to nominalised adjective mainly occurs, so far as we have been able to determine, where a sufficiently powerful analogy is provided by EL1 reductions of the type.¹¹ Interference from the L1 is thus seen to be facilitated by the apparent EL2 analogical forms and does not in general have free rein to bring about deviation at the level of grammar. It is emphasised that 'L1 interference' in this sense is used to mean something far narrower than is the general practice. The influence of L1 may be apparent in the grammar of EL2, as we shall see, without deviating from the linguistic code of the EL1 user. Where this is

the case we shall use the term L1 influence. In keeping with the distinctions made in terms of the cline, L1 influence may be discerned anywhere along the cline whereas L1 interference, apart from the erratic deviations of particular individuals at particular times, may be said to be more generally apparent in the lower zones of bilingualism where L1 and the first culture (C1) are in a greater state of imbalance with EL2 and the second culture (C2).

A further feature of change frequently met with at word rank is that which we term simple division, as in

'some times', 'some thing', 'no body', 'every body'
(AIRS 36 etc.) 'any body' (Dr. N.39), 'love making'
(LNS 12) 'every day (literature)' (LNE title page),
'broken hearted' (LNS 31), 'extra ordinary' (LNS 15;
MWS 15), 'up side down' (LC 12, PWD 104) 'fire wood'
(PWD 87), 'loin cloth' (V 67) 'three pence', 'nine
pence' (MP 14, 41)¹²

It will be noted that such simple division only occurs in such compounds as these which maintain free morphemes with word unit orthographic equivalents.¹³ So far as we have been able to determine such morphological division does not occur when a bound morpheme is part of the morphology of the compound. Indeed, the process of simple division would appear to be a further element in the apparent simplification of the EL1 linguistic 'code' for EL2, for it is remarked that in all such cases of simple division the resultant group unit complies with the rules governing the operation of such group units in the grammar of EL1. It is true, however,

that rare anomalies occur - presumably by a process of analogy - such as the simple division 'some where', in which the new modifier/head relationship involves the nominalisation of 'where' in a shift from class adverb. We have not, however, been able to locate similar examples and it would seem that it is a deviation by analogy with the common deviation of simple division.¹⁴ The tendency appears to be based on some form of economy of grammar brought about by the fact that practically no writer is an EL1 user. Indeed, the frequency of the feature in virtually all zones of bilingualism is provocatively akin to the well-known process of pidginisation.¹⁵ Naturally, none of the derogatory uses of this term are implied here, for it is employed in its technical sense only. We shall note that there is a tendency towards an economy of grammar in West African writing in the higher zones of bilingualism in the following argument. That this tendency is widespread and that it has a necessarily far-reaching effect on the stylistic resources of EL2 will also be considered.

Though mistakes are frequent in the verbal group, most of them explicable in terms of L1 interference, incipient deviations are rare. In fact only one has come to our notice which is sufficiently widespread in EL2 generally in West Africa to be included here. This aspectual feature, which we may designate the semantic durative is almost exclusively confined in the written forms of EL2 to the lower zones of bilingualism though its wide currency in the spoken forms is its recommendation for inclusion under the heading of grammatical deviation. Briefly, it involves the use of aspectually marked verbal groups of the type 'auxiliary and - ing' wherever the aspect of duration is indicated contextually whatever

the EL1 form would normally have been.

- The people were following..... (BAH 20, 65)
I was bearing them a grudge (WNW 58)
I was draining (the cup) (BAH 92)
This is the first time I am begging... (HL 108)
(He) was tapping 150 kegs of palm wine every morning (PWD 7)
He was not keeping me long like that before (PWD 8)
For many months I was sleeping on the branches... (PWD 9)
an endless forest in which all the terrible creature
were living (PWD 19)
I spent three years with him in that town, but
during that time, I was tapping palm wine for myself (PWD 31)
He went out and (was) only wandering in the town that
midnight. (BT 23)

This feature almost certainly originated in L1 interference from the L1 aspectual subsystem, which in Yoruba, for example, comprises the two terms priority and duration.¹⁶ However, it is sufficiently widespread as a deviation to make its inclusion as an acceptable deviation in the aspectual subsystem of EL2 a possibility.

We may also note a further type of deviation due to L1 influence which we call duplication.¹⁷ The results of this L1 influence, as the definition the term has indicated, do not offend against the grammar of EL1 but rather bring about the recurrence of features much more frequently than they would have been normally expected in EL1. The feature consists of a frequent semantic repetition, involving repetition of the sense of

the utterance in a different form which is usually of the same grammatical rank as the first semantic cluster. Usually, also, where the duplication is at group rank or above, there is a maintained rank harmony; that is the subsequent occurrence of the semantic 'idea', which may or may not involve an expansion of the referent, tends to be of the same rank as the first semantic element. Thus, within the groups skeleton bones (PWD 13), ungrateful ingrate (NLE 80) and decoratively decorated (SIN II, 14) the duplication is subject to a normal adjectival/nominal group relationship, while at group rank duplication usually involves only simple linking.

e.g. the grand old man and sage of the family (SIN II, 14)

Within a year or slightly over five months (SIN I, 11)

Now by that time and before..... (FWD 67)

When it was 8 o'clock in the morning,

then we entered the town (FWD 96)

As soon as he saw us he was coming

to us directly. (FWD 107)

As a play and as a joke (BAH 92)

Occasionally, the same feature is noticeable at sentence and clause rank also.

She ate whatever she wanted to eat. She did not eat cassava in any form. Only yams were pounded for her. She ate the best fish in the market.

It was said that she was feasting. (Ef.12)

They were eating pounded yams and egusi soup with their fingers. The second generation of educated Nigerians had gone back to eating pounded yams or garri with their fingers for the very good reason that it tasted better that way. (TFA. 21)

The deviation is, of course, related very closely to the same type of duplication in many West African languages. A few examples only will suffice for the present purposes.

e.g. Igbo: ì lò nà-òbù egwu kà anyị biàlù igwù ?

word-for-word: you think that it is play

that we have come to play?

WAP: You tink na play we come play? (NLE.152)

Yoruba: O rò pé eré l'a wá se ni?

word-for-word: You think that play it is we come play

Okonkwo did not have the start in life

which many young men usually had (TFA.15)

Igbo: Okonkwo enwēre mgbado ukwù umù okolobià

ibè yā nà ènwe.

word-for-word: Okonkwo had not step on foot young men

type his usually have.

This type of deviation, therefore, is apparently firmly based on semantic criteria and analogy with the L1 grammars. In Yoruba, for example, duplication is clearly seen in the verb

e.g. sáré (to run) < sá + eré - run + run (race).

kọrin (to sing) < kọ + orin - sing + song.

ré rin (to laugh) < rín + èrin - laugh + laugh.¹⁸

It is worth noting also that if, as some linguists claim, the major influence on WAP and Krio is Yoruba there may be much greater reason for seeing such a feature as a stylistic feature of EL2 along the coast,¹⁹ which may also draw on languages which exhibit similar patterns. However, we cannot be more emphatic on such a characteristic as a feature of EL2 in West Africa generally until similar relationships are worked out for L1's elsewhere. There are, nonetheless, sufficient grounds for supposing that this characteristic is at least operative on EL2 in those areas covered by the Kwa languages. The fact remains that in those instances of duplication, the feature is traceable to the L1. Moreover, a similarly based but more complex feature of 'repetition', has been noted as a literary device in Akan.²⁰

A further widespread feature is the very common omission of 'articles' in EL2 in Nigeria which does not appear to be confined to the lower zones of bilingualism, though it is more common there. For example, 'there was rumour' (Ef. 4), 'two horns on head' (BAH 44), 'to avoid open quarrel' (Ef. 266), are easily seen to be the result of L1 interference, causing deviation to forms unacceptable in EL1, for there are no 'articles' in either Igbo or Yoruba. Occasionally, a certain anxiety is apparent and we find either the selection of the wrong article or even the insertion of one where there would be none in EL1.

The poverty had already changed their appearances (BAH 86)

Ajanupu's son ran like a devil (Ef.263)²¹

We have come for a business (Ef.4).

a repartee (C 15)

However, the fact that the confusion is so apparent and, as L1 interference, offends against normal EL1 usage, it does not seem likely that such deviations will, though frequent, cease to be mistakes. As we have pointed out, deviation seems more likely to be permanent where it does not offend acceptability in EL1. Omission, of the type we have mentioned, is indeed of more value in making the distinction between L1 interference and L1 influence and there appear to be no grounds for supposing that because the feature is widespread it will pass into EL2 permanently.

What has emerged so far is that at all zones on the cline there is remarkably little deviation at the linguistic level of a grammar from the standard of EL1 which is not classifiable as mistake. Further, we have only considered those deviations which are not specifically bound to the use of EL2 for literary purposes. So far, such deviations as have been noted belong to a possibly emergent diatopic variety and they are only our concern insofar as they appear in the written language in the course of literary creation. They represent something far more comprehensive, and more complex, than what is here under consideration. Indeed, it is our contention that it is not possible to talk firmly of a standard EL2 in West Africa until sufficient description of local varieties has been done and a standard discerned in a comparison of these findings. This date is still remote, it is true, but it is by no means unimaginable. As Greenberg points out:

However, the similarities among African languages on the basis of common origin and the areal spread of phonetic, grammatical factors... are such that over very wide areas African speakers will find at least roughly similar points of difficulty... What seems to be arising then, are reasonably uniform "dialects" of English and French, which are practically no one's first language, very much as there exists an "Indian English". This dialect or group of dialects exhibits, in all probability, less interference from first languages than would be predicted from the model of individual transfer grammars.²²

It is also not possible at this stage to predict over a long period the effects of English on the African languages. Parsons has pointed out the large volume of loans from English into Hausa which with an increased literacy has meant that words used only by 'sophisticates' ten years or so ago are now widely accepted in the L1. The complete acceptance of such loans - e.g. lacca, 'lecture', fensho, 'pension, retirement' - is evident in their use in proverbs in the L1.²³ He has also pointed out that the "direct influence of English grammar and syntax upon Hausa appears to be slight",²⁴ and it would indeed seem to indicate that a recipient language, such as English or Hausa, is less susceptible to change at the level of grammar than at the levels of lexis or phonology.

However, we are not considering the emergence of a standard West African variety of English, but the restricted use of EL2 in literary texts. Unlike those who must await comprehensive descriptions of EL2 varieties throughout West Africa, we have a corpus sufficiently unified for abstraction to be possible. We are, in short, concerned with a restricted form of the language and such deviations in an emergent

variety as we have indicated are secondary to our main interest. We are dealing with a corpus that has a unity transcending the immediately local linguistic considerations, for we are provided with the constants implied in the cline of linguistic westernisation, the common literary motive of the performers and the problems arising from the need to seek expression of African experience in a second language. We especially wish to avoid proceeding from observation of deviation in a restricted form of the language, especially one so closely involved with its non-linguistic motivations as that we are considering, to an unqualified assertion of the existence of a West African English.²⁵ We are, therefore, considering the evidence presented in a specific corpus with the useful additional factor, peculiar to the literary use of language, of deliberate deviation.

The effects of deliberate deviation are, indeed, apparent at the level of grammar. In the main, such deviations are due to L1 influence through attempts to put into practice such conscious adaptation of EL1 to suit the needs of the African writer which we discussed in Chapter Four. It is, naturally, evident that we shall in pointing out this type of deviation be considering the individual writer's effort to solve his problems of literary expression. Nonetheless, the way in which this has generally been attempted is through an adaptation of EL2 in the light of particular L1's and this is of itself a unifying constant.

On the whole, where deviation is deliberate the tendency is to conform to the grammatically acceptable in EL1 and for deviation to be apparent in less obvious ways than those so far described. L1 interference is discernible on the syntagmatic axis at the primary degree of delicacy,

but it is mainly confined to the lower zones on the cline.

they shook up and down their heads (BAH 24)

[SPAC/(EL1) SPCA]

turned up-side-down the bag (PWD 104)

[PAC/(EL1) PCA]

coiling me round (LBG 51)

[BCA/(EL1) BAC]

even was he punished (in fire of hell more than

fifty years)

(LBG 59)

[APSP/(EL1) SPAP]

Though mistakes can be found in the syntax, they are by no means common even in the lower zones of bilingualism or indeed in those zones lower on the cline than our end-zone. A close study of thirty-five Onitsha novelettes and pamphlets, for example, many of them well below our minimal end-zone in relation to the cline, and a few approaching the central zones, yielded no evidence of error on the syntagmatic axis, though mistakes of other types were found to be numerous.²⁶ Later in this chapter we shall consider Okara's rather inconsistent deliberate deviation in syntax in, as he claims, the light of Ijo, his mother tongue.

Deliberate deviation, or experiment as we have termed it, in West African writing in English most commonly involves, in keeping with arguments regarding the need to adapt the language to problems of literary expression peculiar to the African novelist, the two related processes of translation and transference.²⁷ Since transference in the corpus under consideration is confined almost entirely to lexis we shall

leave discussion of it until the following chapter. Translation, on the other hand, can be seen to have a direct effect at the grammatical level in EL2. Translation may be immediately defined for our purposes, following Catford, as the replacement of textual material in the L1 by equivalent textual material in EL2, where 'textual material' is a recognition of the fact that though L1 grammar and lexis may be replaced by equivalents, L1 graphology is replaced by EL2 graphology, which cannot be said to be equivalent to L1 graphology.²⁸ The more usual use of the term 'text', any stretch of language of whatever length, spoken or written, under consideration would therefore assume a completeness in the translation process that cannot be the case. Indeed, this must be additionally important when one is considering languages so widely different as those involved here.

Translation from L1 into EL2 is also frequently partial, that is to say that certain portions of the L1 text are left untranslated in the EL2 text for specific reasons - either for the purpose of the 'Africanisation' of the text or because they have no equivalents in C2 or EL2. This process is considered under transference in the next chapter. It is contrasted to 'full translation' in which all of the L1 text is replaced by the EL2 text.²⁹

Further, translation in West African EL2 literary texts is usually 'total', which is to say that L1 grammar and lexis are replaced by EL2 grammar and lexis 'with consequential replacement of [L1] ... graphology by (non-equivalent) [EL2] ... graphology'.³⁰ Translation in West African EL2 literary texts in the higher zones of bilingualism is never

'restricted',³¹ for such a process of confining translation to one linguistic level only is rendered impossible by such non-linguistic considerations as the writer's use of a world language to reach a wider audience than would be represented by the small section of L1 users to whom such a technique would be intelligible.³²

Moreover, translation employed as a literary device in West African EL2 writing is most frequently rank-bound.³³ That is to say that the writer consciously confines himself in his translation to replacing L1 forms (a text or portions of a text) with EL2 equivalents of the same rank in the unit hierarchy, where such units have equivalents in EL2. Such translation may be rank-bound at unit word rank ('word-for-word translation'), which is rare in West African EL2 writing; 'literal', which may or may not be rank-bound and which usually entails the replacement of each L1 lexical item by the 'nearest' EL2 lexical equivalent; or 'free', which is 'unbounded' and free-moving on the rank scale.³⁴ In the case of free translation, however, there is the added criterion of attempting to have the L1 material conform to the EL1 idiom. This is not absent from West African EL2 texts, but it is not the dominant form of translation. It is performed with varying success, as we shall see in Chapter 7.

We may now go on to consider actual texts selected from prose fiction in which there is a deliberate attempt to adapt EL1 in the light of the writer's L1. The best known attempts of this kind are almost certainly those in the novels of Chinua Achebe, whose L1 is Igbo. Achebe has on several occasions urged the adaptation of English in the light of L1³⁵ and has most notably attempted to achieve such an Africanness in his

use of EL2 in the use of proverbs and other fixed collocations and forms from the Igbo. Such translation is obviously conscious, whereas on other occasions it is more difficult to separate conscious from unconscious translation.³⁶

Where conscious translation of proverbs is in evidence, the translation is normally total, literal and rank-bound.

(i) if a man said yea his chi also affirmed (TFA 119)³⁷

(A) SPC + SAP.

Igbo: onye kwe chi ya ekwe

'word-for-word': who agree chi his agree

SP + SP.

(ii) a debt may become mouldy but it never rots (NLE 96 etc.)

SPC + SAP.

ugwò nà - àma ebu mà o da èlè ule

debt may get mouldy but it never (tense marker) rot.

SPC + SAP.

(iii) The start of weeping is always hard. (NLE 97)

SPAC

mbido akwà nà-àfia aru

SPC

start weep is (-continually) hard.

(iv) proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten (TFA 6)

SPC

enu bù mmanu eji èli okwu.

proverb is oil with which eating word.

SPC

- (v) if you want to eat a toad you should look for a fat
and juicy one (NLE 5-6)

SPC + SPC.

onyē̄ kọlu ili awò līi n̄ke mālu àbùbà
who want to eat toad eat which is fat.

SPC + PC

- (vi) cut off my two legs if you ever see them here again (NLE 83)

PC + SAPAA

bepù ukwu m naàbò mà efu fa ebeà òzò.
cut off leg my two if you see them here again.

PC + SPAA.

In the above examples the translation is rank-bound from clause rank downwards and a very close lexical correspondence is maintained. Such differences as there are are those due to breakdowns in formal correspondence³⁸ in the establishment of textual translation equivalents³⁹ for L1 forms in EL2. Thus mbido in (iii) is observably the textual translation equivalent of 'weep', but PA in the EL2 text arises through lack of formal correspondence in the EL2 'code' to the durative term in the aspectual subsystem of Igbo which renders L1 P (na-àfia) its textual translation equivalent. Nevertheless, the exception is less striking in such cases than the closeness of formal correspondence with L1 forms in the EL2 textual translation equivalents. This is not quite the same as the lack of correspondence in (i) which is also a rank-bound translation at clause, for the EL2 form 'if a man said yea his chi agreed' would have been acceptable in the linguistic 'code' of EL2. The relaxation of close equivalence, though not yet truly a free translation, is due to the

selection of an alternative EL2 textual translation equivalent rather than to the absence of formal correspondence.⁴⁰ The re-ordering of elements of structure, or structure shift,⁴¹ which is observable in the rank-shifted clause at C in (iv) is not a breakdown but a normal re-ordering of elements due to translation at the level of grammar. Similar observations apply to the replacement of the rank-shifted clause structure at C in the second clause of the Igbo of (v) and to the structure shift at C in the first clause of (vi).

'Unconscious translation' from L1 to EL2 in the case of literary texts must always be a misleading term, but it is retained for want of a better term and for its immediate usefulness in setting up a distinction to 'conscious translation'.

Conscious translation is easily detected in such evidence as the translation of L1 proverbs and other forms, whereas unconscious translation refers to those occasions on which L1 influence is apparent other than in occurrences of conscious translation where the concentration is on the immediate translation of an L1 form for literary effect. However, the term is misleading in that such translation is 'conscious' to the extent that it is almost entirely confined in the writer's register range to literary creation and somehow 'appropriate' to novel writing. Such L1 influence in a novel does not presuppose a corresponding L1 influence in the writer's use of spoken forms of EL2, or even in his non-literary performance in the written language. In short, novel-writing is in itself indicative of a certain highly conscious effort. Nevertheless, the distinction we have made remains useful.

Nwoye is old enough to impregnate a woman (TFA 60)

Nwoyè è lugo ogo it uba nwanýè imē.

Nwoye has arrived age to impregnate woman pregnant.

In this non-metaphorical, even blunt, statement we may at first detect no more than a certain lexical confusion in the use of 'impregnate'. However, the Igbo equivalent is in a form belonging to a polite register for sexual matters and we detect, therefore, not only a transposition of an element of the contextual meaning of the L1 form resulting in an inequivalence in the EL2 lexical choice, but also an accompanying rank-bound (total/literal) translation.⁴² This remains true elsewhere when the text is from narrative passages and not from dialogue where some attempt is being made to convey speech in accord with the novelist's conception of his character. It is, indeed, directly related to the much remarked the 'stilted style' of much West African writing in English.

After about two months, Ogea was quite settled. She became part of the household and took care of Efuru's daughter. She would take her to the sand and there play with other children. If any child made Ogonmi cry, she would beat that child. When Efuru went to the market, Ogea took care of Ogonmi, fed her and changed her dress. (Ef. 45)

At dawn we set out on foot, Uncle and I. It was too early to seek the comfort of a mammy wagon. Taxis were much too expensive to hire. We covered the six miles between Ado and Umuele and began our inquiries. (WNV. 93)

Such examples are numerous and there is no need to record more of them here. However, it appears that such unconscious translation is mainly evident in those central zones of the cline below those closest to bilingual balance. It is particularly evident in writers of whom it is reasonable to assume an imbalance in their exposure to certain restricted languages.⁴³ Toward the higher zones of bilingualism the distinction we have made becomes more difficult to apply. Briefly, it appears that the higher the bilingual writer's relationship to the cline, the more 'literary', and therefore conscious, his use of translation. Naturally, either unconscious or conscious translation may occur anywhere in relation to the cline. However, the dominance of the use of conscious translation in the attempts at solving particular literary problems of expression appear to be more highly concentrated in the upper zones.

It will be seen, then, that such a powerful impact of translation on the literary use of EL2 must have far-reaching stylistic repercussions since we can say that 'style' is in some way the result of stylistic choice.⁴⁴ Stylistic choice, we are aware, indicates the choice of a form in a particular context for extra-linguistic (literary) reasons. It assumes that an alternative choice could have been made, for where no alternative is possible the selection cannot be said to be one of style in any literary sense, but one indicated by the descriptive categories or levels of the language in question. That stylistic choice is possible is hardly in question for we are intuitively aware that it exists. Our poets and writers 'revise', search for the mot juste, depend for their control of the decoding on their control of the choice. It is, however,

equally true that we cannot in the present state of knowledge say what the possibilities from which the choice is made are. In much the same way, of course, we are also unable to say with ease what the registers in the register range of an EL1 speaker are, for they vary according to sociological, educational (etc.) factors influencing that speaker.⁴⁵ However, the concept of register is descriptively useful in that though we may not be able to say what registers they are, or what the constituents of them are, we are perfectly well aware when they have been offended against in terms of EL1. Similarly, though we may not be able to say what alternatives were involved in a stylistic choice we can safely assert that a translation-prescribed restriction at one or more levels in a text will limit the stylistic choice.⁴⁶

Naturally, the matter does not end there. The bilingual writer attempting to adapt EL1 into an L1-formed EL2 might well reply that in the 'new' EL2 the stylistic choice which may or may not have been assumed in EL1 does not arise for the same alternatives do not arise. An EL2 readership would equally not expect the same alternatives, for as the variety so widely adapted is somehow sui generis it is not tied to the stylistic choices applicable to EL1. This would be acceptable only if the writer himself did not attempt to have his cake and eat it. It is certainly not our business to tell the writer what he should write, but art for art's sake is not an integral part of the choice of a world language and the wider audience. Artistic privacy and a readership were ever incompatible. The West African writer using some form of English for his task has frequently made the point that even if his first duty

is at home his need to express 'African experience' to non-Africans is no less his duty in the reassertion of 'Africanness'.⁴⁷ The choice of English as the medium of literary expression for such a reason emphasises the divided nature of the readership at present. Increased literacy and a growing literary output could change the argument eventually. Since English is being adapted, questions of deviation from EL1 are inescapable. However, failure to comply to the stylistic possibilities of EL1 does not necessarily impute inadequacy in the use of EL2 to an EL2 readership.

Nevertheless, it would appear that the nature of the solution the bilingual writer has offered is particularly narrow, quite apart from the further difficulties that are encountered in the attempted transfer of contextual meaning of L1 forms to EL2. Free translation naturally offers a greater range of literary possibility than rank-bound literal translation. In all stylistic investigation we are faced with the dichotomy between description and evaluation.⁴⁸ However, light is best thrown on literary language in such a situation, as Gregory suggests, 'when categories derived from a sound linguistic theory are used to describe the language of a text. Then its significant linguistic features can be related to the responses of the informed literary mind and an attempt made to match literary sensitivity with consistent linguistic rigour.'⁴⁹

The paradox of one of the West African writer's attempts to adapt EL1 into a distinctly African literary form of EL2 is discernible as a considerable restriction at the level of grammar even where the recontextualization of L1 textual material has been successful. We should note, however, that in most of the instances cited the contextual meaning

is apparent in most cases either in the light of the co-text, which may or may not include accompanying paraphrase, or in the immediate self-contained 'sense' of the form; which is to say that the 'idea' may be envisaged as not distinct to C1 but in the region of overlap within the 'thought mass' of C1 and C2.⁵⁰ We shall expand on the problems arising from such immediate attempts to reconcile C1 and C2 in the following chapter.

We have remarked that there is in general little deviation in EL2 on the syntagmatic axis in the work of writers, whatever their relationship to the cline of bilingualism, which is not immediately assignable to mistake. However, one notable exception, Gabriel Okara's The Voice, is worthy of mention here. Syntactic deviation in The Voice is deliberate and for the most part, but not always, consistent in its closeness to Ijo rules of syntax. A few examples will serve to illustrate this.⁵¹

Okolo by a window stood (V 13)

EK Okólo keni tounbuó ghò tíe timimi

Okolo a window by stood (Past)

To every person's said thing listen not. (V 75)

EK Kìmi ama gba ye mó see poi sin kumó

man (plural) say thing (plural) all listen every not.

Did he no part of your body touch? (V 69)

EK Eri ině ongóboo keni yo kpó gbelegha á

He your body the one part any touch (+ negative) question marker.

His umbilical cord is in the ground of this place buried (V 81)

Wo umbúbi bēi yóokoo díbi wónimí

His umbilical cord the this place (emphatic 'this very')
bury (past)

Palm wine into their heads has climbed (V 142)

EK Izón urubí oro t̄bimó se owóú sindóú

Ijo wine the their head (+ plural) all climb finish (+ past)

You say water has my inside entered (V 108)

EK Ári gbághámééé bení ine bolóu duo s̄úodóú weě

you say (+ past) water my inside through enter (+ past) past
(rep. speech).

mo kí biyěmi

so this say (+ continuous).

At group rank the most notable feature is the emphasis on premodification under influence of Ijo in which the nominal group is characterised by an exclusive MH structure.

1. never happened before thing (V 154)

K naá paghá pagha ye

never happen happen thing.

2. wrong-doing-filled inside (V 21)

E gballi mieminiyo bein nimi bolou.

wrong do + continuous + place fill (past) mind.

3. know-nothing footsteps (V 27)
E (tu) ^vnimigha buo ititaama
(which) know (+ negative) foot step (+ plural)
4. black-coat-wearing man (V 62, 63)
E dirima koti ^vtuawonimi kimi
black coat wear + continuous (now) man.
5. a know-god man (V 19)
EK Woyeji nimi kimi.
God know man (a Christian)
6. man-killing medicine (V 29)
EK kimi bamini diri
man kill + continuous medicine (poison)
7. the table's top (V 50)
EK tebulu ogonobi (genitival collocation)
table top the
8. puncheon-belly-owning man (V 68)
E póni fúróú nana wonimi kimi
barrel belly own (contin.) man
9. fear-and-surprise-mixed voice (V 71)
K oweiyó mó (na) tamamáayo mó guai nimi okolo
fear (+ place) and surprise (+ place) and mix (past) voice.

Okara is, however, by no means always consistent in his adherence to Ijo syntax in the novel as a whole and his conformity to E11 grammar

is, apart from the syntactic experiment, complete. That is to say his deviation is mainly concentrated at the primary degree of delicacy.

Occasionally his syntax is quite conventional.

1. that would be the lowest ingratitude, an ingratitude
that would be worse than disowning one's parents (V 22)
2. So saying, he waved his hand and some people with torches
approached the hut (V 31)
3. others cannot change their insides simply because
you want them to... they cannot their insides change (V 47)
4. She must have killed sixteen years If not, she
must have less or little more years killed (V 60)
5. the men and women knowing nothing (V 137)
6. "Wait until she is about to deliver a child.... Yes,
that is the time when things of the ground* and the
dead will hold her and she will not be able to
deliver unless she confesses" (V 130/131, *spirits (of ancestors))

Such inconsistencies (e.g. 3 and 4) are, indeed, evidence of the fundamental weakness of Okara's method. The adherence to Ijo syntax is too restrictive and monotonous over any length of time; the artificiality is too demanding and closely mechanistic to be conducive to fluency. However, the major weakness does not lie on this evaluative plane at all, but in the nature of language. Okara's error is his apparent conviction that syntax is the major vehicle of meaning.⁵² Indeed,

the same criticism is applicable to Okara's lexical experiment in such instances as his attempts to 'echo' Ijo reduplication by repetition of EL1 lexical items.⁵³ Okara's failure is, therefore, directly ascribable to linguistic influences, and not the least of these is his misunderstanding of the nature of meaning. Indeed, Lindfors's assessment of Okara's style as 'the boldest, most imaginative, most systematic and most successful experiment that has so far been attempted in creating an African vernacular style in English',⁵⁴ would appear to make up in superlatives what it may be seen to lack in linguistic perceptiveness.

Syntactic deviation manifested in the literary use of EL2 is not generally one of deliberate deviation in the ordering of elements of structure. Where such deviations are apparent - except in the highly conscious example offered by Okara - they can be assigned to mistake, with or without the direct operation of L1 interference. Even in the lower zones of bilingualism, deviation on the syntagmatic axis is one of frequency of occurrence of elements of structure rather than one of re-ordering of elements: Tutuola's L1 influenced prose, for example, exhibits repetitions of L1-based forms of similar semantic character at a much higher rate than would normally be expected for similar forms in the performance of an EL1 user of the language. The underlined adjunctival elements semantically defining progression in time in the following passage serve to illustrate this feature.

But whenever he reached the town that he was called to, first of all they would eat and drink to their most entire satisfaction, after that he would knock the wood as a sign, and when the snake heard it he

would be running to and from inside the wood in searching the way to go out and when doing that he would be also coiling me round in such a fearful way which would make me to cry more bitterly, and when hearing my cry then the whole of the ghosts of that town would be dancing till a late hour in the night as both day and night were the same for all ghosts. (LBG 51).

Higher on the cline deviations due to frequency of occurrence can be seen to be closely related to such features as conscious rank-bound translation and, as we shall see in the following pages, to the operation of transference and its associated features. Okara's syntactic deviation is, in relation to the rest of the corpus, eccentric, highly conscious and subject to its inherent linguistic limitations. Deviation of syntax in the more typically representative texts in the corpus is restrictive in the rather similar sense that a rigid determination of syntax, whatever the source of that determination, can be seen to seriously limit the stylistic resources at the West African writer's command. This restriction, and the similar restrictions observable at the level of lexis which are discussed hereafter, can be regarded as 'determinants' of style in West African EL2 writing. The 'creative' element will no doubt always assert itself. However, anything which can be seen to affect literary creation so powerfully in that aspect without which it cannot exist at all - language - can hardly be given too much emphasis. It is a further challenging thought that though the stylistic possibilities of EL2 can

be assumed to vary directly in proportion to the writer's relation to the cline of bilingualism, and that his bilingualism is potentially his most liberating attribute,⁵⁵ the way in which he has so far exploited his asset (consciously or unconsciously) has most seriously limited his art.

Finally, we should remark that the distinction between deliberate and non-deliberate deviation, which is seen to vary in relation to the cline is of first importance. Non-deliberate deviation, susceptible to synchronic description, can in no way be predicted to be a permanent feature of EL2 in West Africa. Description of deliberate deviation in the light of the writer's bilingualism, however, provides us with an insight into the artist's approach to the literary medium which would be impossible in a monolingual situation.

Deviation at the level of grammar is on the whole limited to a few distinct forms. However, though the kinds of deviation may be few they are extensive and those kinds characteristic of the maximal zone as represented by Achebe are of great importance in the 'determination' of style.⁵⁶ By far the most extensive deviation is apparent at the level of lexis and we shall proceed to a discussion of the salient features of such deviation in the chapter that follows.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. See chapters 4 and 5. For the justice of seeing common factors in the oral tradition of West Africa, and hence a certain important uniformity of material, see e.g. Berry, J., Spoken Art in West Africa; pp. 3 - 4; and Innes, G., 'Some features of theme and style in Mende folktales', pp. 6 ff. Klipple, May A., 'African Folktales with Foreign Analogues', Ph. D., Indiana, 1938, pp. 906 ff.
2. See Halliday, Categories; and Catford, op. cit. Cf. Ellis, J., Towards a General Comparative Linguistics, The Hague, 1966, p. 33 and note 3, who uses 'demilevels of grammar and lexis' to distinguish levels that are certain demilevels. This distinction is, however, made as it is in the use of 'levels of language' and 'linguistic levels'. Demilevel also has the disadvantage of being too close to 'interlevel'.
3. Greenberg, J. H., 'The Study of Language Contact in Africa', p. 167.
4. Cf. Kachru, 'The Indianness in Indian English', p. 397 and note 25. Any error in EL2 can at present be described in terms of EL1 only, however, it will later appear more useful to consider the causes as well as the descriptions of deviations in EL2 literary texts which are so closely associated with their linguistic environment. Cf. Halliday et al., The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, pp. 118-119. See Chapter 5, note 51, above.

5. Cf. inter alia, Bloomfield, Language, pp. 404 ff;
Jespersen, Language, pp. 289 ff.; Sturtevant, E.H.,
Linguistic Change, Chicago, 1917, (Phoenix Edition 1961),
pp. 131 ff.
6. Examples are widespread. The few that follow suffice
for the present purpose.
Open set
... he attempted very hardly to kill me (BAH 54)
When he struggled hardly for about one hour (BAH 105, 110)
He was living lonely (EL1 'alone') (PWD 13)
Closed System
... this novel would be shaking and sounding heavily (BAH 77)
... shouting on me greatly (BAH 77)
[a basket] made very carefully and durably (LC 59)
etc.
In a recent paper it has been observed that deviation due to
L1 interference and influence is both grammatical and in the
semantic component. He suggests that such deviation in
the semantic component has often been taken by the critics
to be 'artistic' success. Hence, of course, such enthusiasm
as Thomas's. See L.A. Banjo, 'Towards a Definition of a
"Nigerian Spoken English"', p. 9.
7. Cf. Greenberg, op. cit., pp. 174-175.
8. See Halliday, 'Categories', op. cit., also Halliday et al,
op. cit., pp. 30 ff.
9. Cf. 'to lean' - EL1 'to become thin', 'to lose weight'-
(BAH 43) 'these pesters' - EL1 analogy 'to pester' (BAH 86, 87);
(also 'sorry about those' (HL 36)).

10. See Awobuluyi, A.O., "Studies in the Syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb", Ph.D., Columbia University, 1967, pp. 196, 283 ff. Awobuluyi points out the occurrence of "adjectival nouns" in Yoruba, e.g. kpukpa, 'the red (one)', 'the ripe (one)'. See also "[he] must not marry any armless or amputee" (LBG 140). The inclusion of the register-bound item amputee is also characteristic of the type of register confusion very common in the lower zones of bilingualism. Class shift here is not seen as subject to the general tendencies to class shift in EL1; See Potter, Simeon, 'Changes in Present-day English(?)', English Language Teaching, 21, 1, October, 1966, pp. 6-11.
11. A similar example is 'staffs', for 'members of staff' or 'staff members', which is the most common usage in circulars in Nigerian universities. Cf. also the common 'a play' BE, 'a game' (Ef. 4,) through L1 (& Pidgin) interference e.g. 'You tink na play we come play' (NLE 152).
12. Cf. also, 'pipe borne', 'house holders', 'road side' - all in the same recent circular at the University of Ibadan.
13. Cf. Marchand, Hans, "Notes on Nominal Compounds in Present-Day English", Word, 11, 2, 1955.
14. It is worth noting that in many cases (e.g. some body, no body) there is a coincidental return to an orthography, which was current before the recognition of the high frequency of such modifier head collocations in the orthography. It may well reflect an excessively analytic approach to EL2 learning.
15. E.g. Hall (Jnr), R. A., Pidgin and Creole Languages, pp. 83 ff; 'Pidgin Languages', Scientific American, 200, 2, February 1959, pp. 124-134; Mafeni, op. cit., pp. 20 ff., 42; Voorhoeve, op. cit., pp. 233 ff.

16. Awobuluyi, op. cit., pp. 261 ff. See also p. 264, example 449, "Wherever m occurs with lɔ 'to go' or bɔ 'to come', a past or present or future interpretation is possible depending on the context." Also, p. 262: "Durative aspect indicates action occurring through time. Contextually it may be interpreted as continuous or habitual". Cf. Catford A Linguistic Theory of Translation, pp. 73 ff, on a similar 'translation shift' arising from the differences in the English and Russian aspectual subsystem. Cf. Also the verb forms of Krio, Jones, E.D., "Krio - an English-based Language of Sierra Leone" (forthcoming) and "Tense, Mode and Aspect Markers in Krio", paper read at the Seventh West African Languages Congress, Lagos, April, 1967. Cf. also the very common confusions of 'can/could', 'will/would', which, through the result of L1 interference have gained such wide currency in the spoken forms of EL2 in West Africa that they offer a further possibility of a mistake in transition to deviation, e.g. 'Never mind what people would say...' (Ef 15), 'he would wish to marry again (Ef.108), 'how they think they could take you for a ride' (Ef. 123) Cf. F.R. Palmer, A Linguistic Study of the English Verb, London, 1965; and W. Diver, 'The Modal System of the English Verb', Word 20, 3, 1964, pp. 322-352.
17. This term should not be confused with that feature of L1 phonology and morphology known as reduplication, e.g. WAP tie-tie, 'fibre rope'; Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 221 ff.
18. Cf. 'He always said that when he saw a dead man's mouth he saw the folly of not eating what one had in one's lifetime' (TFA 4).

Igbo: òkpà aku elighi ēli jèe nèe kà ezè dī onye

tr. word-for-word: gatherer wealth eat not eat go see teeth

is who

nwulu ānwu

died death.

Cf. Turner, Lorenzo Dow, Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect, Chicago, 1949, pp. 221 ff., for an interesting discussion of this feature in a dialect owing much to West African languages. See also the survival of reduplication in Jamaican Creole pointed out by Beryl Loftman Bailey in her Jamaican Creole Syntax: a Transformational Approach, Cambridge, 1966, (e.g. p. 16)

likl-likl	-	'bit by bit'
robish-robish-		'garbage' (lots of it)
wan-wan	-	'a few isolated ones'
mashop-mashop-		'completely wrecked'

19. See Mafeni, op. cit., Part I, pp. 85-86.
20. See Nketia, J.H., Funeral Dirges of the Akan People, Achimota, 1955, pp. 75 ff. The device is also closely allied to "parellism" (partial repetition) in other poetic traditions. See, for example, Jakobson, R. "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet", Language, 42, 2, 1966, pp. 399-429; Leech, G. N., A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry, London, 1969, pp. 62-69, 77-79. Such a device is also characteristic of Idoma traditional poetry - see Armstrong, R.G., "Introduction" to S.O.O. Amali's Selected Poems, Ibadan, 1968, p. XIV.
21. It is possible that the devil referred to here is a 'local devil', or 'masquerader', some of whom run very fast. Obika in Achebe's Arrow of God dies after exhausting himself in such a capacity (pp. 281 ff). Also the expression 'run like ten devils' is frequently heard in Nigeria.

22. Greenberg, "The Study of Language Contact in Africa", pp. 174-175.
23. Parsons, F.W., "Some Observation on the Contact between Hausa and English," in Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville, 1962, pp. 198-199. See also Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., "Neologisms in Hausa: a Sociological Approach", Africa, XXXIII, 1963, pp. 25-44; Zima, Petr, "Some Remarks on Loanwords in Modern Hausa", Archiv Orientalni, 32, 4, 1964, pp. 522-528.
24. Parsons, op. cit., p. 203. Cf. Haugen, Einar, 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', Language, 26, 2, April-June, 1950, p. 231.
25. Such a step was the major weakness of Kachru's otherwise excellent case for Indian English.
26. These pamphlets and novelettes are listed in the bibliography.
27. See Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation, pp. 20 ff, pp. 43 ff. Cf. Kachru, "Indianness", p. 7 and note 37.
28. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
29. Ibid., p. 21.
30. Ibid., p. 22. It will be noted that total translation is to some extent misleading as a term, as Catford points out, for equivalentents are not met at all levels. However, the term is retained for want of a better one and for its useful contrast to restricted translation.
31. Ibid., pp. 22 ff.
32. See Chapter 3.

33. Catford, op. cit., pp. 24-26.
34. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
35. See Chapter 3.
36. Kachru (Indianess, p. 401, note 37) noted this difficulty. We have, however, a distinct advantage in confining our study to literary texts, for occasions on which there is no doubt of the 'conscious' translation are frequent. The difficulty nevertheless arises in less overtly 'African' forms than proverbial adaptation.
37. Discussion of such features as the use of the archaism 'yea', the partial translation in the use of the L1 item chi and the register confusion indicated in 'affirmed' will be attempted at a later point. The concern here is with the effects of translation at the level of grammar.
The Igbo 'Official' orthography is used in the examples that follow. The dialect is Achebe's own Onitsha dialect. I am grateful to Kenneth Ofodile, a former pupil of Achebe's, who acted as informant in these sections.
38. Cf. Catford, op. cit., p. 27. "A formal correspondent... is any TL (target language) category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy of the TL as the given SL (source language) category occupies in the SL. Since every language is sui generis - its categories being defined in terms of relations holding within the language itself - it is clear that formal correspondence is nearly always approximate."

39. Following Catford, pp. 27-28, "A textual translation equivalent.... is any TL form (text or portion of text) which is observed to be the equivalent of a given SL form (text or portion of text)". That is any TL form which is only changed when a given form is changed in the SL.
40. In fact, Achebe (TFA 25) also uses "when a man says yes his chi says yes also"
41. Cf. Catford, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.
42. See Chapter 7 for a fuller discussion of transfer of meaning from the L1 to the EL2 text.
43. Flora Nwapa, writer of Efuru is a secondary school teacher. Onuora Nzekwu, author of Wand of Noble Wood, is a journalist and editor of a magazine (Nigeria Magazine) with a specifically 'anthropological' interest. This is quite a different thing from attempting to show the specific effects of such exposure on their language as opposed to an observation of a possibly greater bilingual imbalance. Both these writers can be said to be 'lower' on the cline than Achebe. In the case of Efuru, for example, there is empirical evidence in the form of widespread mistakes due to Flora Nwapa's bilingualism and the resultant L1 interference as well as less explicable error.
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| e.g. a slap equal to you | (Ef. 25) |
| ... and she was being congratulated | (Ef. 16) |
| Never mind what people would say | (Ef. 15) |
| go for an errand | (Ef. 40) |

There are also considerable confusions of register in both Nwapa and Nzekwu. See Chapter 8 below.

44. Cf. Ullmann, S., Style in the French Novel, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 6 ff. Ullmann also uses the familiar concept of deviation from a norm in his discussion of style. Cf. Riffaterre, Michael, Rv. of Style in the French Novel, Word 15, 2, August, 1959, pp. 404-413, especially pp. 407-409. See also Ohmann, R., "Generative Grammars and the Concept of Literary Style", Word 20, 3, Dec. 1964, pp. 423-439, especially p. 427. The notion of deviation from a norm as central to 'style' has the difficulty of demanding, if it is to be exact, a careful delimitation of the 'norm'. However, see Riffaterre, 'Criteria for Style Analysis' Word 15, 1, April, 1959, pp. 154-174; 'Stylistic Context', Word 16, 2, August, 1960, pp. 207-218 who sees the 'norm' as irrelevant since the reader depends on his own conception of the norm. See also chapter 8 below for further discussion.
45. Cf. Deutschbein, Max, Neuenglische Stilistik, Leipzig, 1929, cited M. Schlauch, The English Language in Modern Times, London, 2nd edition, 1964, p. 229. Deutschbein pointed out that 'levels of style' correspond 'to certain types of social environment and different occasions in the same environment'. This concept of style relates to our use of register, Style is confined here to the consideration of the encoding and decoding of the literary 'message'.
46. This conclusion is borne out by the recent work of Tomori who, in a comparative study of performance in groups of Nigerian and English grammar school pupils, observed a severe stylistic restriction in the work of the Nigerian sample both in control of individual register ranges and of the structural resources of the language. Tomori, S.H.O.; 'A Study in the Syntactic Structures of the Written English of British and Nigerian Grammar School Pupils', Ph.D., London, 1967.

47. See Chapter 3.
48. Riffaterre, M., "The Stylistic Function", in Lunt, ed., The 9th International Congress of Linguists, p. 316, however, speaks of a "linguistics of the effects of the message" since, he asserts, "it is possible to discern in language various structures according to the viewpoint, and to construct various types of linguistic analysis to fit them". In our case the viewpoint of the 'encoder' (and the viewpoints of EL2 or EL1 decoders) make this at least more obviously true than in a totally EL1 writer/reader relationship.
49. Gregory, Michael, "Indirect Speech", Archivum Linguisticum, XVI, i, 1964, p. 70. (Rv. of R. Blackstone, Indirect Speech: Its Principles and Practice, London, 1962).
50. See Chapter 3. The need for paraphrase, or "cushioning", is in itself stylistically limiting as we shall attempt to show in chapter 7.
51. Of necessity some of these the examples are in the Kolokuma (K) dialect of Ijo which is very slightly different from Okara's dialect Ekpetiama (E). e.g. this inside smelling with anger.
- Kolokuma: wo bolóu konyemí
Ekpetiama: wo bolóu fúrúyemi.

Where the Kolokuma dialect is used it is indicated by K.
Where the dialects agree EK is used. I am grateful to Mr. F. A. Aganaba who acted as my informant in the sections dealing with Ijo in The Voice.

Tone marking: ^v as a superscript indicates high tone on the vowel indicated and on all subsequent vowels until / which marks the last high tone before following low tone(s) which are not marked with a superscript.

For Okara's declaration of his intention to 'translate almost literally from the African language native to the writer into whatever European language he is using as the medium of expression' see 'African Speech...

English Words', p. 15. See Williamson, Kay, and O.A. Egberipou, The Sound System and Spelling of Ijo, 3rd edition, Ibadan, 1968, especially pp. 15-19. See also Williamson, Kay, 'A Grammar of the Kolokuma Dialect of Ijo,' Cambridge, 1965.

52. Cf. Chomsky, No., Syntactic Structures, 's - Gravenhage, 1957, p. 15.
53. See below, Chapter 7.
54. Lindfors, Bernth, 'African Vernacular Styles in Nigerian Fiction', CIA Journal (Los Angeles), IX, 3, 1966, p. 271. See also a similar evaluation by Helene Jaffe, 'African Literary Studies', New Africa, 5, 9, September, 1963, p. 13.
55. But see Chapter Five, note 30.

56. On the question of deviation in style see e.g. Guirand, P., 'Stilistiques', Neophilologus, XXXVIII, 1954, pp. 1-11; Havranek, B., 'The Functional Differentiation of the Standard Language', and Mukarovsky, J., 'Standard Language and Poetic Language' both in ed. Garvin, A Prague School Reader, pp. 3-16 and 17-30; Spitzer, Leo, Linguistics and Literary History, Princeton, 1948; Saporta, S., 'The Application of Linguistics to the Study of Poetic Language', in ed. Sebeok, op. cit., pp. 91-92. Juilland, A.G., in a review essay in Language, 30, 1954, pp. 318, note 5, and Leech, G.N., 'Linguistics and the Figures of Rhetoric', in ed. Fowler, op. cit., pp. 139-147, have mentioned the difficulty of establishing the norm. See also chapter 8 below and the articles by Riffaterre cited; Ohmann, R., 'Generative Grammars and the Concept of Literary Style', Word, 20, 3, 1964, pp. 423-439.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEXIS AND TRANSFERENCE

Though the effects of translation on style are discernible at the level of grammar, the most immediately noticeable influence of attempts to adapt English in the light of the L1 is to be found at the level of lexis. Once again, the deviation is most frequently deliberate in that it involves the selection of what are apparently L1 forms (lexical items or collocations) for purposes of expression. This may in particular cases either be because the L1 item is felt to be 'untranslatable', and that no EL2 possible equivalent will do, or because, although an EL2 close equivalent does exist, an L1 item is somehow felt to contribute to the 'Africanness' of the expression.¹ Frequently, items and collocations drawn from the spoken forms of EL2 (or from WAP) are encountered. In such instances, it is difficult to be certain of the consciousness or unconsciousness of the deviation, though for the most part conscious use of such items is evident from the co-text. Where such evidence is not apparent from the co-text, no external reason being clear for the inclusion of such an item, the deviation may be said to be 'unconscious'. It is generally the case, however, that this distinction is most easily perceived in the higher zones of bilingualism, where 'consciousness' of deviation is most frequently overt and 'artistic', and most difficult to maintain in the lower zones where L1 (or WAP) interference and influence are more predictable.

Where L1 lexical items appear in the EL2 text, it can be said that translation is to some extent partial in that such a part of the text remains an L1 form at some levels.² However, although such occurrences may appear to be the results of complete transference of the L1 item, this is in fact not the case.³ Pure transference, in which L1 forms appear in the EL2 text with L1 meanings, is possible, as Catford points out,⁴ but it does not occur in the corpus under consideration so far as we have been able to determine. This is, of course, to be expected as total transference of the formal and contextual meanings of an L1 item would appear to defeat the purpose of writing in EL2 for communicability outside the hypothetical speech community comprised of L1/EL2 speakers such a practice would pre-suppose. Naturally, we here assume that the writer does wish to communicate with a more or less defined readership and that obscurity of the kind mentioned, should it become a matter of consistent practice would defeat the purpose for using, and attempting to adapt, English as the medium of artistic communication in the first place. In short, the degree of communicability would be so low to either the L1, or EL1/EL2 readerships that the writer would have done far better justice to his art never to have ventured from the L1 at all. However, such a method suggests a wholly untranslatable L1 and fortunately we do not seem to be faced with any such language in West Africa. We are rather discussing the lack of equivalents in EL2/C2 for items in L1/C1 and the attempt to supply them in a literary form of EL2.

When Achebe mentions "the Idemili title" (TFA 6)⁵ he does so because there is no equivalent for it in EL2/C2. However, the lexical item

'Idemili' has not been wholly transferred into EL2. It has dropped its tonal features, it has received an initial capital in conformity with EL2 usage, it has not brought with it its formal grammatical meaning, or all of its formal lexical meaning, or all of its contextual meaning.⁶ Indeed, its contextual meaning to a non-Ibo reader is obscured by the item 'title' with which it collocates and which has a contextual meaning in EL1 involving C2 (English) ideas of nobility, command and so on. The collocation with 'Idemili' revises this contextual meaning into a rough approximation somewhat along the lines of 'an Ibo title showing that the man bearing it is of distinction in his society'. However, for example, Ibo titles are not awarded for services to the state as they often are in Europe, but are purchased with membership of a 'title', the distinction being that the man has by his efforts done sufficiently well to be able to afford it. When Achebe goes on to add that the title is "the third highest in the land", he further recontextualises it, but inequivalence remains - it is the third most expensive, it carries great respect, it is not inherited and it carries no direct office with it.

Many Nigerian novelists have attempted to ameliorate such sacrifices of the contextual meaning of L1 items by adopting the explanatory tag in parentheses, which is a resort to the device we term "cushioning" because of its resemblance to the use of synonyms paired in translation to avoid the presentation of unusual forms in the language.⁷ Here, of course, there is no reluctance to use 'unusual' forms and cushioning is a concession to the L1 contextual meaning of an item rather than a willingness to 'anglicize'. Such 'partial transfers'

(henceforward 'lexical transfers', their partial nature being assumed) are by far the most common form of adaptation applied to EL2 literary texts. Examples can be found at a glance.

They called him the little bird nza who so far forgot himself after a heavy meal that he challenged his chi.

(TFA 28, 163 similar)

Remove your jigida first. (TFA 65)

It is iba (TFA 69)

The Umunna digested the story (D 99)

the okwos tore the air, the drums vibrated under expert hands and the igele beat out the tempo meticulously (C 35) etc.

Lexical transfers may or may not be typographically marked with italics as part of the cushioning. Only very occasionally is cushioning absent from all occurrences of a lexical transfer in a particular text. Where such cushioning is reinforced with italicising of the lexical transfer it only serves to emphasise by graphological convention the conscious nature of the transfer. When no immediate cushioning at all is used as with 'okwos' and 'igele' above, cushioning of a kind is nevertheless evident in the co-text as they are clearly musical instruments, the one a wind instrument ('tore the air'), the other a kind of drum ('beat the tempo meticulously').

It would certainly appear that from a stand-point of literary evaluation such a method of covert cushioning is less obstrusive than the usual overt cushioning and less syntactically restrictive, avoiding as it does juxtaposed repetitions of the lexical transfer in EL2 equivalents. Such

EL2 equivalents used in cushioning, also, tend to remain at the same rank or a rank close on the rank scale.

e.g. lexical transfer + EL2 unit word (or unit group).

He had a bad chi, or personal god (TFA 16)

His own hut, or obi (TFA 13)

they did not say 'nno' or 'welcome'. (TFA 178)

Sokugo, the wandering disease (BG 17)

The umuada, that is the married daughters from each of these groups, headed by their ada, the family priestess... (WINW 129) etc.

There are occasional attempts to use lexical transfer (single items or collocations of items) without cushioning in the text, apart from marking by the use of italics.

the oriki of Ogun (I 126)

you want to be an alkalogholi (D 98)

Ijoma knew his chi was calling him. (TS 43) etc.

I sorry, oga (I 69)

In Soyinka's The Interpreters, and Nwankwo's Danda, for example, this is the dominant treatment of lexical transfer and, as in Ike's Toads for Supper, it exists side by side with the familiar forms of cushioning. However, concessions to cushioning are made in the addition of glossaries to all three of these novels. The process of lexical transfer remains highly conscious, the EL1 and non-L1 readership being kept in mind,⁸ but the writer is at least liberated from the more obvious restrictions imposed by cushioning in the text. Ike uses overt

cushioning frequently and mainly departs from the practice when the transfer depends on the spontaneity of the item, either because (e.g. agbada, iroko) the transfer is already established in spoken forms of EL2 or because the transfer is one of L1 'speech functions' (greetings, curses, formulas etc.),⁹ or slang, even less susceptible of translation than items with a more easily defined referential meaning.

e.g. 'Oyibo!', 'Up, Cock Robin!', 'Supu!', and 'Akwukwo!' (TS 24.)
(Oyibo - European, pertaining to a white person; Supu - Igbo slang, used when referring to someone's verbosity; Akwukwo - Igbo for 'book', i.e. 'learned' cf. WAP 'know book', 'to be educated!')

Only rarely are lexical transfers 'pseudo', that is not restricted to an 'anglicized' form without tone or subscripts, but not apparently related to L1 graphology, though the anglicized form may pay attention to L1 phonology, e.g. 'Hahyeh' - Destiny (BM 193).

Such forms are anachronistic and have their nearest counterparts in the travel writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries before the C.M.S. orthographies and the orthography of Lepsius. It may be significant that Easmon, author of The Burnt-out Marriage, from which this last example is taken, has Krio as L1 in a very high degree of bilingual balance with EL1.

Significantly, after almost exclusive use of the technique of overt cushioning in the first two of his novels based on the theme of culture-conflict, Things Fall Apart and No Longer at Ease, Achebe should have gone on in the more exclusively 'traditional' Arrow of God to covert

cushioning as the main vehicle of lexical transfer.

Edogo left his own compound and sat in his father's Obi waiting for news (AG 201) [where 'father's' serves as the reminder that an obi is the hut of the family head and used for receiving visitor's.]

Oduche's promise to pick her icheku and udala did not console her (AG 205)

Nwafo looked at the ogene which lay by the wall, the stick with which it was beaten showing at its mouth (AG 205)

'But you are afraid to offend your host, and swallow ukwalanta (AG 204)

'I should say that my chi planned that it should not be so' (AG 208) etc.¹⁰

Occasionally, the method breaks down in Arrow of God and we get a lengthy piece of overt cushioning. In the example that follows the L1/C1 'meaning' is not immediately apparent at the first instance of transfer.

[This] man from Unmaro having drunk his friend's palm wine reached for his ikenga and split it in two. I may explain that ikenga is the most important fetish in the Ibo man's arsenal, so to speak. It represents his ancestors to whom he must make daily sacrifice. When he dies it is split in two; one half is buried with him and the other half if thrown away. So you can see the implication of what our friend from Unmaro did in splitting his host's fetish." (AG 45)

A certain softening of so careful and extensive an instance of overt cushioning is achieved by inserting the passage into a conversation between the two expatriates Winterbottom and Clarke, but the technique is nonetheless based on the familiar consideration of the readership and the author's need to achieve intelligibility of C1 in EL2. At its most obvious, this type of extended overt cushioning is at the root of what we call the informational style of much West African writing in English. A striking example of recent years is to be seen in Wand of Noble Wood which has the technique as its major vehicle.¹¹

A further type of cushioning of lexical transfer is that which we term the hybrid collocation. This type of transfer is not very common and involves the lexical transfer of an L1 item into a habitual EL1 collocation of which one member may be regarded as a translation equivalent of the transferred item.

e.g. 'Oh, Chukwu forbid!' - Igbo, Chukwu - God
into the habitual EL1 collocation 'God forbid
(ODS 41) (cf. 'May Ani forbid!' (ODS 40)).

A distinction must also be made between two further types of lexical transfer. The one we may term cultural transfer in that it becomes necessary because no equivalent of a sufficiently high probability is discerned in the lexicon of EL1. Many of these have already been absorbed into spoken forms of EL2. Particularly common are those items referring to dress, food, and titles of rulers presumably because they have a high potential usage.¹² However, cultural transfer is not of necessity sanctioned by EL2 spoken forms though such sanction tends to lessen the occurrence of cushioning.

e.g. agbada, utazi (soup), egusi (soup), kola,
iroko (tree) foo-foo/fufu, garri, (all general),
jigida (TFA 65), chi, (TFA 28 etc.) Shehu, Oba, etc.

Cushioning, at group rank or a rank higher in the grammatical hierarchy, remains possible, but is rarely employed when such cultural transfer is necessary and reinforced by acceptance of the item in spoken forms of EL2. Cushioning by the use of restricted languages, which can be said to be in some sense acultural, cutting across immediate C1/C2 inequivalences, are rare. Such a method is perhaps too blatantly non-literary and anyway outside the immediate situation¹³ of the conscious attempt to form a specifically 'African' EL2. Only one example has come to our notice in West African fiction: 'the ofo plant (Detarium Senegalense)', (WNNW. 33).

We may also define as the other part of this distinction that which we may call gratuitous transfer. In keeping with the specifically literary motivation of lexical transference generally certain lexical transfers from the L1 are employed even though there is a translation equivalent of very high probability for the L1 item in EL1/EL2.¹⁴

e.g. nno, or welcome (TFA 178 etc.)

As a speech function it has a close EL1 equivalent, though this is by no means common for speech functions generally. It is a minor point, perhaps, but it is clear that whereas chi ('personal god') has no C2/EL2 equivalent (unless it be 'guardian angel' (WNNW 114) which is hardly the same at all)¹⁵ and obi is not simply 'hut' but a particular hut used by the head of the family. Examples are often more strikingly gratuitous.

e.g. ilu oyinbo (I 106) - 'white man's country' - 'Europe'

ekan (I 52) - elephant grass.

tanwiji (I 85) - mosquito larva.

akaloghi (D 133 etc.) - n'er-do-well.

The term 'gratuitous transfer' carries with it no value judgement, for it is simply used to denote the existence in EL2 of a satisfactory translation equivalent. It is not as common as might be supposed as, unlike the above examples, the item may not be as straightforwardly referential. For example, dibia (AG 194 etc.) could be said to have equivalents in 'witch-doctor', 'native-priest' etc., but the EL2 equivalents do not convey the proper degree of solemnity and importance of the dibia in traditional society intended by Achebe. In this case the EL2 equivalent is too closely associated with earlier C2 condescension towards traditional society and religion. Since this is part of the item's contextual meaning, gratuitous transfer cannot be said to be independent of the artistic motive. Indeed this may be said to be true of lexical transfer in general. Moreover, the existence of an EL2 translation equivalent in no way presupposes its use in the EL2 variety. Gower, for example, has noted the extensive borrowing of items from English although L1 (Swahili) equivalents may often be found existing side by side with the loans. Perhaps the most revealing point made by Gower is that such loanwords in Swahili are bound to vaguely 'European' situations: e.g. football terms, war-time service, and the slang of 'spivs'.¹⁶ The declared 'African' literary intention is in itself prejudicial to the selection of an L1 item where the ties to C1 are sufficiently strong to rule out any C2/EL2 equivalent there may be.

Most of the lexical transfer noted in West African writing in English concerns the transfer of nominals, the most common being at word rank with occasional transfer at group rank maintaining L1 nominal/adjectival relationships.

e.g. ilu oyinbo (I 106) - Europe, country of the white man.
the nunu ozala, the nwa nza ... (WNW 115) - Igbo musical forms.
iyi ocha (WNW 100 etc.) - deity, a powerful juju in Iboland.
iyi uwa (BAB 46) - associated with the ogbaiye (Igbo),
abiku (Yoruba) 'Children' who die young
when the spirit inhabiting them is recalled.

The distinctions concerning the lexical transfer of nominals (cushioning, gratuitous etc.) also apply to group transfer. Such group transfer remains largely lexical though transfer at the grammatical level is seen in the maintenance of L1 formal relations in so far as they exist within the group. Though transfer at the level of grammar is involved the process nevertheless is essentially that of lexical transfer in that such transfer appears to be confined to fixed or high frequency L1 collocations.

The fact that most transfers involve nominals rather than other classes would appear to have quite simple explanations. First, it is inherent in nominals that they are more narrowly referential than other classes and that specific instances outside the field of overlap in the 'thought mass' between C1 and C2 are easily 'nameable' concepts and referents in one or the other language as vehicle of C1 or C2.¹⁷ It is predominantly such 'nameable' concepts that the West African writer is

trying to convey into C2/EI2. There is a great deal more overlap in the thought mass¹⁸ in the verb and adjective, where the 'action', and 'state' form a more limited class semantically than 'concept' or 'object', or where it is more closely tied to the level of grammar. There is far less chance of offending communication in preservation of the grammar of EI1 in EI2. It is also apparent that nominals are more readily cushioned by the immediate co-text than, say, the verb.

e.g. (1) He X-ed the deer.

(2) He hunted the X.

In (1) cushioning is only implied in so far as X is something that can be done involving deer (skin, shoot, eat etc.) whereas in (2) X is largely cushioned by 'hunted' (the kind of animal one hunts - for food, or because one can afford to - depending on the culture). In the case of the verb and adjective there are a finite number of 'actions' and 'states', and both of them rely on the properties of the nominal referent in delimiting just what these 'actions' or 'states' are. That is to say, that collocational restriction tends to occur more in the direction nominal to verb (/adjective) rather than vice versa.¹⁹

e.g. (1) He shot the deer.

But not: He drank the deer.

(2) The red deer.

But not: The paperbound deer.

Nominals are most frequently the subject of lexical transfer since they convey the C1 material desired by the writer and because they comply with the conscious or unconscious reluctance to offend at the level of

grammar. Further, there is an apparent reluctance to indulge in grammatical translation, that is to mix, even in a systematic way, the levels of grammar and lexis of the two languages concerned.²⁰ It is striking that we are aware of only a very few cases in which the grammatical marker of pluralization -s is added to a lexical transfer where the contextual unit implies plurality - 'ozelas' (D 139), 'ozos' (D 16), Uwadiégwus (D 59), all of which are from the same source.²¹

Transfers above group rank in the grammatical hierarchy are, not surprisingly since they involve a diversion from EL2 adaptation, rare. However, there are examples in the literature, most of them closely tied in contextual meaning to the immediate situation in the narrative. They may be used again for 'local colour' and may be cushioned either covertly or overtly.

e.g. Ole! E fi 'gbati fun yeye! (I 117)

Thief! Give the bastard a slap! (author's glossary)

Se wa s'omo fun wa? (I 84)

Will you act as a dutiful son should?, i.e.

look after the elders (glossary)

Otasili osukwu Onyenkuzi Fada (NLE 50)

E misisi ya oli awo - o

Which translated into English is as follows:

'Palm-fruit eater, Roman Catholic teacher,

His missus a devourer of toads'.

'Madam. Won ni npe yin wa.' (I 58)

Egbo looked round wildly, hardly daring to believe.

Simi was no longer there.

Such transfers above group rank maintain a larger degree of L1 formal and contextual relations, but they nevertheless extend the sum of these, their meanings, and enter into contextual relations with the EL2 co-text with which they co-occur. That is to say that their L1 meanings are preserved internally, but are modified by or modify the co-text. It is therefore, not true to say that they wholly preserve L1 meanings.

A few lexical transfers are found which are much less transposable than in the case of nominals, which can be said to preserve a certain independence of contextual meaning and to constitute in some sense a form of nodal semantic element in the contextual unit on transfer. These fall into two main groups: those which are designated 'speech functions' and those reliant on L1 phonology, which we may term 'phono-lexical transfers', since they are lexical items more closely involved with phonological features of L1 in their contextual meaning than is implied in the normal interdependence of the level of lexis and the (inter-) level of phonology.²²

Speech functions (greetings, curses, exclamations, ritual responses) are to a high degree 'culture-bound', that is they are bound to context of situation in that they are confined in use to L1 contextual units and may have no C2/EL2 equivalents.²³ They belong to registers in L1 which are not, before transfer into EL2, found in EL1 (or EL2) varieties of the language. Such speech functions occur most commonly at 'word' and 'group'

rank, e.g.

- 'Kwezuenu!'
- 'Hem!'
- (AG 31)
- Umuofia kwenu, roared Evil Forest
- "Yaa!" replied the thunderous crowd. (TFA 84)
- Akwasa - exclamation, (Igbo) of admiration (TS 9)
- Oliaku - Igbo, greeting for married women, lit.
'consumer of wealth' (TS 85)
- Makakwu - Igbo, slang, 'clot', 'nit wit' (TS 136)
- Alakori - Yoruba, 'ne'er do-well' (I 117)
- olulu ofu - Igbo, formula opening to folktales (NLE 59)
- omo ole! - Yoruba, 'child of a thief'. (I 117)
- Aahn ama! - Ijo exhortation (V 146)
- Ewoo! - a cry of distress (Ef. 48, 217)
- Ndo - Igbo, sympathetic word, 'sorry', 'how sad' (TS 78)
- Olorun ma je - Yoruba, 'God forbid'. (TS 95)
- Supa! - Igbo slang for 'verbose'(?), (TS 24) etc.

Occasionally, attempts are made to form an EL2 translation equivalent, usually by literal translation, which results in 'unusual' collocations in terms of EL1. This is often behind the so-called 'archaism' in West African writing in English, discussed more fully in

the next chapter, especially in terms of address such as 'My father', 'My brother', etc., where the L1 item indicates relationships in terms of C1 (respect, familiarity),

'Is that me?' - Igbo, lit., the reply to calls from
outside, or a knock on the door,

'Who is it?' (TFA 38)

Ash buttocks - (TFA 158)

'Have you returned, my husband?' (Ef 58)

'Ogonine, the daughter of my friend,
the daughter of Efuru and Adizua. Why have you ...?' (Ef 90)

'So these are your eyes?' (Ef 212, 152, 148, 138)

(cf. Krio. 'Na yu yai dis?' - 'Fancy seeing you after
all this time!' Mild reproof.)

'He who brings kola, brings life'. (TFA 5 etc.)

'It is enough, Okonkwo.' (TFA 35)²⁴

'Go and burn your mother's genitals.' (TFA 141)²⁵

'Uzowulu's body, I salute you.' (TFA 84)

'Father of my mother' (AG 28)

'Son of our daughter' (AG 28)

'True word' (D 19)

'Only God knows, I am going.' (Ef. 91)²⁶

'We have no mouth to thank you.' (Ef 164)

As in the case of proverbs, occasional examples which are not translations of L1 forms, but which are attempts to 'sound' like them, are to be found.

... may Agbala shave your head with a blunt razor!

May he twist your neck until you see your heels (TFA 95)

Phono-lexical transfers, are less readily transferred than the purely lexical item, since they rely for a degree of their meaning on the phonology of the L1. They may include a degree of homophony, onomatopoeia, or a phonological 'expressiveness' (implying ridicule etc.)

e.g. Lifu, Igbo, 'to squander' (NLE 125) by a degree of

homophony with EL1 'leave' (vacation), becomes Igbo for 'leave' adding an extra dimension to EL1 'leave'.

Go - di - di - go - go - digo. Di - go - go di - go. (TFA 109)

an attempt to convey the sound of the ekwe, a talking drum made of a hollowed log.

Kliklikli! (D 21) - a cry of greeting demanding a response (Igbo).

Kwo Kwo Kwo Kwo Kwo (AG 101) - a formula cry made in giving thanks (by women)

'Nnna doh! Nna doh!' he wept, calling on his dead father to come to his aid. (AG 29)

Kome kome kokome kome kokome (AG 280) - the sound of ekwe-ogbazulodo (i.e. the ekwe of Ogbazulobodo a 'masquerade' spirit.)

gome gome gome (TFA 9) - sound of the ogene (the town-criers gong.)

anikiliya (MP 14) - (Pidgin) - the 'onomatopoeiac' name given
to a rickety bicycle.

katakata (MP 16) - (Pidgin) trouble, the reduplication is
'expressive'.

Oyekoko moniran)
) (I 157)

oyeroba) - described by Soyinka as 'meaningless
gibberish' they nevertheless conform to
L1 (Yoruba) phonology to some extent.
They are 'gibberish' in the sense that
many 'recognisable' noises by singers
are not strictly lexical though they may
appear to obey phonological possibilities
in the language.

to, to, to (I 126) - a dripping sound.

his nose stood gem like the sound of a gong (AG 12)

gaga (I 117) - a certain meaning is expressed in this
Yoruba reduplicated equivalent of 'spectacles' (i.e.
with two glasses).

Similar phonological considerations are also apparent in Okara's
attempts to transfer reduplication in 'superlative' modifiers in Ijo
into EL2 by repetition of the premodifying lexical items. Though Okara
is consistent here in his effort to reproduce L1 textual material, his
attempt, unlike the examples given above, is largely gratuitous. The
phonological grammatical marking is a difference of grammar and, once
again, Okara has confused grammar with semantics.

cold cold (V 106)

E. ^v
doodoo

smile smile

E. deri ^vderi (V 79)

yesterday-yesterday (V 88)

E. bubai bubai (only yesterday)²⁷

A further feature of lexical transfer is that which we term 'mixed transfer', which involves the collocation of an L1 lexical transfer with an EL2 item. It should be noted that the 'English' item is an EL2 item (and not an EL1 item) both by virtue of its collocation, and therefore affected formal/contextual relations, and its not infrequent assignment to a contextual unit different from that which it may have occupied in EL1.

e.g. <u>egusi</u>	soup	(NLE 21) - melon seed <u>stew</u>
<u>utazi</u>	soup	(AG 226)
<u>Okro</u>	soup	(WVP 8)
<u>ogbono</u>	soup	(Ef. 29)
<u>nsala</u>	soup	(Ef. 6)
<u>ogulu-aro</u>	disease	(AG 274)
<u>mkpulu yams</u>		(WVP 29)
<u>agbada jumpa</u>		(WVP 14) - [EL1 'jumper' changed in meaning.]

Whereas such mixed collocations can be seen to include overt cushioning of L1 items in the literary text, many of them (notably those for food e.g. 'egusi soup') are high frequency collocations in spoken forms of EL2. Their original function also appears to have been one of cushioning in spoken forms of EL2, but it is inaccurate to claim that in every case they are used in this way by the writers who have adopted them from spoken forms.

We now come to those transfers which exhibit in EL2, EL1 phonological/graphological exponents which by association with L1/C1 items and their contextual units may be said to preserve in some sense L1 meanings which may deviate from the usual EL1 meanings of the items - that is to say they are distinctively EL2 items. In borrowing such loan-translations, or calques, are very common.²⁸ However, we may not use the term 'calque' and remain consistent, for whereas borrowing involves the adoption by, for example, an EL1 user of L1 items (his L2 therefore) into EL1, the process we are examining takes place in the opposite direction with an L1 user transferring L1 items into a second language. To maintain this distinction, with its profoundly important aspects of motivation in the choice of items, we therefore prefer the term translation transfer, which in its apparent contradiction serves to emphasise the retention of L1 features in an apparently EL2 form. Generally such transfer involves literal translation of high frequency L1 collocations.

e.g. ten and one

Igbo: ̀ili nà ̀ofu

ten and one (TFA 48)

mother-cow (TFA 64)

Igbo: ̀nne efi (cf. Krio, kau mami)

medicine house (TFA 13)

Igbo: ̀umo ̀ogwù

house medicine ('charms' and drugs are not distinguished and this collocation is used in modern Igbo for 'hospital').

a fight of blame (TFA 12)²⁹

European post (NLE 7) - a post which would
have been occupied by a European in colonial days, i.e.
'senior-service post'

market week (TFA 26)

Igbo: izù - a 'week' of four days.

the nuts of the water of heaven (TFA 118)

Igbo: akú mmīli igwī

palm-kernels of water of heaven. (i.e. hail)

heavy face (TFA 122)

Igbo: gbudùbà iru

(approx) heavy face

close to EL1 'a long face'

ashmouthed (MP 139) etc.

These transfers are closely related to items which are strictly speaking translation transfers, but in which an EL2 choice has been made of an EL1 item from the same set as the more 'accurate' translation equivalent which may be deliberate or may be due to bilingual imbalance. Except in the case of the last example below where the co-text places it low on the cline, the distinction remains vague.

Your head is not correct (NLE 62)

Igbo: isī ezurù lí òkè

head incorrect you complete.

(EL1 'you are not right in the head')

he could stand the look of blood (TFA 10)

o ñwèlù ikē inē òbàlà anyā

he has strength to look blood eye.

(EL1 'he could stand the sight of blood', possibly under the influence of attempting to locate an EL2 equivalent of the same class, i.e. 'to look at'.)

none of the lessons that day agreed to enter her head (ALRS 37)

Under direct L1 influence:

Igbo: Onwero ifē omolu ùbaosè à kwelu aba n'isie.

nothing something he learnt day that agree to enter head his.

However, by far the most consistent single source of lexical items not found in varieties of EL1 which appear in the literary forms of EL2 is provided by the spoken forms of EL2 already in use. It is at this point also that we reach a further point of distinction for whereas, as the above examples have demonstrated, the highest frequency of lexical transfer in its various forms is observable in the upper zones of bilingualism. This is in keeping with the observation that lexical transfer in the literary corpus under discussion is a dominantly conscious operation. In the case of items already in spoken forms of EL2 which appear in the literary corpus conscious use may not be so readily determined.

This is due to the rather obvious fact that the EL2 spoken forms are not subject to the relatively high degree of bilingual balance required for recontextualisation of lexical transfers in EL2. They are rather part of the language experience, and therefore potentially of the competence and performance, of a far wider social spectrum and the consequent span on the cline of bilingualism. In short, their currency and use is not restricted on the cline. Further, such items are strikingly less local in that they cut across immediate C1's and are more nearly associated with manifestations of C2 in the community as a whole. They are not, that is, confined to particular C1's, but are associated with C2. It is pointed out that C2 is not, as it were, the C1 of an EL1 speaker adopted by the bilingual, but an amalgam of an African C1 and the imported culture (including the colonial legacy of geographically, rather than linguistically, delimited nationality). This fact is emphasised by the observation that a high proportion, though not all, of such EL2 items are not nationally defined, but occur widely in English-speaking West Africa. Such wide occurrence would also suggest a dominance of C2 in some situations over the various C1s. The exhaustive listing of such EL2 items is properly the concern of the lexicographer in such projects as the Dictionary of West African English.³⁰ However, though such a task mainly involves material outside our corpus, certain occurrences are observable and classifiable within our terms of reference. A high proportion of such items exhibit polysemy. That is they may retain their EL1 meanings as well as their EL2 meanings.³¹

add (weight)	v.	to put on weight	(WNW 60)
alligator pepper	n.	seeds chewed as stimulant with kola	(Ef. 4)
been-to	n.	a person who has been to Europe or America	(WVP 73)
bitterleaf	n.	a green leaf used for 'soup'	(MP 52)
branch	v.	to stop by	(AG 54)
bride-price	n.	money and/or goods paid to bride's family.	(MP 157)
broomstick	n.	a palm leaf spine used in bunches for brooms	(AG 173)
bush	(1) n.	coppice, wood	(TFA 186)
	(2) n.	jungle, country-side	(AG 125, TFA 134 etc.)
	(3) adj.	stupid, illiterate	(MP 44, 133 etc.)
bushman	n.	rustic, yokel, stupid person, illiterate	(Af. 44)
chop	(1) n.	food	(DP 12)
	(2) v.	eat	(MP 167)
cork back	v.	replace the stopper.	(WNW 73)
corrupt	v.	to bribe	(SM 245)
dane-gun	n.	locally made gun. ³²	
dash	(1) n.	present; bribe.	
	(2) v.	give as a present; to bribe.	
downstair	n.	ground floor of a house	(BT 15)
dowry	n.	bride-price, paid by the <u>groom</u> to the bride's family	(Ef. 160)

ex-serviceman	n.	someone who was in the army at the time referred to but may not be when the utterance is made.	(Ef. 242)
fancy (for)	n.	(for) show.	(PC 90)
footway	n.	footpath	(TFA 53)
fun	n.	an enjoyable thing, a thing not be taken seriously	(AG. 137)
horn	v.	sound a car horn	(PC 72)
invitee	n.	invited guest	(LBG 52)
lady	n.	woman, girl (SL 12, WG. 41)	
leg (to give)	v.	to accompany to the door or part of the way when a guest leaves	(D 73)
mammy-wagon	n.	passenger lorry, so called as it carries women to market.	(WNW 93; Af. 55)
meet	v.	find	(WG 15)
outhouse	n.	porch, covered verandah	(MP 128, 131 etc.)
pack	v.	to move house	(PC 62)
palaver	n.	trouble	(MP 167 etc.) ³³
play	n.	something not to be taken seriously, fun	(MP 140, TFA 66,)
pleasure-car	n.	private car.	(NLE 78)
put-to-bed	v.	give birth.	(C 110)
praise name	n.	name given to indicate a person's special accomplishments.	(D 40)
Senior wife	n.	wife married first (cf. junior wife)	(AG 2)
soup	n.	stew	(NLE 21, Ef. 6, WVP 8, etc.)

storey-building	n.	house with more than one floor, an 'upstairs'	(Ef. 192)
up-and-down	n.	women's dress made up of bodice and wrapper	(MP 154)
vono	n.	sprung bed (from a trade name)	(WNW 39)
waking	n.	a wake	(PC 108) ³⁴

Certain items observable in EL2 may be divided from these on the grounds that they are drawn from WAP. In such cases their wide currency throughout West Africa may be explainable in terms of the wide influence of Krio throughout the coast.³⁵

beg	v.	ask to do something in return for (money)	(MP 135)
bo	(1) n.	friend, mate (familiar) cf. Krio	(BF 35)
	(2)	an exclamation (of wonder, surprise, etc.)	
cunny	n.	slyness	(I 84)
fit	v.	to be suitable for	(V 143)
go	v.	will	(AG 137)
I-go-drive-myself	adj.	a learner driver, originally abuse by unemployed taxi-drivers who disapprove of people who drive their own cars	(WNW 117)
krafish	n.	crayfish	(JN. 86)
small small	adj.	(superlative) very small	(V 128)
vex	v.	to be angry with; 'You vex with me'	(PC 100)
wee-wee	n.	marijuana	(MP 148)

Further sub-classification of EL2 as exemplified by those examples given above is also possible.

1. Items peculiar to EL2: chop, dash, palaver.
2. Items from EL1 recontextualised as items in EL2: add, branch, bush (1, 2, 3.), dowry, fun, fancy, lady, outhouse, pack, play, vono.
3. EL2 compounds and high frequency collocations involving 'unusual' collocations and compounding of elements due to recontextualisation: alligator pepper, bitterleaf, bride-price, character assassination, cork back, dane-gun, footway, pleasure-car, senior wife, storey-building, up-and-down.
4. EL2 compounds composed of one distinctively EL2 element and an EL1 element. The EL1 element may be seen as preserving its EL1 formal and contextual relations but adding to them those arising from its new EL2 relations. That is it changes in total meaning: bushman, mammy-wagon.

Similar subclassification is possible for all items from the spoken forms of EL2 in West African writing in English. What is surprising, however, is that such items are considerably less frequent - except in the case of WAP dialogues, where the frequency is intense though the dialogues themselves are comparatively infrequent in the corpus (e.g. MP)³⁶ - than lexical transfer or translation transfer of L1 items and forms. This tendency has in itself far-reaching literary effects and would appear to have direct bearing on the future of the literary forms of EL2, or rather on the emergence of a literary 'dialect'

possessed of any high degree of uniformity.

Izevbaye has observed that there appears to be a willingness on the part of the West African writer using English as the medium of literary expression to conform to those critical canons emphasising the need for the writer to draw upon 'vulgar speech'.³⁷ However, as our evidence has shown, this is not strictly speaking the case. There is, indeed, far less emphasis on the selection of items from spoken forms of EL2, than there is on a highly conscious use of transference in its various forms. This is not to say that all transference is conscious - the high frequency in EL2 spoken forms of mixed collocations being the notable example - but only that conscious transference, indicated particularly by cushioning in its different guises, is dominant in the literary use of EL2. (When Edmund Blunden, for example, or T. S. Eliot, made an appeal for attention to the 'vulgar tongue' in poetry they had a specifically first language situation in mind.³⁸) Nor can we, on much the same grounds, draw worthwhile parallels, as critics are wont to do, to such tours de force as the novels of James Joyce. In linguistic terms the problems can be seen to be primarily ones of meaning, arising from the need to adapt one language in the light of another quite different. Joyce's obscurities are still susceptible to 'decoding' in terms of the total network of relations in an EL1 co-text, whereas these relations need to be set up in the EL2 text since L1-based items do not, before their appearance in EL2, have the total network of an EL1 item to aid the interpretation of their meanings. EL1 obscurities are always in some way cushioned by their relations to the language as a whole, EL2

items introduced in a literary text frequently are not.

Such a limitation on meaning in the transference of L1 items into EL2 is one of the root causes of Okara's failure in The Voice, perhaps the main example of sustained translation transfer in West African writing in English. We have remarked in the preceding chapter that Okara's violence to syntax must remain superficial since he is in error in seeing syntax as the major vehicle of meaning. In the case of his experiment at the level of lexis superficiality is inevitable, since he cannot, while carefully excluding cushioning, maintain meaning. The result has been that he has been forced to surrender transference of L1 meaning to a form of deliberate eccentricity. This frequently takes the form of the deliberate choice of an item from EL1 (or EL2) possible translation equivalents for its unusualness even where a high probability equivalent is apparent.³⁹ This would, of course, be perfectly acceptable if the choice contributed to the solution of the problem of meaning or added a dimension of significance to the text as a whole. Unfortunately, it usually does not. Where Okara, for example, frequently uses 'insides' (V 11, 22 etc.) we quickly establish it as a convention for EL1 'mind'.⁴⁰ Such gratuitous deviation, indeed, reveals a basic limitation in its failure to recognise that it is outside the field of overlap of C1 and C2 that the real challenge of meaning lies. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point.

- | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|-------|----------|---|
| chest | (V 9) | - E. | agbobú | - chest <u>or</u> courage. |
| inside | (V 11) | - EK. | bólou | - inside (e.g. of a box)
<u>or</u> mind. |
| straight thing | (V 155) | - E. | gomu yéé | - straight thing (e.g. a
stick) <u>or</u> truth. |

The fact that 'inside' (e.g. of a box or a room) is the most frequent EL1 equivalent of Ijo b^volou is not at all relevant to its choice in Okara's use of EL2. As a writer who may be placed very high in relation to the cline, Okara is well aware of the close correspondence of the EL1 translation equivalent 'soul' (or even 'heart' as the seat of feeling). His choice of the least likely translation equivalent is, therefore, based on deliberate obscurity, the very opposite of the motivation for adaptation of English as a literary language by West African writers in general, or indeed the general artistic attempt to elucidate the literary message through stylistic choice. This preoccupation with 'difference' for its own sake, rather than as the only means to communication on the literary plane, must remain the major indictment of Okara's failure in the medium of his craft. It is a failure based on a misinterpretation of the nature of language, rather than, as some critics would have us believe, on so vague an assertion as that Okara's success is precluded by his attempts to apply a poetic talent to fiction.⁴¹ Along that path lies the trap that awaits all who would beg the question of the incompatibility of 'the language of poetry' and 'the language of prose'. What is, however, possible is that such fundamental weaknesses of meaning are more noticeable in prose released as they are from the firmer control over the decoding of the literary message by the reader which Valéry and others have seen as distinguishing the nature of poetry from that of prose.⁴² Released from the tight-knit network of relations within the carefully delimited co-text that makes up the whole poem, the decoding of such items is less easily controlled within the co-text and

and in the inadequacy of their 'self-reliance' their real weakness becomes apparent.

Much the same weakness is observable in Okara's creation of EL2 compound modifiers from Ijo.⁴³

wrong - doing - filled (V 24)

E. gbali miēminiyo bein nimi

wrong do + continuous + place fill (past)

know - nothing (V 27)

EK. nimigha

know (+ negative)

black - coat - wearing (V 62, 63)

E. dirima koti tuawonimi

black coat wearing (now).

Such compound modifiers are largely the result of Okara's conscious effort to conform to the MH nature of the Ijo nominal group and part of their failure is due to his over-estimation of syntax as the vehicle of meaning. Semantically, such items are not in any obvious way contributory and the same argument that we applied to nominals above may be used to assess these compound modifiers. However, there is an added dimension in that it is possible that Okara is acting under the influence of such modern EL1 literary practice as seen in the work of, say, Dylan Thomas or Hopkins.⁴⁴ From a literary, evaluative view-point, it could be suggested that Okara's preoccupation with the source and the device, rather than with the device and the semantic encoding, limits his

effectiveness. This is demonstrable within our corpus when examples such as those given here are compared to similarly L1-based compounds in Achebe's work where they are more closely associated with semantic features of a specifically literary, imaginative kind, e.g. earth heat (TFA 31), Igbo,

oku ani (hot earth)⁴⁵

A distinction, of course, is that whereas Achebe is concerned with both transfer and the maintenance of the semantics, Okara is preoccupied with the mechanics of the transfer. In at least one example, Okara sacrifices clarity to a hopeless attempt to maintain vestiges of an L1 collocation.

this standing moment (V 156)

EK. béi tíe kiri

this /stand ground/
moment

The collocates 'tíe' and 'kiri' are equivalent to 'moment' and are semantically descriptive in collocation. No literary or linguistic sense is made by collocating the lexical translation equivalent of one collocate with the translation equivalent of the whole collocation.

Such observations bring us once more to the important distinction made above between borrowing and transference in the sense that we are using it here. Borrowing, the adoption of items from a language or languages into an L1, is perhaps one of the oldest preoccupations of the philologist and linguist, closely connected as it is with their etymological interests in lexicography. Haugen's more recent attempts

to analyse linguistic borrowing in American English are, perhaps, most notable for their insistence on a knowledge of bilingualism as a sound basis of classification.⁴⁶ However, attention has hitherto been almost exclusively confined to first-language situations and, indeed, in view of the comparatively recent appearance of anything that can fairly be called a 'world language' this is hardly surprising. There has in recent years been a notable increase in the emphasis on the sociological forces involved in borrowing which was given impetus by such work as that of Weinreich on bilingualism.⁴⁷ Borrowing into an L1 appears to be almost universal and very often takes place between languages every bit as distant as English and the West African languages. Inui mentions the high frequency of loans from English in modern Japanese, and Saito, listing 11,000 such loans since 1945, complains that in modern Japan it is impossible not 'to lead our modan raifu (modern life) in a derakkusu aparto (deluxe apartment), putting a jampa (jumper) on, watching puro resu (short for professional wrestling) on the kara terebe (colour TV) and enjoying drinking at the homu ba (home bar).⁴⁸

However, our concern differs from this in that it is a process, as in the case with borrowing from English in Modern Norwegian,⁴⁹ that is largely concentrated in the written language. Secondly, the process of transfer takes place in the opposite direction. That is to say that it is a process only possible in a second language situation where the second language is adapted in the light of C1/L1. The writer works from C1/L1 rather than from EL1 or EL2. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the process is predominantly literary in intention.

This aspect of literary motivation cannot be over-estimated for, in keeping with the broadly 'sociological' nature of the transposition of items from one language to another (whatever the direction), it largely determines the L1 material to be transferred. Indeed, in this way, transference in our corpus is a far narrower process than borrowing in the opposite direction. As Stene pointed out in his study of English loans in Norwegian, the observation of such a process as this has the advantage of observation of the phenomenon as it happens, but time has not 'sorted' the linguist's material.⁵⁰ In a sense, time, or the diachronic determination of the permanence of individual transfers, cannot 'sort' a synchronic description. Permanence to any degree is likely to be imparted to the categories of transfer rather than to the items themselves for, as they appear, they are isolated and artificial. What we have been able to suggest, however, is that the process exhibits certain factors which may prove more or less constant if the present preoccupation with the literary adaptation of EL2 continues. Problems of L1 meanings in the transfer of speech functions, for example, may be said to be in some degree constant.

Time will, however, be the judge of whether the need for the process remains or whether the increase of L1 literatures might not confine EL2 literature to a relatively small group of writers. Fragmentation of national political structures in West Africa is now familiar, it is a hope, not a firmly established fact, that such difficulties will be overcome and that deep-seated as the problems are they will not bring about fragmentation within the widening frontiers of a literature in a

world language. Be that as it may, in following the path he does the West African writer pays a heavy price. At the levels of grammar and lexis alone such features as cushioning take their toll of the flexibility necessary to sustain literary creation. The answer, perhaps, does not lie so much in the development of L1 literatures, which would solve an immediate problem, but leave a large part of mankind the poorer, but in the writing of a literature for an EIL2 readership. The world audience need not be excluded, it would simply have to make a little effort. The writing we are discussing here (particularly that in the higher zones of bilingualism) is, however, written largely in a spirit of commitment to the establishment of the acceptance of Africa in its proper place in the world as well as in the spirit of 'art'.⁵¹ The price of this duality is felt at all levels in the literature from the choice of a subject and the examination of character⁵² to the restriction in the stylistic possibilities of the medium itself.

The fact that the greatest number of transfers are seen to be nominals, as we have remarked, is explicable in terms of the use of C1/L1 material, but the stylistic effect is one of a high degree of concentration on the nominal. Nominality of style has far-reaching consequences, involving as it does here the need for cushioning and even as part of its nature the restriction of the average number of clauses in the sentence.⁵³ Hemmed in by the linguistic effects of his chosen course, the writer in seeking to liberate his medium paradoxically too often does precisely the opposite.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. See Chapter 4, "The Choice of a Language".
2. Cf. Catford, op. cit., pp. 21, 72. If all purely lexical items of the L1 text are retained, translation being confined to the level of grammar, we should have grammatical translation of the L1 text into EL2, the converse of lexical translation from EL2 into L1, (Catford, p. 72). However, in the cases mentioned here the retention of L1 lexical items is confined to only one or two isolated items in the EL2 translation equivalent of the L1 form.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
4. Ibid., pp. 43 ff. Like Catford (pp. 35 ff) we see meaning, in Firthian terms as "the total network of relations entered into by any linguistic form" these relations being both formal and contextual. Formal relations are those relations between a formal item and others in the same language. At the level of grammar the relation between units on the rank scale, between terms in a system, between a class and an element of structure of a higher rank, i.e. 'adverb' (unit word) - 'adverbial' adjunct (unit group), or between grammatical classes or items in a given text etc. At lexis formal relations can be seen between an item and the other members of an open set, and collocations in a text. Contextual relations refer to the relationship of items at one or other of the levels of form to "linguistically relevant elements in situations in which the elements operate", linguistic relevance being determined by commutation of items in a text or elements in a situation and noting whether

or not there is a change demanded in the text if the situational element is changed, or in the situation if an item is changed. The formal relations into which an item enters constitute its formal meaning and the range of situational elements relevant, to a linguistic form constitute its contextual meaning. Cf. also Ellis, J., 'On Contextual Meaning', in Bazell et al., eds., In Memory of J.R. Firth, London, 1966, pp. 79 ff.; Lyons, John, 'Firth's Theory of Meaning', ibid., pp. 288 ff.

5. L1 items taken from the novels are presented in the spelling in which they occur; in italics if they occur in the novels in italics. Such items are not tone-marked unless they are tone-marked in the text. Other examples are tone-marked. The same criterion applies to the inclusion of subscripts, e.g. o, u, e, i.
6. Catford, op. cit., p. 47, meets this problem by talking of the partial transference of meaning. Cf. Richardson, I., "Examples of Deviation and Innovation in Bemba", African Language Studies, IV, 1963, pp. 128-145. Richardson (pp. 132-133), under the heading "Assignment of Loanwords to Grammatical Classes", makes interesting remarks on the 'assimilation' of English loans in Bemba: "It was also discovered that assignment to a grammatical class may be affected by meaning. On being requested to 'borrow' the English word 'poverty', this informant immediately formed buu poverty... saying that this was the appropriate class for a word which described a state of affairs." (p. 133).
7. Stone, Howard, "Cushioned Loanwords", Word 9, 1, 1953, pp. 12-15, remarks on the use of paired synonyms and explanatory tags in the translation of Middle French medical texts.

8. It should be pointed out in fairness that it is not possible to say how much the glossaries were the authors' idea and how much pressure was exerted by the London-based publishers in both cases. The EL1 audience is acknowledged either way, however. Cf. Thompson, J., 'Dublin, Paris, Ibadan, Iowa City', African Forum, 1, 2, 1962, p. 109.
9. Cf. Kachru, Indianness, pp. 399-400. See later in this chapter for a fuller discussion of speech functions transferred in EL2 texts.
10. Cf. that man looked like yellow bark soaked eternally in agbo and boiled tough and arid. (I. 158)
the bush-path through tickling waves of ekan (I. 52)
the indigo streams from adire hung up to dry (I.126)
Şoyinka, as we have remarked, uses covert cushioning and cushioning through a glossary.
11. See Chapter 8 for further discussion of the informational style.
12. Where an L1 use is of high frequency and there is an apparently large number of EL1 possible translation equivalents, no one being singled out by use in EL2, some confusion is apparent, e.g. for the four sections of the kola nut the following equivalents are attempted, 'lobe' (AG 117), 'blade' (D 96) and an incorrect use of the botanical 'cotyledon' (WNNW 49).
13. See Ellis, "On Contextual Meaning", pp. 79 ff.

14. Demoz, A., "European Loanwords in an Amharic Newspaper", in John Spencer, ed., Language in Africa, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 116-122, points out (p. 122) the difficulty caused monolinguals by the introduction of French and English loanwords in Amharic. His assertion that "In cases where an exact Amharic equivalent is not available communication could perhaps be served better by coining a new word out of Amharic elements." However, the question of transfer is not governed by "exact" (whatever this may mean) equivalence but by the collection of broadly sociological, motivational factors contributing to the immediate situation involving transfer.
15. Nwankwo (D 154) in his glossary equates ofo, household deity 'symbolising a man's belief in his manhood' to the Roman lares which is cushioning by reference to a common culture which in an isolated way has become part of C2.
16. Gower, R. H., "Swahili Borrowings from English", Africa, XXII, 1952, pp. 154-157, especially p. 156.
17. Cf. Lyons, John, 'Towards a "notional" theory of the "parts of speech"', Journal of Linguistics, 2, 2, October, 1966, pp. 209-236, especially pp. 216-218 on the dominance of the 'noun'.
18. See the first chapter of Part II for a discussion of this. Cf. Levin, Samuel, 'Linguistic Structures in Poetry', Janua Linguarum 33, series minor, The Hague, 1962, pp. 27 - 33.

19. In transformational grammar a similar result is obtained on the grounds of 'simplicity' to which Chomsky is theoretically committed. He points out that the sub-classification of nouns (concrete, abstract etc.) requires fewer classes than the sub-classification of verbs.
e.g. He drank the wine - (concrete noun but a 'concrete' class verb plus animate subject and so on.)
See Chomsky, N., Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 113 ff. In this sense the influence of class nominal on class verb is seen as more nearly in that direction and not as a balanced two-way influence. Chomsky describes the 'noun' as 'selectionally dominant' Cf. Lyons, 'Towards a "notional" theory of the "parts of speech"', p. 231, 'the nominal elements which determine [the verb's] selection'.
20. In The Voice the violence to EL1 syntax is not grammatical translation (cf. Catford, p. 72), but involves frequent structure shifts (Catford, pp. 77-78) involving only part of the level of grammar. As we have pointed out Okara's grammatical conformity far outweighs the reordering of elements of structure which is superficial, e.g. sequence is important in English in distinctions of question and statement (SP, PS ?) and Okara does not offend against this type of sequencing. In the nominal group he was largely assisted by the MH nature of the Ijo nominal group. It is interesting to wonder whether he would have been as consistent if the Ijo had required HQ relationships. Modifiers, as we have noted earlier, always precede the headword in Ijo. One marginal exception is in relative clauses (Q for EL1) but even then a repetition of the H (or a 'dummy' variant such as 'thing' is required at the end of the clause structure maintaining a form of MH sequence).

21. There is some evidence to suggest that the more frequent the lexical transfer becomes in EL2, the more likely such morphological changes are. For example, outside our corpus, in Nigerian newspapers, 'obas' (kings) is very common indeed. Our corpus largely reveals isolated transfers, which can then be classified into types, and, though more may occur than the ones we have noted, morphological adaptation of them is strikingly rare. The fact that the names of peoples and titles are often mentioned and modified (e.g. Ibos, Yorubas, Mendes), in this way would seem to suggest this, cf. 'the Ubilis', i.e. 'Ubili people' (D 99). Even so common a transfer as oyinbo - 'whiteman' - does not change according to plurality in "all the oyinbo have been kicked out" (I. 84).
22. Phonology designated 'interlevel' by Halliday ("Categories") is written thus '(inter-) level' in recognition of the validity of Catford's objection to regarding phonology as an 'interlevel' (Catford, pp. 3 ff) on the grounds that whereas 'phonology' can be examined independently of the 'formal' levels; context (or contextual meaning), the other interlevel suggested by Halliday, cannot. Phonology does, however, link Form and Substance - to call it an 'internal' level, as Catford does, is to side-step the issue slightly (Catford, p. 3) for the area between Substance and its organisation in graphology or phonology is left still vague. Should one suggest an interlevel of organisation between substance and the formal units of phonology/graphology? Since this distinction is important in the opposite direction to that which interests us in phono-lexical transfer we prefer to avoid the digression by the use of '(inter-) level' which acknowledges the problem, but marks it as secondary here. Kachru uses the brackets in a similar fashion without explanation.

23. Cf. Kachru, "Indianness", p. 399.
24. Igbo: o zùgo noòfu - it complete please. The phrase is appropriate to a situation in which 'stop it' would not imply the tentative, respectful nature of the request.
25. The euphemistic 'genitals' is not necessary in the Igbo. This common insult is a particularly vulgar one. Deviation of this kind is discussed under tenor of discourse in the next chapter.
26. Igbo, sò òfu Chukwu mà. a nāba go m̄
word-for-word: only one God knows. I go + (tense) I.
27. One interesting anomaly occurs when the night is described as 'black black' (V 107). In the Ekpetiama dialect, so far as we can determine, 'dark dark' would be more consistent. In this case it also appears that the reduplication is semantic rather than phonological and semantic.
E. kpiin durukuu
dark dark
and not, for example, 'kpiin kpiin' or 'durukuu durukuu,' which are unacceptable in Ijo.
28. Cf. Haugen, 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', p. 213.
29. This does not appear to be a fixed Igbo collocation. It obeys the procedure for translation transfer, however. We assume that, as he often does in the case of proverbs, Achebe is attempting 'local colour'. Alternatively, it is a fixed collocation we have been unable to locate.

30. This project is in hand at the University of Ibadan, in the Department of English, in association with the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages. Co-editors, Ayo Banjo and Peter Young.
31. Cf. Ullmann, S., The Principles of Semantics, Glasgow and Oxford, 2nd edn., 1957, p. 117.
32. See Christophersen, Paul, "Some Special West African Words". English Studies, 34, December, 1953, pp. 282-291, on the possible origin of 'dash' and on 'dane gun'. A few items such as these and pieze (NLE 55, 168) were originally loans from some other language. In the case of 'yam' it was borrowed from African languages and has now re-established itself. See Mary Serjeantson, History of Foreign Words in English, London, 1935, p. 247. However, 'yam' is of such long standing in EL1 that in spite of its close African C1 association it is not fairly seen as of exactly the same sub-classification as 'dash' or 'dane-gun'. It all depends on whether we are to consider the increased frequency of the item in EL2 as its distinguishing characteristic. Pieze, meaning a covered verandah or porch, ? Portuguese, cf. Krio 'piazza'.
33. This item occurs in Anne Marie Falconbridge's Voyages to the River Sierra Leone, London, 1802, p. 54; see also 'cola', pp. 54 and 57.
34. For a rather more prescriptive view of such items see Banjo, op. cit., p. 10.
35. Cf. Mafeni, op. cit., Part I. Note that this process is borrowing, it takes place in the opposite direction to transfer.

Rare attempts to 'rehabilitate' WAP items in the use of EL1 graphology are made. It is not easy to say whether a uniform WAP orthography would have altered this in view of the anglicizing tendencies of many writers, e.g. "whoside"? usei - where? cf. Krio, (BF 91).

36. It has been remarked (cf. Mafeni, op. cit., Part I) that most 'pidgin' in West African writing in English is highly anglicized. Achebe's Man of the People is an exception as are the poems 'Blackman's Trouble', by Dennis Osadebay, and 'One Man for One Wife' by Frank Aig-Imoukhuede.
37. Izevbaye, D.S., "The Relevance of Modern Literary Theory in English to Poetry and Fiction in English-speaking West Africa", Ph.D., University of Ibadan, 1969, pp. 240 ff.
38. e.g. Blunden, E., "Tradition in Poetry", in Tradition and Experiment, London, 1929, pp. 62-63; Eliot, T.S., The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism, London, 1933, p. 15; "The Music of Poetry" in On Poetry and Poets, London, (1942), 1957, p. 31.
39. One of the more curious of such features is Okara's use of the archaic bound morpheme (3rd person singular, present, in traditional terms) - eth e.g. changeth (V 10) where there is no morpheme equivalent in Ijo. Whether this is due to the breakdown of the EL1 user's diachronic frame of reference is difficult to say. The feature of diachronic confusion is considered in the next chapter.
40. EK. b^volou - inside (of something) or mind.

41. Killam, D., "Recent African Fiction", Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 2, 1964; pp. 1-10; Anozie, S. O., "The Theme of Alienation and Commitment in Okara's The Voice", Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 3, 1965, pp. 54-67.
42. Valéry, P., The Art of Poetry, D. Folliot, trans., New York, 1958, pp. 65 ff. See also Levin, S., Linguistic Structures in Poetry, op. cit., especially pp. 60 ff.
43. See Marchand, Hans, "Notes on Nominal Compounds in Present-day English", Word, 11, 2, August, 1955, pp. 216-227 (especially p. 216) for the way in which we use 'compound' here.
44. The opening of Hopkins' 'The Wreck of the Deutchland', for example, is
 Thou mastering me
 God!
45. See, for example, E.B., 'Modern Influences on African Verse,' Insight, No. 7, no date, p. 30.
That Achebe is also influenced in this way is seen in his creation of compound modifiers from EL1 high frequency collocations, e.g. ant-hill activity (TFA 104) - EL1 'busy as an ant-hill', a form which Achebe also uses (TFA 102). It is coincidental that the expression has an appropriately 'African' flavour. Okara's use of it (V 9 etc.) the object of Okolo's quest seems to be similarly based on a EL1 source. D.H. Lawrence in his short story 'Glad Ghosts' used the expression in much the same way. Tantalisingly, 'Glad Ghosts' is remarkable for the extensive use of compound modifiers. Both may be coincidences. The latter is certainly a characteristic of 20th-century English literature.

46. Haugen, 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', pp. 210 ff. Cf., inter alia, Bloomfield, Language, Chapters 25 and 26; Rao, G.S., Indian Words in English, London, 1954; Serjeantson, op. cit.; Cassidy, J.C., Jamaica Talk, London, 1961, on borrowing from West African languages in Jamaican English and Creole.
47. Weinreich, Languages in Contact. See also, Parsons, op. cit.; Zima, op. cit.; Kirk-Greene, op. cit.; Haugen, E., 'Problems of Bilingualism', Lingua, 2, 1949-1950, pp. 271 - 290. Haugen in the article cited in note 46 (p. 210) points out that as early as 1886 Hermann Paul had indicated that all borrowing 'is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of two languages'. [See Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, Halle a. S., 1886.]
48. Inui, Ryōichi, 'Translation Borrowing, an English Influence on Japanese', Collection of Papers on the 60th Anniversary of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1957, pp. 3-17 (offprint). Saito, E., Dictionary of Fresh Words from Foreign Languages, 1961, cited by Kirk-Greene, op. cit., p. 27, n.4.
49. See Stene, Aasta, English Loanwords in Modern Norwegian, London and Oslo, 1945, pp. 1 ff.
50. Ibid., p. 2.
51. See, for example, Chinua Achebe's article, 'The Novelist as Teacher', in J. Press ed., Commonwealth Literature, London, 1964, pp. 201-205.

52. Cf. Ekwensi, C., 'The dilemma of the African writer', West African Review, 27, 346, July, 1956, pp. 701-704.

53. See Wells, Rulon, 'Nominal and Verbal Style', in ed. Sebeok, op. cit., pp. 213-220, especially p. 214. Cf. Potter, S., 'Changes in Present-day English: 2', English Language Teaching, XXI, 1, Oct., 1966, pp. 6-11.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF VARIETIES

Certain extensive deviations from the hypothetical EL_1 norm are observable in literary forms of EL_2 with regard to aspects of differentiation of varieties of the language.¹ Such deviations can, moreover, be shown to be directly related to the cline and indeed to have arisen from the bilingual state in the first place.

An important natural result of bilingualism is the co-existence of at least two register ranges in the competence of the bilingual performer. Such register ranges may be more or less extensive, that in the L_1 being subject to the normal sociological (educational etc.) C_1 determinants of its limits and that in EL_2 being determined by similar factors operating in the bilingual performer's total experience of C_2 . Similarly the bilingual state presupposes a variable 'diachronic differentiation', which is the placing of forms in relation to their historical place in the language, or differentiation of varieties according to criteria of time.² This last is more conveniently dealt with first below, since it requires little sub-classification.

Diachronic differentiation, especially when no great lapse of time is involved, is necessarily a function based on the performer's total experience of the language. This function is, naturally, at its most developed in the performance of an $(E)L_1$ user. In the following discussion, normative judgement of deviation in the differentiation of

diachronic varieties in EL₂ is based on the idiolectal performance of the present writer as a representative EL₁ user. As Riffaterre has pointed out, to talk of an absolute linguistic norm is in any case irrelevant since it is on the reader/decoder's conception of the norm that deviation is judged. Ultimately, the description of deviation in the differentiation of varieties in EL₂ must be a statistical problem.³ However, any such statistical analysis must be preceded by the intuitively based discussion of the theoretical problems involved.⁴

The most powerful determinant of diachronic differentiation in EL₂ is undoubtedly the individual performer's acquaintance with diachronic varieties of the language preserved in the written literature of EL₁. It is clear that one cannot talk of 'experience' of diachronic varieties except insofar as they are preserved in some form, whether in the written forms of the language or, less reliably, in the idiolects of older persons which reflect dominant influences on the lives of such persons. In the case of the West African writer, the greatest single factor is similarly educational. Very often the writer has no experience of diachronic differentiation other than that evolved from a sense of the chronological placing of EL₁ writers he has been obliged to study in acquiring a western education. The matter is complicated by the facts that such a chronological placing has often not been made clear to him while learning the language and that such written sources may constitute the greater part of his experience of EL₁. It is further possible that since EL₁ literature is a recent phenomenon in West Africa, its apparent immediacy tends to obscure its historical placing. We should add that

our experience of first year undergraduates in two West African universities would tend to support this statement, at least as far as the first year at university, except in individual cases in which other factors, such as family background and whether or not the person has experience of the language in an EL₁ environment, have been operative.

A small group of items and collocations immediately provoking in the EL₁ user a sense of diachronic confusion is that of the 'simple archaism' arising in particular from the Authorised Version of the Bible.⁵

Silvern (BAB11)	cavil (BGC 69)
impluvium (BAB27)	harlot (BGC, WG 35)
bosom friend (WG 92)	know (sexual) (BLGL 29)
forsook (TFA 86)	shun (WNW 13)
cock-crow (TFA 86)	ail (Ef 120)
yea (TFA 119)	sack-cloth and ashes (NLE 156)
thrice (NLE 30)	rebuke (MWS 15)
tenfold (TFA 112)	maidservant (WG 41)
made merry (TFA 4)	cost him dear (W 26)
minister (unto) (WNW 140)	unkind death (WG 25)
salute (greet) (AG 12)	illumined (WG 22)
fodder (BGC 48)	beget (BGC 49)
	myrmidon (SS 25)

The most common source of diachronic confusion is undoubtedly the King James Bible (or the Book of Common Prayer). It is, however, by no means easy to differentiate between deliberate and non-deliberate deviation. Higher in the grammatical hierarchy than unit word this difficulty remains.

Achebe, high on the cline of bilingualism, exhibits both deliberate diachronic deviation and an apparently inadvertent deviation. There is, for example, an obvious difference in No Longer at Ease between the appropriately biblical speech of the old man who addresses the Umuofia Progressive Union, Mary, the local religious enthusiast, and Obi's father, a catechist, and those passages where no such contextual evidence is apparent from the co-text. Below, the appropriately biblical (1) is set side by side with the possible diachronic confusion (2).

- (1) When the time came for warning the men of Umuofia could be trusted to give it in full measure, pressed down and flowing over...." "I am against people reaping where they have not sown." (NLE 56).

Achebe illustrates the extent to which such speech is natural to the old man as 'proverbial' speech by juxtaposing the Igbo proverb "... if you want to eat a toad you should look for a fat and juicy one." He employs a similar device in pointing out Mary's amalgamation of traditional and 'missionary' ideas and expressions.

'Oh God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob', she burst forth, 'the Beginning and the End. Without you we can do nothing. The great river is not big enough for you to wash your hands in. You have the yam and you have the knife we cannot eat unless you cut us a piece.' (NLE 9).

'Osu is like leprosy in the minds of our people. I beg of you my son, not to bring the mark of shame and of leprosy into your family. If you do, your children and your children's children unto the third and fourth generation will curse your memory.' (NLE 133)

In a rather similar way, where the speech is not biblical, but in some sense 'oracular', the L_1 form of speech is reproduced by the EL_1 'biblical' as its nearest equivalent. Thus Uchendu says in

Things Fall Apart:

'The world has no end, and what is good among
one people is an abomination with others.' (TFA 127)

'A great evil has come upon their land...'
(TFA 126)

Such appropriate use of diachronic confusion in the idiolects of
Achebe's characters can, however, be compared to the following less
easily explained deviations.

- (2) ...they treated Okonkwo like a king and brought him
a virgin who was given to Udo as wife, and the lad
Ikemefuna. (TFA 25)

From that day Amikwu took the young bride to his hut
and she became his wife. (TFA 120)

he is bowed with grief. (TFA 122)

He that has a brother must hold him to his heart,
For a kinsman cannot be bought in the market,
Neither is a brother bought with money. (NLE 129)

The lad's name was Ikemefuna, whose sad story is
still told in Umuofia unto this day. (TFA 12)

She was heavy with child (TFA 137, Ef 112)

the tumult increased tenfold (TFA 112)

He presented the kola nut to them and when they had
seen it and thanked them, he broke it and they
ate. (TFA 124)

(It is possible that in this instance Achebe is trying to evoke the
solemnity of the kola ritual.)

'Woe unto you' (SS 78)

An additional factor of translation is also possible in at least a few of the above examples, and the fact that the translation equivalents chosen are diachronically deviant serves to emphasise our point. It is likely that in the examples here taken from Achebe both types of deviation are apparent, in keeping with our observations on the overlap of zones on the cline of bilingualism.

unto this day (TFA 12)

Igbo lue taatà
reach today

made merry

Igbo nwe aḡùli
have joy

The fact that, for pedagogic reasons, the written language forms so great a part of the total EL₁ experience, and therefore ultimately so great a part of the EL₂ performance of the educated West African generally, has further effects upon the differentiation of varieties under the wide heading of register which needs the sub-classification suggested in Chapter 5 to be useful. Hitherto, we have used the term register, in its inclusive sense of the habitual co-occurrence of formal and contextual features in the language.⁶ In this application of the term we see categories of register as being close in conception to Gregory's suggested categories for diatypic varieties differentiation.⁷ It is evident that register requires a sub-classification if the complexity of register confusion is to be revealed. In view of this, the following discussion

proceeds according to the framework provided by the contextual categories of field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse. These categories may, of course, be taken in any order, but we are conveniently led by our discussion of diachronic confusion, and by the fact that contextual categories are not easily separable in discussion, to a consideration of deviation at mode of discourse (hereafter abbreviated 'mode') as the starting point in our discussion of deviation involving the inter-level of context.

Clearly, more acute problems are involved in the attempt to transfer C_1/L_1 contextual categories to EL_2/C_2 than in the transference and re-contextualisation of items (or forms) since what may prove more or less successful at isolated points in a text does not imply a re-establishment of L_1 contextual categories in the EL_2 text as a whole. It is one thing to point to the expansion or alteration of the total network of formal and contextual relations, that is meaning, in the EL_2 text on transference from L_1 , and quite another to suggest that this altered meaning of the text approximates the L_1 text. Similarly, it is inaccurate to suggest that L_1 contextual categories can be transferred into EL_2 in the absence of the total L_1 meaning. Only an approximation is possible and it is an approximation made less satisfactory by the fact that it seeks its source in EL_1 contextual categories rather than in the transference of L_1 meaning. From the artistic standpoint this is seen in terms of evoking the contextual categories of the L_1 rather than in terms of the transference of its categories. It is not simply for pedagogic reasons that this

should involve a frequent element of diachronic deviation, for the most suitable EL_1 form of the language may involve degrees of specialisation and diachronic differentiation in EL_1 which remain by association in the mind of the EL_1 reader when that form is used to evoke L_1 contextual categories.

Attempts to convey aspects of the L_1 spoken mode in EL_2 involve the finding of an EL_1 diatypic variety which in its function in EL_1 corresponds in some way to the L_1 diatypic variety the writer has in mind. The highly declamatory forms of speech typical of a great many L_1 situations (e.g. public address, storytelling, or just the 'proverbial' nature of much L_1 expression) cover far more situational material than declamatory forms of speech in EL_1 . The most widely recognised EL_1 variety conveying what have become formulaic expressions in EL_1 and a strong 'spoken' element is undoubtedly the Authorised Version of the Bible. Its selection as a source of contextual equivalents of L_1 material in certain situations, has striking consequences. A comparison of a passage translated from Fagunwa's Yoruba novel Igbo Olodumare and a passage from the Authorised Version will serve as a point of departure here.

Then I called him a third time and said: 'Akara Ogun'. Then he burst out laughing and slapped his hand on his chest and raising up his body, he said: 'Akara Ogun is my name, yest I bear a very mighty name, I bear the praise names that befit me, I have been wandering through the world according to my nature, I am your friend of old times, and indeed my power has not diminished; there are still bones in the body of the man.... When he said this, my soul was sweet, like the soul of a man in danger of prison who has been freed by the judge, because I had found what I had been seeking, and I had come across the thing I liked, and God had buttered my bread. And I dipped my hand into my pocket and I found writing materials indeed, and I sat down on the rock and I began the work of my hand. And Akara Ogun sat down on the rock beside me and began to talk as fast as a parrot. 8

And he came unto his father, and said, My Father:
and he said, Here am I; who art thou, my son?
And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy first-
born; I have done according as thou badest me:
arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that
thy soul may bless me. And Isaac said unto his son,
How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son?
And he said, Because the Lord thy God brought it
to me. 9

The similarity of these two passages, particularly structurally in the use of parataxis in clause relations with frequent use of the linker 'and', is striking. ¹⁰ Both passages can be seen to exhibit that aspect of mode which can be described as 'written-as-spoken'. In part, both passages, though widely separated in time, are the reflection of a transition from a written to a spoken culture. However, and here we depart from what we have observed elsewhere in the same connection, ¹¹ it is inaccurate to talk of the Fagunwa passage as 'biblical' except in a purely descriptive sense. The user's relationships to the contextual categories are different in each case. The user's purposive role implied by field of discourse is different, being in the one case 'narrative' and in the other 'narrative (religious)' and 'didactic' which is seen after Gregory as an element of functional tenor (of discourse), involving in situational terms a widely different addressee relationship. ¹² Indeed, such passages which provoke the description 'biblical' are only so insofar as they elicit such a response in the reader. It is for this reason, nonetheless, that we are led to question the viability of this method of conveying L_1 contextual categories; linguistically it may be shown that similarities exist between the contextual (and situational)

categories of EL_1/EL_2 and L_1 , but psycholinguistically the EL_1 source may prohibit the required result of conveying L_1/C_1 distinctions at the inter-level of context. In such a sense, an attempt at a stylistic echo of the L_1 material is inhibited by the isolated nature of the Authorised Version as an example of an EL_1 variety as well as by its prominent position in the total EL_1 experience of EL_1 and EL_2 reader alike. Indeed, linguistic success of the kind discussed earlier cannot be separated from the accompanying features arising from sociolinguistic considerations in their broadest sense (including pedagogic, cultural etc.) The functions of two texts may be similar if certain elements are omitted, for example the diachronic differentiation as here. However, to ignore a distinction is not to eliminate it. The Fagunwa passage was translated by a Yoruba and a non-Yoruba, who appear to have agreed on their translation, and though their own biblical training no doubt played a part in the choice they made, their agreement indicates the suitability of their choice from the EL_1 material available. Nevertheless, availability is a question of convenience rather than of an ultimate stylistic success. Deliberate stylistic deviation of this kind is seen as a phenomenon more likely to occupy attention in the higher zones of bilingualism where the elements of deliberate choice and experiment are more readily assumed. Lower on the cline deviation in the differentiation of varieties is common and predominantly non-deliberate. For convenience we shall as far as possible take the three contextual categories separately in the following discussion.

Field of discourse reflects the situational category of the user's

purposive role.¹³ In English such varieties are frequently described under such headings as Technical English, non-technical English and so on. In West African EL₂ writing generally there is a frequent lack of differentiation of such varieties. Certain items and collocations which in EL₁ would be normally 'field-determined' may lose their restrictions in EL₂.

parties (legal: LMUD 31)	mucous (Ef 36)
remittances (WNW 67)	utensils (AG 13,283)
<u>Detarium Senegalense</u> (WNW 33)	yearly product (NNS 34)
injuries sustained (WNW 67)	domicile (LC 57)
indigene (WNW 20)	molestation (WG 2)
incipient measles (NLE 39)	occiput (V 155; C 149)

However, such items become rather more frequent when a further aspect of the differentiation of diatypic varieties has come into force. In the examples that follow appropriate tenor of discourse has been sacrificed to EL₁ taboos, though the taboos may not exist in L₁.¹⁴

You naughty girl you have urinated on my cloth. (Ef 47)	
male organ (Ef 120)	anus (AG 137, 282, Ef 13)
genitals (TFA 141)	buttock (TFA 153)
penis (AG 176)	stool (C 120)
testicles (BAB 57)	

High on the cline Soyinka's mocking of EL₁ taboos is further evidence of the distinction.¹⁵ Achebe, as we have seen in his use of 'impregnate' (TFA 60), is also trying to convey an Igbo taboo and indeed it would seem that generally he is in firm control of the differentiation of varieties.

When he mocks the President of the Progressive Union, who called the young men 'ungrateful ingrates whose stock-in-trade was character-assassination' (NLE 80), he is doing no more than indicate this. Joseph, in the same novel, 'always put on an impressive voice when speaking on the telephone. He never spoke Ibo or pidgin English at such moments' (NLE 77). Indeed it is this love of the impressive, partly for the prestige English imparts and partly for instruction of the reader,¹⁶ that informs so great a part of the writing in the lower zones of the cline. Almost any number of examples is possible, but a few random, representative samples only are included here. They exhibit an enthusiastic abandonment of diatypic varieties differentiation that defies profitable classification.

I have seen cobra da capello in other men and have taken you as my alter ego. That I shall marry is certain, that I shall take no other man is obvious, and that the priest will see us at the alter (sic) soon a sine qua non, but I shall declare what day it shall be we needn't expect. (LNE 40).

I requested for her love, and my request was granted. She even gave me a bottle of tango. (BSD 13)

Because girls do not cultivate their manners with purified realism and morality, it is a common sight to see the more loose ones wandering about like nomads. (BGC 46)

'O! Neighbours, Passers-by, Priests and all available, Please come to the help of a poor old woman and have her released from the firm grip of a miscreant.' (LSBG 41)

'Parents, I have taken the decision to die with my lover come what may. I will not under any circumstances fail to worth my salt.' (LJ 35).

Higher on the cline of bilingualism such chaos appears to give way

in proportion to the increase in bilingual balance and the more discernible presence of the artistic motive. Deviation in the differentiation of diatypic varieties can be seen strikingly in the novels of, for example, Akpan, Nwapa, Nzekwu and Conton where the confusion is predominantly one of mode and tenor. Though their deviation must be seen as due in part to their individual states of bilingual balance, the most important single factor operating in their stylistic choices involving the contextual categories is undoubtedly the dominant 'informational' motivation of their work. Overlap with lower zones of bilingualism is still apparent: all Nwapa's baby's are 'bouncing' (Ef 241, 261, 262) and she is capable of 'my daughter, I can only solicit patience' (Ef 72). However, performance in EL₂ is notably of a high standard in all the writers mentioned and it would appear that such deviation as is apparent is due as much to their approach to their work as to their control of the language generally. Indeed, it is necessary to keep before us in the study of such a corpus as this, that the fact that the writer sits down to write a novel presupposes a particular linguistic effort of a kind peculiar to the literary motivation. This factor may be changed in kind from 'purely literary' to 'commercial' or 'didactic' depending to some extent on the relationship to the cline. It would be fair to say that the 'commercial' motive is stronger towards the lower ends of the cline and less dominant or altogether absent in the more overtly 'novelistic' writers higher in their relation to the cline. This is not to say that the commercial spirit is shameful, or that no writer of low bilingual balance is capable of 'artistic' effort,

but on the evidence available it is a fair generalization of importance in an attempt to classify motivation and its effects on performance in EL₂. Similarly, in the median to high zones of the cline a convenient generalization with regard to the 'informational' writers is useful.¹⁷

The informational motive is clearly close to the 'anthropological' or 'sociological' element frequently remarked in the West African novel in English.¹⁸ However, we prefer the term 'informational style' since we see it from our standpoint as the stylistic result of the wider 'anthropological' motive rather than as a deliberate part of it. The informational style in the West African novel would appear to be further divided into that involving deviation at tenor, and that involving deviation of mode and tenor. The first of these is briefly illustrated in the following passages from Akpan's The Wooden Gong and Nzekwu's Wand of Noble Wood, both types exhibit deviation in the frequent use of EL₁ field-determined items. The passages hardly require added comment, but their effect on the novels as wholes, with the direct contravention of the usual narrative relationship of the novelist to the reader, is very great. Such an evaluation, of course, depends on the maintenance of EL₁ conventions of novel-writing and we shall return shortly to a consideration of this point in connection with our discussion of Achebe's work.

Their instruments were few and simple - a pot with a long neck and a circular hole in one side, called the udu and used to provide the beat, a shekere made out of a calabash with a network of dark seeds on the outside, and small drums which the women beat with little art. (TS 63)

A girl's fattening involved spending at least three months - in some areas it could involve as many and more years - in a secluded place, under heavy, and regular enforced feeding. During this period she would do nothing whatever but eat, wash and sleep. Any type of food she wanted would be provided, and the more she ate the more she would please her parents and her prospective husband. To avoid her doing any form of work, many maid servants were placed at her service. As an additional means of achieving as much weight as possible, a lady specialising in the trade of fattening girls would be hired for the task of regularly massaging the girl, who would lie flat with belly on floor.... The amount of weight put on at the end of the period would indicate the wealth of the girl's parents, and the efficiency of her fattening woman and of her maid servants. (WG 40/41)

A unique feature of the Mfina Society was the absolute faith and demand for obedience attached to the rules. A breach of the rules and code of conduct carried with it rigid penalties ranging from denial of rights accruing from the society, to heavy fines in the forms of money, appropriation of drinks and animals, and to death. (WG 2/3)

Among us the ozo title was the equivalent of the sacrament of Holy Orders. It was the only passport to officiating at offerings to ancestral spirits. Ozo was also a form of insurance which was neither transferable (except by the Obi) nor inherited. It guaranteed for the initiate a share of the fees paid by anyone who was initiated into the society after him. It was an expensive title which cost well over seven hundred pounds. (WNW 10)

Closely related to this type of informational style arising from a strong desire to convey C₁ material to the reader, whether abroad or at home, is that type of instructional prose arising from the expository nature of the novel's subject. Conton's The African is an example which while it is not primarily dedicated to the 'anthropological' in the sense that the above examples are, is characterised by a prose arising from an overt sociological ('political') purpose. It is, we might say,

different in that it is a contemporary, rather than a traditional, 'African' direction of the prose. The result is much the same.

To love at first sight and then marry need not be any more certain of success than to marry at first sight and then love, judged empirically..... Fatmata was a black as satin, and as soft. The Dapo tutors had done their job well: she was a completely efficient lover and mother. I brought her home with swelling pride, and began at once to save all I could toward the cost of acquiring my second wife. My anti-Western revolt was gaining momentum. (Af 120/121)

Such dependence on the informational style in the narrative passages of the novels mentioned is destructive enough of Western preconceptions of the novel, but its effect is felt far more powerfully when it is seen to involve a more radical deviation from EL₁ conceptions of mode as well as the familiar conflict of field and tenor. The following examples of dialogue, which might normally be expected to conform to some such loose classification as 'written as spoken',¹⁹ bear witness to the power of the informational motive.

'The quantity and quality of presents varied with each suitor, depending on the number of the relatives who helped him on his farm and who contributed toward the presents which he made his parents-in-law. Things gradually got beyond the reach of the average citizen, as each suitor tried to give more presents than his predecessors. It necessitated the standardizing by the Obi-in-Council, of the present that should be made by a suitor.' (WNNW 29)

'What does (the of staff) look like?' 'It is a short piece of stick', Reg explained, 'cut from the of plant (Detarium Senegalense), which, when consecrated, is a symbol of authority and a guarantee of truth. Freshly obtained, it is consecrated and becomes dynamized. There are different kinds of of - the family of, which is the one we are now discussing; the personal of; the of used by medicine men; the cult of; and so on. The family of are of two types.....' (WNNW 33)

These are extreme examples and not all West African novelists are

so overtly anthropological. Varieties differentiation is largely a matter of tenor/mode confusion with occasional intrusion of field-determined items, or even the deliberate drawing on a field-determined variety for illustration of ideas.

Abadi whose face was now like one taking nivaquine.
(V 155)

You've got to realise that life walks within fixed limits -- like a caged animal -- like the food we eat -- in at one end, round and round the middle and out.
(SR 37)

Cyanosed and jaundiced multitudes, invalids hoping to be cured by a few cubic feet of ozone.
(SR 41)

The social migraine which followed the advanced guards of mistrust and corruption did not make for easy implementation of the constitution, and left a hangover more devastating than anything they had known before. If the people of Freetown had always suspected that the British were not to be trusted, they now believed that truth and virtue did not exist, and had never existed.

'Teething troubles', shouted one.

'Chronic sinuses', another.

'Teething troubles following extraction', cried a solitary voice of cynicism which was promptly silenced. (SR 102)

It is no surprise to learn that Peters, who is responsible for these last passages, is a doctor,²⁰ and that Nzekwu wrote Wand of Noble Wood in the form of a novel having, while working on Nigeria Magazine, collected a great deal of anthropological material intended for publication in another form.²¹ We are not suggesting that that is the whole reason for these confusions, but it is a reasonable assumption that a form of EL₁ which can be presumed to have exerted special influence on the bilingual's total EL₂ register range is a significant factor. It is a factor accentuated in Nzekwu's novel by the overall informational

motive which takes control at one point to the extent of an unsettling lack of taste. Peter, the hero, watches by the corpse of his beloved Nneka.

As the day grew hotter the corpse was beginning to decompose. But its odour was mitigated by the liberal sprinkling of strong-smelling scents and powder. The flies which hovered around increased every minute. The officiating priestess was given a strip of cloth which she wielded like a fly whisk in order to keep flies from the exposed face of the corpse...Dancing groups began arriving at about three o'clock...Lunch was served the women at around 4 p.m. Before the sharing was completed it was 4.30... [The officiating priestess's] lot was a most unenviable one.

Sitting near the head of a corpse, sometimes a decomposing corpse, in the thick of the stench oozing from it despite the application of perfume, she ate as if she were in a London or American plush hotel. Flies buzzed and settled on the corpse, then shot up into the air and dived straight at her right hand coming up to her mouth with a lump of food.....She ate with one hand and kept the flies away with the other. (WNW 132)

This grisly passage is given at some length to illustrate the extent to which the informational motive has intruded. In fact, the section from which it is taken is considerably longer. Though our primary concern is to suggest reasons for such deviations of varieties differentiation, it is worth pointing out that they frequently have a direct effect on the literary evaluative statements prompted by the novel form. Interestingly, they are deviations which occur in varying degrees throughout the zones of bilingualism - the most remarkable being the anomaly presented by the example from Okara just cited (V 155). Utterances of these kinds are clearly not the answer to the quest for an 'African' prose any more than is Conton's desperately Anglo-Saxon, 'Don't worry about your ability to hold the fort, old boy. I am far

too patriotic to take on a thing like this if I were not absolutely sure about you on that score' (Af 190). We are again led to assert the importance of the distinction between deliberate and non-deliberate deviation. Ultimately, the artistic evaluation will depend on the deliberate, whether or not experiment, for it is in the handling of the medium rather than in the legacy of the medium that success of style or, from the other direction, the success of criticism, will be judged.

The West African bilingual writer's non-deliberate deviations in the differentiation of diatypic varieties can be tentatively ascribed to certain socio-historical elements in West Africa's recent past. The nature of the entry of English into West Africa is worth bearing in mind, for it came first of all as the language of the trader and the administrator. Consequently, dealings with the local people were mainly either commercial or administrative. This had its effect on the form of English used generally in West Africa, which was heavily modified and drawn from a restricted number of situations, most of them formal. It has often been the boast that the British, unlike the French, were always willing to recognise the indigenous languages. Sadly, it cannot less fairly be said that, in common with the general approach to indirect rule, which began as a policy and survived as a convenience, the British did not much care as long as enough English was learnt to make their jobs possible. It was, indeed, this utilitarian attitude to English that so incensed Joyce Cary.²² The education of Africans for the only role in which they were considered employable, subordinate posts in the civil administration, similarly reinforced the formal nature of the total bilingual experience

of English. Until very recently, Fourah Bay College was the only institution of higher education in West Africa and even then it catered for the theological and administrative professions. Early West African writers using English were, apart from the untypical Adelaide Casely-Hayford, exclusively writers of non-fiction. As we have suggested above, we can see this in terms of the fact that such writers were essentially outward-looking, springing from an educational system originally designed for the needs of a moneyed English middle-class. Artistically and linguistically, the whole effect was to distract the writers' attention from themselves as unique, to shape them into an appendage of the traditions of the colonial power. As Abioseh Nicol has observed 'the tradition that doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergymen were the only ones to publish, continued well into the 'thirties'.²³ We would only differ in saying that this was less a 'tradition' than the natural result of an educational system oriented to a professional, middle-class elite. The effects on the type of English that dominated educated life were far-reaching. This fact is borne out by Nicol's judgement, itself a product of the system, of Conton's The African, perhaps the epitome of the linguistic dispossession that has survived till the present day, as being couched in 'lucid, attractive prose'.²⁴

It is even possible that certain aspects of the 'declamatory' style in West African writing have their origin both in the early efforts of the missionaries whose main object in teaching English was, at least initially, to make the Bible and Hymnal available to their growing congregations, and in such manifestations of the type of linguistic

imperialism exemplified by Waddell.²⁵ As Stevens has pointed out, the missionaries themselves were by no means always EL₁ users of the language. They may, as in the Basel Mission, have been Danish, Dutch and German speakers.²⁶ Later they were joined by the young African missionaries, similarly EL₂ users of the language. We have discussed these influences more fully in Chapter 3, but their effect on the kind of English used in West Africa has been lasting. As state education systems replace the missionary, and pseudo-public school (e.g. Bo School, Sierra Leone; a few of the schools of Northern Nigeria) networks the picture must change.²⁷ However, it is a process far from finished, or even fully under way, and must continue to be important. The effects of the system are not solved easily, for the teachers themselves are very often the products of the system which, often unknowingly, they perpetuate.

Strengthening these socio-historical determinants of the kind of EL₁ learnt, are the more easily observed pedagogic influences of the present day. No one who looks at the Cambridge Higher School Certificate syllabus for West Africa in 1969 can long be in doubt of the entrenchment of the English grammar school tradition. One African novel is included as an alternative to Orwell's 1984, it is true, but since it (The Second Round) is neither the best available nor even the most representative it passes unnoticed. It is made even less significant by the fact that 1984 is an 'old favourite' and being familiar to the teacher its choice in the smaller schools is almost predetermined. The present system of examinations, and therefore social advancement, concentrates - as it must to some degree - on the written word. The social pressures of the

West African student likewise require not only the mastery of a second language but of a whole culture which takes for granted the complexities of 'the two cultures', of science and the arts. The only access for all but the most fortunate is through the written word. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that few West Africans 'read for pleasure'. As Robert Wellesley Cole puts it, 'in England the text-book is an adjunct to the lecture. In Africa the text-book was everything'.²⁸ At a seminar for African public librarians held at Ibadan in 1954, much the same point was made. A reporter of the conference remarks:

The African does not read to 'kill' time. He does not read for the mere pleasure of reading. He reads for a PURPOSE. As one reader remarked to me once: 'I can't imagine myself reading without a purpose, or reading without thinking of what I'm reading.'²⁹

As the reporter goes on to remark, it is a pity that 'pleasure' in reading has escaped recognition as a 'purpose'. In terms of language, this tendency in conjunction with the factors mentioned has tended to reinforce the movement towards the formal and the written that has given rise to much of the deviation in the differentiation of diatypic varieties apparent in EL₂.

In addition to these features arising from the origins of the writers' bilingualism there is a powerful factor inherent in the nature of the bilingualism itself. It is the fact that frequently the indigenous language involved has no written form; or if it has it is either very recent or confined to certain clearly defined areas, such as Bible translation. It is one thing to have a language written in the mission school and quite another for the written mode to form a distinct division

in the nature of the language. Indeed, because the written forms are recent, distinctions of mode are less apparent since, except in a few cases, insufficient time has passed to make the diachronic differentiation apparent in the 'preserved', written variety. Hypothetically, there is a point in the history of all written languages when the distinction at mode is very narrow indeed. In the community as a whole, the distinction may not exist at all, except for very few. This absence of sharp differentiation at mode in the L_1 may well be at the root of much of the confusion of mode in the performance in EL_2 manifested in the novels discussed above. It is also possible that in cases of deliberate deviation involving declamatory, or 'archaic', forms of the language the deviation is less involuntary than it is the reflection in EL_2 of a distinction which holds good for EL_1 but not for the forms of L_1 the writer, in seeking the nearest (written) EL_1 equivalent, is trying to evoke. In a language preserving the literature of the people in a spoken form, the diachronic distinction perhaps never ceases to be 'alive'; the proverb on the tongue rather than on the page is natural even if the nearest EL_1 equivalent is not. All such assertions must ultimately contain an element of speculation for their final verification lies in the realms of statistics and the definition of what features constitute, in real terms, the differentiation of diatypic varieties in English.³⁰ It is not, ultimately, enough to be intuitively aware of incongruities. However, the intuitive distinctions of the EL_1 user should not be underestimated. Such features as these few outlined here do throw light on the nature of EL_2 , and the factors helping to shape it, and this is

perhaps the most that can be done until complete surveys of EL₁ and EL₂ are available for comparison. Even then it will not alter the assertion that there are differences in the differentiation of diatypic varieties, though it may tell us exactly what these differences are. Indeed, the framework of hypotheses we have proposed goes a long way to explaining passages such as the following in which a schoolboy reports himself to the headmaster with few concessions to the spoken mode at all, in a highly literate indignation which needs no further comment.

'As punishment for not having prepared my lesson he slapped my face and asked me to fill a thirty-page copybook with the Pater Noster. This I did. Unfortunately, I wrote it in English instead of in Latin. When he saw what I had done he became furious with me, called me a liar when I told him I didn't realise I had to write it in Latin, promised this would be the last time I ever lied to him and swung a blow at me. I ducked just in time and there was a muffled exclamation from the class. In his anger he chased me round the class and finally asked me to report myself to you.'

(BAB 106)

From a pedagogic point of view, Tomori has seen no immediate solution to the faith in the written which is seen to have such far-reaching consequences. His remarks serve to point out the current power of the written forms of English and to raise the interesting additional point as to what happens when EL₁ school texts give way to EL₂ ones. His conclusions also reveal an uneasy introspection on the part of the linguist faced with the problems of education in EL₂ and his own acceptance of the ascendancy of descriptive over prescriptive linguistics.³¹

For the average Nigerian secondary school pupil, anything printed must be right. So the experimental style of Nigerian writers is taken to be established English.

Every teacher in Nigeria will probably remember at least one instance of his pupils' appeal to an 'authority' when some phrase or other was corrected in their compositions.

Some of them are simply puzzled that you disagree with anything taken from a printed book, anyway. The oldest sources of this problem in schools is the illiterate speech of farmers, and so on, in British novels. Now the body of Nigerian literature in English is adding to it. I am not condemning the writers for writing experimentally as they do; I am only pointing out the implication of the work for the language of pupils who read their work.³²

The immediate reaction of the EL₁ user here is perhaps to the implied inseparability of the pedagogic and the literary, itself a product of the attitudes that make the writer uneasy. It is the same confusion that can cause Taiwo to write:

Now that there are many books based on familiar backgrounds and now that the schools are instilling into children the love of reading for pleasure one can only hope that these books will be widely read so that the knowledge and wisdom contained in them may spread fast among the people of West Africa.³³ (my italics).

Such statements revert to the familiar arguments concerning the possibility of an African literature at the present stage which is neither 'committed' nor 'functional'.³⁴ Moreover, the strong association of such ideas with the traditional didactic function of literature in African society should not be underestimated.³⁵ It is no mere accident that educationalists such as Taiwo should insist on an 'integrity and morality which make [the content of literature used in schools] acceptable and edifying.'³⁶ Achebe, indeed, has seen no fundamental contradiction between his role as an artist, his 'ancestor worship', and the instruction of his people in their past.³⁷ It is certainly possible that the novel, imported as a form into Africa, has not carried with it the critical norms with which it is associated in Europe.³⁸ The informational motive may, in terms of what the African writer has done with the novel

for purposes most relevant to his society, be of paramount importance. If this were the case the EL₂ deviations in the differentiation of diatypic varieties could in some aspects be seen to be far less incongruous than they may at first appear. This may serve to explain to some extent, but it does not of itself justify, the gap between the art and the motive. In the traditional societies, the emphasis is no less on the function the artist is fulfilling than it is on the skill with which he fulfils it.³⁹ The emphasis must surely be on the success of the amalgam achieved by the artist, whether or not we are driven into the acceptance of 'applied art as distinct from pure'.⁴⁰ As Judith Gleason suggests, the 'anthropological' approach can give an insight into a special part of human nature.⁴¹ It is perhaps in this widest sense of 'sociological' or 'anthropological', and the successful fusion of the motive with the medium, that Achebe has distinguished himself over other writers such as Nzekwu or Nwapa. It is a success reflected in Achebe's use of the language, just as the failure of other writers is reflected in theirs.⁴²

In a careful article, Lindfors has pointed out the pains to which Achebe has gone in matching his use of Igbo proverbs not only to the immediate situations in which his characters use them or are described by them, but to the wider situations in which they move, whether in the traditional, agricultural community, as in Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God, or in the city, as in No Longer at Ease and A Man of the People.⁴³ Miss Walters, in a short study, has also attempted to examine the situational uses of aphorisms in the novels in the light of their use in the Igbo-speaking community and has revealed a high degree of correspondence

in the cases she has examined.⁴⁴ However, it is less interesting to note that the proverbs exist independently of Achebe than it is to examine the way in which he has handled them. Lindfors has shown how the proverbs in the rural novels are used to evoke the cultural milieu in which the action takes place and how in the urban novels 'one finds the language of the narrative more cosmopolitan, more westernized, more suited to life in the city' so that a '"grammar of values" [is provided] by which the deeds of a hero can be measured and evaluated.'⁴⁵ We do not intend to duplicate his evidence here, but prefer to consider briefly problems of style raised by the course Achebe has chosen, taking for granted for the most part the general appropriateness of his use of proverbs and the important part they play in his art.

Achebe has himself commented of the passage in Arrow of God in which he tells Oduche his reasons for sending him to the missionary -

'I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eye there. If there is nothing in it you will come back. But if there is something there you will bring home my share. The world is like a Mask dancing. If you want to see it well you do not stand in one place. My spirit tells me that those who do not befriend the white men today will be saying had we known tomorrow.' (AG 55) -

that he could well have written it in a more overtly EL₁, though less appropriate way. 'The material is the same. But the form of the one is in character and the other is not. It is largely a matter of instinct but judgement comes into it.

I am sending you as my representative among these people - just to be on the safe side in case the new religion develops. One has to move with the times or else one is left behind. I have a hunch that those who fail to come to terms with the white man may well regret their lack of foresight.' 46

Achebe is being a little unfair for the purpose of his argument, for his alternative writing of the passage would hardly be the closest EL₁ possibility available, but his point is well enough made. Neither his 'instinct' nor his 'judgement' need be in question, but the durability of his technique may be limited by the very transition from a spoken to a written culture.

In the spoken C₁/L₁ situation the problem of diachrony does not exist since aphoristic speech is current. Such proverbs may also be free-phrased, that is they may occur in different forms in the L₁ where it is the semantic, rather than the formal, characteristics which distinguish them as aphorisms. In their written form the proverbs, by virtue of the transition of spoken to written mode, assume a certain fixed-phrased permanence, occurring in the same, or very nearly the same, EL₂ forms at different points in the text.⁴⁷ The declamatory element thus formed and the diachrony induced by the EL₁ equivalent variety chosen would appear to be of limited usefulness in any ultimate literary variety of EL₂. The point, of course, is that whereas the 'African vernacular'⁴⁸ Achebe has compounded for himself has been shown to have a certain flexibility in his hands, it is a solution to an immediate artistic problem rather than a prognosis of a literary form of EL₂. It is likely that the more the transition from a spoken to a written culture and literature progresses the more obviously limiting the induced diachrony will become.

Diachrony need not of itself imply limitation of the individual literary work, in an artificial form it works well enough in such works as Kenilworth or Mann's The Holy Sinner. The difference, of course, is that Achebe's aphoristic language is not seen as archaic, or used stylistically as archaic, though the transition to the written form may induce this later in West Africa's literary history.⁴⁹ The problem remains that the EL₂ result, at least to the non-African reader, is close to diachrony in EL₁ now, and that later it will appear diachronous in EL₂. The dilemma is one which is closely related linguistically to the change from the spoken to the written word and it would appear to be one offering no immediate solution. Whether or not the limitation on subject implied by diachrony is overcome, as the present 'synchrony' of the language in A Man of the People has allowed, continued use of aphorisms can only be expected to induce a reaction to them as stereotypes. It is the sad possibility that the permanence of the type of language solution offered by Achebe is limited by the general state of flux characterising EL₂. It is no small measure of his achievement that he should have cast something of such lasting importance out of conditions that cannot last. His success is the isolated success of the notable writer, rather than the reflection of the evolution of a more or less permanent form of EL₂.

Achebe can, and does, occasionally use EL₁ clichés in a perfectly appropriate way. The following occur in A Man of the People, in the mouth of the thoroughly westernised Odili.⁵⁰

kicked the bucket (MP 23)

mess of pottage (MP 6)

pass through the eye of a needle (MP 63)

attack.....is the best defence (MP 162)

a bird in hand (MP 165)

However, there are occasions when, sustained neither by his control of EL₁, nor by his handling of 'L₁ forms' in EL₂, Achebe is less successful in achieving congruity. Partly it is a matter of tenor, but there is no great originality either.

women....swivelling their waists as effortlessly
as oiled ball-bearings (NLE 18)

the sea....like a giant tarmac from which God's
aeroplane might take off (NLE 24)

...like the jerk in the leg of a dead frog when
a current is applied to it (NLE 137)

....like that radio jingle advertising an
intestinal worm expeller (MP 29)

....like a slowed up action film (MP 145)

....like a dust particle in the high atmosphere around
which the water vapour of my thinking formed its
globule of rain (MP 146)

However, such subjective reaction to these occasional lapses is not intended to detract in any way from the assertion of Achebe's overall control of the differentiation of diatypic varieties under difficult circumstances.

Şoyinka has also successfully handled the additional complexities of varieties differentiation inherent in the EL₂ situation. In The Trials of Brother Jero, for example, he uses the more noticeable features of tenor apparent in EL₂ for dramatic effect. Jero has left hurriedly in pursuit of a woman who has seen in the gan gan drumming used

in the prophet's beach service an insult to her father and is chasing the drummer to register her disapproval. Chume, Jero's assistant and illiterate butt is left to carry on the absolution of a convulsed penitent.

Chume (stammering) Father...forgive her.

Congregation (strongly) Amen.

The unexpectedness of the response nearly throws Chume, but then it also serves to bolster him up, receiving such support.

Chume Father forgive her.

Congregation Amen.

Chume (warming up to the task) Make you forgive 'am Father.

Congregation Amen.

They rapidly gain pace, Chume getting quite carried away.

Chume I say make you forgive 'am.

Congregation Amen.

Chume Forgive 'am one time.

Congregation Amen.

Chume Forgive 'am quick quick.

Congregation Amen.

Chume Forgive 'am, Father.

Congregation Amen.

Chume Forgive us all.

Congregation Amen.

Chume Forgive us all.

And then, punctuated regularly with Amens...

Yes, Father make you forgive us all.
Make you save us from palaver....

Give us money to satisfy our daily necessities. Make you no forget those of us who dey struggle daily. 51

This passage is particularly interesting for the way in which it reveals Soyinka's intuitive response to the differentiation of diatypic varieties in a distinctive EL_2 situation. The most striking feature apparent is that the change in tenor involves a change in relation to the cline of linguistic westernisation within the performance of a single EL_2 user. Of course, in a totally EL_1 situation, the user may possess more than one dialect the uses of which are to some extent situationally determined. However, in such a case the dialects are kept carefully separate. In this case of Chume, moreover, it is not a question of the possession of discreet regionally defined (diatopic) varieties, but of pedagogically and socially defined varieties. The contrast between 'Give us money to satisfy our daily necessities', drawn from the field-determined written variety of EL_1 in a comparable situation, and the anglicised pidgin of 'Make you no forget those of us who dey struggle daily' demonstrate the wide separation in the total register range between formal/written and informal/spoken varieties. Unlike the EL_1 user with two dialects, the EL_2 user does not maintain two discreet register ranges within his total EL_2 competence. His EL_2 register range is in general considerably less extensive than an EL_1 user's total register range, since many of the register differentiations he finds necessary are confined to L_1 situations. There is a sense, indeed, in which in such cases in the lower zones of bilingualism that EL_2 is not a 'language' at all, but a narrow situationally limited set of registers ranged in a cline the

extensiveness of which varies according to the individual's bilingual balance.⁵²

In The Interpreters Soyinka uses the pedagogically, socially determined nature of EL₂ register ranges to differentiate between the characters of the convincing albino prophet Lazarus and a semi-literate member of his congregation. The contrast is mainly one of Lazarus's control of the EL₁-derived register and the worshipper's lack of control of the imperfectly learnt variety. Lazarus's speech, indeed, shows a free movement on a scale of registers drawn from both EL₁ and EL₂/L₁. In Lazarus's speech, too, there is less differentiation of varieties according to imperfect control of EL₂, whereas the worshipper's 'imperfect education' reveals itself in his attempt to imitate the variety. In terms of the novel, the contrast serves to make the distinction between a distinct spirituality and a complete loss of spirituality in cant and ignorance.

'Grief, dear brothers, is a natural thing. Grief and sadness are our portion on earth. Even Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, was overcome by grief. When he came to the cave where Lazarus was laid, a cave with a big stone on its mouth, the cave in which they put Lazarus for four days now so that even Martha the sister of the dead man held her nose with a scarf when the Son of Man asked her to remove the stone. She made fun-fun-fun with her nose and said, (verse feeder) Lord by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four days....'

The front bench seemed to contain the authority during worship. Another man rose from it and spoke to the church.

'My brothers, it is a terrible day for us when we the Apostles of the Lord, we to whom he has give all the burden and task of the church, baptising, marriage, confirmation, when we who carry most of all the burden of death on our shoulder, that the day should come when it is our turn to supply the next load for the grave. It is a thing which grieved us too much, that we should have been visited by the hand of death and bury one of us. But death is no respecter of persons. The doctor

in hospital he die. The rich man, he die. The poor man, he die. God does not take bribe. He is a man of impartiality. Jesus Christ himself, he die to prove to us that we must expect no favour.'

(I 167, 170).

Achebe, in A Man of the People, uses a similar technique in the early meeting between the westernised Odili and Nanga, politician, ex-scoutmaster and 'a man of the people'. The contrast between Odili's urbane English and the (less anglicised) pidgin in which Nanga replies is an example of a change in tenor (from 'polite, formal' to 'popular, condescending') which involves a change from one language to another. Nanga's speech loses a little in the orthographic (EL₁) representation.⁵³

Later on at the Proprietor's Lodge I said to the Minister: 'You must have spent a fortune today'. He smiled at the glass of beer in his hand and said 'You call this spend? You never see some thing, my brother. I no de keep anini for myself, na so so troway. If some person come to you and say "I wan make you Minister" make you run like blazes comot. Na true word I tell you. To God who made me...Minister de sweet for eye but too much katakata de for inside. Believe me yours sincerely.'

(MP 16)

However, Achebe never gives the insight into the complexities of varieties differentiation, inherent in the bilingual state, which is given by Soyinka. In The Interpreters, we are even reminded of the extension of the cline below our field of reference into monolingualism through an intermediate superficial mixing of the languages concerned.⁵⁴

'Yes, yes, bring another. Whisky this time.'

'O ti sah. Madam ni npe yin.'

'Enh?'

'Madam. Won ni npe yin wa.'

Egbo looked round wildly, hardly daring to believe. Simi was no longer there. Angrily he gripped the boy by the ear, pinching him on the lobe. 'Are you trying to joke with me? The boy twisted in pain, protesting. 'Go on. Which madam? Where? Where?' 'Nta. Won wa nnu taxi.'

Egbo sobered with an effort, determined to destroy the hallucination. But the boy remained, and he meant it, that was obvious.

'Change yin sah'. But Egbo was past recalling...'
(I 58).

It is essential in a view of the differentiation of varieties in EL_2 , to make the distinction between the writer as artist and the writer as a reflection of the EL_2 community as a whole - that is the distinction between deliberate and non-deliberate deviation. We have seen that there is a distinct relation between the writers' orientation to the cline and the intrusion of the artistically motivated deliberate deviation of writers such as Achebe and Soyinka. Such writers high on the cline depend for their success on their acquaintance with the cline in all zones. The success of Achebe and Soyinka is a remarkable demonstration of an intuitive synchronic linguistics. Once again, however, we are led to believe that their achievement in no way reflects the differentiation of varieties of an eventual, stable form of EL_2 in West Africa, or even in West African EL_2 literature. Out of flux they have achieved order, but out of eventual order in a stable form of EL_2 will come a higher predictability in the differentiation of varieties. In such an event, the artist's task will be freed from a restricting concentration on language, the involvement in his 'synchronic description', by the intuitive response of the reader acquainted with a future, less fluid EL_2 . This prognosis is strengthened by the fact that the source upon

which such deliberate deviation draws, is made up of non-deliberate phenomena which cannot by their very nature be assumed to be permanently induced. Indeed, the problem can largely be seen as a pedagogic one and it is to be expected that an increased literacy, and the subjugation of earlier socio-historical factors to its stronger influence, will eliminate many of the non-deliberate phenomena apparent in the West African EL₂ speech community at present.

Recent educational research, based on a comparative study of EL₂ performance among school pupils in Nigeria and EL₁ performance in an equivalent group in Britain, certainly appears to bear out this assumption. Interestingly, severe restrictions of structural patterns and register ranges were the most notable distinguishing features of the Nigerian sample.⁵⁵

It is this impermanent mixture of the deliberate and non-deliberate elements enforced by the present fluidity of EL₂ in West Africa which leads us to suggest that no prognosis is possible, or even desirable, with regard to the differentiation of diatypic varieties and component contextual categories. The high density of English in the specialised, 'modern' registers of Yoruba, for example, would suggest the possibility of an ultimate solution far more radical than that offered by EL₂ fictional prose at present. Rowlands is almost certainly wrong to suggest the elimination of Yoruba in the face of competition from EL₂.⁵⁶ The position is more likely to involve a more complex, if more stable, state of bilingualism ultimately resolving into a wide bilingual balance (or a possible diglossia)⁵⁷ in the community as a whole.

At present, however, it will be seen that control in the differentiation of diatypic varieties correlates to the writers' varying orientation to the cline of bilingualism. It follows that the potential artistic success of the writer also bears some relation to the cline. From a stylistic view-point, the most interesting deviations are therefore observable in the higher zones of bilingualism. Certain aspects of varieties differentiation which are observable in the higher zones are, from a literary evaluative point of view, more useful since those non-deliberate deviations remarked lower down offer little insight into the artist's task other than that it is limited by extra-literary considerations. Clearly, the problems involved in transference, translation and the handling of register in the higher zones are of more lasting importance than the reflection of varying degrees of bilingual imbalance. However, we must reluctantly admit that the indication of severe restriction on stylistic resources lower on the cline implies an adverse evaluation of the literature concerned. Evaluative judgements of literary language generally can often be reduced to the division of those writers who are contained by the medium from those who are able, whatever the reasons, to use it and turn it to their advantage in the control of the decoding of their work. West African literature in English offers no exception to the rule.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. Most of the terminology and classification of varieties is according to the joint article by Spencer and Gregory, 'An Approach to the Study of Style', in Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.; and from Michael Gregory, 'Aspects of Varieties Differentiation', Journal of Linguistics, 3, 2, October, 1967, pp. 177-198. Cf. also Strang, B.M.H., op. cit., Chapter II.
2. Cf. Firth, 'Linguistics and the Functional Point of View', p. 18.
3. Riffaterre, Michael, 'Criteria for Style Analysis', Word, 15, 1, April, 1959, pp. 167-168, especially p. 168. Also review of S. Ullmann, Style in the French Novel, Cambridge, 1957, Word, 15, 2, August, 1959, p. 409. Cf. e.g. Saporta, Sol, 'The Application of Linguistics to the Study of Poetic Language', in T.A. Sebeok, ed., Style in Language, pp. 91-92, for a more conservative approach. See also Bruneau, C., 'La Stylistique', Romance Philology, V, 1951-1952, pp. 1-14; and above, Chapter Seven, for further articles emphasising deviation from the norm as the major characteristic of style.
4. See Winter, W., 'Styles as Dialects', in ed. Lunt, op. cit., pp. 320-380, for a largely statistical approach. For a counter to the appeal to extralinguistic criteria, see Hendricks, W.O., review of Levin, op. cit., Language, 42, 3, Part I, 1966, p. 643.
5. It should be remarked that certain archaisms of one region may not be archaic in another. See Swanson, D.C., 'Recommendations on the Selection of Entries for a

Bilingual Dictionary', in Householder and Saporta eds., op. cit., p. 70. One West African example that comes to mind is 'inmate' - those who share a house, subtenant, one who lives in, often a poorer relative; cf. OED where this sense is dated 1589 and described as rare. In Nigeria this use is the most common today. Simple archaism is to be distinguished from 'archaism' as used by Leech, A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry, p. 14.

6. See Chapter Five. Cf. Strang, op. cit., pp. 18-20, where her useful distinction nonetheless reveals a need for sub-classification.
7. Gregory, 'Aspects', pp. 184 ff.
8. Fagunwa, Chief D.O., 'The Beginning of Olowo Aiye', a chapter from Igbo Olodumare, U. Beier and Bakare Gbadamosi, trans., in Beier, ed., Black Orpheus, p. 105. Cf. the examples from Achebe's novels given and N.O. Njoku, Beware of Women, Onitsha, no date, p. 5: 'If you have ears to hear, eyes to see and faculty to think, beware of women, especially street ones.'
9. Genesis, XXVII, v.18-20.
10. Cf. Turner, Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect, p. 209 for an interesting comparison to parataxis in Gullah. See also for further examples, Ibid. ff.
11. Young, 'The Language of West African Literature in English'.
12. Gregory, 'Aspects', p. 185.
13. Ibid., pp. 184 ff.

14. Cf. Nwanodi, G.O., 'Ibo Proverbs', Nigeria Magazine, 80, 1964, p. 62, where the incongruence of EL₁ and L₁ taboos is referred to.
15. E.g. I. 200.
16. These reasons were given by Speedy Eric and Highbred Maxwell in interviews in 1966 at Onitsha Main Market. See Young, P., 'A Note from Onitsha', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 4, 1966, pp. 37-40. See also on the prestige of English, Brosnahan, L.F., 'English in Southern Nigeria', English Studies, 39, 1958, pp. 97 ff.
17. Cf. Young, 'The Language of West African Literature in English'.
18. E.g. Dathorne, O.R., 'Document and Imagination', New African, 5, 3, pp. 57-59; Soyinka, W., 'From a Common Backcloth', American Scholar, 32, 1963, pp. 387-396.
19. Cf. Gregory, 'Aspects', pp. 189 ff.
20. Nkosi, Lewis, 'Where does African literature go from here?', Africa Report, Dec. 1966, pp. 7-11, draws attention to this passage for literary evaluative reasons.
21. I owe this information to a colleague and friend of Nzekwu's. Nigeria Magazine, thinly disguised as 'Nigerian Life' (WNW 138) is even mentioned. See also Nzekwu's article 'Initiation into the Agbalanze Society', Nigeria Magazine, 82, 1964, pp. 173-184, for a revealing comparison. For remarks on a similarly 'uneven style' in Indian fiction

- in English, see M.E. Derrett, The Modern Indian Novel in English, Brussels, 1966, pp. 131 ff.
22. See Chapter Three.
23. Nicol, Abioseh, 'Negritude in West Africa', New Statesman, 60, 1539, 10 Sept. 1960, p. 353; see also Legum, Colin, Africa, London, 1961, p. 253; Cf. Young, 'Language of West African Literature in English'. Nicol is also a doctor and reflects a high degree of dispossession of this kind. See his Truly Married Woman and Other Stories, London, 1965.
24. Nicol, 'Negritude in West Africa', p. 354. On Creole influence along the Coast see Mafeni, op. cit., Part I, Fyfe, C., 'European and Creole Influence in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone before 1896'; Sierra Leone Studies, New Series, 2, 1955-1957, pp. 117-118; Legum, op. cit., p. 253.
25. See Chapter Three.
26. Strevens, 'Pronunciation of English in West Africa', pp. 110-111.
27. See above and cf. F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in West Africa, London, 1956, especially pp. 156 ff.
28. Cole, op. cit., p. 168.
29. West African Review, XXV, 316, Jan., 1954, p. 45; see also Edwards, P., and D.R. Carroll, 'Approaches to the Novel in West Africa', Phylon, 23, 1962, p. 319.

30. See Whatmough, Joshua, Poetic, Scientific and Other Forms of Discourse, Berkeley, 1956, pp. 119-121, 211. Cf. Utley, Francis Lee, 'Structural Linguistics and the Literary Critic', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XVIII, 3, March, 1960, p. 320.
31. Cf. Alisjabhana, S. Takdhir, 'New National Languages; a problem linguistics has failed to solve', Lingua, 15, 2, 1965, pp. 515-530, where a similar plea is made for Malaya. Such uneasiness reflects no more than the highly fluid state of English in many parts of the world today. The solution cannot be found in prescriptivism which is itself doomed to failure by the sociolinguistic factors at work in the community at large. But cf. Banjo, op. cit., for a considered call for 'language planning' in modern Nigeria.
32. Tomori, S.H.O., 'Linguistic Considerations in the Teaching of African Literature in Schools', Teacher Education, 8, 2, Nov., 1967, p. 101.
33. Taiwo, Oladele, An Introduction to West African Literature, London, 1967, p. 67.
34. E.g. Kamenju, Grant, 'The Case for Commitment', DarLite (University College Dar-es-Salaam), 2, 2, August, 1968, pp. 153-157.
35. Herskovits, M.J., and F.S. Herskovits, Dahomean Narrative, p. 25. Cf. Wonodi, O., 'The Role of Folktales in African Society', Africa Report, Dec., 1965, pp. 17-18; Dathorne, O.R., 'The African Novel - Document to Experiment', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 3, Nov., 1965, pp. 18-39.

36. Taiwo, Oladele, 'Oral Traditions in African Literature', Seminar Paper 5, unpubd., University of Ibadan, 1965, p. 9. See also Calame-Griaule, G., 'L'art de parole dans la culture africaine', Présence Africaine, XLVII, 3, 1963, pp. 73-91, especially p. 74.
37. Achebe, C., 'The Novelist as Teacher', in Press, ed., op. cit., pp. 201-205 (also New Statesman, 69, 29 Jan., 1965, p. 161). See also 'Conversation with Chinua Achebe', Topic, 1, 1966?. Cf. Drayton, 'The Return of the Past in the Nigerian Novel', Ibadan, 10, 1960, pp. 27-30.
38. Cf. Reed, J., 'Between Two Worlds', Makerere Journal, 7, 1963, pp. 1-14; Kesteloot, L. Lagneau-, 'Problems of the Literary Critic in Africa', Abbia, 8, 1965, pp. 29-44.
39. See Abraham, The Mind of Africa, p. 92; Babalola, S.A., The Content and Form of Yoruba Ijala, London, 1966; Berry, J., Spoken Art in West Africa, pp. 5-6; Green, M.M., 'Unwritten Literature of the Igbo Speaking Peoples of S.E. Nigeria', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, xii, Part II, 1948, p. 839; Nketia, op. cit., p. 118. Cf. Ekwensi, C., 'The Headline Novels of Africa', West Africa, 2360, 28 Aug., 1962, p. 941 (see also the article to which this is a reply by M. Tucker, same title, West Africa, 2356, 31 July, 1962, p. 829); Jones, E.D., 'Turning Back the Pages III', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 4, March, 1966, p. 24f; Ogunba, O.O., 'Ritual Drama of the Ijebu People', Ph.D., Ibadan, 1967, p. 515 f.

40. Achebe, 'The Novelist as Teacher', p.205. For a similar feature of 'instruction' in Indian fiction see D.M. Spencer, Indian Fiction in English, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 27, who suggests that this is a direct result of the Indian literary tradition.
41. Gleason, J., 'Out of the Irony of Words', Transition, IV, 18, 1965, p. 38.
42. Cf. Jones, E.D., 'Language and Theme in Things Fall Apart', Review of English Literature, V, 4, Oct., 1964, pp. 39-43.
43. Lindfors, Bernth, 'The palm oil with which Achebe's words are eaten', African Literature Today, 1, 1968, pp. 2-18.
44. Walters, J.Q., 'Igbo Aphorisms in the Novels of Chinua Achebe', M.A., Berkeley, 1967. See also Schmidt, Nancy, 'Nigerian Fiction and the African Oral Tradition', Journal of the New African Literature and the Arts, 5-6, Spring & Fall, 1968, pp. 10-19.
45. Lindfors, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
46. Achebe, C., 'English and the African Writer', Transition, IV, 18, 1965, p. 30.
47. Cf. Walters, op. cit., p. 20.
48. See Jones, 'Language and Theme in Things Fall Apart', pp. 39 ff; Mphahlele, E., 'The Language of African Literature', pp. 298 ff; Moore, G., 'English Words, African Lives', Présence Africaine, XXVI, 54, 2nd quarterly, pp. 90-101; Lindfors, Bernth, 'African Vernacular Styles in Nigerian Fiction'.

49. See Green, R., 'Under the Mango Tree', pp. 25-30, for comment on the presence of such an 'oral' element and its effects on European criticism. Cf. Riffaterre, 'Criteria for Style Analysis', pp. 160-161. See also Flydal, L., 'Remarques sur certains rapports entre la style et l'état de langue', Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, XVI, 1952, pp. 244-248. See T. M. Aluko, One Man, One Matchet, London, 1964, pp. 61-62, for similar apparent 'archaisms'.
50. Similar examples are cited by Lindfors, 'The palm oil with which Achebe's words are eaten', p. 16.
51. The Trials of Brother Jero, Scene III, in Three Plays, Mbari, 1963, pp. 63-64 (also in Five Plays, London, 1965).
52. Cf. Ellis, J., Towards a General Comparative Linguistics, The Hague, 1966, p. 30.
53. Cf. Mafeni, op. cit., Part I. We here maintain the distinction between a 'dialect' and WAP which exhibits such language-defining characteristics as a dialect continuum and even a degree of standardization through the possible agency of Krio in the past. Cf. Schneider, op. cit.; see above notes 23 & 24.
54. Cf. Forson, Barn, 'Description of Language Situations Classified in a Corpus Representing a Bilingual Register Range', M.A., Legon, 1968, pp. 22-24. Forson fails to differentiate between superficial 'mixing' and 'pidginised' varieties clearly, see e.g. the example, p. 24.

55. Tomori, 'Study of the Syntactic Structures of the Written English of British and Nigerian Grammar School Pupils', e.g. pp. 169 ff.
56. Rowlands, op. cit.
57. See Ferguson, Charles A., 'Diglossia', Word, 15, 2, pp. 325-340; also Stewart, op. cit., pp. 22-23. Cf. Bright and Ramanujan, op. cit., p.1107, for an observation of occurrence in South Asia.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

Present-day West African writing in English is, then, profitably seen as the modern aspect of the African writer's changing relationship to his medium of expression, as part of a process rather than as simultaneous with recent European critical attention. We have followed the African writer through the eighteenth century and his paradoxical cultural and linguistic dispossession in the humanitarian debate which, though it most concerned him, included rather than followed him. Then, in the nineteenth century, we have watched the slow liberation from the British tradition in Africa, towards the literary ambiguities of the late century and the eventual realisation of a more real literary independence. In an important sense the process has been, and remains, one of the gradual, sometimes painful, assimilation of another man's tongue into a medium of personal significance.

Naturally, such an approach entails the examination of the attitudes towards the African writer on the part of the society with which he was so closely involved throughout a significant part of this process of assimilation. It is, for example, necessary to point out that whereas Negro forms of speech were widely in evidence during the eighteenth century, they do not appear in writing by Africans of the time. It was too soon and, even if that had not been the case, the African was writing in the age of the 'appeal to authority'¹ in matters relating to the English language when difference would have appeared to be ignorance

and deliberate difference sacrilegious. Similarly it is necessary to examine the general attitudes towards the African on the part of the British public and in particular the manifestations of these attitudes in the critical reception of his work. The critical verdicts may vary for the best or the worst reasons, but at no time did these critical opinions include a reaction to African writing as totally separate from the British tradition. The reason is simple enough: it was not separate for the most part either in kind or in language. Jefferson may say that enthusiastic evaluations of writing by Negroes were only so because the writers were Negroes, and others may point to their work to prove that they could write very creditably, but all of them were in agreement about their norms of judgement which were firmly those of the British tradition. Whether the results were an unreasonable condemnation of writing by Africans or an occasionally uncritical plea for tolerance of judgement does not much matter, for the implications of literary, linguistic and cultural dispossession remain.

It should not be imagined that the process of emancipation in the African's literary use of English is over, nor that the deep-seated prejudices regarding his 'inferiority' have died. Dorothy Hammond, should there have been any doubt, demonstrates very clearly that British popular literature of the twentieth century, at least as far as the early 1960's, deals with Africans and Africa in the antagonistic terms of two centuries, presenting through its 'ethnocentric and projective character' the African as 'the savage negation of British values.'² As late as 1962, Ralph Allen in Ask the Name of the Lion can equate Bushmen and

Pygmies with the apes and monkeys. Miss Hammond's list is long and horrifying.³

It would seem likely that since Europe continues to need re-education about Africa, the specifically non-literary motivations of much West African writing, aimed at the re-establishment of African dignity and the assertion of a unique heritage, must still occupy a part of literary effort today. In a prefatory note to one of his plays James Ene Henshaw remarks:

The 'art for art's sake' school, whatever may be its joys, will seldom be seen in its glory while the problems facing the continent still have to be grappled with.⁴

There is bound to come a time when African writing in English formed in a more profoundly 'artistic' sense will speak for itself making the familiar apologetic writing even more of an anachronism than it is already. However, as long as the motives of a significant proportion of the literature remain non-literary some of the fictional results, particularly with respect to the medium of expression, must to some degree be seen as 'non-literary'.

If stylistic success in literary terms is seen as directly related to the writer's freedom to exploit the total resources of the language at his command, any predetermination of the extent of the 'total' as far as he is concerned, through choice of subject or language or through educational or social accident, must seem to be stylistically inhibiting. On the evidence already available, such as that afforded by the work of Soyinka or Achebe, this state of affairs is certainly impermanent and directly related to the writer's degree of bilingual balance.

Miss Hammond has emphasised the remarkable homogeneity of British literature relating to Africa over at least two centuries.⁵ This is certainly true and is of direct importance in the consideration of what we consider the tradition proper of African writing in English. However, though our tradition ran parallel for a while with the British, the process of separation can be seen to have begun very early. Long before the major phase of the travel books following on the 1660's, the African had received literary attention. He appears in the emblem books, in Shakespeare and in the metaphysical poetry of Crashaw,⁶ but when he does appear he can usually be regarded as 'the African as symbol' rather than as 'the African as human-being' (even if 'exotic human-being'). The African survives as symbol until the present day, but the reality of his separation from this narrow function became apparent during the eighteenth century. There is, for example, a distinct difference between the symbolic Africa of Blake's A Song of Liberty (ca. 1792) and the reflection of the humanitarian emphasis in 'The Little Black Boy' (1785-1789).⁷ It would, therefore, seem useful to see the seminal features of the tradition appearing towards the end of the seventeenth century and becoming more apparent in the eighteenth century in a natural progression towards the literary realisations of the late Victorian period and the present day and the separation from the British tradition.

With regard to the choice of a language for literary expression, there would appear to be difficulties inherent in whatever choice the writer makes. However, the problems are notably related to the question of the writer's motivations and literary attitudes. In a special sense,

the question of critical values is involved in the choice of a first or a second language for literary work. If the first language is chosen on the grounds that certain points of importance to the writer are incommunicable in English, it is necessary to examine the nature of the intended communication. There would appear to be no specifically linguistic barrier in the way of the writer if the interpretation of experience, albeit in African ways, with relation to some 'universal' application to the human condition is taken to be the ultimate literary aim. The virtues of the choice of a first language would appear to be that a literary work in it is at once 'cultural' and 'universal'.⁸ The need to bring about the acculturation of a second language to make it as artistically satisfactory as a first language raises a large number of problems that may at times appear insoluble.

The West African writer's need to concentrate so exclusively on the medium has very often distracted attention from the art. Historically and emotionally, the claims of the evolution of a Heimatkunst are sometimes more powerful than those of an independent interpretative development.

Weinreich's observation that language loyalty appears to bear a direct relation to the speech community's sense of a 'threat' to the language, would seem to be of obvious significance in this connection.⁹ It should, though, be noted that if such a sense of linguistic insecurity is at the root of the choice of both language and subject, a writer could well be right in his rejection of a second language. It is by no means certain that his decision is simply a victory of the emotional over the literary. If Pierre van den Berghe is right, the sacrifice is not simply literary, but also of immense importance to West African society

as a whole. He puts his case in powerful, if extreme, terms:

Official and private use of European languages entails the danger of cleavage not only between the elite and the masses, but also between town and country. The American anthropologist Robert Redfield spoke of 'Great' and 'Little Tradition' to distinguish the ruling class from the peasant culture. This discontinuity between urban and rural culture which is always very pronounced may become a chasm if the lingua franca of the towns is a foreign language. Culturally, this establishes a kind of internal colonialism similar to that found in some of the still predominantly Indian areas of Latin America. Urban culture, which is also that of the ruling class, the professionals, and the clerical occupations becomes identified with the national culture. The Little Tradition is reduced to the status of folklore; indigenous languages become simply peasant dialects.

To the extent that English and French are imposed as national languages, African traditions are condemned to cultural stagnation, indeed to retrogression. There seems to be little likelihood that many African languages will disappear in the near or even distant future. African cultures have shown great vitality and resilience during the colonial period. But if those cultures do not become urban in the modern sense, and if these languages do not develop along technical as well as literary lines, they are condemned to a slow retreat into the backwater of world civilizations. 10

However, the question of choice, both of language and subject, is essentially the pre-literary business of the writer. Our concern is with the nature of the choice only in so far as it throws light on the problems facing the West African writer. It would be presumptuous to extend our pre-critical concern to the pre-literary decision which is properly the writer's alone. Once the writer has made this decision and attempted to put it into practice our business begins, and only then. Our study is essentially heuristic and a consideration of the viability of processes chosen by the writer. It cannot, and should not, constitute a recipe for 'art'.

If the African writer's use of another man's tongue has always

revealed something of his relationship to the society in which he lived at the time and to his work, it is so much more revealing when bilingualism is central not only to such pre-literary considerations as the choice of a language, but also to the way in which he approaches his work when the choice of a second language has been made. The African writer's bilingualism implies the possibility of at least two important disadvantages: the necessity for greater effort in the use of two languages and the risk of reduced efficiency in both of them.¹¹ Apart from such inherent difficulties there may also be operative certain social, historical and pedagogical influences which more closely determine the nature of his bilingualism and its stylistic manifestations in the literature. Such factors, however, would appear to vary in direct proportion to the writer's relationship to the cline of bilingualism, and to be therefore significantly impermanent as formative elements in West African writing as a whole. An increase in bilingual literacy and balance may be seen to presuppose a decrease in this non-deliberate determination of the literary linguistic results throughout the literature. A consideration of this aspect of non-deliberate deviation in West African writing goes a long way towards an explanation of works such as Nzekwu's, but it reveals no influence that can be confidently described as permanent. However, such investigation is an essential part of the pre-critical statement necessary for a consideration of present-day West African writing in English. Similarly, the fantasies of Tutuola and the Onitsha novelettes are from a linguistic point of view impermanent and reflect more about the potential West African readership and the possibilities of certain kinds of cultural infusion than they do about the future of the language of West African writing in

English. The novelettes also indicate an expanding reading public of a kind comparable to that of England of the eighteenth century which saw a similar non-literary phenomenon in the magazine novelettes.¹² They indicate very little of lasting importance with regard to use of language or literary taste.

Of greater literary interest, though perhaps no more permanent, are the deliberate attempts by writers such as Okara, Achebe and Soyinka, to refashion the literary medium in the light of their bilingualism. It seems, however, that the common methods used in the attempts to adapt English to West African literary expression such as translation, transference and the resultant need to provide co-textual cushioning, operate as consistently powerful elements in the delimitation of the total linguistic resources at the command of the writer at any particular time. The syntactical effects of rank-bound translation and transference seriously limit the freedom of stylistic choice essential to the successful literary effort.

There are, therefore, at both the non-deliberate and deliberate (experimental) levels severe restrictions in style observable in West African writing in English. It is true that such restrictions are readily seen as transient in the tradition of West African writing in English, and that no attempt is being made at prognosis. However, such observations are of direct importance in a consideration of the works examined, since, being written and to some degree 'self-contained', they are possessed of a high degree of permanence in themselves as individual works of art.

Though certain constants among West African writers generally are observable in both linguistic and cultural background, as well as in approach, we may not proceed from an examination of the literary effort to statements concerning a distinct 'West African' (or even 'Nigerian') English. Afolayan, for example, is quite wrong to conclude from his observations of the similarities between the language of Tutuola and the English of Secondary Class Four Yoruba pupils that some kind of 'Yoruba English' is foreshadowed.¹³ What he has done is place Tutuola more accurately in relation to the cline of bilingualism, an abstraction which by its very nature assumes no stability of bilingualism throughout the speech community. His statement testifies a great deal to the validity of the cline, but not at all to a distinct diatopic variety of English. Further, from the literature at nearly all relevant zones on the cline, it would appear, as we have suggested in Chapter Six, that there is considerably less deviation at the level of grammar than Afolayan suggests.

Such confusions of description and prognosis as Afolayan's are characteristic of much comment on the language of West African literature in English. Present observations must to some extent remain impressionistic.¹⁴ What are observable in the literature as distinctly 'West African' usages indicate, as one would expect, that diatopic change is taking place; but in their comparative isolation from the speech community as a whole they offer no description of the change. All really valid statements of a distinct diatopic variety must await further lexicographical (and perhaps grammatical) survey or the passage

of time, and the latter would seem most sensible since even such a survey would only offer the description of a more than usually unstable state of flux. In the speech community as a whole, the laudable sentiment that West Africans should attempt to evolve an English as distinct as the Indian or the American is fallacious.¹⁵ There is, as Norway's målstræv stands witness, nothing very much that can be done to effect anything lasting in this way. The diatopic variety will emerge whether or not it is felt desirable, though just how desirable it is felt to be may limit or extend dialectal deviation.¹⁶ The final results depend on a great many factors not the least of which is the future pattern of education in West African countries. Recent reports of massive support from the Ford Foundation for the teaching in the indigenous languages for the first five years of school in Nigeria - for many English will not therefore be learnt before the secondary school - may reflect an important change. The Ford Foundation attitudes appear to be based on experience in the Philippines and, unfortunately, appear to overlook the fact that whereas in that situation there is an indigenous official language to rely on, in Nigeria and the other English-speaking countries of West Africa no immediate solution to the choice of a second or official language which is also neutral is at present apparent. Very little is known at the moment about the Ford Foundation proposals, but their success or failure - or indeed whether they come into operation at all - is likely to be of far-reaching importance for the future of the English language in Nigeria.

As literacy increases in English, and as time demonstrates the

existence of a more or less stable diatopic variety (or varieties),¹⁷ the cline will become of less use in the examination of West African writing in English. It should be remembered, however, that a wide literacy does not imply standardization of the diatopic variety.¹⁸ What will ultimately count is the evolution of intuitive norms of usage within the speech community¹⁹ which will eventually limit the validity of the cline, particularly in its aspect of linguistic westernisation. The West African writer's bilingualism will remain important, especially in such cases where it may be used deliberately to inform his writing, but with the increase in national literacy it may well span a decreasing area on the cline. As for the non-deliberate manifestations, the results will depend on the degree of diatopic differentiation. If a distinct diatopic variety of the standard does arise it will call for revised critical approaches both at home and in Europe.

The most valuable pre-critical statements regarding the West African writer's use of English at present would therefore seem to be those concerning deliberate deviation in the upper zones of the cline. We have, through an examination of aspects of the writer's bilingualism, been able to gain insight into one aspect of his craft in a way which could only be possible in a situation in which the literary is so closely informed by the specifically pre-literary preoccupations of the choice and adaptation of a language. If the writer's intentions are primarily literary, the decision to provide his own medium has involved him in a confusion of the literary and the pre-literary. Unlike Claudel the West African writer can rarely say, 'Et l'ayant dit, je sais ce que j'ai dit.'²⁰ It is hardly surprising that where he has failed, as

Okara fails in The Voice, his has been a failure founded on a misunderstanding of the nature of the medium, or on an inadvertent restriction of the stylistic resources at his command. It is difficult to say that the West African writer has been wrong to go about things the way he has, for literature survives on self-examination and self-exploration, but in dispassionate terms it would seem that sustained success along the lines he has generally chosen so far is unlikely. He has too often sacrificed the flexibility of his medium in his attempt to extend it. Soyinka, who is perhaps the most notable exception to the rule, in a prefatory note to his translation of one of Chief Fagunwa's Yoruba novels offers what may be a practical temporary solution.

The pattern of choices begins quite early, right from the title in fact. Is Irunmale to be rendered literally 'four hundred deities' rather than in the sound and sense of 'a thousand' or a 'thousand and one'? Again in one of the extracts which I translated for the magazine Black Orpheus, this phrase 'mo nmi ho bi agiliti' which became 'my breath came in rapid bloats like the hawing of a toad' aroused some protest from a critic. Indeed agiliti is far from being a toad, it is more a member of the lizard species. But then neither toad nor lizard is the object of action or interest to the hero Akara-ogun or his creator Fagunwa at this point of narration. Fagunwa's concern is to convey the vivid sense of event, and a translator must select equivalents for mere auxiliaries where these serve the essential purpose better than the precise original. In what I mentally refer to as the 'enthusiastic' passages of his writing, the essence of Fagunwa is the fusion of sound and action. To preserve the movement and fluidity of this association seems to be the best approach for keeping faith with the author's style and sensibility.... The essential Fagunwa, as with all truly valid literature, survives the inhibitions of strange tongues and bashful idioms. 21

Soyinka's plea is essentially one for a high degree of bilingual balance. It also carries with it the implication that with high relationships to the cline the problems raised by the medium tend to

solve themselves. Soyinka's own success in The Interpreters with 'Nigerian' contextual categories and register ranges, as well as Achebe's rather more artificial bilingual balance and control, also powerfully argue that literary freedom and possibilities in EL2 vary according to the author's relation to the cline. The writer's bilingualism will bring special difficulties in the need to handle two languages at once, but the problem is not insoluble. The bilingual writer, like all writers, will depend for his success on his control of the medium rather than on the medium's control of him. Far from detracting from his success the disadvantages of bilingualism testify to the extent of his achievement. In the long run, too, it must appear that whatever these disadvantages may be they are far outweighed by the advantages of an artistically informed bilingual balance.²²

Though we have been able to employ a fairly high degree of objectivity in our examination of deviation in West African writing, especially at the levels of grammar and lexis, this has been less possible in the examination of deviation in the differentiation of diatypic varieties and register. In the present state of knowledge, perhaps, an intuitive response is all that is possible. However, the EL1 user's conception of the norm should not be underestimated, since there is obviously sufficiently wide agreement throughout the speech community on the validity of such norms. If the actual description of the varieties is ultimately a statistical problem, it should be remarked that the selection of material for eventual statistical analysis remains intuitive. Whereas a certain objectivity is possible in a description

of Achebe's 'they lack understanding' (TFA 29) as 'biblical' and as a result of L1 influence, there is rather less objectivity possible in the equally obvious description of the Beier-Gbadamosi translation of 'Akara Ogun' quoted in the last chapter as an example of prose of a declamatory style influenced by the dominant spoken mode of the L1 original and the translators' own EL2 possible equivalents. However, since the spoken and written modes are much closer together in the comparatively recently written L1's (further it is in this instance a deliberate recording of an example of the oral tradition), the observation seems a reasonable one. Once more, we are bound to make a plea for the recognition of a high degree of accuracy in the EL1 user's discrimination of mode.

We have, then, been able to provide a preliminary description of experiment and non-deliberate deviation in West African fictional prose in English. Moreover, on the basis of this essential pre-critical survey, we have been able to assess the validity of the frequent critical statements relating to the literature which have all too often maintained an uneasy balance between precision and enthusiasm.²³ Of itself this is a persuasive argument for the usefulness of a linguistically informed literary criticism. Though linguistics cannot replace criticism, it can evidently save the critic a great deal of time in the bilingual situation in the statement of pre-critical criteria.

It has also emerged that the most fruitful linguistic insight in the case of West African writing in English is to be achieved at the

interlevel of context, since the writer is above all preoccupied with problems of meaning. The manifestations of deliberate deviation at the level of form are indeed the outward expression of his preoccupation with context. The occasional confusion on the dimensions of the contextual categories and register similarly makes the point with regard to non-deliberate deviation.²⁴

From a language point of view, African writing in English in the maximal zone of bilingualism is an attempt to have it both ways - even if for very good reasons. Such a decision, arising naturally from the writer's bilingualism, carries with it a frequently severe restriction of stylistic resources. An attempt has been made here to consider this decision to write of the distinctly African in another man's language and to relate it to certain clearly defined trends in the tradition of West African writing in English. This study is heuristic, pre-critical and, in secondary ways, evaluative. Moreover, it is held that since these trends and the later attempts at the creation of a uniquely African literary expression are all observable in the language the writer has used, a linguistically informed approach is essential at least at the outset.

On the basis of literary texts, which, though they may be united in some ways, are primarily individual attempts to find a solution to a common problem, it is not possible to talk of a 'West African English' or even of a consistent 'West African style'. But as Mphahlele put it in a passage mentioned earlier which we now give in full:

Although we cannot seriously claim that we have evolved new styles, still less un style negro-africain - whatever its promoters may mean by it - we are doing violence to standard English. 25

Our concern has been with an interpretation of the nature and origins of this violence.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. See e.g. Baugh, op. cit., pp. 306-355. Cf. Macaulay, Rose, 'On Linguistic Changes', Essays and Studies, XX, 1935, pp. 121-122, who speaks of the 'orthographic tyranny' of the late eighteenth century and points out the inhibitions placed on the use of the language by the growing prescriptivism in the written language.
2. Hammond, Dorothy Bramson, 'The Image of Africa in British Literature of the Twentieth Century', Ph.D., Columbia, 1963, pp. 258, 3.
3. Allen, Ralph, Ask the Name of the Lion, New York, 1962, cited Hammond, op. cit., p. 75; see Hammond pp. 75 ff. for further discussion of such writers.
4. Henshaw, J.E., 'The African Writer, the Audience and the English Language', in Dinner for Promotion, p. 5. Cf. Crozier, B., 'Six Africans in Search of a Personality', Encounter, 92, 1961, pp. 37-45; July, R., 'The African Personality in the African Novel', in ed. Beier, Introduction to African Literature, pp. 218-233.
5. Hammond, op. cit., pp. 247 ff.
6. See Jones, E.D., 'Washing the Ethiop White : the African in English Poetry 16th - 18th Century', forthcoming in Ibadan Studies in English, I, 1, May 1969.
7. For a fuller discussion of such tendencies in English verse see Sypher, Guinea's Captive Kings, pp. 156-230.

8. Cf. Green, M.M., 'Unwritten Literature of the Igbo Speaking Peoples of S.E. Nigeria', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, xii, part 344, 1948, pp. 838 ff.
9. Weinreich, Languages in Contact, p. 100. For the wider sociological significance of the cultural 'threat' see Plotnicov, L., ' "Nativism" in Contemporary Nigeria ', Anthropological Quarterly, 37, 3, July 1964, pp. 121-137.
10. van den Berghe, P., 'European Languages and Black Mandarins', Transition, 7, 34, Dec.-Jan. 1968, pp. 21-22. Cf. Asamoah, op. cit., pp. 70-74. See also Lal, P., 'Indian Writing in English', Harvard Educational Review, 34, 2, 1964, pp. 316-319, whose view that 'English is more and more considered as one of the Indian family of vernaculars, an intimate vehicle of expression for the sophisticate and cosmopolite spearhead of Indian society' (p. 317) would seem to bear witness to the division in a similar situation elsewhere. Also see West, Bilingualism, p. 19, regarding 'man's psychological need which demands small groups preserved by differences of language.'
11. Cf. Christophersen, Paul, Bilingualism, Ibadan, 1949, p. 10. See also Okala, J.B.C.E., Bilingualism in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, Enugu, 1962?, pp. 10 ff.
12. Cf. Beier, Ulli, 'Public Opinion on Lovers', Black Orpheus, 14, Feb. 1964, pp. 14-16; Nwoga, Donatus, 'Onitsha Market Literature', Transition, 4, 19, 1965, pp. 25-33. For a list of English magazine novelettes which though written in a first language exhibit an equal commercial motivation and

an equal sensationalism see e.g. Mayo, R.D., The English Novel in the Magazines, Evanston and London, 1962; McBurney, W.H., A Check List of English Prose Fiction 1700-1739, Cambridge, Mass., 1960. For the cultural dispossession still apparent in the Onitsha novelettes see Post, K., 'Nigerian Pamphleteers and the Congo', Journal of Modern African Studies, 2, 3, 1964, pp. 405-418.

13. Afolayan, A., 'Amos Tutuola: Language and Sources', paper given at the Conference on African Writing in English, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, Dec. 16-19th, 1968, pp. 7-9. Cf. Walsh, N., 'Distinguishing Types and Varieties of English in Nigeria', Journal of the Nigerian English Studies Association, (JNESAS), 2, Nov. 1967, pp. 47-55, especially p. 54 f. See also Jones, E.D., 'Turning Back the Pages III: The Palm-Wine Drinkard', Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English, 4, 1966, p. 30, who differs in suggesting that Tutuola will be no more intelligible to most West Africans than he is to Europeans.
14. Cf. Fresco, E.M., 'Some Problems in Defining a Standard Nigerian English', JNESAS, 2, Nov. 1967, p. 57.
15. Cf. Christophersen, Bilingualism, pp. 14-15.
16. In certain circumstances 'desirability' may relate more closely to intelligibility as well as to nationalist sentiment. Figures available would suggest that in the spoken language, less stable than the written and less close to EL1, intelligibility may be a problem within the

community itself. See Strevens, P.D., 'Spoken English in the Gold Coast', English Language Teaching, VIII, 3, Spring 1954, pp. 81-89; 'Pronunciations of English in West Africa', in Papers in Language and Language Teaching, pp. 119-120. See also Edwards, P., Letter to the Editor, Transition, 3, 12, 1964, p. 9. For an early prescriptive example of thinking on these lines, see Ward, Ida C., 'English in Nigeria I', and 'English in Nigeria II', Nigerian Teacher, I, 3, 1934, pp. 2-4, and I, 4, 1935, pp. 34-38. Also on inter-dialectal intelligibility see Pierce, J.E., 'Dialect Distance Testing', International Journal of American Linguistics, 18, 1952, pp. 203-210; Voegelin, C.F., and Z.S. Harris, 'Methods for Determining Intelligibility among Dialects of National Languages', Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 95, 1951, pp. 322-329; Read, A.W., 'The Labeling of National and Regional Variations in Popular Dictionaries', in eds. Householder and Saporta, Problems in Lexicography, The Hague, 1962, p. 223; Jones, J.A., 'English in the Commonwealth', English Language Teaching, XX, 2, Jan. 1966, pp. 145-152.

17. Cf. Brosnahan, 'English in Southern Nigeria', pp. 97 ff.
18. Cf. Garvin, Paul, 'The Standard Language Problem: Concepts and Methods', in On Linguistic Method: Selected Papers, Janua Linguarum, series minor, XXX, The Hague, 1964, p. 154. See also the joint paper with Madeleine Mathiot he cites here, 'The Urbanisation of the Guaram Language - a Problem in Language and Culture', Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological [?], Philadelphia, 1960, pp. 783-790. For the political implications of illiteracy in the national language

see Potekhin, I.I., 'Towards the First International Congress of Africanists', African Studies Bulletin, 5, Oct. 1962, pp. 34-35.

19. Stevens, P.D., 'Factors in the Reform of Language Teaching in Africa', in Papers in Language and Language Teaching, p. 106, mentions the need to describe the variety before it can be taught. However, any really useful description must follow the establishment of the intuitive norms within the speech community. See also Stevens, Spoken Language, London, 1956, pp. 29-39; Ray, P.S., 'Language Standardization', in ed. Rice, op. cit., pp. 99-104, for suggestions on the ways in which these norms may arise.

20. Clandel, Paul, La Ville, quoted by A. H. Wright The Novels of Jane Austen, (1953), London, Peregrine, 1962, p. 193.

21. Soyinka, Wole, 'Translator's Note', The Forest of a Thousand Daemons: a Hunter's Saga. Being a translation of Ogboju ode ninu igbo Irunmale by D.O. Fagunwa, M.B.E., London, 1968, pp. 3-4. True to his idea Soyinka, rather too subjectively perhaps, invents names for his devils such as 'ghommid' emphasising the 'sense' over 'the precise original'. He also gives a 'Glossary of Yoruba and Unfamiliar Words', pp. 5-6.

22. Cf. Stevens, Spoken Language, p. 54.

23. See Chapter One. Also Bohannan, P., 'Translation - a Problem in Anthropology', The Listener, 51, 1315, 13 May, 1954, p. 815, where Tutuola's language is described as

'a combination of school-boy English, officialese, and West African Pidgin' [sic]; Stanislaus, op. cit., p. 55, on the 'African' nature of Paton's language in Cry the Beloved Country, a curious extension of the arguments for an African prose.

24. No value judgement is implied here. Mphahlele has spoken of 'the terrible legacy of the British class system' ('The Dilemma of the African Elite', The Twentieth Century, 165, 1959, p. 322) and J.P. Clark replied to Moore's criticism of 'inappropriate words' in one of his plays (Moore, ed., African Literature and the Universities, p. 108): 'Education and class consciousness which pre-suppose and actually create levels of speech in European societies have, thank God, not done that havoc yet to the non-literary languages such as Ijaw. Style, imagery, etc., these are what tell one user of the language from another - not grammar or class; for we haven't that.' Clark's sentiment is more praiseworthy than his assumption that 'inappropriate' means 'socially inappropriate'. We have a great deal of sympathy with what he seems to see as the dangers of prescription in matters of language from overseas. We add that we are here only interested in what is done, not what should be done.

25. Mphahlele, Ezekiel, ed., Modern African Stories, p. 12.

ABBREVIATIONS

Texts from which frequent examples have been selected:

Note: Capital letters represent the title of the publication and the number is that of the page. In the case of the few newspapers cited the date is included.

e.g. TFA 12 = Things Fall Apart, page 12.

WNW 33 = Wand of Noble Wood, page 33.

DT, 10/2/64, 7 = Daily Times (Lagos),

10 Feb., 1964, page 7.

Details of the places and dates of publication are to be found in the Bibliography under 'Primary Sources'.

- Af. The African, Conton.
- AG Arrow of God, Achebe.
- AIRS The Art of Love in Real Sense, Eric.
- BAB Blade Among the Boys, Nzekwu.
- BAH The Brave African Huntress, Tutuola.
- BF Beautiful Feathers, Ekwensi.
- BG Burning Grass, Ekwensi.
- BGC Why Modern Boys and Girls are Careless, Eze.
- BLGL How to Live Bachelor's Life and Girl's Life without Much Mistakes, 'Strong Man of the Pen'.

- BM The Burnt-out Marriage, Easmon.
- BSD I'll Rather Break my Sword and Die, Okeke.
- BT Beauty is a Trouble, Obioha.
- C The Concubine, Anadi.
- D Danda, Nwankwo.
- DP Dinner for Promotion, Henshaw.
- DT Daily Times (Lagos).
- Dr.N. Dr. Nkrumah in the Struggle for Freedom, Iguh.
- Ef. Efuru, Nwapa.
- HL Highlife for Lizards, Nzekwu.
- I The Interpreters, Soyinka.
- JN Jagua Nana, Ekwensi.
- LBG My Life in the Bush of Ghosts, Tutuola.
- LC How to Write All Kinds of Letters and Compositions,
'Many Authors'.
- LJ Little John in the Love Adventure, Eze.
- LMUD Life Turns Man Up and Down, 'Strong Man of the Pen'.
- LINE Love Shall Never End, Uzoh.

- LSBG The Life Story of Boys and Girls, Stephen.
- MP A Man of the People, Achebe.
- MWS My Wives are in Love with my Servants, 'Strong Man of the Pen'.
- NLE No Longer at Ease, Achebe.
- NNS Nigeria Native Stories, Anedoh.
- ODS Our Dead Speak, Uzodinma.
- PC People of the City, Ekwensi.
- PWD The Palm-Wine Drinkard, Tutuola.
- SL The Sorrows of Love, Iguh.
- SIN I Sierra Leone Weekly News, (Freetown), 28 May, 1938.
- SIN II ditto, 4 June, 1938.
- SM The Strange Man, Djoletto.
- SR The Second Round, Peters.
- SS Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle, Tutuola.
- TFA Things Fall Apart, Achebe.
- TS Woads for Supper, Ike.
- V The Voice, Okara.
- WG The Wooden Gong, Akpan.
- WNE Wonders Shall Never End, Maxwell.
- WINW Wand of Noble Wood, Nzekwu.
- WVP Wind Versus Polygamy, Egbuna.

Abbreviations for periodicals in the Bibliography:

Afr. Lang. St.	<u>African Language Studies.</u>
Afr. Rep.	<u>Africa Report.</u>
Afr. Rev.	<u>African Review (Accra).</u>
Afr. St.	<u>African Studies.</u>
BAALE	<u>Bulletin of the Association of African Literature in English.</u>
BO	<u>Black Orpheus.</u>
BSOAS	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.</u>
Cah.Et.afr.	<u>Cahiers d'Etudes africaines.</u>
EC	<u>Essays in Criticism.</u>
ELT	<u>English Language Teaching.</u>
Eng. St.	<u>English Studies.</u>
Har. Edcnl. Rev.	<u>Harvard Educational Review.</u>
IJAL	<u>International Journal of American Linguistics.</u>
JAF	<u>Journal of American Folklore.</u>
J.Afr.Lang.	<u>Journal of African Languages.</u>

JL	<u>Journal of Linguistics.</u>
J.Mod.Afr.St.	<u>Journal of Modern African Studies.</u>
JNAL	<u>Journal of the New African Literature and the Arts.</u>
JNESA	<u>Journal of the Nigerian English Studies Association.</u>
New Afr.	<u>The New African.</u>
Nig.Mag.	<u>Nigeria Magazine.</u>
PA	<u>Présence Africaine.</u>
PMIA	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.</u>
REL	<u>A Review of English Literature.</u>
SLIR	<u>Sierra Leone Language Review.</u>
SL St.	<u>Sierra Leone Studies.</u>
TES	<u>Times Educational Supplement.</u>
TLS	<u>Times Literary Supplement.</u>
West Afr. Rev.	<u>West African Review.</u>

Publishers:

CUP	Cambridge University Press.
IUP	Ibadan University Press.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
OUP/LALL	Oxford University Press, Language and Language Learning.

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POSTSCRIPT

While this thesis was in the final stages of typing, two works which are worth mentioning came to hand.

The first is Casely Hayford's Ethiopia Unbound (1911).¹ This work provides valuable support to the argument of Chapter Three in that, while it cannot strictly speaking be called a 'novel', it is a highly imaginative piece of writing, a direct link between the cultural rediscovery and nationalism of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the true West African novel in English. The westernised hero, Kwamankra, ('an Ethiopian Conservative', Hayford calls him) embarks upon a quest of rediscovering his African origins. At one stage this takes the form of having books printed in his own language which he hopes will be the medium of instruction in his National University at home. Kwamankra is at once the unconscious personification of the process of externalisation and the early literary expression of the theme of culture conflict in the West African novel, though he is a victim of the political contradictions of his day. The language used is similarly typical of the period, being, with minor exceptions, rather stiff conventional nineteenth-century educated prose.²

The second work is a new anthology, Africa in Prose,³ edited by Ronald Dathorne and Willfried Feuser, which gives a most useful historical perspective to African literature from the years of the early nationalism to date. The book is particularly welcome for its insistence on seeing the African prose tradition as anything but a spontaneous, post-war phenomenon. The publisher remarks on the cover:

... Africa's current literary revolution...is not a spontaneous creation but was produced over a period of time by minds grappling with the changing realities of emergent Africa, and adapting to their own use the received linguistic tools to express them.

It is encouraging that one of the most important premises for future criticism of African literature has at last found popular expression. In this sense Africa in Prose is an event in the field. The main fault is perhaps that the editors do not dig as deep for the roots as, I suggest, the student must.

Notes

1. Hayford, Casely, (i.e. J. E. Casely-Hayford), Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in race emancipation, London, C.M. Phillips, 1911.
2. See Chapter Three below; notes 94, 106 etc. Cf. e.g. Ethiopia Unbound, pp. 5-7 for the extent of Kwamankra's westernisation and pp. 124-126 for a minor use of 'pidgin' for humorous effect. Hayford also gives a short glossary of L1 terms after the title page.
3. Dathorne, O.R., and Willfried Feuser, eds., Africa in Prose, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.

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