PATTERNS IN LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY:

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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EDITOR

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Introduction

The observation that languages, cultures, and societies differ from one another in many varied respects and that these differences may be described in terms of linguistic, cultural, and social patterns is far from novel. It is only in recent years, however, that we have increasingly witnessed the fast-growing realization that in addition to the independent patterned variation found among the world's languages, cultures, and societies, the variation found in these fields viewed as a whole exhibits certain kinds of interrelated patterns as well. For the linguist, this realization has resulted in the long overdue awareness that the study of language cannot proceed without an appreciation of the social and cultural setting in which language is found.

The papers included in this volume were presented at the Symposium on African Language, Culture, and Society, held at The Ohio State University, Columbus, on April 11, 1975. Several of the papers have benefitted from revision following the discussion and debate which accompanied their presentation.

The Symposium was arranged to coincide with the Sixth Conference on African Linguistics which was held on April 12 and 13, 1975. The orientation of this series of annual conferences dealing with African languages has traditionally been more descriptive and formally linguistic than the Symposium set out to be. This can be seen by examining the Conference papers appearing in the Proceedings of the Sixth Conference on African Linguistics which comprises a separate volume in the Ohio State Working Papers in Linguistics series. A copy of the Conference program is appended at the end of this volume. The Department of Linguistics was happy to have the opportunity to coordinate these two meetings; it enabled participants in both to meet with and discuss their presentations with a large number of scholars from several related fields of interest.

All of the papers delivered at the Symposium are reproduced here with the exception of the papers by Eyamba Bokamba (University of Illinois) entitled "Authenticity and the Choice of National Language: the Case of Zaire" and Ayọ Bamgboṣe (University of Ibadan) entitled "Mother Tongue Education in West Africa". Dr. Bamgboṣe's paper is being incorporated into a larger work on that topic which he is currently preparing for UNESCO. We have included in this volume the Conference paper by Chet A. Creider and J. Peter Denny, "The Semantics of Noun Classes in Proto-Bantu", which offers a clear example of cultural and linguistic co-variation and which nicely complements Edgar Polomé's paper on the Proto-Bantu lexicon and its cultural implications. Also included here is the paper by

Charles DeBose, "Creole Speech Communities", which was likewise presented at the Conference on African Linguistics. In the final analysis the subject matter of these papers seemed very appropriate to the theme of this volume. We regret that the two papers originally scheduled for delivery at the Symposium by Soviet scholars could not be presented. In the interest of an open exchange of ideas, we have taken the liberty to reproduce the abstracts for these papers here.

It will be observed that of the eighteen contributions to this volume, six deal with the related issues of language reform and language planning including such aspects as the choice of national and official languages. These are the papers by Joshua Fishman, István Fodor, Paul Kotey, Joyce Okezie, E. J. Emeka Okonkwo, and Maurice Tadadjeu. They include both general proposals for theoretical models as well as specific proposals for particular linguistic situations. This wealth of papers reflects the growing interest in the use or application of linguistics in spheres where the role of the trained linguist has traditionally been limited.

Co-variation in social and linguistic patterns is examined in several papers in Part 2 of this volume. Carol Scotton's paper on Lagos society and Bruce Johnson's paper on a triglossic situation at Larteh, Ghana discuss various aspects of the complex patterns of language allocation and use. Charles DeBose's paper is of a more general nature and provides an overview of creole speech communities examining the typologies which have been proposed for their description. Ekkehard Wolff's presentation provides a clear statement of the conceptual organization of the study of language, culture, and society as it is practiced in West German linguistics. The interaction of cultural and linguistic patterns is treated in the contributions by M. L. Bender, Chet Creider and J. Peter Denny, Edgar Polomé, and William Welmers. These papers demonstrate the importance of linguistic study for the reconstruction of cultural history and the crucial role of the latter in an understanding of synchronic language patterns. Clifford Hill's paper on cognitive variation attempts to demonstrate how different cultural perspectives may be encoded in different linguistic patterns and the importance of understanding these patterns for education. Lastly, the paper by Ihechukwu Madubuike examines the role of language in literature, particularly as exemplified in the writings of African authors writing in European languages.

Undoubtedly, many aspects which could have been treated under the scope of the Symposium have been ignored. Of these aspects which have been treated, some received a much fuller exposition than others. The topic of the Symposium was purposely broad since the field it purports to bring together from several disciplines is itself rather recent and still loosely defined. Thus, there can be no question at this time of a summing up of what is known in this area. This volume can at best be regarded as a progress report and that itself is already perhaps too ambitious an appellation since many of the observations reported are rudimentary and tentative. Also, no real attempt was made by the organizers to provide a systematic survey of all the aspects of the topic or even

a general overview. For this latter reason, we have chosen to present the papers in two sections of which only the first may be said to have a single unified theme--language planning. Although many papers from Part 2 seem to group themselves nicely into small subfields, e.g., the papers on patterns of language use, those dealing with language as a reflection of cultural history, etc., there is a good deal of overlap and arbitrariness in any complete sub-grouping.

We are grateful to all contributors for the time and thought which went into the preparation of manuscripts for this volume and for their complying with deadlines which facilitated the appearance of the proceedings with a minimum delay after the Symposium. We are also grateful to all those who attended and participated in the Symposium for their interest, attention, and discussion.

For help in organizing the Symposium, I am indebted to a large number of people. I would like to thank Dr. Olga Garnica (Ohio State University) for chairing the Lecture Program Committee and also Larry Human (University of California, Berkeley, and University of Southern California), Will Leben (Stanford), Herb Stahlke (Georgia State), and Arnold Zwicky (Ohio State) who served with me on the Abstracts Committee. For financial support, we are obliged to Dean Arthur Adams of the College of Humanities, Ohio State University and to the Department of Linguistics. For their patient listening and advice on a wide range of organizational problems I would like to thank Arnold Zwicky and especially Dr. Michael L. Geis, Chairman of the Department of Linguistics. Finally, as with everything which bears the stamp of Ohio State Linguistics, we are greatly indebted to Marlene Deetz Payha for her administrative expertise and her invaluable assistance in the preparation of this volume.

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What Do We Know About Language Planning?
(A Preliminary Statement)

Joshua A. Fishman
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1. Introduction

The past five years have witnessed a rapid growth of interest and of findings or conclusions with respect to language planning. What follows is a brief enumeration of those aspects of this topic whose lawful or orderly characteristics are currently recognizable.

2. Corpus planning

1. Corpus planning can be successfully carried on, and by non-authoritarian regimes or agencies rather than only by authoritarian ones, and roughly by the same kind of marshaling of expertise as is involved in other types of centralized social planning.

2. Corpus planning has been done at such a wide variety of linguistic levels (phonology, lexicon, syntax, number system) that it is reasonable to conclude that "anything can be planned" into or out of a language, within the limits of language universals.

3. Both the usage goals and the attitudinal goals of corpus planning are highly predictable via multivariate analyses, which does not mean, of course, that all of the most predictive factors are manipulable or usable.

4. Adult populations, whose principal language learning experiences predate the period of major corpus-planning efforts, are attitudinally mobilizable even if their usage patterns are already difficult to alter.

5. Younger populations in successive generations are successively less mobilizable attitudinally on behalf of ongoing corpus planning, but they are more manipulable with respect to usage per se.

6. Degree of knowing, using and liking the "products" of corpus planning (three possible criteria of corpus planning success) are neither highly interrelated nor even positively interrelated considerations. As a result, measures of all three are crucial, as are measures of a wide variety of social indicators, in order to effectively predict any one of them.

7. The desirable direction of corpus planning (i.e. the model of "good language") depends primarily on politically derived models or anti-models. Nevertheless, directional rationales ultimately become authentistic.

3. Status planning

8. The implementational manipulation of rewards and punishments should differentiate between acquisition (learning the specified language or variety), use, and attitudinal favorability, since quite different demographic, cognitive and emotional factors are related to each.

9. Realistic and gradual functional goals are a major device for long term functional success where power is lacking to bring about immediate short term success. Generational displacement often removes ideologized opposition permitting initially restricted functions to be subsequently expanded.

10. Non-totalistic ideologies, stressing utility rather than ethnic or religious values, are a major device for long term ideological success where power is insufficient to bring about immediate, short term success.

4. Conclusion

All in all, much more comparative research is needed, combining both micro- and macro-level data, and attending to both linguistic and societal considerations, in order to advance language planning theory further.

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Language Reforms of the Past and in the Developing Countries

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1. Introduction

Decolonization and independence of the African and Asian countries have made practical language planning and the solution of linguistic problems necessary. In linguistic science the practical possibility and use of language planning have been under discussion for some decades, the results of which are published in the works of Fishman (1968, 1973, 1974), Kjolseth and Sack (1971), Ray (1963), Rubin and Jernudd (1971), Spencer (1963), Tauli (1968), Whiteley (1971) and others.[1]

Language planning has indeed become a practical activity requiring a theoretical background. It can be carried out with the cooperation of sociologists, economists, demographers, political scientists and last, but not least, linguists, who have long been standing aloof from practical problems.

I will deal here with an important aspect of language engineering, that of language reform, which has as yet been little discussed in comparison with other problems, e.g., the choice of the official language in new states. I pointed out the importance of language modernization in an earlier article (Fodor 1966) and in my comments on Dr. Fishman's paper at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Chicago in 1973.

The main principles of language reform are connected with some theoretical questions of linguistic science which have not as yet been investigated.

2. Free choice of official language.

First of all, it must be pointed out that the choice of an idiom for an official language of a new state depends only on external factors, i.e., on social, political and other conditions of the given state; it is thus a problem of *linguistique externe* (in the Saussurean sense).

To explain the theoretically free choice of any language for official use, unrestricted by internal factors, I am starting from the postulate that every idiom is potentially appropriate for being the literary, scientific and hence official language of a modern state whatever its phonemic and grammatical structure may be. I wish to clear up this question because statements claiming the opposite often occur in linguistic literature (cf., e.g., Henri Maspero's view on Chinese in Meillet and Cohen (1952:596)).

The fact that of the approximately 3,000 languages in the world nearly two hundred fulfill this role (practically some dozens only) cannot be motivated by deficiencies in the phonemic and grammatical structure of the other, unwritten languages, but only by the nature of their lexicon, by their lexical "backwardness": the society of the given peoples has not yet reached the industrial level, or if so, industrialization occurred not long ago and the official or literary language is not the indigenous idiom but a superimposed one (English as opposed to the many vernacular languages in India, the European languages as opposed to the African languages). If a nonliterate community lives by fishing, hunting and gathering, it knows only the notions of that given social life. Consequently, its lexicon embraces only those items, whereas thousands of words of industrial and scientific notions are lacking. Experience indicates that social evolution always has a faster rate than linguistic change. Moreover, if a society has reached a higher level of industrial development by a quick transformation, its language will not have kept pace with this progress, hence difficulties in linguistic communication will have arisen. In order to recover such a lag, only one solution can help: language reform, modernization of the lexicon so that, during a shorter time (several decades or at least several years) thousands of new words--the entire technical and scientific terminology--can be created. In our days, thanks to the mass communication media, the newly made everyday words and technical terms can quickly spread to the masses of the people.

The preceding postulate is provisorily evidenced by the widely diversified phonemical and grammatical structures of the world's literary languages; however, in spite of these contrasts they perform their role equally well. Let me cite as illustrations the Indo-European languages (analytic and synthetic inflectional types), Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, Japanese, Turkish (agglutinative affixing types), Arabic and Hebrew (root-inflectional grammar with rich prefixation), Chinese (isolating tone language). True enough, among the non-literary languages several other types not represented in the extant literary idioms occur, e.g. the polysynthetic Eskimo, the Khoisanid click dialects; all the same we cannot surmise the cause of the backwardness of these communities to be due to any kind of grammatical or phonetic features of their languages but rather to historical circumstances.

Three counterarguments can be raised against our postulate: (1) the lack of a developed numeral system in some unwritten languages, (2) the insufficiency of derivational suffixes, and (3) the lack of compound sentences necessary for logical operations (e.g., implication) in several non-literary languages.

The literary languages lacking a modern lexicon may display lack of affixation or perhaps other means of word formation, the two other deficiencies do not occur within them.

Over and above the practical point of view (it is a rather slight possibility that Khoisan idioms will become official languages), the third argument is a grammatical problem. It is true that the numerals in the Khoisan and Australian languages

did not originally exceed three to five, but under European influence higher numerals, up to ten or even greater, have been developed in some of these languages. General experience shows that full numeral systems can easily be formed if needed, like in the Uralian languages in prehistoric contact with Indo-European (cf. "hundred", an Indo-European loan word in the Uralic languages). As far as the affixes are concerned, they are lexical rather than grammatical elements.

With regard to affixation, it is not an indispensable means of word formation. In Chinese compounding has been the main type of the lexical innovations. Affixes, chiefly suffixes, if they deserve this designation at all, do not present productive means for word coining in this language. Moreover, in the course of a reforming movement new affixes may originate, mostly by infrequent ones becoming productive or by the abstraction from foreign, dialectal or extinct words as in Hungarian up to the middle of the 19th century and in Hindi in our own days (cf. Das Gupta and Gumperz 1968:162).

The lack of logically connected compound sentences seems to be a true grammatical problem but it needs further research. To my mind, some complicated syntactical relations have not yet been satisfactorily described in many unwritten languages and the statements concerning these sentence structures are rather of global character. The situation may be, however, that all the logical operations can be expressed by verbal means--unless we doubt the actual logical thinking (similar to Lévy-Brühl)--although they appear in various, non-formalized sentence types because no necessity arose to develop such forms in the absence of scientific activity. In most cases, standing conjunctions (e.g., if...so) are indeed lacking, i.e., a lexical deficiency again.[2]

This question is connected with the theoretical problem of linguistic relativity raised by W. Humboldt and F. Mauthner in the 19th century and by E. Sapir and B. L. Whorf very sharply in our own epoch. Concerning Hopi, Zuñi and other Amerindian languages as opposed to the European ones, also Chinese in the relation to the European idioms see Hoijer (1954). Regarding the African, mainly Bantu, languages as compared with the European ones, P. Tempels and J. Jahn framed a hypothesis which J. Mbiti developed. These theories cannot be considered, however, as definitely acceptable. Until the final elucidation of these problems, our postulate must be assumed to hold true.

3. Modernization of vocabulary

As opposed to the question of the choice of a language for official use, the modernization of the vocabulary is connected not only with social, political and other external factors but also with problems issuing from the phonemic and grammatical structure of the given language, hence both *linguistique externe* and *linguistic interne* are involved. Now I shall touch upon some of these problems.

The old European literary languages like English, French and to some extent German, slowly developed their technical and

scientific lexicon simultaneously with the social evolution of these nations, while other languages like Czech, Hungarian, Finnish, Serbian and Croatian, Bulgarian, etc., needed a radical modernizing reform. The lexicons of the former languages were developed through the centuries--apart from spontaneous growth and change--mainly through the activity of their writers and scientists following in the footsteps of their predecessors. In the course of this gradual enrichment of the vocabulary, Latin had a decisive role in Europe.

Nevertheless, in the life of English, French, and Italian, conscious reforming efforts did reveal themselves, although they were embedded mainly in orthological activity. For instance, in the history of French certain reform movements aiming at the formation of the technical and scientific lexicon also took place although the French Academy, founded in 1635, in order to promote linguistic culture, always kept aloof from these efforts.

In any case, the formation of the terminology of each technical and scientific discipline is a planned activity similar to a language reform. Hence, the creation of the modern technical vocabulary of English, French, Japanese, Chinese must be included in an all-embracing research study.

Although the conscious modernization of vocabulary involves its accelerated growth, abruptness is not a distinctive feature differentiating between conscious and spontaneous enrichment of the lexicon. I pointed out earlier that a relative retardation of the lexicon arises with very rapid social progress, but if this process lasts many decades, the vocabulary still may recover by itself within a short time. This was the case with English, French and to some extent German with the impact of the industrial revolution when the technical vocabularies of these languages developed at a fast rate. Conscious language modernization may last, on the other hand, a relatively long time, e.g., the Hungarian reform from the last quarter of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century.

Disregarding the planned increase of the lexicon, minor reforms or periods of speedier growth of a special part of the vocabulary may succeed more stagnant ones like the reform of Hungarian sporting terms in the 1930's. In any case, terminological problems have always been a concern in every branch of science. An uneven rate of development of the lexicon and of the scientific terminology is peculiar to language.

Furthermore, it is not easy to draw the limits between conscious, individual word-coining (including poetical neologisms) and fresh words originating every day. This problem surpasses the narrower bounds of the development of the lexicon. It is connected with that of the origin of language, and moreover, the question of the origin of folklore and that of artistic literature as a more distant analogy can also be associated with it. In the last analysis, this is a psychological problem of individual and collective creativity.

As long as these problems have not been solved we can infer that there are mainly quantitative differences between a planned

reforming activity and the spontaneous development of the technical and scientific terminology, although an artificial, directed and hastened modernization entails many more problems. In any case, in a theoretical and practical inquiry into language reforms, the following processes and activities must be taken into consideration: (1) the spontaneous enrichment of the lexicon (2) the reforming efforts in every day speech and for literary purposes, (3) the spontaneous development of scientific and special vocabulary, and (4) the conscious, planned formation of terminology for a branch of science or profession.

4. The means of lexical enrichment

The lexicon of languages can be increased by two means: borrowing and inherent word formation. The first method--in which a new concept is taken over along with its name--is a general and ancient one; it is a means of international exchange of experience. Vernacular naming is a secondary method concerning the cultural words. New, vernacular names are given if the notion has become familiar within a community and is not only an ephemeral fashion like the Mah Jong game in the twenties on the European continent. In general, the foreign name appears first like Amerindian (Caribbean) mahys which often is transformed by the phonetic shape of the given languages (English maize, Spanish maíz, French maïs, German Mais) and the vernacular name arises later, like English turkey corn, Indian corn, French blé de Turquie, blé de l'Inde, Spanish trigo de India, trigo de Turquía, Hungarian tengeri ('maritime, coming from sea'), török búza (both are dialectal words for kukorica of Slavonic origin) although only Italian grano turco, granturco has become the definite standard expression. Let me mention an African example: in Swahili there appeared first eropleni for "plane", then the vernacular ndege Ulaya 'European bird'.

If the new notions gradually intrude into a language, their original names are usually preserved, although often phonetically reshaped. In this way loanwords have originated from foreign words, in German Fremdwort-Lehnwort. The differentiation in the English or Anglo-Saxon literature is not as sharp owing to the "liberal" character of the English phonetic structuring of borrowings.

When a people are emerging from the cultural isolation or backwardness, attaining the industrial, technical and scientific knowledge of their neighbors, the adoption of foreign words in bulk cannot be avoided. Then tension can arise because the mastering of foreign words with uncommon phonetic shape involves difficulties for the lower, less educated, monolingual layers of the population. This trouble can be induced or accompanied by an aversion, a hatred against the foreign country (being often an oppressive, colonizing power). Language reforms of the epoch of national awakening were guided, in general, by such antipathy and a purism developed for coining vernacular word forms to replace the foreign ones. This trend revealed itself in the course of Italian, Czech, Croatian, Finnish, Turkish, Hebrew, and Hungarian language reforms. Outside Europe, examples of both the more tolerant attitude towards foreign words and the effort for internal

word creation or purism can be observed. Japanese belongs to the former group as Ferguson (1968:32-33) hinted at. The same applies to Ganda in Africa (Cf. Mosha 1971), while Somali prefers word creation by its own means.[3]

Among the languages of the minorities of the Soviet Union, both tendencies have (alternatively) prevailed. In the old literary languages like Armenian and Georgian internal word creation has been the predominant method, whereas the more recent literary languages like Bashkir have rather borrowed foreign words, mostly Russian and international words.[4]

In the course of a language reform the balance between the two principal means of word formation can be altered. It is peculiar to the Serbian and Croatian reform movements that Serbian was rather inclined to use foreign words while in Croatian innovations by inherent means prevailed, e.g. Serbian šnicla 'steak' < German Schnitzel as opposed to Croatian odrezak < od + rezak 'cutting off'. The reforming trends in the Soviet Union were subordinated to political decisions and the proportion of the use of these methods also changed accordingly.

To be sure, it is not easy to set the inherent and foreign means of word formation strictly apart. Calque and semantic borrowing are border cases, because the formal shapes of the new lexemes are of vernacular character while the patterns, and the original meaning are of foreign origin. Though the foreign models can only be recognized by experts or educated people, most calques have been considered by the Hungarian language purifiers as wrong neologisms to be banned, not as sharply, however, as the true foreign words.

Word abbreviation as a means of lexical enrichment can also be traced back to foreign examples (e.g. German, Russian, English) in most languages where such a method did not exist earlier, the abbreviations themselves are understandable only to the vernacular speakers familiar with them. Some decades ago Hungarian purists still disapproved of their use in bulk.

I have discussed here the two main types of word formation relevant from the social and political points of view of modernization. The word formation types may also be classified linguistically: suffixation, prefixation, composition, calque, semantic change, etc. Their use and frequency depends on the phonetic and grammatical shape of each language leaving a margin for change. German, Russian, Hungarian, and Finnish, for example, render possible the use of composition, suffixation, and adjectival structures in general, but compounding is also usual among the technical terms of these languages: oil line = German Ölleitung, Russian masloprovod, Hungarian olajvezeték, Finnish öljyjohto. In English all these types are virtually possible but the preference is to use semantic change (blister in military and in medical sense). In French compounding by mere juxtaposition of the components is rare (machine-outil 'machine-tool'), but the type with the prepositions de and à is very frequent (chemin de fer 'railway', machine à composer 'computer').[5]

Language reform has often involved some new types of word formation or types (Tauli 1968:23) which, although extant, were not productive; the mass penetration of foreign lexical elements may cause some changes in the phonemic, morphemic and syntactic structure, as can the new means of word formation. At any rate, they shift the distribution of the phonemes, their load and occurrence, the frequency of the grammatical morphemes, etc. These changes may involve orthographic problems as well.

The frequency of the word coining types can change in the course of time. In Hungarian, composition was the dominating means of word formation in the 19th century, while in modern times suffixation has become the overwhelming type for the new technical terms.

The above sketched cases are not only characteristic of the European languages. To refer to an African example, in Swahili noun formation is mostly deverbative, though there are nominative formation too (-zuri 'beautiful' - uzuri 'beauty'). Composition also occurs frequently, both simple juxtaposition (mwanahewa 'avaiator' < mwana 'child' + hewa 'air') and the possessive construction resembling French compositions (kinu cha taa 'power plant' < kinu 'mortar, press, mill' + taa 'lamp'). No denominative verbs exists, however, verbs are formed from nouns with a compound containing a verb and a noun as direct object: kupiga sindano 'to vaccinate, to give a shot' < kupiga 'to strike, hit/beat' and sindano 'injection, vaccination'.

5. The role of the opaque and transparent words

Conscious word coining makes use of the same means, in principle, which occur in the natural growth of the vocabulary. In addition to these, free word coinage (gas < Greek chaos; rococo < French rocaille; Kodak, etc.)--mostly originating from extant patterns--is sometimes applied. On the other hand, abbreviation or back formation--very rare cases of natural word formation --are now fashionable methods for enrichment of the lexicon. All in all, language planners have to take the entire grammatical structure--although chiefly the morphology of word formation--into consideration in the choice of the most practicable types of word building. Coming back to the case of Swahili, it is absolutely unlikely that the guiders of the modernizing movement would coin denominative verbs since they are not needed. The experience of language reforms shows, however, that some artificial word building types could have spread: back-formation and root-mutilation in Hungarian like sav 'acid' the noun from savanyú 'acid, sour' the adjective (cf. Tauli 1968:114).

Both main types of word formation, the foreign and the inherent ones, have been used during all reforming efforts. If purism can be kept apart from the language modernization plans of the present and future as a mere subjective factor in the choice of the means of lexical innovations--but this is not always possible owing to social and political circumstances--still another, an objective factor remains: the question of the international character of the technical terms or of their easy intelligibility for the general

public. These two are mostly opposed to each other.

Foreign words, chiefly the international technical terms (of Latin and Greek origin) are advantageous for the experts, since they make orientation in the international technical literature easier, furthering the development of a profession or science within the given country. The acquisition of foreign expressions is, on the other hand, a significant burden for the lower, less educated technical cadres (skilled workers, nurses, laboratory assistants, etc.) and this circumstance increases the gap between the higher, learned layers of industry and economics and the lower ones, between the leaders, directors, and the workers. The modernized lexicon orginated in native means is more advantageous in this respect, but it has the drawback of loosening the connections with the international scientific and technical literature, i.e., with the world languages. The essentials of this problem have been expounded by Ullmann (1967), differentiating the transparent and the opaque words. He mentions the case of handbook, as opposed to the less intelligible manual (being transparent, however, in Latin), which was renewed for clearer understanding. In Swahili mtambo 'machine' is more understandable, e.g., since the root ku-tamba 'to walk in a swaggering way, to leap, to dance' (i.e. 'a swaggering, a leaping, a moving thing') can easily be analyzed, than the English loan word mashine. One has to keep in mind, however, that the choice is limited by the grammatical structure of the given language, e.g., English and French are more opaque in their lexical stock than German, Russian, Hungarian, etc.

In Africa, the Bantu languages, mainly Swahili, can be more transparent than the largely isolating and tone-marking Kwa languages like Ewe, Yoruba, Igbo, and Twi, but this problem needs more thorough investigation.

The intelligibility of the international terms can be reduced, however, in those languages where the phonetic structures radically alters the phonetic form of the foreign words, e.g. Finnish upseeri 'officer', tyyli 'style', Ganda ssùkú:r`u< school (cf. Mosha 1971:305). Swahili also tends to strongly reshape the loanwords, e.g. hedikvota < headquarters. In certain cases they have become more remote from the original Latin form through English (which also remodels the international words), e.g., Swahili gavana < governer < Latin gubernator < Greek kybernētēs.

To sum up, when making a decision concerning the choice of the main word-coining patterns or the terminology of a special field, the political, social, and educational circumstances must be taken into consideration.

The analysis of the grammatical types of word building and their comparison in the world languages may furnish new models for increasing the deficient lexical stock. Let us suppose that in Swahili one is trying to replace foreign (English) lexemes by calques. Owing to the resemblance of the Swahili unmarked compounds to those of German (also Russian) or of the possessive syntagmas to the French (Russian) ones, new artificial words could more easily be found considering such spontaneous examples (without claiming, of course, their acceptance): relve < railway to be

changed to *njiachuma (njia 'road, way' + chuma 'iron') by analogy of German Eisenbahn or *njia ya chuma by analogy of French chemin de fer (and Russian železnaja doroga); kontinenti < continent to be changed to *sehemudunia (sehemu 'part' + dunia 'world') by analogy of German Erdteil or possibly *sehemu ya dunia 'part of the world'.

It is rather a practical question whether Swahili language reformers would use such more remote patterns, but theoretically the available models of other languages having no direct contact with Swahili could also stimulate the word-coining.

In any case, the new words must go through a process of slow crystallization as regards their use and meaning. Whiteley (1969: 120-215) shows the case of a Swahili innovation, uchumi 'economics' (and also 'earnings, gain, occupation' etc.) as a derivation from ku-chuma 'to gather, pick, earn, make profit', etc., where this process has not yet been finished.

6. The role of ideology

In the past century and still earlier, language reforms were not centrally directed and no official organs were engaged in these movements. Their leaders were mostly men of letters, amateur linguists, who set above all the development of a vernacular literature as their aim. To be sure, scientists also participated in some earlier reforming movements like Pál Bugát, a professor of medicine who contributed greatly to the modernization of the Hungarian vocabulary of science.

In Turkey, on the other hand, Kemal Atatürk himself headed the language reform considering it his personal concern as a statesman. The language reforms of our days are peculiar for their very practical character, striving after the formation and standardization of the scientific and technical terminology. These activities are often centrally directed and supported by the state or by public institutions, as in the case of the minorities of the Soviet Union, of Hindi, of Tagalog (Pilipino), etc.

The mass lexical innovations can give rise to heated discussions and controversies bringing the business of language reform into the focus of public concern. Such sharp polemics took place in the early 19th century in the course of the Hungarian language reform, and in the twentieth century in Turkey, where an otherwise unscientific ideology, the so-called Sun-theory (the hypothetical word ağ 'sun' as subject of an original sun-worship was surmised to be the ancestral form of all the words of the human languages) facilitated the borrowing or preservation of foreign words (old Arab and Persian loan words) in the face of radical purification efforts (cf. Hazai 1970:746-758).

What has been said above is only a brief theoretical survey of several language planning activities that took place or are taking place independently of each other. Though many of them are well-known through detailed monographs like the Hungarian, the Turkish, the Slavic language reforms, the data for synthesis of language modernization are scattered in hundreds of books, papers, and manuals, and a systematizing work has not been published up to the present.

7. A suggestion to edit a special volume

I propose to edit a volume embracing the history of the most important language reforms including those in progress (Swahili, Ganda in Africa, Hindi, Tagalog in Asia, etc.) systematically worked up according to some definite points of view. By the publication of this volume, we would achieve a double purpose. It would result partly in a more systematic documentation of the reforming efforts--a useful manual for the development of the theory of language planning--and partly it could afford practical assistance to the language reformers of our own epoch. The Turkish modernizers did indeed gain some experience from the history and results of the Hungarian language reform.[6]

I do not suggest editing the volume by the compilation of published articles or by extracts from the manuals because these have been written at different times according to different views and for different purposes. Instead, I propose to have the articles written especially for this purpose by the corresponding specialists. Otherwise, one would be faced with the Sisyphean task of gathering the data and arranging it systematically according to a unified set of principles and points of view. In the older works there are few quantitative or statistical data, for instance. The proposed scheme strives after a unity of documentation and at the same time it would stimulate the writers of each article to elaborate and find out the required data which have not yet been registered.

With regard to the languages of the smaller nations of the Soviet Union, I propose to have the history of their language modernization recapitulated in a single article but in a more voluminous one than the other chapters of the volume. They number over fifty, hence a survey of each taken together would surpass the length of one volume. Moreover, this modernization was elaborated on the basis of the same main principles for each and carried out--although at different times and varying according to the local circumstances--through central direction. Surely this chapter ought to be lengthier than those of the other languages.

Owing to the limits of a publication the scheme of the topics suggested is concentrated upon the main problems of the spontaneous development and the directed increase of the general vocabulary of the investigated languages, whereas the growth and planning of the scientific and special terminology will only be briefly touched upon. The main point of the plan is focused on the language reform of the general word-stock.

The scheme of the articles and the tentative list of the languages to be included in this volume appear in the appendix to this article.

Footnotes

[1]Cf. Haugen's (1971) criticism of Ray and Tauli.

[2]Cf., however, Tauli's (1968:14-15) more sceptical remarks.

[3]Cf. also the papers on the increase of vocabulary and language modernization in Africa: McCall (1969), Whiteley (1967), Bender (1972), Scotton and Okeju (1972).

[4]Cf. Deŝerijev's introduction in Bokarev and Deŝerijev (1959:24-29) and Deŝeriev (1971:192-205).

[5]Concerning the different use of derivation cf. Tauli's remark (1968:110-111).

[6]Concerning the possible relevance of an experience of the Soviet Union for Swahili, cf. Richter and Legere (1973).

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Appendix A: Scheme of the articles for each language reform

1. Brief history of the movement
   - 1.1. Beginning, peak and end of the reform
   - 1.2. Leading personalities and institutions
     - 1.21. How did writers, scientists and politicians participate in it?
     - 1.22. Did linguists or linguistic institutions (Academy of Sciences) participate in it?
   - 1.3. Inclusion of the mass communication media (press, broadcasting, television)
   - 1.4. Participation of state organs and legislation supporting the reforming efforts
   - 1.5. Ideological, political basis or linkage of the movement (nationalism, linguistic theories, etc.)
   - 1.6. By-products resulting from the reform: dictionaries, manuals, etc.
   - 1.7. To what extent the experience of other language reforms served as stimulation, analogy for the movement?

2. External factors
   - 2.1. To what extent the role and function of the foreign literary and vehicular language(s) used so far changed by the reform?
   - 2.2. What kinds of linguistic styles are involved in the reform: only literary and scientific style or everyday speech and dialects, too?
   - 2.3. The extension of the reform to the society. To what extent each social layer was attracted by the reforming movement?

3. Internal factors
   - 3.1. Has the reform included or influenced the orthography or how was it connected with spelling problems or writing at all?
   - 3.2. Has the reform had an effect on the phonetic or phonological structure of the language or has the then extant phonetic or phonological system influenced the formation of the new lexical elements?
   - 3.3. Has the reform had an effect on the morphological system or has the then existing system influenced the prevalence of an innovation type?
   - 3.4. Have the reforming efforts had an impact on the syntactic structure or has the then existing syntactic system influenced the word formation?
   - 3.5. The means of innovations:
     - 3.51. Borrowing and standardization of the foreign elements:(a) the lending languages, (b) prosodical factors, sound replacements, etc., (c) morphological factors: affixation, composition, etc.
     - 3.52. Borrowing from the dialects (by semantic change) and from closely related languages (Czech loanwords in Slovak, Swahili borrowings in Ganda, e.g.)

3.53. Renovation of obsolete words (by semantic change)
3.54. Word derivation
3.55. Composition
3.56. More artificial means of word formation: back-formation, stem mutilation, artificial coining (gas), abbreviation (laser), etc.
3.57. Loan translation; calque and semantic borrowing
3.58. Semantic change (metaphor: Swahili ndege Ulaya) and paraphrase (faulty product)
3.59. Sound symbolism

3.6. Which kinds of the above means were extant before the reform and which have become dominant?

3.7. Which kinds of word formation were first used by the reform, entirely lacking earlier (new affixes, abbreviation, etc.)? Has the reform included innovations only or also replacement of undesirable elements (foreign words)?

3.8. Which kinds of word-layers have been renewed: (a) technical-scientific terms, (b) poetic, literary expressions, (c) everyday expressions?

4. Evaluation of the reform

4.1. Statistical data: the number of new roots specified according to the word formation types (in code vs. in message)

4.2. Which means of word formation can be considered as appropriate for the modern uses of the language: (1) due to its internal and external factors, (2) that emerged during or since the reform?

4.3. General results and faults of the reform considering the development of the society and that of the language.

4.4. Did the reform serve as stimulation for the modernization of other languages and if so to what extent?

Appendix B: The languages involved

Languages in Europe

Indo-European languages:
- Bulgarian
- Czech
- Danish
- Dutch
- English
- French
- German
- Italian
- Norwegian
- Polish
- Portuguese
- Russian
- Serbo-Croatian
- Slovak
- Slovenian
- Spanish
- Swedish

Non-Indo-European languages:
- Finnish
- Hungarian
- Turkish
- Languages of the minorities of the Soviet Union

Languages in Asia

Indo-European languages:
- Bengali
- Hindi
- Persian
- Urdu

Non-Indo-European languages:
- Chinese
- Japanese
- Tagalog
- Tamil
- Vietnamese

Languages in Africa

African languages:
- Ganda
- Hausa
- Rundi (and Rwanda)
- Sango
- Swahili
- Wolof
- Zulu

Indo-European languages:
- Afrikaans

Afro-Asian Languages

- Arabic
- Hebrew
- Somali

Appendix B: The languages involved

Languages in Europe

Indo-European languages:
Bulgarian
Czech
Danish
Dutch
English
French
German
Italian
Norwegian
Polish
Portuguese
Russian
Serbo-Croatian
Slovak
Slovenian
Spanish
Swedish

Non-Indo-European languages:
Finnish
Hungarian
Turkish

Languages of the minorities
of the Soviet Union

Languages in Asia

Indo-European languages:
Bengali
Hindi
Persian
Urdu

Non-Indo-European languages:
Chinese
Japanese
Tagalog
Tamil
Vietnamese

Languages in Africa

African languages:
Ganda
Hausa
Rundi (and Rwanda)
Sango
Swahili
Wolof
Zulu

Indo-European languages:
Afrikaans

Afro-Asian languages

Arabic
Hebrew
Somali

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The Official Language Controversy: Indigenous versus Colonial

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1. Introduction

I shall argue in favor of the choice of African languages as official languages in Africa. I do not have any illusions that my position is a most unpopular one. Nor do I have any illusions that my views may be easily implemented. I firmly believe though that since the choice of an official language involves political, social, economic, and linguistic considerations, if efforts are made at this time to plan now, and if we do not aim at seeing results in the next few years, it is possible to change the status quo. Unlike other changes, I envision a non-violent and a very slow process with results to be achieved not necessarily in our life times. After all, it has taken a long time for the linguistic policies currently in effect to reach the present state of maturity. I believe that this linguistic revolution would have to be based on strong nationalistic and Pan-Africanist sentiments. Let us not forget that political considerations gave rise to the linguistic policies of the colonial era, and that such policies have, to a large extent, been continued in Africa. Although I will not attempt to propose solutions for the replacement of the colonial languages as official languages in individual countries, the general views that I shall present here may serve as general guidelines for the choice of indigenous languages on the continent.

History tells us that the famous or rather infamous Berlin conference of the 19th century which carved up Africa for the benefit of some European nations did not include any African delegates. As history also tells us, it was this very conference which gave the participating powers the right to impose their wishes on the colonies. It was of course most convenient to impose the languages of those powers on their newly acquired possessions. In retrospect, one can excuse the cultural imperialism and cultural superiority which led to the imposition of the colonial languages as the official languages in Africa. After all, the "uncivilized" and "savage" Africans could only be "civilized" if they emulated the life styles of their colonial masters. As we know, the French, for example, believed in the teaching of only French to the natives of the colonies and although efforts were made to teach the colonizers some African languages, these efforts were haphazard at best. The obvious result of the French (and also the Spanish and Portuguese) linguistic policy was that the indigenous African languages were to a large extent

neglected in the formal educational process. The British (and Germans) allowed a select group of African languages to be taught while emphasis was placed on the colonial language. By the time of independence, African nations were using colonial languages as their official languages. In a set up where many languages co-exist, the colonial language, after all the emphasis placed on it, seemed the only reasonable language to use as the official language.

2. The Case for colonial languages

I shall now state some of the reasons for keeping the colonial language as the official language in various African countries. Probably the commonest argument that may be raised is that the colonial language serves as a unifying factor. It has been argued that since most of the African nations comprise more than one ethnic group, and since these "tribesmen" are generally at each other's throats, members of "Tribe" X would not like to learn the language of people of "Tribe" Y. Furthermore since the "tribes" do not understand each other's language, the only way that they can communicate effectively is through the colonial language. The colonial language, the argument goes, is therefore an important unifying factor in that it not only serves as the medium of communication among the "tribes", but it is also the only language that the "tribesmen" are willing to learn. On the surface, this argument seems very true. After all, history tells us about wars among various ethnic groups on the continent and, in our life time, we have witnessed civil wars or near out-breaks of such wars. It may therefore be reasonable to assume that as long as ethnic groups or the so-called tribes do exist, the potential for civil wars does exist.

Another argument that may be advanced for keeping the colonial language as the official language is that the indigenous languages are supposed to be deficient in scientific terminology. The argument goes that in a world where technology rules supreme, the "backward African languages" should not replace the colonial languages which are replenished with the appropriate technological terminology.

One is also reminded in this official language controversy that the various colonial languages are universally accepted and hence it is best to stick to them. Again, on the surface, this looks like a good argument. Why, it may be argued, should one open a linguistic Pandora's box? If the current state of affairs is accepted, then there is nothing to worry about. Every now and then, one is also reminded that no Western peoples would be interested in learning an African language so that they can communicate with a "bunch of uncouth and ungrateful Africans".

Another reason which may be given for keeping the colonial languages is that even if it were possible to select an African language to replace the colonial language, so much money would have to be spent to convert material in the colonial languages to the indigenous languages. In addition to this conversion of legal, religious, instructional,commercial and other types of documents, money would have to be spent in writing all future documents in an African language. The argument leads one to ask if in these

days of inflation, and at a time when independent African nations are economically dependent on one country or another, Africans can afford the money and manpower for such a change over. It is needless to observe that this argument is an attractive one indeed because it stipulates that national economic priorities should be ordered before national linguistic priorities.

It is a fact that at present a good knowledge of the official language of a nation is accompanied by economic benefits. For example in several African countries one usually gets a good job if one has had a good education. A good education implies passing various examinations and more often than not, the examinations include a crucial paper on the colonial language. As we know, until recently in Anglophone West Africa, one failed the School Certificate Examination if one failed the English part of that examination. The same situation was true of the Elementary School Leaving Certificate Examination of the 1940s. In most cases, the educational advancement of students was sealed off if they could not pass the English examinations. It is true that some people were given second and third chances to re-take those exams. But often the spectre of the English examination still followed them. Even when students passed their examinations, more often than not their ability to use the English language was regarded as measure of their education. But while so much emphasis was placed on the colonial language, the indigenous languages were often neglected. As we know, very few African languages are offered as examination subjects--even in the former British territories. And until recently, African languages were not taught in African universities. The type of scorn that was associated with the indigenous African languages may be partially observed in the fact that some people carelessly refer to others as illiterates solely because the so called illiterates cannot read and write a colonial language--although they may read and write an indigenous African language with ease.

It is not uncommon to hear that some Africans prefer a colonial language to their own. It is also not uncommon to hear that some Africans are ashamed to use their own languages. When such statements are made, we tend to forget the social, political and economic environments that have created the type of African who is ashamed to speak his own language. No economic incentives were attached by the colonial masters to the use of the African languages and as economists tell us, man makes decisions based on economic factors. Some proponents for the preservation of the colonial language as the official language have argued that since Africans would rather learn a colonial language than their own language, it is not a good idea to pick an African language as the official language.

Another argument that may be advanced for keeping the colonial language is that many African languages have not yet been reduced to a written form. The consequence of this is that there are no written grammars for those languages. The argument goes that maybe one of such unwritten languages may be the best one to be chosen as the official language. But since economic considerations would make it impossible to reduce all these languages to writing,

the colonial language should be kept as the official one. Like other arguments, this sounds like a good one.

A further reason that may be advanced for keeping the colonial language as the official language is that any African language which replaces the colonial language would be a foreign language to some people of that nation, just as the colonial language is foreign to Africa. The implication is that if an African language replaces the colonial language, one form of linguistic imperialism is substituted for another. This is also a good point indeed.

As I have shown so far, there are strong and compelling reasons for keeping the colonial language as the official language. Before we consider the reasons for replacing the colonial language as the official language, I would like to say a few words about the linguistic situation in Tanzania where, as we know, Swahili is the official language. The rather unique position of Swahili definitely facilitated its choice as the official language. Swahili has been spread on different trade routes for centuries and although comparatively speaking there are very few native speakers of Swahili, the language has had a large number of non-native speakers. Although the Tanzanian situation is comparable to the Kenyan situation but not comparable to the rest of Black Africa, Tanzania adopted Swahili as the official language a long time ago, while Kenya made the switch only last year. Although the change from English to Swahili has not been economically rosy for Tanzania, there is no indication that Tanzania is economically collapsing because of this linguistic policy. On the contrary, TANU's dedication makes the government provide economic incentives for the change. The Tanzanian Swahili Research Institute is basically responsible for the coordination of the introduction of new vocabulary into the language.

Non-Swahili speakers who now visit Tanzania find that although English is still used, one is better off with a knowledge of Swahili. As President Nyerere has often said, Tanzania is for Tanzanians. By implication, foreigners would just have to get used to the Tanzanian way of doing things.

Although I have not made any effort to discuss the details involved in the choice of Swahili as the official language in Tanzania, I have mentioned the Tanzanian situation because it exemplifies the desire, dedication and willingness of a nation to forge ahead with her own policies when such policies have displeased foreign nations.

3. The Case of indigenous languages.

Now to the big question. Granted that the situation which led to the choice of Swahili as the official language in Tanzania may not exist in other African nations: why should an African language not be chosen as the official language of an independent African nation? As I observed in my introductory remarks, I think a strong sense of both nationalism and Pan-Africanism should be the reason for the choice of an indigenous African language to replace the colonial one. I believe that as long as independent African nations continue to be either economically,

politically, or linguistically dependent, those nations are not really independent. Cooperation among nations is vital for human survival but I do not advocate the dependence of one nation on another. Linguistic independence, at the very least, implies the selection of an African language to replace the colonial one where the latter is the official language. Among the more serious problems to be considered in this choice are the following: (1) Since many African nations have many languages, which of the languages should be chosen? (2) What should be the criteria for such a choice? (3) Since the selection of one language automatically implies the rejection and maybe the neglect of the others, how is national unity to be maintained? (4) How can the nations cope with all the economic problems that are associated with such a choice?

The first step in choosing an indigenous language, in my opinion, is a re-education of the citizens. It is important that the elite as well as the "masses" be made to understand that languages "from the land" are as important as any colonial language. People should be educated so that they can realize that there is nothing shameful about their own languages. An educational program (formal and non-formal) in national pride will facilitate the de-emphasing of the colonial language. This education for national pride is very crucial if the choice of an African langauge is to be a success. Note that a great deal of pride is involved here--but then, what good are a people, any people at all, if they do not, or cannot take pride in their own achievements and their own natural endowments? I have no doubts that one of the qualities of a strong nation is national pride.

I do not think the sort of education that is envisioned here is beyond the reach of any nation. Nor do I think that given the current forces at work, the projected education will be easily achieved within only a couple of years because some people would resist it. There is no doubt that some people are so comfortable with the present state of affairs that they will not like to break away from it. Persistence and perseverance should therefore be the cue words in the type of education advocated here. I know that comments on any form of Black pride is usually regarded as a fad. Time will of course tell whether the continent of Africa would forever play a nondescript role in world affairs.

The next stage, that is if the prescription that I have is given any serious thought, is the teaching of a select number of African languages at all levels in the academic system. The selected languages should be compulsorily taught in elementary and secondary schools. I believe that at least the two, or maybe the three languages with the most speakers should be the selected languages. Note that children are better at learning languages than adults. Hence if the emphasis on learning the selected languages is placed on the formative years in schools, it is only reasonable to expect that a high degree of proficency and acceptance of the selected language would be achieved. As is common knowledge, the linguistic situation in Africa tends to make people multilingual. My suggestion is therefore based on the utilization of a common tendency among Africans.

As was pointed out earlier, the choice of one language implies the rejection, though not necessarily the neglect, of other languages. Life, as economists tell us, constantly involves making choices based on opportunity costs. The important thing is that a nation is bold enough to think about making a critical choice and that the choice is based on a careful consideration of the opportunity costs involved. I feel that the long term benefits to be reaped by utilizing national pride to build a strong nation, far outweigh any immediate economic hardships. No matter what language is chosen, there will be some discontents. But then would anyone volunteer to name one single nation with the perfect system--the system which does not breed discontents? Freud expressed the view that because an individual has to interact with other members of the society, and because this interaction may result in a conflict between what is best for the society on the one hand, and the individual's basic desires (i.e. the attainment of pleasure), the civilization that man has created becomes the source of human discontent. If Freud is right, and I am convinced that he is, then discontent exists in every human society. But then Freud also notes that the success of human civilization involves the subjugation and the submergence of the individual's desires through various checks that civilization has created. Armed with this knowledge about human nature, the linguistic change that I am proposing now may create discontent among some circles just as the current linguistic situation creates discontent among some people.

The next stage in the linguistic revolution is probably the most uncomfortable one--this stage is the choice of one of the two or three selected indigenous languages as the official language. My suggestion is that the language with the largest number of speakers should be chosen as the official language. Note that the second stage of the revolution assures the acceptance of at least the two or three selected languages. Hence the choice of one of these should not be an unsurmountable problem, *if ethnic pride is played down at the expense of national pride.* For example, if in country X the ruling group is dominated by members of ethnic group Y, but the language of that ethnic group is spoken by a comparatively small number of people, then I feel that the language of that ethnic group (Y) should not be chosen as the official language. I am sure there are people who wonder if it would ever be possible to suppress ethnic feelings entirely. This question is similar to asking if it is possible for all human beings to have the same skin color. Not only is this not possible, but I do not even think it is desirable. But note that it is possible for the different races to live in harmony. This answer is applicable to the ethnic group situation in Africa. I am not sure it is desirable to neutralize the different ethnic groups in Africa but there is no reason why the various ethnic groups should not live in peace.

Many of my students feel that English should be used all over the world. One can always detect a sense of pride in such students, especially since they are quick to point out that English

is their language. What prevents African students from a similar pride in their languages? I believe that if the type of subtle linguistic orientation that was fostered during the colonial era is destroyed through a carefully planned and coordinated program, there is no reason why Africans should not be as proud of their languages as for examples Americans are of English. President Nyerere has introduced Education for Self-Reliance. Maybe what African nations need now more than anything else is a carefully planned program in Education for National Pride. Of course I am aware of the fact that Education for Self-Reliance involves a Education for National Pride. When I talk about Education for National Pride, I would like to see the emphasis placed on the nation as a whole first, and then the ethnic group second. As linguists, our primary concern in this Education for National Pride is that the program should commit itself to the choice of an African language to replace the colonial language as the official language.

The Berlin Conference which partitioned Africa is a fact. It is also a fact that the Conference forced and divided ethnic groups into new territorial units. Since I do not think it is wise to redivide the continent up, it is only reasonable to expect that efforts are made internally to de-emphasize ethnicity and emphasize national and Pan-African unity and pride. I would be very naive to think that this will be an easy task because even with the best of efforts being made internally, external forces may be at work to disrupt the type of unity that I am talking about.

Now that I have established the framework within which I believe the choice of an African language should be selected to replace the colonial language as the official language, I shall answer some of the specific arguments that have been raised for keeping the colonial language. The argument that any African language which is chosen will be a foreign language to some people is a silly one. National pride makes every nation protect her own trade by imposing limitations on exports at different times in a nation's history. A fairly common proverb that one hears in Ghana tells us in effect that "No one points to his father's farm with his left hand". An "X" rated proverb also tells us in effect that "However dead one's penis is, one still urinates through that penis". I shall assume that as Africanists, the import of these proverbs is very clear. The point that I would like to emphasize here though is that after the type of education I have spoken about, I see no reason why the argument for replacing one foreign language with another cannot be rejected.

As far as the economic feasibility of the type of linguistic change that I have been talking about is concerned, I feel that the long term benefits will far outweigh any short term costs. In fact if the feeling of national pride and national survival is sufficiently infused into people, the chances are that those people will increase economic productivity which would be of great benefit to their nations.

On the question of African languages lacking technological terminology: I am sure that every enlightened linguist knows that

every human language is capable of creating any type of terminology. Every language therefore has the potential to expand and enrich its vocabulary.

It is true that not every African language has been reduced to a written form. My contention is that while efforts should be made to write grammars for such languages, the emphasis should be placed on those languages for which grammars already exist. Thus there is no need to wait until all African languages have been reduced to writing before a choice is made.

Since not all African languages can be taught in schools, the predominant language of a region should be taught in that region. I therefore do not foresee the neglect of the non-chosen indigenous African languages. People would no doubt use such languages at home and they should not be discouraged from doing so. Those indigenous non-official languages would not have as high a price placed on them--they do not enjoy such a privilege now anyway.

What would be the role of the colonial language in the set up that I have outlined? I see the eventual phasing out of the colonial language as the medium of instruction in schools. The colonial language would be taught like any other subject in the academic curricula. People would therefore have an opportunity to study it. But economic and social incentives would be shifted from the colonial language to the chosen African language.

As we know, English has been de-emphasized in Tanzania and now Tanzanians have to learn Swahili because that is what carries the premium.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to stress that I do realize that the suggestions I have made here may meet with opposition. I am also aware that as of now, my suggestions may be more easily implemented in some countries (for example in Ghana) than in others (for example in Nigeria). It should not be forgotten that I am not advocating immediate change. On the contrary, I am advocating a change which may take time to be fully implemented and which, as I have observed, requires a carefully planned program of education. I am confident though that if African nations begin to plan now, then one day, all colonial languages would be replaced by indigenous African languages as official languages. As the saying goes, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with one step". I think that step should be taken now.

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Language Planning and Literacy Development: An African Example*

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1. Introduction

Literacy concerns have existed in Africa since the missionaries and colonialists first introduced Western religion and culture. In fact, the earliest language policies implanted were a result of literacy programs in the native languages. For missionaries, literacy held one common function--conversion and soul-saving. While the spread of Christianity left cultures with divergent language policies, colonial policies as reflected in the educational systems encouraged negative attitudes toward native-language literacy. To be successful, literacy development in cultures sharing this history must deal with: (1) current cultural attitudes toward the native language which have resulted from past colonial policies, and (2) future cultural attitudes toward the functional role of the native language. The conceptual framework for language planning to be used here is based on Prague school language theory (Garvin and Mathiot 1956). This framework holds certain implications for literacy development which will be examined in this paper for one particular ethnic group in Nigeria, the Igbo.

In this paper, the term "literacy" will be treated in two ways: (1) in a cultural sense as a move away from the isolationism of folk culture which relies only on spoken language to carry out its functions, and (2) in a linguistic sense as a beginning degree of language development in which a consistent writing system based on sound linguistic principles is accepted by the cultural community and serves some function in it.

Using Prague school standard language theory as a base, the conceptual framework of Garvin views language standardization as a matter of degree on a continuum which has as its polar points folk speech and standard language. Standard language is defined as "a codified form of a language accepted by and serving as a model to a larger speech community" (Garvin and Mathiot 1956). Three sets of criteria are used to evaluate the degree of standardization: (1) the function of the language in the culture which includes the following functions: unifying, separatist, participatory, prestige, and frame-of-reference; (2) the attitudes of the speech community toward the language which correspond to the functions just mentioned: language loyalty, desire to participate, pride, and awareness of a norm; and (3) the intrinsic structural properties of the language: flexible stability and intellectualization.[1] Literacy development is viewed as an incipient degree

of standard language development in which certain functions, attitudes and structural properties operate to a lesser degree than for standard language.

Interrelated with the linguistic continuum is Robert Redfield's (1962) notion of a cultural continuum ranging from folk culture to urban culture. Redfield's point of reference was an idealized folk culture which included such characteristics as: isolation, homogeneity of members, only oral-based communication, handcraft as opposed to mass production of items, use of tradition to solve problems, kinship-based behavior, and the use of sacred sanctions as opposed to secular sanctions to control moral conduct. In Redfield's framework different aspects of a culture can be examined to determine the degree of urbanization or departure from the folk culture. Since the degree of urbanization is viewed here as closely related to the possible degree of language standardization which can be achieved, both are major variables in literacy development.

For those cultures which share the results of colonialist exploitation, where the colonialist language was imposed for political and economic reasons, certain attitudes toward the native language still prevail today. In Nigeria where English has often received more emphasis than native languages and is given more prestige even at the local level, literacy development will involve changing cultural attitudes and values toward the native language. The importance of the major theoretical variables of language planning mentioned previously can best be illustrated if applied to a cultural group, the Igbo of Nigeria.

The Igbo language is one of over 200 languages spoken in Nigeria and is the ethnic group for over ten per cent of the total population of Nigeria, according to the 1963 Census. The Igbo language is also spoken by many non-native speakers who live and work in the eastern part of Nigeria. The former division into regional administrative units by colonialists established a language pattern within three major regions in Nigeria whereby the language of the majority in each region was used for inter-ethnic communication--Hausa in the Northern Region, Yoruba in the Western Region and Igbo in the Eastern Region. Nigeria is now divided into twelve states. Igbo speakers comprise the sole cultural group of one state, the East Central State.

2. Cultural Urbanization

In applying Redfield's notion to the Igbo community, it becomes readily apparent that cultural change may not penetrate equally to all sections of a cultural group or result in the same degree of urbanization for all aspects of a culture. The strong desire for modernization made Igbo culture highly susceptible to the forms of urbanization brought by missionaries in the form of Western education and by colonialists in the philosophy of capitalism and a money-based economy. The characteristics of the culture, e.g. egalitarianism, individually achieved status, and material interest allowed easy assimilation to the Western urban concepts of (1) open-competition in the economic sphere,

which resulted in the struggle for acquisition of money and private property; and (2) the use of education for class mobility, individual achievement, and monetary advancement (Nzimiro 1971:165-179). The realization that monetary advancement could be achieved in the urban centers resulted in a mass migration from agriculturally-oriented rural homelands to urban centers within the Igbo speaking area and all over Nigeria.[2] In the economic sense of urbanization, the Igbos achieved a high degree of urbanization and were often the vanguard of urban economy in many sections of Nigeria.

Despite this degree of urbanization, the Igbo urban dwellers maintained a high degree of folk culture. They upheld ties based on kinship and tradition with their rural local communities by forming Improvement Unions. These unions are still prevalent in urban areas throughout Nigeria and in foreign lands. Their function is to provide a link between rural, folk-like culture and urban culture by welcoming new arrivals and helping them to adjust to the urban environment; by carrying on social functions in the traditional manner; and by solving problems of the members using conventional, folk means. In addition, they also function as a means of improving the rural life of the communities with which the union members identify. Unions provide a means by which the lineage structure and folkways of folk culture can survive and grow in a highly urban environment.

One other aspect of culture which must be treated in any type of language development is the political base involved. Past attempts in literacy development of the Igbo language have not treated this factor of culture well and consequently have not been successful. Traditionally Igbo culture, unlike many other cultural groups in Nigeria, lacked hierarchical centralization in which a top figure exercised political dominance over large areas or populations. Although the political system had a high degree of stability and democracy, it was decidedly decentralized for the culture as a whole. Since the political structure was community-oriented, each village group functioned and valued a high degree of autonomy (Olisa 1971:16-29). During the time of Nigerian independence, centralization was introduced to the political structure in the form of political parties such as the N.C.N.C. (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons). Today the problem of centralization exists again in the form of a power struggle between provinces. Two particular provinces, Onitsha and Owerri, regard themselves as rivals. While the former group regard themselves as richer and more educated, the latter represent a large majority of the Igbo speaking population. This political aspect of the culture must be dealt with if some degree of standardization of Igbo is to be attained.

3. Language Standardization

Fundamental to successful literacy development are a frame-of-reference or norm and an awareness of an established norm. Attempts at achieving acceptance of norms has not been successful in Igbo literacy development. The failure of past attempts may

be due to language planning principles and political means deemed unacceptable to the culture.

The frame-of-reference for literacy includes two basic components: (1) an orthography and (2) an acceptable spoken norm on which it is based. The missionaries were the first to devise an orthography for the Igbo language. The two major groups--Protestants and Catholics--each had their own particular orthography and printed Bibles in it. The primary differences were manifested in the vowels. In the 1900's the Protestant missions adopted a six vowel system, the Old Church Orthography.[3] Later in 1929 Westermann, who was hoping to institute a unified orthography for all West African languages, suggested an eight vowel system in place of a six-vowel one. This system, the New (Africa) Orthography, was accepted by the International Institute of African Languages and Culture and later adopted by Catholic schools. Although this orthography was based on a more sound linguistic description of Igbo, it had the disadvantage of introducing three uncommon graphemes: [ɛ], [θ], and [ɔ]. Each orthography soon became a symbol of religious antatonisms which the missionaries had instilled in the Igbo society. In 1961 the Onwu Commission, appointed by the Eastern Nigerian Government to resolve the orthography problem, produced an eight vowel orthography, which used dots below certain graphemes to distinguish three of the four pairs of contrasting phonemes. Most books printed in Igbo today advertise the Official Onwu Orthography.

While the Onwu Orthography is free from religious attachment and accepted by the culture, it is lacking a stated means of dealing with tone, which often serves a lexico-semantic and grammatical function in Igbo.[4] Currently, tone marking is either left out completely or done according to the system which the writer sets up for himself. A policy regarding tone-marking based on those elements which are ambiguous without the tone needs to be formulated in order to make intelligibility easier for the reader.

The second major impediment to literacy development in the Igbo language has been the absence of a definable spoken dialect or norm which would be acceptable to all members of the culture as the norm. Historically, two attempts have been made to solve this problem--Union Igbo and Central Igbo. Union Igbo was the "Esperanto" of Igboland. It was created by the European missionaries who intended to make the Bible available to all Igbo speakers by artifically synthesizing the vocabulary and sound system of five different dialects into one norm as represented in their Bible. This brainchild of Archdeacon Denis, created in 1913, failed (Westermann 1929:337-351). After carrying out a limited dialect survey, two linguists, Margaret Green and Ida Ward, suggested another norm for Igbo--Central Igbo. This dialect covered all the dialects spoken in the former Old Owerri Province, the most densely populated area in Igboland. Unfortunately, this area was regarded with low prestige by the speakers of the Onitsha dialect where the few printing presses were located. Central Igbo did not become the

norm because of the low prestige attitudes attached to it and also because of the rivalry between the two major provinces. Most books for use in Owerri schools were printed in Onitsha dialect until a few years ago.

Currently attempts are being made to standardize elements in Igbo language. The Society to Promote Igbo Language and Culture [Otu Iwelite Asụsụ Na Omenala Igbo] led by Mr. F. C. Ogbalu has recently made several specific recommendations on standardization to the Igbo Language Standardization Committee for developing a Common Igbo.[5] Since this attempt to develop an acceptable norm is led by the members of the culture themselves rather than outsiders as in former attempts, it has a better chance of success. Defining a norm will probably become even more important within the next few years, since the 1976 plan for Free-Primary Education will bring millions of youngsters into contact with written Igbo. The fact that primary school teachers are now transferred at frequent intervals to different areas of the state would also seem to increase the need for an acceptable norm.

While the codified norm mentioned above serves an objective function and as a measure of correctness, it must also serve three symbolic functions to some degree: the unifying function, the separatist function, and the prestige function. The frame-of-reference chosen for literacy development must serve as a link between speakers of different dialects of Igbo and thus contribute to uniting them into a single speech community (Garvin and Mathiot 1956). At the same time it must serve to separate this speech community from speakers of other languages. In the Igbo society both of these functions must compete with the participatory function which English offers. English functions as a key to political power, educational achievement, economic mobility in urban centers all over Nigeria, and international participation. In short, English allows participation beyond the rural communities. The desire to participate in both nation-state and the international sphere has resulted in a very low degree of language loyalty to the Igbo language, especially if it is written. Illiteracy is commonly defined as the inability to read and write English. Those most literate in English are often least literate in Igbo. This is primarily due to the over-emphasis of English in the educational system and the under-emphasis of Igbo. Most literary works by Igbo writers are written in English or some variety of it, since the participatory function offers the writers more advantages: they gain a more international reading public, more possibilities to have their works published, and as a result more monetary profit.

In order for literacy development to occur, current attitudes of language loyalty to written Igbo must be changed. This can best happen if aligned with an increase in cultural consciousness and identity. Since the Civil War ended in 1970, there has been an increase in cultural consciousness among the Igbos, more interest in studying Igbo cultural heritage, developing the Igbo language and literature, and concentrating

more efforts on economic development in Igbo areas. The Society to Promote Igbo Language and Culture centered at Alvan Ikoku College, Owerri with branches in all parts of the country has been especially vociferous in promoting Igbo language. Since 1970 the Society has accomplished the following (Ogbalu 1975): (a) prepared an Igbo syllabus for secondary and teacher training colleges; (b) organized annual Seminars and Refresher Courses for teachers on Igbo language; (c) convinced the major universities to offer either Degree Courses or Electives in Igbo; (d) encouraged scholars in Institutes of Higher Learning to write textbooks and literature in Igbo; (e) made recommendations for the development of Common Igbo to the Igbo Language Standardization Committee; and (f) got the Federal Military Government to recognize Igbo as one of three regional languages in Nigeria to be developed into a regional lingua franca.

Igbo speakers in the United States have also taken a step in the direction of culture consciousness as symbolized by a journal published at the State University of New York, New Paltz, New York. This journal, *The Conch*, began as the official organ of the Okigbo Friendship Society with the aim "to help dispel unnecessary ignorance and unacceptable distortions and so contribute towards an improvement of the Igbo image." (*The Conch* 1971). The time is now ripe for a concentrated and organized effort to develop the Igbo language, including literacy development.

Although Igbo functions as a symbol of prestige in the oral media and individual speakers take great pride in their ability to use proverbs accurately, make speeches, and lead dances with a creative use of Igbo, written Igbo has a very low prestige function for the majority, even for the monolingual, non-literate speakers of the language. The cultural attitudes toward written Igbo need to become more positive; pride toward written Igbo needs to be encouraged using all available means so that literacy in Igbo will maintain a higher degree of prestige. An effort was made in the fifties to encourage the development of Igbo literature by offering prizes for novels written in Igbo, such as the Margaret Wrong Prize which produced *Omenuko* by Pita Nwana and *Ala Bingo: Akuko aroro aro* by D. N. Archara, and the Christian Council of Nigeria which awarded first prize to *Ebubedike na Igwekala* by Clifford Ugochukwu (Anafulu 1971:181-204). Formerly, a daily newspaper, *The Eastern Observer*, was published in English and Igbo in Onitsha Province. Currently a quarterly magazine is published almost totally in Igbo, Ọnụọra, and another produced by the Department of Igbo Language and Culture at Alvan Ikoku College, Owerri, will begin in June 1975.

In education, more attempts need to be made to raise the cultural attitude of pride toward the Igbo language. Primary school teachers are a primary channel by which pride toward Igbo language and culture can be increased. Teacher training colleges need to introduce teachers to better methods of teaching Igbo language and literature and also stress the importance of positive attitudes toward the language.

In the Western State, the Experimental Primary School Project, sponsored by the University of Ife, is attempting to foster the attitude of pride toward Yoruba by giving the language a higher prestige function than found in most of the educational system. Yoruba is used as the medium of instruction for six years and English is studied only as a class subject. Since formal education holds a high status in the Igbo community, the only way to change attitudes toward written Igbo may be to change the prestige function in the educational system as the experimental project mentioned previously is attempting to do.

A third set of criteria important to the language standardization continuum include the intrinsic structural properties of intellectualization and flexible stability. Flexible stability as explained by Mathesius of the Prague school refers to stability in codification and flexibility to allow for modification as the culture changes (Garvin and Mathiot 1956). For incipient literacy development, a codified norm must be constructed which includes provisions both for a systematic expansion of the lexicon and a systematic expansion of syntactic possibilities. The Society to Promote Igbo Language and Culture has proposed that English loan words be adapted phonemically to the Igbo sound system as much as possible, e.g. [bolu] for [ball] or [roketi] for [rocket].

The goal of intellectualization as defined by Havránek is "to make possible precise and rigorous statements" (Garvin and Mathiot 1956). For literacy development, some degree of intellectualization will be needed for increased terminological precision. If literacy is aligned with community development and improvement, techniques will be needed for forming lexical items to attach to the new concepts and objects introduced into the culture, e.g. agricultural implements and procedures, disease prevention, etc. New terms will be needed for new workaday technology. Dealing with numbers above one-hundred was cumbersome and difficult in Igbo; at the 1972 Language and Standardization Seminar, the Society to Promote Igbo Language and Culture agreed on an improved numeral system with separate words for one-hundred, one-thousand, one-million and one-billion.

4. Conclusion

Literacy development is an incipient degree of language standardization which is closely linked to the cultural notion of urbanization. This paper has attempted to examine language planning correlates which are vital to successful literacy development by treating one cultural group in Africa. In the theoretical framework used in this paper, literacy development requires a precise notion of the urbanization continuum as it relates to culture and the standardization continuum as it relates to cultural attitudes, language functions, and structural properties of the language.

Footnotes

*I am grateful to Paul Garvin for many discussions on language planning theory.

[1]The criteria for measuring the degree of langauge standardization are related in the following way:

A. Functions	B. Attitudes
1. Frame-of-reference. . .	1. Awareness of norm
2. Unifying and Separatist	2. Language loyalty
vs.	
3. Participatory	3. Desire to participate
4. Prestige	4. Pride

C. Intrinsic Structural Properties:
1. Flexible stability
2. Intellectualization

[2]The growth of urban population in Igbo speaking areas from 1953 (Nzimiro 1971:165-179) and 1970 estimates (*Europe Yearbook*: 1974):

city	1953	1970
Onitsha	76,921	193,793
Aba	57,787	155,720
Port Harcourt	71,634	213,443
Enugu	62,764	164,582

[3]The three different orthographies used for Igbo treated vowels in a variety of ways:

Old Church Orthography 1900's	New/Africa Orthography 1929-1961	Official/Onwu Orthography 1961-present
i	i	i
-	e	ị
e	ɛ	e
a	a	a
u	u	u
-	ɵ	ụ
o	o	o
ọ	ɔ	ọ

[4]Tone serves to distinguish lexical units which are segmentally identical. For example:

ákwà = clothes	(high-low)
àkwá = egg	(low-high)
àkwa = bridge or bed	(low-low)
ákwa = cry	(high-high)

or

íbú = to carry	(high-downstep)
íbù = to be fat	(high-low)

Tone is the only distinguisher of certain grammatical elements,

e.g. interrogative vs. affirmative where the tonal marking of the pronoun distinguishes between the two:

ó nà abyá = He is coming.
ò nà abyá = Is He coming?

[5]The Society has suggested that those elements common to all dialects be accepted as Common Igbo and that this be the foundation for a Standard Igbo. Those lexical units with slightly different pronunciations in vowels or consonants e.g. /okuku/ and /okoko/ should be accepted as Common Igbo. Those units with identical meanings but very different pronunciations should be accepted and employed as synonyms for "enrichment of the vocabulary and avoidance of monotony" (Ogbalu 1975:19-28). Regarding the vowel and consonantal dialectical variants, the Society recommended the following preferences:

Consonants

/h/ for /f/	/b/ for /w/
/r/ for /l/	/s/ for /sh/

Vowels

Because of the potential controversial area involved that might set back the attempts to begin a successful standardization of Igbo, the Society has delayed recommendations for the vowels. They did however suggest that verb-roots accept: /a/ ~ /e/ for /o/ ~ /ọ/.

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A Function-Oriented Model of Initial Language Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa*

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1. Introduction

Language planning means slightly different things to different writers as clearly shown by Karam (1974). However, most people would agree with Fishman (1974) that the generally accepted components of language planning are: policy formulation, codification, elaboration, implementation and evaluation.

In this paper, language planning is considered in the matrix of overall national[1] (governmental) planning. The language planning processes mentioned above are, for the purposes of this paper, summarized under two headings--policy formulation and language engineering. Policy formulation is concerned with the initial stage of language planning, and is characterized by Fishman et al. (1971) as "the functional allocation of codes within a speech community." The term "language engineering" is used in this paper to cover those aspects of language planning that entail deliberate and planned attempts to change language structure and behavior. The processes covered by language engineering are: codification, elaboration, and implementation. Evaluation, as Rubin (1971) has shown, interpenetrates all the processes, and is necessary at every stage of language planning.

The approach adopted in this paper is functional in two senses. In the first place, language planning is viewed as decision making involving the determination and assignment of desired functions to the various language varieties within a given country, and the planned measures to get these decisions accepted by the target population. Secondly, the intrinsic functions of language (those functions possessed to some degree by every natural human language) serve as the basis for policy-making and language engineering decisions.

2. Language planning and Sub-Saharan Africa

It was noted in the preceding section that the two major processes involved in language planning are policy formulation and language engineering. Language engineering is particularly relevant in situations where policy decisions have already been taken. In Africa, however, only a handful of countries have taken basic language decisions, such as the choice of a national language. Appendices A and B show that for the vast majority of African countries, language planning will have to be at the level of policy formulation. Even in countries where some policy decisions have

been taken, there is still no clear allocation of domains of usage to the national language[2] vis-à-vis the other indigenous languages, and the exoglossic or official language. In two countries--Central African Republic and Togo--the national language is nominally symbolic, and has not been assigned any significant function. Even in Tanzania, the African country with the most vigorous implementation policy, there is still no consensus as to the desired functions to be performed by Swahili. Clearly then, the aspect of language planning most relevant to Sub-Saharan Africa is policy formulation. Appendix A shows that, apart from the almost homogeneous nation-states of Lesotho, Botswana, Burundi, Rwanda and Somalia, all African countries are linguistically heterogeneous, with an average of fifteen or more language varieties. Policy formulation in these countries will not be an easy task, so the rest of this paper is devoted to this important problem.

3. Policy formulation in Sub-Saharan Africa: A functional approach

It is postulated in this paper that the intrinsic functions of language can serve as a basis for language policy decisions. Most linguists would agree that a language performs at least two functions--the expressive and the communicative--for those people for whom it is their native variety. There is also general agreement that language is frequently a symbol of solidarity and thus serves, in many instances, a unifying[3] function. By the same token, language often arouses "primordial"[4] sentiments and loyalties; it is frequently an outward symbol of ethnic cleavages and, in this sense, serves a separatist function.

The four functions mentioned above are given from the point of view of the native speaker of a language. However, language planning usually entails a change in the linguistic behavior of the target community, sometimes requiring the acquisition by some people of new speech varieties in addition to, or in place of their native speech patterns. Old speech habits are hard to change, and studies have shown that most people learn new languages only if these are perceived as useful in personal advancement, or as necessary for participation in a culturally or economically richer life. In short, for a language to be readily learned, it must serve for the learner a participatory function.

In the theory proposed in this paper, adequate policy formulation must take into account all the five functions mentioned above. In many situations, it would be impossible to find a single language variety that could fulfill all the functions. In such instances, a bilingual or multilingual policy of language use would be in order. The implications of this functional approach for policy formulation in Sub-Saharan Africa are discussed below.

3.1. Expressive function.

Anthropological linguists point out that language is an embodiment of a people's culture and is expressive of their experiences and world view. In the African context, an exoglossic[5] language cannot, unmodified, capture those experiences that are peculiarly African. The expressive function, so defined, is very often the basis for advocators of "authenticity"

in policy formulation. As reported by Whiteley (1974), protagonists for the adoption of Akan in Ghana, during debates over the national issue, brought to the fore this inability of an exoglossic language to serve the expressive function for Africans.

In the frame of reference used here, one possible way of satisfying the expressive function is to extend the domains of usage of one of the indigenous languages, so that it eventually replaces, and serves the functions of, all the other native varieties within the target community. Tanzania, with its "hard sell" program of Swahili, seems to have adopted this approach.

Another possible solution is to give some form of recognition to all the indigenous language varieties in a given community; the vernaculars could, for instance, be used as mediums of instruction at the lower levels of education. Political and economic factors may, however, militate against this approach. Even if it is deemed politically and educationally expedient to recognize all the indigenous languages, economic factors may force a contrary decision. How economically feasible would it be, for instance, for a country like the Central African Republic, with a population of about 1 1/2 million, to embark on training teachers and producing educational materials for the thirty-five language varieties in the country? It is significant to note that it is in countries like Nigeria, Zaire, and Kenya, which have numerically important languages, that a measure of recognition has been given to the indigenous languages. Economic, demographic, and political factors can thus limit the role of the expressive function in policy formulation.

3.2. The communicative function. Although all human languages serve the communicative function, they differ from one another in communicative adequacy as judged by their level of modernization. Only well "developed" languages in the Fergusonian sense can thus adequately fulfill the communicative function. Since no African language is fully modernized in the sense described above (Amharic and Swahili are in the process of modernizing), the exoglossic language would be favored if the communicative function is given predominance. This may account for the retention by independent African countries of exoglossic languages (usually French or English) for official or co-official functions. In Ethiopia, the fact that Tigrinya is relatively "modern" may account for its partial recognition, whereas the numerically superior but unstandardized Gallinya has absolutely no official recognition.

Taking the communicative function into account in policy formulation does not necessarily mean giving recognition to an already modernized language. If other factors are favorable, an indigenous language could be chosen, as in Kenya and Tanzania, with a view to eventually modernizing it. Such modernization usually involves lexical and stylistic elaboration and, sometimes, requires an enormous outlay in money, time, equipment and personnel. The immediate economic and practical obstacles presented by any such wholesale modernization program cannot be underestimated. This may account, in part, for the preference by the majority of

African countries for the retention of exoglossic languages for official and wider-communication purposes. However, the ultimate question for policy formulators is whether language policies should be based on immediate utility and convenience, or whether deeper-based cultural issues should be taken into consideration.

3.3. The unifying function. It has sometimes been assumed that European languages can serve as catalysts for unity in African countries. This can only be so if unity is limited to the superficial level of practical communication. Beyond this level, language cannot, of itself, unite people of disparate and varying backgrounds. How, for instance, does the possession of a common language unite a Gabonese and, say, a French Canadian?

It must be pointed out that the fact that an exoglossic language cannot serve the unifying function in Africa does not necessarily mean that any endoglossic language can perform this function. Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) have convincingly argued that ethnicity is the most compelling basis for group cohesion. Where language coincides with ethnicity, as in the nation-states of Europe such as Germany, Portugal, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland, language can certainly fulfill a unifying function. In Africa, language can serve a unifying function in the ethnically and linguistically homogeneous nations of Lesotho and Somali, and possibly in Botswana.

On the other hand, language cannot serve a unifying function in countries where ethnicity and language do not coincide. However, the possession of the same language by members of different ethnic groups within a community neutralizes the potential use of language for divisive purposes by unscrupulous political entrepreneurs. Thus, even though the common use of English by the English, Irish, Scots, and Welsh has not completely removed the animosities between the four groups, language is no longer a salient political issue. Similarly, in Africa, the fact that the Hutus and the Tutsis share a common language--Rundi in Burundi, and Rwanda in Rwanda--has not eliminated their animosities, but at least language cannot be used as an additional divisive force.

The remaining countries of Africa are, as indicated in Appendix A, linguistically as well as ethnically heterogeneous. Language cannot, as already noted, perform a unifying function in these countries, so unity must be sought at other levels. Language planning is, however, still relevant here with respect to the unifying function. Although language is at present politically unimportant in Africa, its potential divisive saliency cannot be ignored by policy formulators. The experience of Belgium, where language formerly posed no problem, shows that language can gradually gain political saliency with increasing ethnic assertion and corresponding literacy in the ethnic language. Policy formulators would, therefore, have to take steps to neutralize the potential divisive saliency of the various indigenous languages. Two courses are possible--the assimilative approach, and the *laissez-faire* approach. France and England, where minority language varieties were assimilated into French and English respectively,

are good examples of the assimilative approach. It must be pointed out that the assimilative approach works best in totalitarian regimes, such as absolute monarchies. However, the success of Tanzania's Swahili implementation program suggests that it may also work well in relatively democratic societies.

Switzerland is the example, par excellence, of the *laissez-faire* approach. In this approach, the primordial or natural loyalties represented by language and ethnicity are not disturbed. They are rather accepted and taken into consideration in political organization, leading, in many instances, to the creation of linguistically-defined political units.

Both approaches present problems in the African context. The integrative approach would have to deal with the problem of choosing an acceptable national language, and the *laissez-faire* approach would have to reconcile the requirement for linguistically-based political units with the viability of mini-units based on language varieties with a small number of native speakers, as in the Sudan, Gabon, and Zambia. These problems are tackled in a subsequent section.

3.4. Separatist function. Although it was noted above that language is often the outward symbol of ethnic cleavages, it must be pointed out that there are several instances where language does not serve a separatist function. The Scotsman who shares English with other ethnic groups in Great Britain, cannot use language as a symbol of ethnic uniqueness,[6] but must rely on other things such as dress, dance, etc., to perform this function. The situation is different in other European countries. Emphasis on the separatist function led, for instance, to the emergence of two standard languages--German and Dutch--from mutually intelligible dialects. In the same way, the emergence of standard Flemish can be regarded as symbolizing Flemish assertion of independence and separation from the neighboring Dutch.

Turning to Africa, only languages that do not extend beyond one country can fulfill the separatist function at the national level. Here, it must be pointed out that the separatist function is in conflict with the participatory function, and that policy formulators must balance separatist and participatory tendencies.

In linguistically homogeneous countries, such as Botswana, Burundi, Lesotho, Rwanda, and Somali, where the principal language varieties are mainly confined to one nation, language can serve a separatist function. Amharic can also potentially play this role in Ethiopia if and when Amharic becomes accepted throughout the country.

For the heterogeneous African countries, language serves a separatist function only at the ethnic level. Emphasis on the separatist function of language at the national level automatically implies the adoption of the assimilative approach to language policy. Such a policy emphatically rules out the adoption of an exoglossic language, but it also rules out some indigenous African languages of wider communication, such as Swahili and Hausa, which are not limited to the confines of any one country.

The arbitrary nature of national boundaries in Africa has often been pointed out. Some people, notably Sekou Toure of Guinea, and the late Nkrumah of Ghana, have argued that nationalism is not feasible in the African context, and that the only way to counter Africa's artibrary colonial boundaries is to opt for pan-Africanism. In this way, it is argued, Africa can once more regain her "natural" boundaries. There are obviously many points for and against this view, and policy formulators would have to carefully balance the pros and the cons. They would have to decide whether nationalism as known in Europe is appropriate for Africa, or whether separation, if at all, should be sought at the continental or pan-African level. Their decision will be reflected in their choice of a national language. A vote for nationalism would be reflected in the choice of a nationally unique language. On the other hand, if pan-Africanism is preferred, a potentially pan-African language is favored. East African countries, notably Kenya and Tanzania, seem to have gone the pan-African route in their choice of Swahili as the national language, but an analogous development does not seem possible in West Africa, due to the different political and sociological forces at work in that area.

3.5. The participatory function. In contrast to the separatist function which is inward-looking, the participatory function is outward-looking. As Garvin (1973) points out, it works in favor of modernized or "intellectualized"[7] languages. Modernization, however, is not enough. English and French are regularly used in scientific reports by scholars in Poland, Holland, Czechoslovakia, etc.--countries that already possess highly standardized languages of their own.

The importance of the participatory function cannot therefore be overemphasized. In homogeneous but sparsely populated countries such as Iceland, Finland, and Greece, the need for languages of wider communication has led to the general adoption of English, French, and, sometimes, German as second languages. In Africa, a country such as Ethiopia which was never colonized by a foreign power, has still found it necessary to use English for semi-official purposes. The de facto exoglossic language policies of most African countries may also be due, in part, to the high degree to which French and English possess the participatory function.

The participatory function requires of policy formulators that they order national priorities with respect to the people with whom association is desired.[8] When Turkey opted for participation in the European community rather than the Moslem world, it changed its language policy accordingly. In contrast to this, the desire by some African countries--notably Mauritania, Sudan, and Somalia--to associate with the Moslem world, has led to their preference of Arabic over French, English, and Italian.

In summary, the expressive, unifying and separatist functions require the recognition of endoglossic languages in policy formulation, while the communicative and participatory functions dictate the retention (for some time at least) of exoglossic

languages. A policy of "exendoglossism"--partial exoglossism and partial endoglossism--is therefore indicated for Sub-Saharan Africa. As for the domains of usage, the experience of Europe shows that other things being favorable (e.g. economic and demographic viability), any chosen national language could be used for legislative and administrative purposes, and as a medium of instruction up to and including the university. Due to the rather universal nature of science and technology, the exoglossic language could be used in the sciences, and the national language could be reserved for the humanities at the university level. The exoglossic language could also be used for international trade and foreign relations. As for the indigenous varieties not chosen as the national language, they could be used for transitional purposes at lower primary school levels of instruction. Whether the numerically more important languages are granted regional official status, and allowed to be developed for use up to the university level as in India, depends on whether the assimilative or *laissez-faire* approach is adopted.

The exact form this basic model of "exendoglossism" takes would differ from country to country, depending on sociological, historical, demographic, and other variables.

4. Variations on proposed model: Some significant variables in policy formulation

The effect of religious variables on language choice in Mauritania, Somalia, and Sudan has already been pointed out. The influence of demographic variables (numerical strength, presence or absence of homogeneity, etc.) on policy formulation has also been pointed out. Some other important variables are discussed in this section under three headings--societal structure, attitudes, and pressure to change.

4.1. Societal structure. The effect of the demographic dimension of societal structure has been mentioned. In relatively linguistically homogeneous countries like Botswana, Burundi, Lesotho, Rwanda, and Somalia, it may be possible to grant recognition to only one indigenous language. However, in Nigeria, Zaire, Uganda, Kenya, and Ghana--countries in which there are a number of numerically significant languages, each with 1 million speakers or more--it may be necessary to have regional official languages in addition to the national and exoglossic languages.

At the political level, it should be pointed out that the approach to language planning outlined here is based on the assumption that there is some form of democracy or at least some free choice in the target communities. It does not apply in totalitarian regimes where policy formulators do not have to worry about the popularity of their decisions, but even here an understanding of the functions of language as they apply in language engineering, could lead to easier implementation.

Also, language policies can differ depending on whether the political structure is characterized by minority domination, majority domination, or a competitive configuration.[9] If the

political structure is such that active rivalries and antagonisms exist, as was the case in Nigeria, Zaire, and Sierra Leone before the military take-overs, an acceptable language policy is more dififcult to arrive at. On the other hand, when there is a clear dominant group, policy decisions may be easier to make.

The fact that power in Liberia is firmly entrenched in the hands of a minority English-speaking elite, may account for what Whiteley (1974) sees as Liberia's "unequivocal" opting for English. However, dominance does not necessarily ensure policy acceptance. The inability of the numerically and politically dominant Sinhalese to impose their language on the rest of the population in Ceylon, shows that dominance is not enough. The Ceylonese experience is paralleled in Africa by Sudan and Mauritania, where an attempt by the Arab rulers to impose Arabic on the rest of the population is meeting with resistance from minority language groups.

In this approach, as already pointed out, the presence of democratic processes is assumed. Dominance does not ensure acceptance for a poorly formulated policy. Such a policy can only succeed in a completely totalitarian regime, or in a situation where the dominated or minority groups are not politically mobilized.

4.2. Attitudes. Prestige factors are important in policy formulation. A prestigious language variety is more likely to be generally accepted than its non-prestigious counterpart. The fact that Pidgin English lacks prestige and, in fact, evokes negative attitudes in many West Africans, may account for the vehemence with which the idea of giving it some recognition has been rejected in Cameroun, Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone--countries in which the Pidgin plays the role of a lingua franca. On the other hand, Swahili's privileged position in East Africa, dating from the time of Arab imperialism, may account for its ready acceptance in two East African countries.

One possible measure of prestige is the degree of popularity of any given language variety, as judged by the number of non-native speakers that opt to learn it. In this sense, Luganda in Uganda, Gallinya in Ethiopia, and Kongo in Congo-Brazzaville, are not particularly popular languages since their use is limited mostly to speakers for whom they are native varieties. Their elevation to national status in their respective countries will probably not meet with as much opposition as will the languages mentioned above.

The attitudes of the various ethnic groups in a community towards one another would also influence policy formulation. If active mutual animosities exist among several groups in any given country, a *laissez-faire* approach to policy formulation would be in order--other factors permitting.

Policy formulators, to be effective, must be cognizant of the prevailing attitudes in their target population. Conducting attitude surveys[10] is one way of determining the attitudinal climate of any given community.

4.3. Pressure to change. Language planning, it has already been noted, usually entails a change in the linguistic behavior of the target population. A language policy that exerts more pressure to change on one or more groups than on others, is likely to lead to problems. Simon (1969) states, for instance, that the language friction in Canada is caused, in part, by French Canadian resentment for being exposed to greater pressure to learn English than there is for the English Canadian to learn French. The theoretical implication of this is that the most desirable policy is one that exerts equal pressure to change on all the component groups in a given country.

In practice, such a policy is impossible; the best that can be done would be to formulate the policy in such a way that it exerts equal pressure on the vast majority of the target population. In terms of the choice of a national language, this could be achieved by adopting either the majority approach or the minority approach. In the majority approach, a numerically preponderant language is elevated to national status, as in Lesotho and Burundi. In the minority approach, the language elevated to national status is numerically a minority, as judged by the number of speakers for whom it is their native variety.

In view of the Indian, Ceylonese, and Sudanese experiences, it must be pointed out that the majority approach works best when the language chosen is clearly preponderant numerically (90% or more) as in the homogeneous African countries mentioned in this paper; another important prerequisite is that the numerically minority language(s) not be prestigious.

In Africa, the minority approach is represented by the language policies of Tanzania and Kenya where Swahili, the national language, is native to less than 5% of the population. The elevation of minority languages to national status has also been successfully done in Southeast Asia, as in the case of Bahasa Indonesia, and Tagalog in the Philippines. It must, of course, be pointed out that the three languages mentioned above--Swahili, Bahasa Indonesia, and Tagalog--had one advantage over their rivals. They were more standardized, and were, indeed, already used as lingua francas in their respective countries.

Another contributing factor to the success of the minority approach is that it exerts equal pressure to learn on the majority of the population, while giving advantage (if any) to a numerically insignificant group. Since the majority approach cannot work in the majority of African countries because of their heterogeneity, one possible alternative is the minority approach. However, apart from Senegal and the Central African Republic, where Wolof and Sango, respectively, are fast becoming prestige languages, the rest of the heterogeneous countries are handicapped by having neither an indigenous prestige language nor a national lingua franca.

It is not clear if a non-prestigious minority indigenous language could be successfully elevated to national status. This has not been tried elsewhere, but it seems to be a course worthy of investigation. Attitudes towards the chosen language could be changed through vigorous promotion campaigns;[11] the participatory

function could be cultivated for the language by making it a requirement in education, and for entry into certain professions. Moreover, the collaboration of the various ethnic groups within a given country in the codification and elaboration of an unstandardized or inadequately standardized language may, of itself, foster a feeling of unity.

5. Conclusion

The vast majority of African countries have not taken policy decisions regarding the status and desired functions of the various language varieties existing within their boundaries. As a result, this paper has concentrated on initial language planning, as represented in policy formulation. Based on the requirements of a functional theory of language planning, a policy of "exendoglossism" is envisaged for Sub-Saharan Africa. The exact form this basic model would take in any given country would depend on many factors, such as societal structure, attitudes, and the degree of integration desired.

Finally, language planning has been envisaged at the national level, in recognition of the self-perpetuating nature of existing boundaries, no matter how arbitrary. The suppression by African countries of all attempts at secession, and the failure of the East African, Senegambia and Mali federations, all point to this. All the same, the approach adopted here would still be useful if conditions ever become favorable for political and language planning at the pan-African level. The rise of national languages would, it is believed, facilitate the choice of pan-African languages by, at least, limiting the number of candidate languages.

Footnotes

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[1]"National" as used in this paper does not refer to ethnic nationalities as used in connection with Europe. "Nation" is here used in the same sense as in the United Nations Charter to refer to independent, self-governing countries, some of which are composed of several states and/or nationalities.

[2]In many European countries the "national" and "official" language coincide, but in Africa it is necessary to draw a distinction between the two. A language is official if it is used for legislative and administrative purposes, i.e., if it is recognized in some way by a central or regional government. A national language, while it may also be used for legislative and administrative purposes, symbolizes the unity and identity of the nation, and is by definition an indigenous language. See Garvin (1973) for more discussion.

[3]The "unifying", "separatist", and "participatory" functions are adapted from Garvin (1973).

[4]The term "primordial" is used after Geertz (1963).

[5]See Kloss (1968) for an explanation of the terms "exoglossic" and "endoglossic".

[6]It is here assumed that the language variety spoken in Scotland is a dialect of English. However, it could quite possibly be considered to be a separate language, in which case it could serve the separatist function. It should also be noted that even a dialect could serve this function if separatist tendencies are strong enough.

[7]The term "intellectualization" is roughly the Prague School equivalent of "modernization". See Garvin (1959) for further details.

[8]It should be noted that there are two dimensions of participation--world-wide and national. One of the aims of language engineering is the cultivation of the participatory function (through modernization and promotion) for any chosen endoglossic national language.

[9]See Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) for further discussion on political structures.

[10]For an example of an attitude survey see the paper by Wolfgang Wölck in Shuy and Fasold (1973).

[11]Although television and other modern communication media are not yet common in Africa, vigorous promotion is still possible, especially at the village level through, say, youth mobilization and adult education programs.

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Appendix A: Degree of Multilingualism

Country	Population	Language of Largest Group[1]	Language Primacy (if diff)[3]	Other Large Groups (Languages)	No. of Langs.[2]
Botswana	700,000	Tswana-90%		Shona	2
Burundi	3.5 million	Tundi-99%		Twa	2
Cameroun	6 million	Beti-Pahouin-18%		Bamileke,	50+
C.A. Rep.	1.6 million	Banda-31%	Sango?	Baya, Mandjia	35+
Chad	4 million	Arabic-46%		Sara, Maba, Kirdi	±20
Congo Brazz.	1 million	Kongo-52%		Teke, Lingala, Monokutuba	±10
Dahomey	2.7 million	Fon-Ewe-60%		Bariba, Yoruba	±15
Ethiopia	25.5 million	Gallinya-50%	Amharic	Ahmaric, Somali Afar, Tjgrinya	50+
Gabon	1/2 million	Fang-30%		Eshira, Banjabi	±15
Gambia	360,000	Mandingo		Creole, Wolof	3
Chana	8.5 million	Akan-44%		Dagomba, Ewe, Ga	30+
Guinea	4 million	Malinke-48%		Fulani, Kpelle	±20
Ivory Coast	4.5 million	Akan-25%		Kru, Mande	50+
Kenya	11 million	Kikuyu-20%	Swahili	Luhya, Luo	20+
Lesotho	1 million	Sotho-95%		Zulu, Xhosa	3
Liberia	1.2 million	Mande-44%		Kru, Bassa	25+
Malawi	4.5 million	Nyanga-46%		Lomwe, Yao	±10
Mali	5 million	Bambara-31%		Fulani, Senufo	±15
Mauritania	1.2 million	Arabic-80%		Fulani	±5
Niger	4 million	Hausa-46%		Songhai, Fulani	10+
Nigeria	60 million	Hausa-29%		Igbo, Yoruba	100+
Rwanda	3.5 million	Rwanda-90%		Swahili	2
Senegal	4 million	Wolof-37%		Fulani	±10
Sierra Leone	2.5 million	Mende-31%		Temne, Vai	±10
Somalia	3 million	Somali-95%		Swahili	3
Sudan	16 million	Arabic-51%		Nuba, Darfur	100+
Tanzania	13.3 million	Sukuma-12%	Swahili	Ha	50+
Togo	2 million	Ewe-44%		Kabre	±15
Uganda	10 million	Ganda-20%	Swahili?	Soga, Nkole, Lango	±25
Upper Volta	5.3 million	Mossi-50%		Dyula, Senufu	20+
Zaire	22 million	Kongo-30%		Swahili, Lingala	50+
Zambia	4.3 million	Bemba-15%		Luapula, Lamba	±60

Notes:

[1] % after a language indicates % of total population for whom it's their native variety.

[2] In the absence of reliable language surveys, the number of languages are merely approximate as indicated by the use of + and ± signs. The data are enough, however, to distinguish between heterogeneous and relatively homogeneous countries.

[3] Language primacy is given for countries where there are indigenous lingua francas with more speakers than the language of the largest ethnic group.

Appendix A (continued)

Sources:

Morrison, D. G., et al. 1972. *Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook.* New York: The Free Press.

Knappers, J. 1965. Language problems of the New Nations of Africa. *Africa Quarterly* 5:95-105.

Appendix B: Language Policies

Country	Exoglossic Language	Any Natl. Lg.?[1] Usage %	% Pop. for whom Natl. Lg. Native[2]	Lingua Franca (if any)[3]
Botswana	English	Setswana (M) 99%	90%	Setswana
Burundi	French	Rundi (M) 99%	99%	Rundi
Cameroun	French-English	-	-	Beti-Pahoun(r)
C. A. Rep.	French	Sango (S) 25%	5%	Sango
Chad	French	-	-	Arabic-46%, Sara 28%
Congo Brazz.	French	-	-	Lingala (r)
Dahomey	French	-	-	Fon-Ewe
Ethiopia	English	Amharic (V) 70%	20%	Amharic
Gabon	French	-	-	Fang
Ghana	English	-	-	?
Guinea	French	-	-	-
Ivory Coast	French	-	-	-
Kenya	English	Swahili (M) 65%	5%	Swahili
Lesotho	English	Sotho (M) 98%	95%	Sotho
Liberia	English	English??	4%	English
Malawi	English	-	-	Nyanga-60% Pop.
Mali	French	-	-	Bambera, Arabic
Mauritania	French	Arabic (V) 87%	80%	Arabic
Niger	French	-	-	Hausa
Nigeria	English	-	-	Hausa (4)
Rwanda	French	Rwanda (M) 98%	90%	Rwanda, Swahili
Senegal	French	-	-	Wolof-60% Pop.
Sierra Leone	English	-	-	Krio, Mende
Somalia	English/Italian	-	-	Somali-97% Pop.
Sudan	English	Arabic (M) 60%	50%	Arabic, Pidgin English
Tanzania	English	Swahili (V) 80%	5%	Swahili
Togo	French	Ewe (S) 50%	44%	Ewe, Hausa
Uganda	English	-	-	Ganda, Swahili
Upper Volta	French	-	-	Mossi
Zaire	French	-	-	Lingala, Swahili
Zambia	English	-	-	English?

Notes:

[1](V) and (M) after the names of national languages indicate vigorous or moderate implementation policies. (S) indicates that the languages are symbolic and are not assigned any significant function in government. (r) after the name of a lingua franca means that the language has limited regional usage within the whole country.

[2]% in this column (Col. IV) represents % of population for whom the national language is their native variety.

[3]Percentages are given for lingua francas that are not national languages but are used by a sizeable percentage of the population, i.e., lingua francas that have a good chance of becoming national languages.

Source:

Morrison, D. G., et al. 1972. *Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook.* New York: The Free Press.

Patterns in Language, Culture, and Society:
Sub-Saharan Africa. OSU WPL 19.53-75 (1975)

Language Planning in Cameroon: Toward a Trilingual Education System*

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1. Introduction

Language planning is one of the major concerns of today's developing nations. It is even a greater concern to African countries, due to the multiplicity and diversity of the languages spoken in these countries. The complexity of such language problems has prompted different linguists, organizations, and communities to take steps toward finding practical solutions to these problems, in accordance with the cultural, educational, economic, political, and social evolution of specific African countries.

The first concern of this paper will be the historical development of the language policy in Cameroon since its independence in 1960. The second will be an attempt to sketch a formal trilingual education plan for the country and make some practical suggestions for its implementation. The paper is divided into seven continuous sections.

Section 2 outlines the pre-independence language heritage in terms of the official and vernacular languages. Section 3 presents the policy of official bilingualism (French and English), various ways of implementing this policy, and some of the results obtained. In section 4, the first steps toward a trilingual education system are presented along with various ways of developing vernacular language literacy. Section 5 is a presentation of the language situation in Cameroon as it appears today. Here, the recent, major suggestions for the planning process are presented along with some evaluative comments. In section 6 a functional classification of Cameroon languages is proposed. The classification is based on the three major levels of administrative stratification in the country. At the national level, official and eventual national languages are considered. At the provincial and interprovincial level, provincial languages are funcationally defined. Finally, at the local level, covering linguistic areas up to the administrative division, mother tongues are classified into two groups MT_1 and MT_2. Section 7 sketches a blue-print for a trilingual education system in Cameroon. Section 8 outlines the advantages of the proposal presented in this paper.

It has long been a commonplace to refer to the United Republic of Cameroon as "Africa in miniature". Indeed, there is much geographical, demographic, cultural, historical, and linguistic evidence to support such a flattering, neat name. The linguistic evidence will become apparent as we proceed in this paper.

Cameroon has an area of 475,000 square kilometers (or about 200,000 square miles), and the country's constantly increasing population was estimated at 6.1 million in 1972. It is divided into seven administrative provinces and 39 divisions (or departments). The number of languages spoken within this relatively limited area is somewhere between 200 and 250. At the present time, there is no absolutely reliable source for determining the exact number of languages spoken in the country. However, among the existing standard sources, I have used both linguistic and ethnological inventories; namely Welmers' "Checklist of African language and dialect names" (1971) and LeVine's ethnic group estimation (1970). LeVine shows that there are approximately 136 ethnic groups in the former Eastern Cameroon ('francophone' or French speaking) and 65 such groups in the former Western Cameroon ('anglophone' or English speaking). This makes a total of 201 ethnic groups in The United Republic of Cameroon. On the other hand, Welmers' overall checklist of African language and dialect names provides an inventory of 158 distinct language names for Cameroon alone. It also provides an array of distinct dialects for most of the languages listed and there is much evidence from more recent studies showing that some of these dialects are actually separate languages. However, the difficult problem of determining the boundary between languages and dialect remains unsolves in Cameroon. I shall suggest that this particular problem be more carefully dealt with within a general official language planning process for the country. It would then be possible to consider the degree of mutual intelligibility as one of the important criteria in establishing the boundary between languages and dialects.

Turning now to the generic grouping of the Cameroon languages, we find that among the four major-language groups established by Greenberg for the whole of Africa, three are represented in Cameroon. In his first group (Congo-Korodofanian), the Bantu family is represented by almost all the languages spoken in the southern and western parts of the country. Also, in the North, the West Atlantic family is represented by a 'major' language such as Fulfulde. The second group, Nilo-Saharan, is represented in Cameroon by an important language such as Kanuri which is also spoken in Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. In the third group, Afro-Asiatic, the Semitic family is represented by classical Arabic as used in Koranic schools. Santerre (1969), in his attempt to evaluate the percentage of the northern population which knows Arabic quotes *The Misoencam* (1960-61) survey which established that some 10% of the male adults can read and write Arabic. The general literature on the use of classical Arabic in Cameroon shows that, although this is not a Cameroon vernacular language, it will remain an important religious and educational language for the Moslem population of the country. In view of this importance of Arabic, studies point out the necessity of devising more adequate teaching methods for the Koranic schools. Greenberg's third group is also widely represented in Cameroon by languages belonging to the Chadic family, such as Hausa, Bura, Daba, Musei, and Njai. Most of the Cameroon Chadic languages are also spoken in neighboring

countries such as Nigeria, Chad, and Central African Republic. Among these languages, Hausa stands out as a regional African lingua franca spoken by over 25 million people.

2. Pre-Independence linguistic legacy

From the linguistic point of view, almost every independent African country has some pre-independence language legacy to deal with. The literature on this legacy presents two general pre-independence bases underlying the post-independence language policies, namely those of French and British colonial governments. I will only point out the major linguistic difference between these two policies, since ideologically speaking they were not radically different. The British Indirect Rule allowed the use of vernacular languages as a medium of instruction in the first years of primary schools. The switch to English was to take place at the upper level of primary school and continue throughout the secondary school and the university. On the other hand, the French Assimilation Policy did not allow the use of vernacular languages in school even as subjects of instruction, except for missionary schools as it will be shown shortly. In the particular case of Cameroon, which has inherited both systems since its independence in 1960 and reunification in 1961, the French legacy has been generalized to apply to the anglophone part of the country. This means that English has become the medium of instruction in the anglophone Cameroon, starting from the first year of primary school as is the case for the francophone areas. These two policies had almost the same result in the determination of official languages of independent African countries except in the case of Cameroon as it will become apparent in the following section. English became at least the first official language of former British territories and French played the same role in former French territories.

However, these were formal policies as distinct from informal language policies which were carried out by Missionaries. William Welmers has shown that, although the missionaries did not overtly claim to have their own language policy, they did actually have one for religious purposes. This consisted in developing vernacular language programs as means for reaching their spiritual goals. Thus, they taught vernacular languages in their own primary schools. Wherever it was possible to use a language such as pidgin English for religious purposes, they did not hesitate to do so. Also, if one vernacular language could be used as a union language for a given linguistic area, they developed teaching materials in that language so that the speakers of related languages could easily learn it. In Cameroon, this was the case of Bangangte in the Bamileke area. However, the result of this particular case was not successful. But the policy was successful when applied to languages such as Douala, Bali, and Ewondo.

From the practical point of view, the missionary policy, which was tolerated to some extent in countries under the French rule, has been consistently extended beyond their purely religious borders to cover educational purposes. In Cameroon, vernacular

language programs such as the Nufi program, The College Libermann, and recently secondary school programs, constitute clear examples of this extension. Now, it is no longer accurate to call these programs missionary programs, since, although they still have their bases around the 'missions', they are supported and run by the local communities.

3. The policy of official bilingualism

In October 1961, The Republic of Cameroon and the former Southern British Cameroon merged together to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon (which has become The United Republic of Cameroon since May 1972). This was the period when most African countries were achieving independence. Linguistically, independence meant that each free country would make its own decision regarding the language, or languages, which would be "official". While almost all newly-independent AFrican countries recognized either French or English as their official languages, the Federal Republic of Cameroon found itself with the necessity of recognizing both of them as its official languages. In this respect, the Constitution states that: "The official languages of the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English".

Since then the Government has put up several programs for the implementation of this bilingual policy. I shall point out four of these: namely, the bilingual secondary schools, the cultural and linguistic centers, the English and French language teaching programs by radio, and, more recently, the bilingual primary schools.

3.1. Bilingual secondary schools. Since the early 60's four bilingual secondary schools have been opened in Cameroon in Yaounde, Buea, Mamfe, and recently Bonaberi (Douala). These schools aim at using both French and English as alternating media of instruction. Here students are linguistically best prepared for higher education at the bilingual University of Yaounde, which is the only university in Africa where, in principle, lectures may be given in either French or English. Notice that the University is bilingual from the perspective of the students, while from the perspective of the lecturers, it is not. Another objective of the bilingual secondary schools is obviously to prepare students for jobs requiring an equal mastery of both French and English. However, the job prospects of the country show that such jobs are very limited, with the exception, of course, of teaching jobs.

Besides the bilingual secondary schools, all other secondary schools in the country are required to teach English as a second language in the francophone area and French as a second language in the anglophone area. However, the teaching methods need serious improvements in order for this program to produce better results.

3.2. Cultural and linguistic centers. In 1962, the first cultural and linguistic center was established in Yaounde. It was designed to help citizens improve their French or English, in addition to having other cultural goals. As far as bilingualism is concerned, it could help people whose professions required knowledge of both

French and English, but who spoke only one of these languages, to acquire the second language easily. In 1968, proposals were made for the establishment of similar centers in Douala, Buea, and other major cities of the country. It is clear that such centers are useful only for a minority of citizens living in these cities. These centers are also too expensive due to the audio-visual equipment deemed necessary to run them.

3.3. Bilingualism by radio. Another practical way of implementing the bilingual policy in Cameroon has been to develop French and English teaching programs by radio, respectively, in the anglophone and francophone parts of the country. In October 1967, the "Le Français par la Radio" (Prevost 1969) program started in the then West Cameroon. Its purpose was to help English or pidgin-English speakers who could afford a radio learn or improve their French. A similar program, "L'Anglais chez vous", was later developed for the francophone radio owners. Ideally speaking, one may say that any Cameroonian who can afford a radio set can learn to improve his or her French or English, no matter where he or she lives. However, the fact that people do not enroll in such programs unless they have some economic, social, or political motivations for doing so. It is clearly not the case that the present socio-economic situation of Cameroon offers enough of this motivation.

3.4. Bilingual primary schools. Recently, bilingual education has been introduced into the primary school system in Cameroon. It is still too early to attempt to evaluate this step. However, one may notice that not all primary schools can carry on a bilingual program since there are not enough bilingual teachers and it is not likely that there will soon be enough of them unless a special training program is set up for this purpose. It is important to try to understand the basic motivation behind this step in order to perceive the development of Cameroon's education system and the role of language in this system. In his article, "A case for early bilingualism", Dr. Fonlon (1969) pleaded for the introduction of bilingualism into the primary school system in the following terms: "The teaching of English and French together here in Cameroon, should start right from the very first day that the child takes his seat in the infant school". The author presents all possible historical, psychological, and educational evidence in support of his proposal. He uses all this evidence to show that it is easier for children to acquire second and third languages than it is for adults, which is true to a very large extent. Today, there is no doubt that the recent development of early bilingualism in Cameroon conforms to Dr. Fonlon's suggestions. It is also true to some extent that it conforms to his outline of the place that language should occupy in the Cameroon curriculum and within the general education system of the country. Thus, according to him, "the principal pre-occupation of primary school...should be language, that of secondary school, general knowledge, that of higher school, introduction to specialization, and that of the university, specialization". There is no major objection to Dr.

Fonlon's proposals except for two things that will become apparent in this paper. The first is that there seems to be no strong reason for maintaining in the school system a 'higher school' between the secondary school and the university. The second is that if language is to be the primary concern of the primary school, then there is no reason for not including the vernacular languages in the curriculum at this level. The basic contention of this paper is that by introducing the verhacular languages at this level, the education system of the country would reflect its 'de facto' minimal trilingualism that the present multilingual situation imposes upon each Cameroon student.

At this stage, a different official language program in Cameroon should be pointed out, because of its importance in the general planning process being proposed in this paper. It is an adult literacy program in French called 'Ecole sous l'arbre'. This program was developed in the early 60's and was carried out in cities as well as in the rural areas. However, it has not been successful at all, simply because it was in fact a double program, namely a foreign language program and a literacy program. I would like to suggest that vernacular languages be substituted for French in this same program and that this process be linked to the introduction of vernacular languages in the school curriculum. The same thing can be done in place of the adult education program in English which was operative in the anglophone area and which had to stop because of economic and other reasons. My contention is that such an adult literacy program would be faster, cheaper, more effective, and would conform to the general cultural and socio-economic evolution of the country.

4. Toward a trilingual education system

In his proposal for an early bilingualism in Cameroon, Dr. Fonlon wrote:

> I must confess that the expression, Cameroon bilingualism, is a misnomer. It would be more correct to speak of Cameroon trilingualism, because, even before the Cameroon child comes to school to learn English and French, he should have already learnt his own native language.

This is obviously what actually happens to almost all Cameroon children, except for those who come from those very rare elite families where either English or French is used to the extent of becoming the mother tongue of the children. Thus, the problem is not that the Children should learn their mother tongues, since this happens naturally anyway, but that they should become literate in either their mother tongues or a closely related vernacular language. There is no point in talking about trilingual education in Cameroon if this does not mean developing fluency and reading and writing skills in at least three languages, including where possible each individual's mother tongue and the two official languages. In this section, I shall try to show that such trilingualism does exist in Cameroon and that it is actually

becoming a primary goal of many educators. I shall present this trend at three levels; namely the individual, local, and national levels. This paper, besides being an objective presentation of facts, is intended as a proposal for a trilingual education system beneficial not only to Cameroon, but also to other African countries which must deal with two official languages and several mother tongues (MT).

At the individual level, a few Cameroonians have succeeded in becoming trilingual, that is, fluent and literate in their mother tongues, French, and English. These are mostly well-motivated students and other educated people. What is noteworthy at this level is the amount of self-training these people go through in order to develop vernacular literacy skills. Another important consideration is that, after somebody has been able to read and write in his MT, he would be more willing to help other speakers of his MT do the same thing. But this effort does not go very far without a supporting institution of some sort. The role of religious institutions in this process should not be underestimated.

This leads us to the role of the local level. Here, there are two kinds of institutions that make trilingualism possible. First, there are local literacy programs in vernacular languages, most of which originally developed in the 'missions' and later became autonomous. A typical example of this is the Nufi program, which, during the course of more than fifteen years under the leadership of Abbé Tchamda and others, has developed its own schools throughout the country and abroad (for example, in France), using the Fe'Fei language. Since 1961, more than 3,000 people have graduated from the Nufi schools and have received their diplomas (certificates) (Datchou 1974). The program has its own publishing services as well as a journal. Many of the Nufi graduates have also become fluent and literate in both French and English through the formal Cameroon bilingual education system. This will be true for any other local vernacular literacy program which is developed in the future. Some of these are being developed in other Bamileke languages such as Banjun, Bangangte, and Dschang. Other Cameroon languages such as Ewondo, Bassa, Douala, etc. have their own programs. All these are local self-supporting programs, resulting in a kind of informal education system. This makes literary trilingualism in Cameroon a reality rather than a speculation. That the term 'local' is used to refer to them does not mean that they are limited geographically. In fact, they originate in the home town of the language concerned and spread to wherever its native speakers can be collectively reached.

A second type of local program that makes trilingualism possible is carried out by private schools which have some vernacular languages in their curricula. For example, in the Northern part of the country, classical Arabic is taught in Koranic schools. Here, Santerre (1969) found that the best thing to do would be to introduce Fulfulde which is widely spoken in the north into the primary schools as the medium of instruction. Then, either French or Arabic would be progressively taught depending on the specific area where a school is situated. However, it appears that Fulfulde would not be easily accepted in the Kirdi (non-Moslem) primary schools if

some Kirdi languages are not already introduced into those schools. It seems to me that, as a general rule, if more vernacular languages are introduced into the school system in Cameroon, then less opposition will be raised against eventual provincial languages, and by the same token national unity will be preserved.

In the south, many private secondary schools, under the leadership of the College Libermann in Douala, have introduced some vernacular languages into their curricula. A few of these are: The College Libermann itself, College de la Retraite in Yaounde, St. Paul in Bafang, Kamga in Banjun, and St. Laurant in Bafou. Notice that the languages being introduced in these schools are those which have already reached some degree of development through local programs. In other words, the collaboration between the local community and the school is already effective at this level. It is expected that in the near future, vernacular languages taught in secondary schools will be given at the B.E.P.C. (Brevé d'études du premier cycle) Examination to replace the third languages such as German, Latin, and Spanish. Suggestions have even been made for the replacement of these languages by vernaculars in the secondary school curriculum. The main argument in support of this proposal is that these languages are less relevant to the socio-economic needs of the country than are the vernacular languages.

At the national level, there are two ways of dealing with vernacular languages which support our contention that there is a de facto trilingual education system operating in Cameroon. First, since the late 1960's there have been annual workshops and seminars on vernacular languages organized either at the University of Yaounde or at College Libermann in Douala. The next section of this paper will describe these seminars in more detail because of their importance in the development of the official language policy of the country. The second way of making trilingualism possible at the national level is found in the University of Yaounde. Here, elective courses are offered in the structure and orthographic systems of vernacular languages such as Fulfulde, Bassa, Douala, Ewondo, Fe'fe', and Banjun. These courses are compulsory for students who have a minor in linguistics. Here, courses in vernacular languages fulfill a part of the applied linguistic requirement. Students involved in these courses necessarily develop reading and writing skills in the specific languages studied.

These facts show that in Cameroon, there are solid bases for planning a trilingual education system. Such trilingual education planning, in its most basic form, should add vernacular languages to the two official ones. Here, the main question is 'which vernacular languages?'. After having presented additional data, I shall argue that this question can find an adequate answer within the framework of language planning which links the objectives of adult literacy programs with those of preschool and early primary school education.

5. Recent suggestions for the planning process

Two trends of language policy are observable in Cameroon. First, the formal official bilingualism which can be described

as a general top-to-bottom movement. Here, the two official languages are taught through the formal educational system as well as through appropriate government-sponsored institutions. A reverse phonemonon is also observable, namely an informal language policy working its way from the bottom upward, according to social stratification. As already stated in the previous section, this process has vernacular languages as its starting point. The most obvious result of this two-way movement is that it forces both the Cameroon government and the Cameroonians themselves to face a trilingual system. In fact, one can already perceive a practical point of merger of both trends. To illustrate this merger process, I will summarize the report of the seminar held in Douala in July 1974 under the joint sponsorship of the National Institute of Education (Institut Nationale d'Education-I.N.E.) and the Department of Applied Linguistics of the University of Yaounde. The National Institute of Education is "a research institute responsible for providing Cameroon with a harmonized and efficient education system". The theme of that seminar clearly delimits the point at hand, namely the Cameroon languages and the official languages. The seminar had been preceded on a yearly basis by several others of the same kind. An important one was held in Douala in July 1973. The proceedings of the 1973 seminar have been published as *Les Langues Africaines facteurs de development* (African language factors of development) (College Libermann 1974).

During the two-week 1974 seminar, workshops were organized for studying selected Cameroon languages and groups of languages. Those dealt with were: Douala, Bassa, Bulu, Ewondo, and the Bamileke language group. The main purpose of the workshops was to train secondary and primary school teachers, as well as other well-motivated individuals, to use phonemic alphabet for the transcription of the specific languages studied. Each participant was enrolled in the study of his own language or a language closely related to his own. The purpose of the transcription was to reduce these languages into a more adequate writing system based on a phonemic alphabet.

An initial proposal of such an alphabet has been submitted by Professor Bot Ba Njock during a UNESCO-sponsored meeting held at the University of Yaounde in 1970. The purpose of that meeting was to device basically a phonemic 'Bantu' alphabet for the vernacular languages of Cameroon, Chad, the Central African Republic, and Gabon. Thus, it is from this early system that the appropriate alphabet for individual languages and groups of closely related languages is being developed and used. In addition, an adapted typewriter with a special keyboard based on the present transcription system has been ordered from the Olympia Company. At the same time, in order to make more written materials in vernacular languages available at reasonable prices, a project for a special printing center is being studied at the College Libermann. The aim of such a center is to publish a variety of teaching and reading materials in as many Cameroon languages as possible. Many students, teacher, and other educated people are already involved

in developing reading and teaching materials in their respective languages. Unfortunately, these authors often lack the basic linguistic training necessary for such work. Their main weak point is in the area of syntax, since the annual seminars have already provided them with basic phonological principles to accompany their training in the orthographic systems.

One of the amin outcomes of the 1974 seminar was that future seminars will be organized on a provincial basis in order to deal more adequately with the specific linguistic problems of each of the seven administrative provinces of the country. The long-term purpose of these annual seminars is to prepare secondary and primary school vernacular language teachers, as well as instructors for adult vernacular literacy programs. In other words, these seminars offer the opportunity of training diversified teaching personnel in vernacular languages, and offer the basis for preparing teaching materials. The whole effort is being made with the expectation that the Government, as soon as it is convinced of the beneficial effects of this work, will give its approval to the introduction of the Cameroon vernacular languages into the official education system. It is in this spirit that the suggestions outlined below were made at the end of the 1974 seminar. They were made on the basis of the work accomplished during the workshops, and the conferences given by several Cameroon scholars. Thus, the suggestions are grouped under specific conferences. A general proposal containing 21 suggestions was made available and I shall only present the most relevant--to the purposes of this paper--of these suggestions:

I. On Vernacular language(s) teaching policy (M. Hebga):

1. The Cameroon Government should allow the introduction of Cameroon vernacular languages into the official school system. Comment: All other suggestions will be based on this fundamental one.

2. As a first step to implementing this policy, only languages of wider communication (langues véhiculaires) should be taught in school.

3. Given the difficult problems posed by the pre-school teaching of these languages, the seminar suggests that this task be assigned to each family. Comment: One should realize how difficult it would be for a family to undertake the teaching of a Cameroon vernacular language other than that spoken in the family. It would be more appropriate to teach parents to read and write in their own languages so that in turn they can (if possible) teach their children to read and write in the same languages. The school system can take care of the teaching of the languages of wider communication.

4. Five reasons were given in support of the above suggestions: (a) the avoidance of cultural uprooting of the Cameroon youth; (b) the awakening of pride for traditional heritage, national mentality and personality; (c) the fact that only national languages can best communicate national culture and personality; (d) the awakening of a common Bantu consciousness; (3) the building of national unity.

II. On language and communication (Mbassi-Manga)

5. The multiplicity of Cameroon languages is not a real obstacle to communication among Cameroonians, since speakers of different languages can easily communicate through the languages of wider communication.

6. The real obstacle has to do with interethnic extra-linguistic conflicts. Comments: In an earlier paper (1973), Mbassi-Manga, referring to languages of wider communication as 'home languages', stated:

> There are at least ten home languages in Cameroon... Cameroon therefore needs the formulation of a pedagogy of language education that will reflect its home-multilingualism. Within each language group the Cameroon child will therefore get his home education in one of the ten languages, in his place of residence, which is often not necessarily the ethnic home of his parents.

Notice that the author did not name these ten languages.

III. On national languages and national personality (M. Towa):

11. The economic argument: The seminar unanimously retained the impressive economic argument that the Cameroon Government cannot afford the cost of the perfect acquisition of the two official languages by all Cameroonians.

IV. On multilingualism and the development of the Cameroonian child: advantages and disadvantages (round table discussion):

12. Multilingualism is not good for the Cameroonian child. It slows down the logical activity of the child by complicating the establishment of his mental structures and his intellectual mechanisms. (R. Sim). Comment: This is certainly a weak argument; it is unclear and is neither psychologically founded nor observationally proven.

V. On the status of oral traditional literature in the curriculum (L-M. Ongoum):

17. The African oral literature (folk tales, proverbs, guesses, etc.) should be included in the curriculum.

18. The introduction of this literature in the educational system should resume its traditional place within the family. Then, it should continue with the teaching of Cameroon languages in public schools. Comment: As it will soon become apparent, this suggestion supports the idea that both the adult literacy programs and the children's pre-school language training should be carried out in as many mother tongues as possible. In fact, the traditional oral literature mentioned above, along with other family businesses, would provide enough motivation and content for such programs.

VI. On education and multiculturalism (P. Ngijol Ngijol):

19-20. Cameroon, through its Head of State, has chosen a multicultural policy. The educational system must, therefore, be geared toward implementing this general policy. Comment: The above assertion leads to the understanding that, in Cameroon,

language planning must be an integral part of both the cultural and educational planning activities of the country. This will be a basic assumption of the following sections.

6. Functional classification of Cameroon languages

In a highly complex multilingual nation such as Cameroon, language function becomes extremely important. Indeed, not everyone needs every language for any purpose. An effective language program must therefore rigorously specify the functions of the languages it is dealing with. If this is carefully done, then, no matter how many languages are spoken in the country, there will be a way of establishing the necessary channels of communication between different speech communities. It should be emphasized that there must be a systematic way of reaching out to the people in the rural areas in their own languages (or closely related ones) in order to offer them the possibility to fully understand and participate in the development of the country.

6.1. In his article, 'Linguistic problems of Cameroon', Professor Bot Ba Njock (1966) suggested that Cameroon be divided into major linguistic zones or regions and that regional languages be chosen for educational and adult literacy purposes. His suggestion is as follows:

> La solution la plus réaliste serait de préconiser découpage de notre pays en zones linguistiques et d'utiliser dans chacune de ces zones une langue--ou dialecte de cette langue--choisie en fonction d'un certain nombre de critères: tantôt la langue la plus parlée ou la plus répandue géographiquement, tantôt simplement la mieux décrite ou celle qui parait la plus accessible, la plus facile à apprendre, etc.

More recently a similar proposal has been made by Mr. R. Mballa Mbappe (1974), the chancellor of the University of Yaounde, who suggested the necessity of choosing the major provincial and/or interprovincial languages of wider communication for educational and adult literacy programs. He pointed out the fact that languages such as Douala, Ewondo, and Fulfulde would be the first examples of languages to be considered for those functions. Then the next step would be to reach some kind of linguistic homogenization at the national level. Mr. Mbappe states:

> En tout cas la détermination d'une langue provinciale ou interprovinciale ne peut constituer qu'une étape, le but à atteindre étant l'homogeneisation linguistique au niveau national. En effet, cela apparait comme un imperatif si nous voulons rendre rentables les investissements en matiè re d'enseignement.

In order to show the inefficiency of the present school system, due to the use of French or English as medium of instruction

at the primary level, Mbappe points out that 40% of primary school children drop out by the time they reach the fourth year (grade). On the other hand, out of 1,000 children who enroll in the first year of primary school, only 17 will be able to continue at the secondary school level. The rest is to be added to the number of illiterates or semi-literates of the country.

Now let us take a look at the following data from the *Investor's Guide* (p. 29). In 1970, the Ministry of Planning reported that the population of Cameroon is distributed according to the following three age groups:

51% of the population between 0 and 20 years,
44% of the population between 20 and 60 years, and
5% of the population between 60 years and over.

From these statistics Mbassi-Manga (1973) was able to conclude that "at least 51% of the population of the country are potential subjects for the study of French and English." However, there is a long way between being a 'potential subject' and becoming a 'real subject'. Other relevant statistics from Datchoua's (1973) article on Cameroon local languages and national development indicate that 90% of the population is illiterate, while only 0.2% constitutes the elite class, highly fluent and literate in either French or English.

Another important consideration is that the Cameroon economy is basically agricultural, as is the case for almost all African economy. Some 74% of the population lives in the rural area, and the Government is taking all possible measures to stop the migration from rural to urban areas. One way of doing this is through the ruralization of primary schools. 'Ruralization' is the adaptation of the curriculum to the agricultural needs of the country.

All these facts lead us to the fundamental question 'who needs which languages in Cameroon, and for what purposes?'. I shall sketch a functional classification of Cameroon languages which will provide some basic elements for the answer to this question. In this classification I use three basic parameters: the functions of a language type, the approximate number of speakers, and the main area of residence of these speakers. Three language types can be functionally defined in Cameroon for the planning purpose.

1. At the national level, there are two official languages (O), French and English, which are used for administrative, educational, publication, and broadcasting purposes. Only a minority of 10% of the population is literate in either French or English. Figures on the number of those who have only a partial knowledge of French or English were not available to me during the preparation of this report, but these speakers generally live in urban areas. The prospects of an increase of those who are literate and fluent in either of the two official languages seem to be severely limited by the economic factors involved in the process of acquisition and use of these languages. Also, a very limited minority of the population is fluent and literate in both French and English and, despite the efforts being made to increase their

number, they will certainly remain a minority for a long time.

Within the education system, one must distinguish a first official language (O-1) as a medium of instruction and a second official language (O-2) as subject of instruction. Each of the two official languages plays the first or second role, depending on whether the school system is in the francophone or anglophone part of the country. This distinction of O-1 versus O-2 will be very important for the process of switching the medium of instruction in a trilingual education system.

2. At the provincial level, a provincial language (PL), when chosen, will be a vernacular language used for educational, broadcasting, limited publication and administrative purposes. Measures should then be taken to help the entire population of the province acquire competence in that language, with the exception of major cities such as Douala, Yaounde, and, perhaps, Buea and Nkongsamba. In 1970 the populations of the regions which became provinces in 1972 were estimated as follows:

Eastern Region	280,000
Coastal Region	650,000
Northern Region	1,580,000
South-Central Region	1,130,000
West Cameroon (which forms the South and North-Western provinces)	1,200,000
Western Region	1,000,000

Of course, the potential speakers of a provincial language will be people both in towns and rural areas. In a provincial school system, a PL would generally function as O-2; that is, a subject of instruction. In the long run, one would expect the provincial languages to be elevated to the level of national languages.

3. At the local level, mother tongues (MT) fulfill the essential functions of everyday life: education (in a broad sense of the word), culture, religion, business, and politics, to name just a few. I estimate that the average number of speakers of each Cameroon language (given approximately 225 languages) would be around 27,000. There is no indication that this number will decrease in the near future. Mother tongues are generally used within the family circle, and almost everywhere throughout any given linguistically-homogeneous rural community. The MT's are also the appropriate media of adult literacy programs, as well as (to be) the media of the early years of primary school instruction in the rural areas.

At the present time, it seems necessary to distinguish MT_1 as the mother tongues in which there are printed materials and literate persons from MT_2 which remain unwritten. The mother tongues which are now being taught in some private secondary schools may be included in the MT_1 group. The MT_1 appears today as the best starting point in the process of introducing vernacular languages into the primary schools and the adult literacy programs. Of course,

this does not mean that MT_2's will be neglected since the Government should ultimately provide basic handbooks on each language in order to keep it alive, and in its proper place within the linguistic system of the country. It is clear to me that this approach would work for any other African country and would have the effect of changing the unfavorable language attitude that prevails when the issue of choosing the languages of education and adult literacy is raised.

6.2. The crucial issue now is, then, 'how to go about selecting the provincial languages.' It is necessary that careful research on this matter be done in each of the seven provinces of the Cameroon so that the people in each province may democratically, and in an informed way, participate in the selection process. This seems to be the best way of avoiding divisive opposition from the different linguistic groups within each province. However, I have serious doubts about the eventual success of such a procedure if it is not preceded by a general decision on introducing the MT_1's into the school system. Thus, one has to expand the work being done on the development of teaching materials before worrying about choosing provincial languages, since there is a strong possibility that most of the latters will be selected from the present MT_1's. Since there are many factors, such as language attitudes and political and prestige influences, involved in the choice of a provincial language, this should not precede the introduction of MT_1's into the school system.

At the present time, research is being done at the University of Yaounde to determine the exact number of Cameroon languages, the eventual provincial language candidates, and the linguistic characteristics of each individual language. However, the most needed information--basic phonological and syntactic data--on many MT_1's may be found in the previous and current linguistic work. This means that there is a reasonable amount of data to start the work so as to let the people most affected by this planning see actual results in the form of handbooks, guides, etc. From the available data, basic handbooks on MT's can be provided for adult literacy programs as well as for pre-school and early primary school years. Only one such handbook per mother tongue would be necessary and the overall cost would hardly be as high as the cost of the 'Ecole sous l'arbre' materials. In fact, a lot of work on developing such basic teaching materials has been done at the College Liberman, but only on a limited number of languages.

My own little experience in Cameroon literacy programs has convinced me that a one-year program would be enough to help adults read and write in their own languages. Then, self-supported local programs would be responsible for providing additional reading materials in mother tongues, as is the case in the present existing local programs. If a local community could not supply itself with reading materials in its mother tongue, or if such materials were not yet available, then, it would content itself with the materials for a related PL.

It is very important to point out that no particular schools need to be created to carry on the adult literacy programs, since these can be introduced into the existing basic local communities. Basic communities are units which already gather on a regular basis, such as traditional associations and organizations, the basic units of the political party, religious chorales, adult work groups in the rural areas, etc., and which function with the MT's as the only medium of communication. I would suggest that the adult literacy programs be carried out within these basic communities which exist almost everywhere, for a set period of no more than one year. In order to do this, Provincial and Divisional seminars on vernacular languages would focus on training primary school teachers and adult literacy instructors in as many mother tongues as possible.

7. A blue-print for a trilingual education system

From the previous section it should be clear that a Cameroon trilingual education system should aim at helping each Cameroonian student become fluent and literate in his mother tongue or a related provincial language, as well as in the two official languages as he/she works his/her way from primary school to the university. I emphasize the fact that the two conditions of fluency and literacy should be required in order to talk realistically about trilingualism. It is absolutely necessary that the education system provide means for meeting this requirement. I shall now try to show how this policy can be implemented through the present system simultaneously in a top-to-bottom and bottom-up process.

I. Top-to-bottom process

i. At the university level, two things can be done: (a) the expansion of present courses on vernacular languages in order to make them language-learning courses covering all the mother tongues (MT_1's), as well as potential provincial languages. Measures should be taken to encourage a greater number of students to take courses in the languages related to their own MT, if courses in their own MT are not already offered. Notice that it would take some four weeks to two months only for a university student to become literate in his own language if he were working on his own. This time would be shorter if he first took the necessary background courses, Introduction to Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax, etc., for example.

(b) Some of the students majoring or minoring in linguistics, as a part of their degree requirement, could choose to participate in a vernacular language literacy program. This would necessarily apply to students in such teacher training schools as I.P.A.R. (Institut Pédagogique à vocation Rurale) and the Higher School of Education (E.N.S. - Ecole Nomale Superieure).

ii. At the secondary school level, each secondary school would be required to replace German, Spanish, and Latin courses by vernacular language courses in the appropriate provincial language and closely related important mother tongues. To do this, it would suffice to extend the present private secondary school vernacular language programs to cover all public secondary schools.

Also, some language majors could choose to participate in a vernacular language literacy program. No particular change is needed at this level in the teaching policy of French and English, except where teaching methods are concerned.

iii. At the primary school level, first, teachers should specialize in specific subject matter teaching, including languages, since one teacher can hardly qualify in teaching all that children need to know at a given level.

Here, two levels should be considered, namely the lower level covering at least the first three years, and the upper level starting at least with the fourth year. Trilingualism should operate at each of these levels.

(a) At the lower level of primary school in the rural areas, the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, and the PL and O-1 subjects of instruction. In the major city areas, PL should be the medium of instruction and at least one MT and O-1, subjects of instruction.

(b) At the upper level of primary school in the rural areas, a gradual switch to O-1 as the medium of instruction should be worked, and the MT and either the PL or O-2 (depending on the school's resources and location) should become subjects of instruction. In the major city areas, the same gradual switch to O-1 as medium of instruction should be made, and the PL and either the MT or O-2 (again depending on the school's situation) should become subjects of instruction. This planning results in the consistent maintenance of one vernacular language, either the MT or PL, throughout each primary school, depending on whether the latter is in a rural or a major city area. It also results in the maintenance of O-1 throughout each primary school. Thus, one is sure that for each student, entrance into secondary school will mark a complete switch to O-1 as the medium of instruction. Then, the learning of O-2 would follow its present course.

Now, how do we start this process immediately in the primary schools? One needs only to use the material and personnel presently available to start vernacular language courses with MT's as the media of instruction in the appropriate major city areas. It is clear that some of these MT's will ultimately be selected as PL's. Provincial and Divisional seminars should prepare teachers for this starting process.

II. Bottom-up process

Looking now at the eventual working of the system as it will function, it is necessary to broaden our view of the notion of education to include, now, adult literacy programs, and, later, the possibility of continuing education for those who are not fortunate enough to enter secondary school or who cannot afford higher education. First, in the regular, formal school system, the student will have--by the end of primary school--reasonable fluency and literacy in a PL and/or MT and in O-1. This is enough to meet his socio-economic language requirements. In addition, depending on where he went to primary school, he would have a reasonable acquaintance with his O-2, and this would help him enroll later in a special program for inproving his knowledge of

this language in the event he ever decides he needs to. By the end of secondary school, the Cameroonian student will necessarily become trilingual in the strict sense of this word, as used in this paper.

Turning now to the adults, it should be clear that as they are offered the opportunity of becoming literate in their own MT's, they might be required to offer the same opportunity to their children. This would constitute enough motivation for them to want to participate in local vernacular language programs and to help children meet the MT primary school requirement. In addition, if the adults in each province are offered the opportunity of participating in the selection of PL, they would be more willing to learn it. Once they are involved in the language learning process, there is a greater chance that some of them will be willing to acquire literacy in O-l, depending on their personal interest or job requirements.

8. Some advantages of the proposed system

The recognition of the Cameroon de facto trilingualism and its planning offer many advantages over the prevailing educational system. Before describing some of these advantages, I will point out some difficulties that the proposed system would still have to face.

Language is a very sensitive matter. One should not forget that no matter what kind of planning one proposes in a country such as Cameroon, someone, somehwere will be frustrated. It is possible that the democratic process of selecting the PL's might encounter some ill-feelings somewhere. Also, children and parents whose MT's are chosen as PL's might feel superiority over the speakers of related MT's. Another difficulty is that many children might end up pursuing a quadrilingual program. The important consideration seems to be the necessity of seeing to it that as few people as possible feel 'threatened' by the country's language policy; that those who do learn more languages than three (by reason of their geographic location or personal wish) will benefit in some way. There might be some unexpected difficulties, as should be expected from the solution of any human problem, but these would have to be solved as the details of implementation make them apparent in actual situations.

The first advantage is that it will help the school children avoid the present effect of their second language deficiencies. The present system, starting out with French and/or English as the medium of instruction, does not make the difference between children's ability to learn other school subject matters,such as arithmetic, history, geography, science, etc., and their ability to learn the foreign languages to which they are exposed. In fact, their deficiencies in the medium of instruction are carried over to all the other school subjects. In the proposed system, it would be possible to eradicate this difficulty. One way of doing this would consist of using in foreign language courses only those textbooks the content of which would already have been mastered in the previous school year(s). This process can be kept throughout

the primary school, or at least until the children have demonstrated their ability in learning new concepts in a foreign language. Such ability would indicate that the switch of the medium of instruction could take place. Appropriate tests for this would be devised and administered on a yearly basis after the first three years of primary school.

The second advantage of the proposed system has to do with standardization processes. All Cameroon provincial languages (to be) will have to undergo some kind of standardization. This means that the standardization efforts would be concentrated on the PL's and the results of these efforts would then help with the development of related MT's.

A third advantage is the greater guanratee of authentic cultural development. In Africa, the family is the main source of cultural and moral values, and the MT is the key to those values. There is no reason for planning a linguistic levelling of our country or, worse, for hoping that some of the languages will soon die out (which has not yet been proven). By linking the adult literacy programs with children's pre- and early-school years literacy in MT's and/or related PL's, we insure a continuous transmission and development of the authentic cultural and moral values of our country.

The fourth advantage of the trilingual education system is an economic advantage. It allows the language policy of the country to parallel its economic pattern. The people responsible for the bulk of our present national income are the illiterate peasants in the rural area, and the prospects of increase of their number (through the ruralization of primary school) are fairly high. The only way to help them develop the necessary know-how, for at least the agricultural development of the country, is through the use of their own languages. Moreover, the classroom is not the only place where the necessary technical know-how needed for agricultural development can be developed. There are also the (extended) families and the basic local communities which should be offered the possibility of actively participating in this development process. Vernacular languages are the cheapest and the most effective means for achieving this goal.

A fifth advantage of the proposed system is rather an hypothesis which I refer to as a simplification hypothesis. The idea is that a system which puts emphasis on the use of vernacular languages would result in the reduction of the number of years of both primary and secondary school education. The hypothesis is based on the observation by many people that those students who start primary school with their MT's as the medium of instruction learn other school subject matter faster than those who start with a foreign language as the medium. The reason is that the use of MT prevents the language deficiency multiplier effect. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that with the introduction of MT's in the primary school system, children will be able to learn in, at most, six years what they are now expected to learn in seven years. The same hypothesis is reasonable for the secondary school system. Notice that such an hypothesis, if it is seriously considered within the present framework of the reformation of our curriculum, would mean

more education for more students on essentially the same educational budget.

The final and perhaps most important advantage of the trilingual system is that it contributes to the building up of national unity. I will not analyze this point in detail here because I am currently involved in preparing such an analysis. However, the main points are, first, that language planning should offer some means of maintaining and fostering national unity. This is a sine qua non condition for the acceptability of any proposed plan. Secondly, that in a multilingual country like Cameroon, languages can play a unifying role at the national level if they already play this role at the provincial and local levels, and this is what was implicit in the trilingual system proposed in this paper.

9. Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to show that the introduction of Cameroon vernacular languages into the school system will result in a trilingual education system which is highly beneficial to the country. I have argued that, in order to implement this policy, the Government should aim at providing basic handbooks on each language. But, the present MT_1's should be introduced into the school system and adult literacy programs right away. I should emphasize the fact that the need for basic handbooks on each African language is important in any African country, for many linguistic, educational, anthropological, and religious purposes.

Turning now to the need for communication at the African regional and continental levels, it is necessary to notice the importance of the role that Cameroon may eventually play. Five languages are commonly used for communication at the continental level. These are Arabic, English, French, Hausa, and Swahili. Among these, four are strongly rooted in Cameroon; namely, Arabic, English, French, and Hausa. As a result, it appears that in order for Cameroon to solve its linguistic problems, it will have to build institutions which have a Pan-African orientation. One way of doing this would be to develop African language courses at the University of Yaounde, with provisions for teaching major African languages such as Arabic, Hausa, and Swahili. Another way would be to cooperate with its neighboring countries in vernacular language teacher training, alphabet harmonization, and instructional materials development.

Footnote

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On Typological Approach to Sociolinguistic Problems in West Africa

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0. Abstract

Typological studies in sociolinguistics have been extensively developing during the last decade (W. A. Stewart, C. A. Ferguson, J. A. Fishman, H. Kloss, J. D. Desheriev and others). These typologies have been oriented mainly to either functional differentiation of a language or to person-to-person verbal communication. This approach has proved rather effective when dealing with linguistic situations based on comparatively stabilized patterns of language use.

However, the study of the linguistic situation peculiar to the newly established West African states presents a number of specific problems due to its extremely complicated and unstable nature. In this respect, one can refer to the great ethnic and linguistic diversity of the region with predominantly artificial boundaries between states drawn without any account for ethnic or language differences. In fact, every West African country appears to be a chaotic conglomerate of cultures and languages, with the European languages superimposed on them. There is rather an intrinsic net of interrelations between the native and European languages, on the one side, and major and minor native languages (including various *lingua francas* in the wide sense of the term), on the other. One should not deal with sociolinguistic problems in the region while disregarding heterogeneous factors which affect the linguistic situation in this very specific part of the world.

The basic notion in the typology outlined here is that of communicative milieu--CM (Russian *kommunikativnaja sreda*) which is thought of as a community characterized by relatively stable communicative bonds. Each CM has its own linguistic situation; its structure can be described and typologized through application of a set of parameters. There are three groups of parameters: (1) qualitative, (2) quantitative, and (3) estimative. *Qualitative* parameters include ethno-social factors such as political, cultural, religious, ethno-economic (with a special reference to the profession-and-cast relation), urban, and educational. *Quantitative* parameters include ethno-demographic factors such as the relative number of speakers for each of the languages presented in a given

CM, the degree of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity of a CM, the relative stability of populations (migrating vs. settled inhabitants). *Estimative*, or *value* parameters include the socio-psychological estimation of a language by the speakers themselves, i.e., approving, disapproving, and neutral.

Application of the parameters listed above permits us to distinguish three typologically homogeneous sociolinguistic areas (zones): (a) intracontinental, (b) coastal, (c) medial. These areas (and the CMs proper to them) do not necessarily coincide with the states in question. On the contrary, the linguistic situation of a given West African state depends on the extent to which the state boundaries coincide with the sociolinguistic areas. It is of great importance whether a state belongs to one area or two or three areas simultaneously, as is the case of Upper Volta (areas A and C), Senegal (areas A, B), Nigeria, Cameroun (areas A, B, C). The whole situation of a state is thus stratified according to the generally defined sociolinguistic areas which stand in certain correlation with each other within the state.

The theoretical benefit of the approach outlined above is that it allows to describe in the same terms both the linguistic situation of West Africa as a whole and the linguistic situation of every particular state, the heterogeneity of the latter being viewed as a combination of typologically different sociolinguistic areas within one country. The approach is also believed to be useful when dealing with practical issues such as national languages, language planning, etc.

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Multilingualism in Lagos--What it Means to the Social Scientist*

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1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic data have largely been overlooked by social scientists in the traditional disciplines as they attempt to find patterns and build theory about social interaction. This has been true even in most studies concerning multilingual societies.[1] The purpose of this paper is to suggest that linguists can show how such data can be used by the more established social science disciplines to generate hypotheses concerning social and political patterns. The paper deals specifically with the significance of language use patterns with examples from data gathered in Shomulu, a section of Lagos, Nigeria. The Shomulu findings suggest that throughout Lagos or any multilingual community the language use patterns are important both as (a) social indicators and (b) social determiners. The findings, it is argued, suggest broad socio-political patterns which go beyond the sociolinguistic data. Correlating changes in language structure itself with various socio-economic variables is of equal concern to sociolinguists, but this paper will consider only language use patterns.

Two main points will be made about Lagos to show the kind of general socio-political information sociolinguistic data can offer: (1) Patterns of multilingualism--who knows what languages, when they are used, with whom they are used--reflect basic social trends in the city. For example, language use patterns can suggest the type and extent of social integration in Lagos. (2) Because not everyone shares exactly the same linguistic repertoire, many encounters are marked by "semi-communication". That is, conversations take place in groups when all potential participants do not know equally well the language(s) of the conversation. When this state of "semi-communication" occurs, strains arise. The strains manifest themselves along a scale from mild embarrassment to strong alienation or hostility. These strains partly define some psycho-sociological relationships between individuals in Lagos. More important, they partly define relationships between the groups of which these individuals are members.

2. The Sample

The findings presented here come mainly from interviews of a sample (N = 187) structured to be relatively statistically representative of Shomulu, a part of Metropolitan Lagos on the

Western Mainland.[2] There are perhaps 50,000 or more residents in Shomulu. All interviewing was done by a young (age 26) Yoruba man who was a resident of the area and had the equivalent of a secondary school education. He conducted the interviews in either English, Yoruba or Pidgin English, the choice depending on the respondent. As the principal investigator, I worked closely with the interviewer and was present at pretest interviews and some of the final interviews. Additional data come from observations of encounters where language choice was a factor. These observations were made by several Nigerian assistants. Data from "language diaries" (a record for three days of all language uses) kept by six local residents also were included.

The Shomulu area was chosen as a research site because previous studies (Morgan 1973 and personal communication) had shown that Shomulu was relatively heterogeneous compared to Lagos as a whole. A heterogeneous area was preferred in order to have sufficient cases to compare language use patterns of non-Yoruba with those of the dominant Yoruba. The sample turned out 68% Yoruba and 32% non-Yoruba.[3] In Lagos as a whole, the indigenous Yoruba probably comprise at least 75% of the population.

The sample showed a wide spread in education, but it seems better educated than the Lagos population in general. However, no figures on education are available for the Lagos adult population. A likely estimate is that perhaps 15 to 20% of Lagos adults have education to the second school certificate level (i.e., equivalent to high school diploma). In the Shomulu sample, 30% had education to this level or higher. In another area of Lagos (Surulere), Morgan (1972) found 21% (199 out of 927) of the heads of household had this much education: however, 15% of his sample was not recorded on this question.

However, even though the Shomulu sample is highly educated--and the results must be viewed with this fact in mind--the sample still includes a heavy representation from the lower end of the education scale. Seventeen per cent had no schooling at all and 23% had primary education only.

The proximity of the Ikeja industrial area to Shomulu may well explain this spread in the sample: many educated young persons who have found skilled or white collar work in the Ikeja factories and offices live in Shomulu alongside the uneducated, unskilled factory workers and Shomulu market traders who serve the salaried residents.

It is important to keep in mind the educational composition of the sample because we will see that education correlates significantly with differences in language patterns in almost every case considered.[4]

The sample was almost equally divided between men and women. The age distribution, no doubt reflecting the true urban picture, included a high proportion of young persons.[5]

3. The Findings

In this paper we will deal with the Shomulu findings only in a very broad sense. Our main purpose is to indicate how such data can be used, as social indicators and social determiners, as we have suggested already.

First, let us consider how language use patterns indicate broader socio-political relationships. To do this, we must look at data on (a) what languages people know, (b) how many languages they know, (c) how the language repertoire of one person differs from another, and (d) what kinds of language use patterns exist. The following findings seem important:

(1) Whether or not a person is a Yoruba, it is clear, for the Shomulu sample at least, that knowing only one's own first language is not sufficient to meet a person's communication needs in Lagos. This finding is of interest since such a large proportion of Lagos residents are Yoruba. But in our sample, only 5% spoke no other language but their own first language. All of the monolinguals were Yoruba, to be sure, but they represented only 7% of all the sample Yoruba (9 out of 128). Furthermore, the great majority found that speaking just one other language outside their own is not sufficient either: 45% of the sample claimed to speak two other languages, 29% spoke three other languages and 4% spoke four other languages. Only 17% spoke only one other language.

In general the less educated speak fewer languages. Using the Chi square test, we found that how many languages were known correlated significantly with level of education. But neither age, sex nor ethnic group made any significant difference.

(2) Large numbers know how to speak the major lingua francas of Lagos: English, Pidgin English and Yoruba. (English is the official language of Nigeria.) Yoruba is most widely known and also seems to be most heavily used in general, with 96% of those claiming an ability to speak Yoruba reporting they used it in the two or three days preceeding the interview. English is also widely known and used, and as we will see, is the dominant work language among respondents who have co-workers from another ethnic group. Ability to speak English does not correlate significantly with ethnic group (23% of the Yoruba and 27% of the non-Yoruba do not claim to speak any English at all). However, English ability does correlate significantly with education and occupation as well as language use patterns in specific situations when the situations are inter-ethnic and are "public" (at work, with neighbors, etc.). See Table 1 for language ability and language use claims.

(3) It also seems clear that few other languages (outside of English, Pidgin and Yoruba) are needed for inter-ethnic communication in Lagos. Table 1 shows the percentages claiming to know and use the other languages most frequently mentioned.

TABLE 1

Language Ability	
Some English	77% (long conversational ability 48%)
Some Pidgin	74% (long conversational ability 30.5%)
Some Yoruba	85% (non-Yoruba only; 96% of entire sample including Yoruba) (long conversational ability of non-Yoruba 44%)
Some Hausa	29% (non-Hausa only; 34% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Hausa 4.6%)
Some Edo	11% (non-Edo only; 18% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Edo .6%)
Some Ibo	8% (non-Ibo only; 16% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Ibo .6%)
Reported Language Use in Last Two or Three Days Preceeding Interview	
English	92% of those claiming ability
Pidgin	76% of those claiming ability
Yoruba	96% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Hausa	75% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Edo	44% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Ibo	47% of those claiming ability, including native speakers

(4) Finally, few respondents had identical repertoires. For example, of the Yoruba (N = 128), the largest percentage sharing any one combination of languages was only 24% (those who claimed to know English and Pidgin in addition to their native Yoruba). Of the entire sample of 187, no one combination accounted for even 20% of the respondents. Only 11 of the reported 36 combinations accounted for as much as 3.2% of the entire sample or more. Data on languages reported used in the last two or three days also show diversity from one respondent to another. The highest percentage reported actually using any one combination was 26%, those who said they had used English, Pidgin and their own first language; 16% said they had used English and their own first language only. But the rest reported a number of different combinations.

What do these findings indicate? First, the fact so many people know more than their own first language plus the fact so many know the major lingua francas of Lagos indicates social integration is potentially very high in Lagos. That is, almost everyone <u>is able</u> to speak to everyone else. Second, our findings also indicate that few people in Lagos get along with only <u>one</u> second language; this fact implies that a good deal of social interaction actually occurs in Lagos. Third, our findings also showed a good deal of diversity in linguistic repertoire and claimed usage patterns from one respondent to another. This fact suggests that the socio-economic life of one man is relatively differentiated from that of another. For example, one Yoruba respondent may report using English, Pidgin and Yoruba in his daily contacts, another reports using Pidgin,

Hausa, and Yoruba and still another reports using Edo and Yoruba. Thus, we conclude that these sociolinguistic data suggest the following: there is a good deal of inter-ethnic contact in Lagos, but the contact differs considerably from one man to another. Based on sociolinguistic data alone, this conclusion must be only tentative. But it does suggest a hypothesis regarding social contact in Lagos which could be tested with socio-political data of other types.

Frequency of language use also has implications. Respondents were asked to estimate if they used any other language more than their own first language on an everyday basis. Almost half the sample reported they used English alone more than their own first language; another quarter said they used other languages more, sometimes in combination with English; only a final quarter said they used their own first language more than any other language.

The more frequent use of a second language, especially English, and its correlates should concern the social scientist who is not a linguist. More frequent use of another language correlated with both education and occupation to a degree of statistical significance. For example, of those claiming to use English more frequently, 95% had better than a primary education. More frequent use of English also correlated with age which, in turn, is related to education, of course. There is also a significant correlation between ethnic group and more frequent use of a second language, with the Yoruba reporting more usage of their own first language, as might be expected in Lagos. However, it seems as if ethnic group is relatively unimportant here since 82% of those reporting using their first language more either had no education at all or primary schooling only. And better than 90% of those with education to school certificate level (high school) or higher said they used English more everyday.

Consider the possible significance of just the dichotomy between English:non-English users on an everyday basis. More frequent use of English seems to be by persons who (a) hold salaried jobs where there are likely to be co-workers and (b) have co-workers of another ethnic group. The English users tend, then, to work in fairly structured situations where their contacts are also structured and beyond their own control. Those who do not use English more than any other language tend to be self-employed and often traders. (These individuals--or at least many of them--do claim some ability to speak English, however.) While a trader is not "free" to make his contacts, he is more free than the salaried workers, it could be argued. Perhaps many traders deal largely with their own ethnic groups, although this supposition would have to be confirmed by further research.

The interesting question for sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists--in light of the English:non-English dichotomy--is this: If people are differentiated rather sharply as English:non-English dominant in their everyday lives and if this difference correlates strongly with their education and occupation, are these same people also differentiated in other ways, again with a high positive correlation with education and occupation? For example, do these

same people divide in the same way in terms of their receptivity to modern ways? What about in terms of their political attitudes? Their views about national vs. ethnic loyalty? At this stage of data collection we can only make suggestions. But it seems that whether or not a similar dichotomy exists in other patterns of behavior might be investigated in any multilingual area. If it does, then perhaps the linguistic dichotomy could be used as an easily accessible "measure" of a number of socio-political factors.

4. Language use in specific situations

The data contained in Tables 2 through 5 show that in any public inter-ethnic situation, the major language choices are the two neutral lingua francas of Lagos, English and Pidgin. Consider the importance of this finding. Lagos is a city in which 75% or more of the residents speak Yoruba as their first language; it is located in an indigenously Yoruba area. Yet a different language from Yoruba is most used at work. (Conversations at work with members of one's own ethnic group show less English and Pidgin used--see Tables 3 and 4--but still a high percentage use English even in this intra-ethnic situation, perhaps because the domain, if not the situation, is public.)

TABLE 2

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers from different ethnic groups when on the job with them?" (N = 125)

(Question not relevant (no co-workers of another group) 33% of total number of 187)

English alone	41.6%	Some English 76%
English, Pidgin	22.4%	(alone or in combination)
English combines	12%	Some Pidgin 52%
Pidgin alone	17%	(alone or in combination)
Pidgin, Yoruba	3%	Some Yoruba 13.6%
Yoruba/Y combines	1%	(alone or in combination)
Other	3%	

TABLE 3

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers of your own group when alone with them and talking about on the job matters?" (N = 124)

(Question not relevant 34% of total number of 187)

English alone	18.5%	Some English 61%
English, Own first language	38%	Some Pidgin 11.7%
First language alone	30%	Some first language 76.6%
(Other responses not listed here)		

TABLE 4

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers from your own ethnic group when alone with them and just chatting on tea break?" (N = 124)

(Question not relevant 34% of total number of 187)

English alone	4.8%	Some English	43%
English, Own first language	35.5%	Some Pidgin	10%
First language alone	46%	Some first language	88%

(Other responses not listed here)

TABLE 5

"What language(s) do you speak with nearby neighbors or nearby friends of another ethnic group (i.e., who are co-tenants or live nearby)?" (N = 157)

(Question not relevant (no neighbors of another group) 16% of total number of 187)

English alone	16.5%	Some English	70%
English, Pidgin	21%	Some Pidgin	59%
English, Pidgin, Yoruba	11.5%	Some Yoruba	42.6%
English combines	21%		
Pidgin, Yoruba	11.5%		
Other	19%		

(incl. Yoruba alone, Pidgin alone, others)

What do these findings mean to the social scientist? First, it seems clear these data suggest that the Yoruba, even though they have numerical and traditional dominance in Lagos, must bow to minority groups in regard to use of overt symbols of ethnicity in public places. The Yoruba use a neutral lingua franca, perhaps for the sake of national integration in the wake of the recent Nigerian civil war, perhaps simply because other groups are powerful enough to require the concession. Use of a neutral lingua franca is also the rule in public situations in other African cities, such as Kampala and Nairobi[7] or Kinshasha[8] (Swahili and English dominate in Kampala and Nairobi, Lingala and French in Kinshasha), even when there is a single numerically dominant ethnic group. It seems clear that norms against "ethnic consciousness raising" prevail.

However, this does not mean that either the norms or the willingness of an individual ethnic group to abide by extra-group norms cannot change. An indicator of such a change could be language use patterns. When language use patterns change, it can be argued, the perceptions of an ethnic group have changed regarding its status as part of the societal whole. Consider present-day Nairobi. The Kikuyu are using more and more of their own language among themselves in the presence of non-Kikuyu. One might hypothesize they are doing this because the Kikuyu feel powerful enough to get away with defying national societal norms, and one could argue they are trying to establish new norms of language usage in favor of Kikuyu as a lingua franca. The non-Kikuyu react in two ways (which are contradictory): (1) they berate the Kikuyu for this display of "tribalism" and they say all Kenyans should use

Swahili or even English because they are neutral languages; (2) but to retaliate, they themselves use more of their own languages in front of non-ethnic brethren.

Returning again to Lagos, we see that in non-public situations, the Yoruba assert themselves as Yoruba much more freely. See Table 6 for reports on languages used with friends.

TABLE 6

"What language(s) do you use with your four closest friends and what are their ethnic groups?"

	Reports by Yoruba		Reports by Non-Yoruba	
	With Yoruba (N = 399)	With Non-Yoruba (N = 160)	With Yoruba (N = 109)	With Non-Yoruba (N = 126)
Some English	2%	30%	3.7%	42%
Some Pidgin	-	38%	2%	20.7%
Some Yoruba	99.7%	21%	92%	4.7%

These data could lead one to hypothesize that the Yoruba, realizing they are in a Yoruba stronghold, consider ability and willingness to speak Yoruba a necessary component of friendship with them. For the non-Yoruba with a Yoruba friend, this means deference to the Yoruba identity (language being a symbol of ethnicity, of course). Other groups, as minorities in Lagos and aliens of sorts, seem more willing to build friendships with non-ethnic brethren on a more neutral basis (i.e., a lingua franca which is not the first language of either friend). They accept a diminished ethnic identity in doing this. Whether or not the Yoruba response to the matter of "language of friendship" is characteristic of dominant groups or whether something outside of numerical superiority is at work is a question suggested by these data to the student of ethnicity. The non-Yoruba, for example, may also demand their own language be used in friendships in their home territory. The point being made here is that such sociolinguistic data as we have from Lagos gives the social scientist the material with which to construct hypotheses and the theoretical frameworks containing them which have societal-wide significance.

To this point, we have dealt with linguistic data as <u>indicators</u> of broader social patterns. Now we will consider how patterns of language use and the specific linguistic repertories of individuals can also be <u>determiners</u> of social relationships. We return to the concept of "semi-communication", which refers to the situation which results when two or more people in the same conversational group do not share all the languages which are being used in that conversation. We suggested a series of reactions, ranging from mild embarrassment to hostility, result when such "semi-communication" occurs. The following incidents will exemplify the fruits of "semi-communication".

First, consider a case in which frustration results. A non-Yoruba man living in Lagos does not speak Yoruba. He therefore cuts himself off from all Yoruba who do not know a second language which he also may know. His not having learned Yoruba probably means that his socio-economic contacts are such that he has little <u>need</u> to talk to the monolingual Yoruba. But suppose such a need does arise.

The following report illustrates what results:

"A bus, driven by a Yoruba man, who could speak no other languages than Yoruba, with two Yoruba conductors, who could speak a little Pidgin in addition to Yoruba, was proceeding toward Ikeja. The driver went in such a reckless way that all the passengers began to shout at him. Finally, when the bus stopped at a military checkpoint, an Ibo passenger complained to the Hausa soldier there about the driver and an argument began. The Ibo did not understand Yoruba, the Yoruba driver understood no Ibo or any other shared language, the soldier spoke only Hausa and Pidgin English. The Ibo and the soldier spoke together in Pidgin, with the driver left to depend on his conductors' "small" Pidgin for an interpretation. Not knowing just what was being said against him, the driver became agitated. This caused the soldier to draw out his horsewhip and the driver "raised the alarm" to such an extent that the other passengers were aroused to defend him and he was not beaten. When the bus began again, the driver cursed the Ibo man in Yoruba, but all the Yoruba people on the bus rebuked the driver in Yoruba for his recklessness and praised the Ibo man. The Ibo, of course, did not get more than the gist of what was being said."

Such an incident illustrates how lack of a mutual language effectively isolates people: real communication can not occur and frustration only widens the initial gap between strangers who were would-be conversants. Such an event could not occur in a society where most people share the same first language. Even though a person may not normally have dealings with members of a particular socio-economic class or ethnic group, he can always speak to those persons when and if an occasion arises. That is, he can easily adapt his communication patterns to the changing situation.

Alienation is a common result of "semi-communication", as shown in the second example. The following incident was reported by an educated young Yoruba man: "I was invited out recently by a friend (also a Yoruba) who had just returned from five years in one of the Northern states (where he had learned Hausa). We visited a relation of his on Lagos Island. On the way back, we stopped to see some of my friend's acquaintances in Ebute Metta. When we go there, we met two Hausamen *and I totally became a stranger in their company* (italics added). The language of discussion had changed to Hausa. I had to watch their mouths and guess what they said by their actions. Whenever I wanted to talk to my friend, we spoke either English or Yoruba, at which time the other gentlemen felt cheated and embarrassed. Finally I became so uneasy, I told my friend. But I could see that my feelings had no effect on my friend's attitude with these gentlemen, and having seen that these Hausamen were not pleased when I interrupted with English or Yoruba, which they did not know, I had to leave alone."

In the two examples which follow, we see how differences in linguistic repertoire extend beyond individual relationships to color group identities. This situation results when persons who share the same first language use that language in front of non-ethnic brethren. Such occurrences are constant reminders that ethnic group differences exist; further, they imply that ethnic

identity takes precedence over either identity between people on a one-to-one basis or identity as members of the same nation. These occurrences imply two meanings for the social scientist: (a) they indicate that a supra-ethnic nation does not yet exist in a state and (b) because they symbolize ethnic differences, they are self-perpetuating impediments to the realization of a supra-ethnic nation.

In his language diary, a young Yoruba man who lives in an Ikeja neighborhood with a number of Hausa reported the following incident: "One evening a policeman arrested a Yoruba lady who is a co-tenant (for selling food goods which had entered Nigeria illegally--a common practice). He was a Hausa man who could speak no Yoruba at all. I was among the other people who tried to persuade the policeman (in English) not to take the lady to the station because it was such a minor offense. But he insisted on doing so, and we all followed him. At the station, the desk sergeant was a Yoruba, *so there and then the matter was settled in the Yoruba language* (italics added) to the disgrace of the Hausa man, and the lady was therefore allowed to go home."

A second example comes from Nairobi, but it could be duplicated in Lagos in its spirit. Two Luo secretaries were chatting together in Luo in the presence of a Kikuyu co-worker. All shared English and Swahili as common languages. The Luos were talking about the illness of one's mother. That reminded one of the Luos to ask the Kikuyu about some medicine. She turned and said to her in Swahili: "Inanikumbusha, Jane. Kama watu fulani ni kamili! Unakumbuka uliniambia habari ya duka moja ambapo naweza kupata dawa kwa taabu ya mama yangu." ("That reminds me, Jane. The way some people are quite! You remember you were telling me about a chemist's shop where I could get some medicine for my mother's trouble.").

The Kikuyu, Jane, was annoyed at having been excluded from the earlier conversation in Luo, as her answer in Swahili shows; she also generalizes her annoyance to the Luo ethnic group:

"Nyinyi Wajaluo. Sijui nyinyi mko namna gani. Saa ingine mnazungumza vizuri kama mnataka msaidiwe. Na saa ingine, mko isolated sana." ("You Luos! I don't know what's wrong with you. One minute you converse nicely if you want to be helped; but the next minute you are very isolated.")

The Luo answered now partly in Swahili, but partly in English, its use indicating a new social distance in the conversation:

"Lakini, wewe Jane. ("But what's the matter, Jane?")

Then in English: "Sometimes I wonder, the way you seem to envy us. It will be no wonder if you end up in a Luo man's kitchen."

The prudent resident of the multilingual society learns to deal with strangers in a neutral lingua franca to avoid the kind of ethnically-based hostility we have illustrated. But the necessity to resort often to a second language, almost surely less well mastered than a first language, must have psychic effects. Measuring such effects seems an insurmountable problem at this stage in our development of research methodology. However, that psychic effects do exist can be demonstrated, albeit inferentially, from linguistic data. The use of a second language with strangers

sometimes results in an unnecessary barrier between persons sharing a common first language. Ethnic brethren may fail to recognize each other. As the following example shows, the second language can create unnatural strangers in the city. Surely psychic strains are also created in these language use patterns:

"A woman in Lagos came to a garri seller and both, not knowing they were from the same ethnic group (they were both Efik), spoke Pidgin. After the sale, the woman wanted to leave the garri at the market stand and go to school to fetch her child and then pick up the garri on the way home. So she asked the garri seller in Pidgin ("I beg, garri seller, look proper for this garri..."). At this, the seller took some special notice of the woman and said in Efik that she resembled a chap he knew somewhere. In turn the woman asked him in Efik if he was an Efik. The woman then said she, too, was an Efik. Then they began the entire conversation again and greeted themselves at length in Efik with many smiles."

5. Conclusion

Our purpose has been to show linguists how the data they collect may fit into broader socio-political patterns which hold for the population under study. Linguists, in turn, may show other social scientists how sociolinguistic data can be a basis for hypothesis formulation and theory building which go beyond the sociolinguistic findings themselves.

To date, the majority of social scientists have overlooked sociolinguistic data in their studies of societal patterns. They have failed to recognize that language use patterns and linguistic repertoires themselves are a type of data of social exchange. It is up to the linguist to show how these data have a social power and substance of their own. They are societal elements themselves, just as educational systems, economic frameworks, political organization and other more traditionally recognized components are. As such, they figure in trade-offs of power and substance among societal elements which occur, officially and unofficially, as a society sustains or re-shapes itself.

Footnotes

*Analysis of the Shomulu data was conducted under a grant from the American Philosophical Society. I wish to thank my interviewer, Olalekan A. Ojelade, for his invaluable contributions to this study.

[1]There are, of course, a few social scientists who are not also sociolinguists who have made use of linguistic data in their analysis of societal interaction. See, for example, Parkin (1969) who makes extensive use of language use patterns and attitudes toward language in his study of Kampala neighborhood social and political organization.

[2]The sample was drawn from clusters which were randomly chosen from a map of the greater Shomulu area. Specific buildings within the clusters were randomly selected for surveying and one adult in every household in the selected buildings was randomly selected for interviewing. (Most people live in from one to three-story buildings in Shomulu and many areas of Lagos. Generally one family has one room.) A random selection table from Kish (1965: 398-99) was used to select the adult from each household.

[3]The sample had this ethnic makeup: Yoruba 68% (128); Midwest (Edo, etc. but not Ibo) 9% (16); Ibo 8% (15); Eastern Nigerian languages (but not Ibo) 5% (9); Hausa 6% (11); other Northern languages 4% (7); other (no ethnic group given) less than 1% (1).

[4]Educational breakdown: no schooling, 17%; primary school only, 23%; class 3 or modern 3 (some high school or its equivalent) 15.5%; class 4 or 5 or trade center (more high school or its equivalent) 13%; secondary school certificate (high school diploma) 22%; higher school or technical college, 8%; university, 1%.

[5]The sample included 55% (103) men and 45% (84) women. By age, the sample included 58% in the range 20-29; 23.5% who were 30-39; 12% who were 40-49; 3% who were 50-59; and .5% over 59.

[6]Actual language ability (as opposed to claimed ability) was checked for English and Yoruba by the interviewer. When a person stated he knew either of these languages, the interviewer then engaged him in conversation in the language and then rated his ability in the language.

[7]See Scotton (1972) and (forthcoming 1975). See Parkin (1974a, 1974b) for Nairobi.

[8]See Heine (1970).

[9]The disparity between the reports by Yoruba as to what language they use with non-Yoruba friends and the reports by non-Yoruba about the language they use with Yoruba friends should be noted. Observations tend to confirm the non-Yoruba report, but these self-reprots should be checked further against systematic observation for confirmation.

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Some Structural Changes in Bantu Languages Due to Their Specific Communicative Functions

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0. Abstract

If one compares certain Bantu languages which are closely related, one can conclude that structural features of a language are determined to a great extent by its communicative-functional status. This is especially noticeable when comparing some links of grammatical structures typologically universal for all of the Bantu languages, in those ones whose communicative-functional status shows opposite characteristics.

Comparison of the concord-class systems in the two directions (content vs. expression) shows that formal levelling of concord patterns, as well as desemantization of classes, proceeds differently depending on whether a given language is used as a more or less wide means of inter-ethnic communication or its use is limited to a narrow region.

When studying the processes in question, one should take into account not only the modern communicative-functional status of a language, but also the factor of time, i.e., how long a language has been used as a means of wide communication, since structural changes due to certain extra-linguistic factors are operative just in time. Thus, the modern communicative-functional status of Lingala is not identical to that of "standard" Swahili. The functions of the latter are more wide, especially in the states where Swahili become the national language (Kenya, Tanzania), but structural changes in Lingala are equivalent to, and in some links even more significant than, those in Swahili.

Contrastive analysis of the concord-class systems in some languages allows us to draw a tentative distinction between three stages of evolution of the grammatical category in question, the complete system of noun classes (as it has been described by C. Meinhof and M. Guthrie) being taken as an *étalon*.

The most conservative stage of evolution of the concord system is presented in those languages which function only as a narrow intra-ethnic means of communication, e.g., Gogo (Bantu language of the Eastern zone). In this language, the semantic criterion of class identification is very operative; each loan word is included into certain class according to its semantics and takes the prefix of that class, the formal patterns of class agreement being also steady and consistent.

A more advanced stage of evolution of the noun class system is found in languages such as Zulu. Functions of that language when used as a means of inter-ethnic communication, are limited to some specific communicative spheres. In Zulu, although a semantic principle is still operative in the noun classification, a definite subset of classes is chosen to assimilate the loans irrespective of their semantics. However, the morpho-syntactic assimilation is strictly performed.

Finally, the third and highest degree of evolution of the system in question is presented in languages such as "standard" Swahili and Lingala. In the former, semantics of classes has lost its identificational value; the classes partially intersect. Morpho-syntactic rules of agreement, however, are still obligatory for the main classes, although there are many nouns which can follow several models of class concord. Furthermore, a new system of noun classification is developing based on the feature "animate-inanimate", and this affects the whole class system.

The Lingala noun class system seems to be evolving in somewhat similar way, the main difference being in that there is more significant levelling of morpho-syntactic characteristics of concord classes accompanied with their desemantization.

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Stable Triglossia at Larteh, Ghana*

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1. Introduction

Charles Ferguson (1959) established the term diglossia to refer to a type of language situation characterized by a particular division of communicative functions between a vernacular and a superposed variety which are considered in the community to be varieties of the same language. In a diglossic situation the vernacular is used for ordinary conversation and the superposed variety for written and most formal spoken purposes. The type situation for diglossia is the Arab world where the terms are colloquial and classical Arabic respectively.

Triglossia refers to a type of language situation characterized by a similar division of communicative functions among three language varieties, a vernacular and two superposed varieties, one of which is an indigenous lingua franca and the other an introduced world language. The three varieties are not necessarily even related. This type of language situation is becoming increasingly noticeable in Africa and is typified in East Africa where numerous vernaculars are in a triglossic relationship with Swahili and English.[1]

In this paper the language situation at Larteh, Ghana, is described. This situation is of comparative interest because it is a West African instance of triglossia and because it is the result of gradual change over a long period. In addition, some implications are suggested for the theoretical and applied interests of macro-level sociolinguistics.

First, the language situation at Larteh provides a glimpse of the future in that it represents an advanced developmental stage of language contact which may lie in the future of other, currently less stable, situations, certain social factors being equal. Second, the widespread incidence of language situations in Africa similar enough to be typed together as triglossic suggests the existence of some universal dimensions of language situations. Both of these points are relevant to questions such as Eric Apronti asked at the African Linguistics Conference last year: "How should a multilingual society such as Ghana cope...with all the languages in use on her territory?" (Apronti 1974:1).

2. The Language situation at Larteh

The town of Larteh is picturesquely situated on the Akwapim Ridge in southern Ghana, about 35 miles north of Accra, with a

population of seven thousand. The economic base of the community is agricultural; there is no industry. In 1960, 60% of the population over six years of age had had some schooling and at present, school attendance is nearly universal among school-age children. Larteh is the hometown of the Larteh ethnic group, who number about thirty thousand. For various reasons, but particularly as a result of the cocoa migration, most Lartehs are resident outside of Larteh, but it is still considered their hometown.

The data on which this description is based were collected at Larteh during the academic year 1969-70. An interview survey on language use, the Linguistic Survey of Larteh (hereafter LSL), was conducted in November, 1969, on a random sample of 330 persons ten years of age and older. Larteh was also the site of a social anthropological study by David Brokensha (1966).

A language situation is the total configuration of language use in a community (Ferguson 1966:309). An adequate description of a language situation must identify the language varieties (at some level of fineness) in the linguistic repertoire of the community, describe their distribution by use and by user, as well as community attitudes to the varieties and their distribution, and the direction and rate of change in the situation.

The following description of the language situation at Larteh covers these areas in broad outline and within-language variation is largely ignored. A more extensive treatment can be found in Johnson (1973) and see also Brokensha (1966).

2.1. Repertoire. A large number of languages are spoken by the population of Larteh. Table 1 lists those claimed by the LSL respondents. The three principal terms in the situation are the Larteh dialect of Hill Guan, the Akuapem Twi dialect of Akan, and English.

TABLE 1.
Community Linguistic Repertoire (Percentage of LSL sample claiming most widespread languages)

Language	Total sample N = 330	Lartehs N = 286
Hill Guan	93	100
Akan	98	98
English	49	46
Ga	33	33
Adangme	18	19
Ewe	10	8
Hausa	5	4
(also French, Latin, Dagbani, Nzema, Kotokoli, Dagari, Buem, Coastal Guan, Sahwi, Yoruba, Basare, Greek).		

The Guan languages are spoken in a number of discontiguous areas in Ghana and neighboring countries. Hill Guan comprises the three mutually intelligible dialects of Larteh, Kyerepon, and Anum-Boso. Hill Guan is not a written language, has no official recognition and is not used in the schools, and essentially all of its speakers also speak Akan.

Akan is the predominant language of southern Ghana, spoken as first language by 40% of the population of Ghana and widely spoken as a second language. There are three standard forms: Fante, Asante Twi, and Akuapem Twi. It has a respectable amount of published literature, serves as a medium of instruction in the first years of primary school in some areas, and is taught as a subject through the university level. Akuapem Twi is one of the nine Ghanaian languages and dialects chosen for promotion by the government through the Bureau of Ghana Languages.

English is a major world language and the official language of Ghana. It is taught as a subject at all levels of the educational system and is the medium of instruction after the first years of primary school.

Larteh is the first language learned and the language known best by almost all Lartehs.[2] Twi begins to be learned in early childhood and some children are fluent in it by the time they enter school. It is said that on completing primary school a Larteh child is not identifiable as such by his Twi. The locus of acquisition of English is essentially restricted to the schools. Other African languages are learned primarily as a result of residence outside Larteh in areas where these languages are spoken. French and Latin are taught as subjects at the secondary level.

Table 2 shows the incidence of individual repertoire patterns in the LSL sample.

TABLE 2.
Individual Linguistic Repertoires
(LSL sample, Lartehs only, percentages)

L	2%	Larteh only
LT	33%	Larteh and Twi
LTO	19%	Larteh, Twi, and Other
LTE	22%	Larteh, Twi, and English
LTOE	23%	Larteh, Twi, Other, and English

(note: Other = one or more languages other than Larteh, Twi, or English.)

2.2. Functional distribution. The functional distribution of languages at Larteh is of course not random. Table 3 presents a tabulation of the responses to a number of LSL questions concerning the use of languages in certain contexts. N equals the number of respondents answering the question, and it is this

number on which the percentages are based. Thus, assuming the sample is representative, the claim is not that 94% of Lartehs are literate in Twi but rather that 94% of the literates are literate in Twi. The low level of claimed use of other languages in these contexts supports the position that of the large number of languages in use at Larteh, only three are major terms.

The data in Table 3 can be accounted for by a set of rules predicting language choice in speech events in the community. These functional rules are of three types: a repertoire rule, situational rules, and metaphorical rules.

The repertoire rule is this: of the languages known by the participants in a speech event, that one will be used in which they have the highest level of proficiency. The actual realization of the repertoire rule at Larteh is basically as follows:

Lartehs speak - Larteh with Lartehs;
Twi with Akans;
and, if known, Adangme with Adangmes,
English with non-Africans, etc.,
otherwise Twi.

This rule correctly predicts language choice in the great majority of speech events at Larteh. In particular, it largely accounts for the data on the right-hand two-thirds of Table 3.

Situational rules account for language choice in classes of situations which are systematically exceptions to the repertoire rule. Two major areas where this is the case are the schools and the Christian churches.

Language use in the schools is dictated by guidelines originating with the Ministry of Education. The medium of instruction during the first three years of primary school is Twi, with English taught as a subject. After the third year, English becomes the medium of instruction and Twi is taught as a subject. Larteh is in theory never, and in practice rarely, used in class or at other school functions, and is more or less discouraged at informal activities at the schools. At the secondary school, use of any language other than English is actively discouraged on the campus, with the exception of language classes in Twi, French, and Latin.

Most Lartehs are Christians and there are perhaps a dozen denominations represented at Larteh. Larteh is not used at formal church activities. Twi is the language of services and most formal activities. The Bible is commonly read in Twi, though also available in English. Watchtower magazine is distributed in its Twi edition. Religious services at the secondary school are of course in English.

A related phenomenon concerns the language of songs. There is a stereotype, held by Lartehs and non-Lartehs alike, that Larteh cannot be used for singing. While there are some exceptions, it is generally true that Lartehs sing in Twi or English. The songs associated with traditional religious ceremonies are largely Twi. Many of the folktales told at Larteh have associated songs as refrains, speeches, and so forth. These songs are always in Twi, even when the tales are told in Larteh. Hymns at the

Presbyterian church are in Twi, while the Methodists use an English hymnal. Similarly, Twi is the language of the talking drums at Larteh.

The data in Table 3 can be accounted for by the repertoire rule and situational rules like those described above. Thus, the mixture of languages reported for the market context reflects the interaction there of people of varying linguistic backgrounds; that is, the repertoire rule is operative rather than a situational rule requiring multilingualism in that context. On the other hand, a situational rule is operative when Twi is used in a Christian church context even though all participants may be Lartehs.

While the residue of speech events to be accounted for is small, one further set of rules must be mentioned. These metaphorical rules take account of the fact that language choice is meaningful. The meaning that choice of a particular language has reflects and reinforces the usual uses of the language. When a language is chosen in a situation outside its normal range of use these meanings are conveyed. Briefly, a switch from English to Twi or Larteh, or from Twi to Larteh, can convey intimacy, solidarity, or levity. Switching to Larteh can stress loyalty to hometown or ethnic group. A switch from Larteh to Twi, or from Larteh or Twi to English, can stress education or affiliation with wider reference groups.

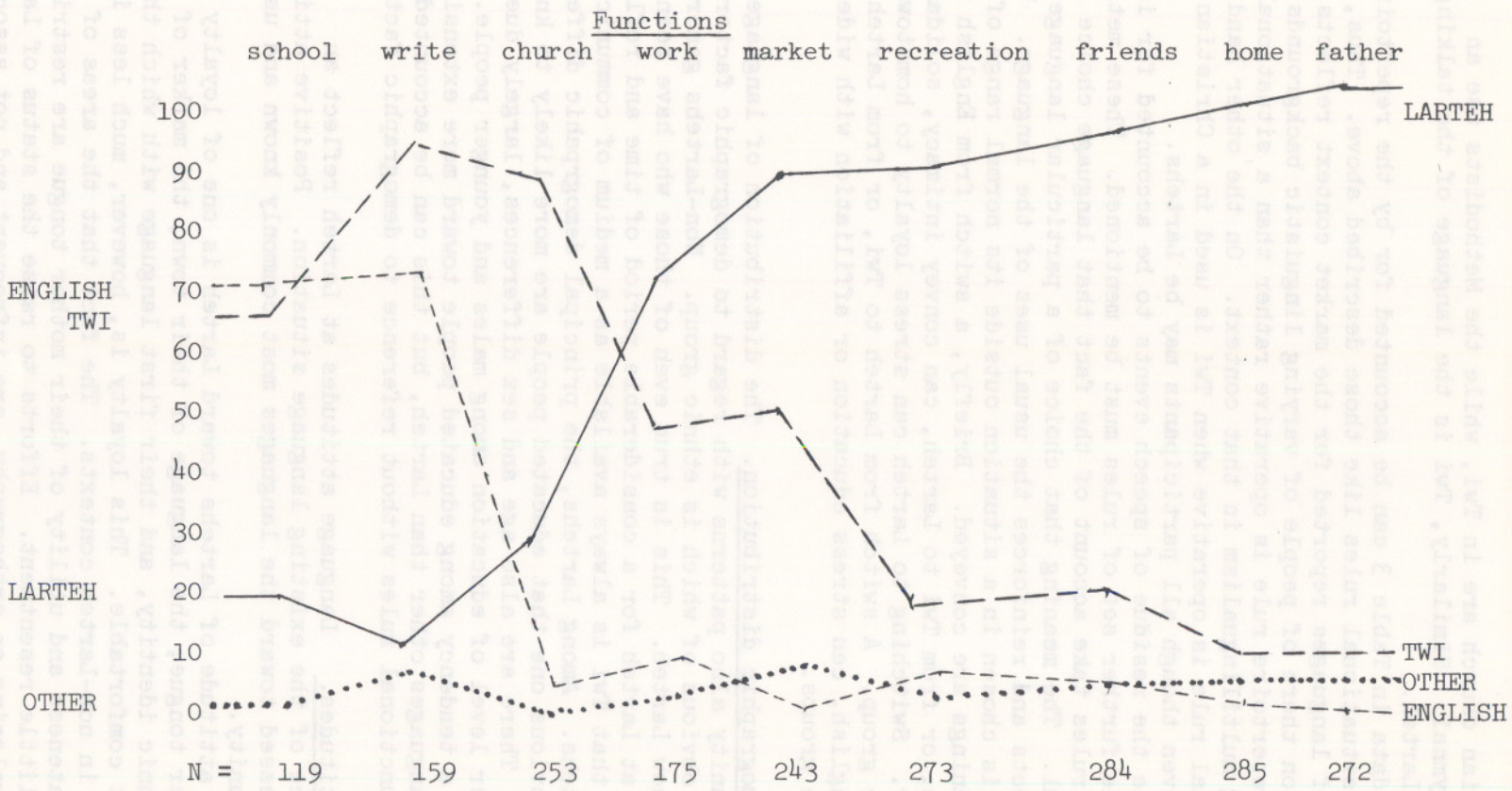
2.3. Demographic distribution. The distribution of languages in the community also patterns with regard to demographic factors, the most obvious of which is ethnic group. Non-Lartehs generally do not know Larteh. This is true even of those who have been resident at Larteh for a considerable period of time and reflects the fact that Twi is always available as a medium of communication with Lartehs. Among Lartehs, the principal demogrpahic difference is the obvious one that educated people are more likely to know English. There are also age and sex differences, largely due to the higher level of education among males and younger people. There is a tendency among educated people toward more extensive use of languages other than Larteh, but this can be accounted for by the functional rules without reference to demographic factors.

2.4. Attitudes. Language attitudes at Larteh reflect an acceptance of the existing language situation. Positive attitudes are expressed toward the languages most commonly known and used in the community.

The attitude of Lartehs toward Larteh is one of loyalty to the mother tongue, the language of their town, the marker of their ethnic identity, and their first language with which they feel most comfortable. This loyalty is, however, much less in evidence in non-Larteh contexts. The fact that the areas of appropriateness and utility of their mother tongue are restricted arouses little resentment. Efforts to raise the status of Larteh, as by developing an orthography, are infrequent and not associated with any negative feeling toward Twi, English, or any other language.

Lartehs share the Akuapems' pride in their dialect of Akan and the stereotype, "Here in Akwapim we speak the best Twi", is

TABLE 3.
Functional Distribution of Languages (LSL sample, Lartehs only, percentages)



(Note: The varying N, on which the percentages are based, reflects the distribution of roles through the community.)

also heard at Larteh. English is universally regarded as a prestigious and useful language.

Negative attitudes expressed toward certain Ghanaian languages reflect community attitudes toward the ethnic groups commonly associated with those languages. Such negative attitudes are infrequent and in fact nearly half the LSL respondents indicated that there was no language they did not like.

2.5. Change. The language situation at Larteh appears relatively stable. There is no indication that any of the three major terms in the community repertoire is being replaced, nor that any additional language will increase in use to an extent warranting treatment as a fourth major term. Language attitudes and the pattern of language acquisition also appear stable.

The development of the current situation has been gradual. While the introduction of English is relatively recent, Guan-Akan bilingualism at Larteh has obtained for a long time. Thus, the missionary Riis (1854:3) observed that bilingualism was already universal among adult Hill Guans in the 1840's.

There is some current change in the distribution of the terms in the population. Most notably, knowledge and use of English are increasing, reflecting the increased incidence of education. Another area of change is the increasing dominance of English over Twi as a language of literacy, paralleling the decreasing emphasis on the teaching of Ghana languages in the schools.

3. Conclusions

Beyond its comparative interest, the descriptive material presented above illustrates some more general aspects of language situations in Africa.

Returning to Apronti's question, I would like to call attention to the "rowing downstream" principle in language planning recently discussed by Ralph Fasold (1974). Briefly, this principle holds that directed change in language situations is most likely to be effective when it attempts to influence people to do what they are prepared to do anyway. How can we know what people are prepared to do? One way is to find out what they have done in the past and what they are doing now. Stated this way, the importance of the collection of basic descriptive data for language planning is appropriately underscored.

The data presented here suggest the following implications for the descriptive study of language situations and thus for language planning.

Change in language situations may be displacive or additive. The situation at Larteh is clearly the result of additive change. It may be hypothesized that at some point in the past Larteh was a monolingual agricultural village. In a real sense this village still exists at Larteh as the functional domain of the Larteh language (family, fellow townsmen, farming, traditional religion). The use of languages other than Larteh is restricted to contexts that are in one sense or another introduced.

Additive change has resulted in triglossia at Larteh, and this tendency is widely observable elsewhere in Africa. Language situations in nations and regions are often triglossic, or incipiently triglossic, and this pattern is increasingly apparent in community and individual repertoires as well.

This trend suggests the existence of three levels of communication in Africa. These levels are (A) local, (B) regional, and (C) (inter)national, and they are associated with vernaculars, indigenous lingua francas, and introduced world languages respectively. In this view, as individual role repertoires expand, there is a corresponding expansion of linguistic repertoires that naturally tends toward triglossia.

Prediction of what people are prepared to do would be the test of a general theory of (change in) language situations. If the notion "level of communication" has predictive value, then it should have a place in such a theory. Nida and Wonderly (1971) have, in fact, made just such a proposal; that is, that there are present in all language situations three "major communication roles" which may be realized through one, two, or three languages.

That this three-level pattern is widespread in Africa appears to be largely due to two factors. Linguistic diversity coupled with a high degree of intercommunication has led to the importance of B, and certain well-known factors of political history have led to the importance of C. However, other patterns may be more frequent in other areas. Gumperz (1961), for example, has suggested a four-level model for social communication in South Asia.[3]

Language functions, in the sense of contexts of normal or expected use, is a distinct notion from that of level of communication, though there are more or less natural associations of functions with levels. This can be illustrated by a comparison of the functions associated with the major terms in the triglossic situations in Kenya and Tanzania.[4]

In conclusion, the rowing downstream principle and the view of language situations presented here suggest that language planners should concentrate on helping people to expand their linguistic repertoires. As Whiteley (1971:13) has said, "It is role and code versatility that is rewarding, and role and code limitation that impoverishes". The major terms should be allowed to choose themselves and changes in situational rules should be limited to minor adjustments in the functional balance among the terms.[5]

Footnotes

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[1]On triglossia, see Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972) for Tanzania and Whiteley (1973) for Kenya. O'Barr's description of the language

situation in a rural Tanzanian community (1971) provides an interesting comparison with the data presented here.

[2]Henceforth, unless otherwise indicated, the focus of discussion will be restricted to Lartehs.

[3]Situations with two major terms are also common in Africa, particularly where the A and B levels are associated with the same language. This is the case in those areas of Ghana where Akan is the predominant mother tongue. Situations with four major terms also exist.

The discussion in this paper has been largely limited to the major terms in language situations. Other languages are of two types: minor languages associated with restricted situational rules, as French and Latin at Larteh, and miscellaneous languages acquired by individuals as a result of particular facts of personal history and not associated with any situational rule, as Adangme and Ewe at Larteh.

[4]Comparisons of this sort suggest that language functions may be arranged on a scale according to the strength of their association with levels A or C. The poles of this scale would be informal conversation in the home and university lectures respectively. Functions normally associated with level B would be those in the center of the scale. Cf. Table 3. It would follow from this that the languages associated with levels A and C are never directly in conflict.

[5]For an interesting language planning study very much in line with these suggestions, see Tadadjeu (1975).

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Creole Speech Communities*

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1. Introduction

For the purpose of this discussion I shall use the term "community" in reference to any network of individuals who interact with one another on the basis of shared values. To the extent that those shared values relate directly to the allocation and utilization of linguistic codes, the universe of participants may be considered a speech community. Among the shared values of any speech community are a set of one or more different languages (or different varieties of the same language) which are spoken by significant numbers of persons or, for some other reason, are considered important features of the overall pattern of language use. In the Netherlands Antilles Islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, there are at least four such languages:

1) Papiamentu is the universal vernacular, the language that everyone speaks within the intimate interactional network of the local population, most of whom are native speakers.

2) Dutch has been the official language of Curaçao since 1634 when the Dutch wrested control of the island from the Spanish. Until recently, Dutch was the required language of parliamentary debate. It is now conducted in Papiamentu, however. Dutch continues to be the official medium of education (cf. Wood 1969), but classes are now given in the lower grades in Papiamentu on an experimental basis.

3) Spanish, the language of the original Conquistadores who controlled the islands from 1499 to 1634, continued to function as an important second language during the early years of Dutch rule and facilitated communication among a population which spoke a variety of mother-tongues: Portuguese, Dutch, the Arawakan language of the islands' pro-colombian inhabitants, and several different West African languages--the precise identities of which are not known. The spread of Spanish as a second language among African slaves, during the Dutch era appears to have been the starting point in the emergence of Papiamentu as a new Spanish-based creole (DeBose 1975). In modern times, Spanish is used by Papiamentu speakers mainly for communication with tourists and other visitors from nearby Venezuela and other Spanish-speaking areas of the Caribbean and is widely taught as a school subject.

4) English is widely used in tourism and commerce for communication with English-speakers who do not speak Papiamentu. It is a major school subject and the mother tongue of a colony of Americans in Aruba.

An indication of the importance of these four languages is an ad which appeared in a recent issue of the newspaper Amigoe di Curacao announcing an opening for a managerial position requiring "some experience in hotel business; between the age of 30 and 50 years; knowledge of English, Spanish, Dutch and Papiamentu." While many Antilleans may lack knowledge of one or another of these four languages, the desirability of knowing all four is probably a universally held value. When we speak of the speech community of the Curaçao island group, therefore, we are referring to the community of persons who share a set of values regarding the allocation of a set of linguistic codes, primarily Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish, and English, within a particular pattern of language use.

2. Creole Studies and Language Typology

William A. Stewart (1968) has proposed a "sociolinguistic typology of national multilingualism" on the basis of which any situation of national multilingualism might be characterized as consisting of one or more distinct languages each of which is assigned to a particular typological category (e.g., creole, standard, artificial), and a particular functional label (e.g., official, literary, religious). Stewart's typological categories are determined by the presence or absence of four defining attributes:

1. Standardization, or the extent to which a codified set of written norms of acceptability are in force.
2. Autonomy, the criterion which distinguishes languages which are considered 'real' by members of the speech community from those which are considered 'dialects', 'corruption', 'bad' speech and so forth.
3. Historicity, the criterion by which languages thought to have evolved normally from some parent language like proto-Indo-European or proto-Bantu are distinguished from those which are created artifically or thought to have emerged rather recently from a contact situation resulting from conquest, trade or migration.
4. Vitality, the existence of a community of native speakers.

The typology realized on the basis of the above criteria is summarized in Figure 1:

Figure 1.

Attribute					
Standard	Autonomy	Historicity	Vitality	Type	Symbol
+	+	+	-	Classical	C
+	+	+	+	Standard	S
-	+	+	+	Vernacular	V
-	-	+	+	Dialect	D
-	-	-	+	Creole	K
-	-	-	-	Pidgin	P
+	+	-	-	Artificial	A

Having specified the inventory of language types in significant use within the nation in question, the description is completed by specifying the functional role of each language within the speech community (e.g., official {symbol o}), educational (e), literary (l), school subject (s), international (i), group (g), religious (r), and the relative number of persons who speak each language. Into class (I) Stewart places those languages which are used by 75% or more of the population. Class (II) includes languages spoken by at least 50% of the community. Class (III) includes languages used by at least 25%; Class (IV), at least 10% and Class (V), at least 5% of the total population. Into Class (VI) are placed those languages spoken by less than 5% but considered important for some other reasons such as use within the context of religious ritual.

To illustrate his typology, one of the examples Stewart gives is the language situation in the Curaçao island group of the Netherlands Antilles (Figure 2):

Figure 2.

Class	Language	Type and function
I	Papiamentu	K (d: H=Spanish)
IV	Dutch	So
	English	Sigs
V	Spanish	Sisl (d: L=Papiamentu)
VI	Hebrew	Cr
	Latin	Crs

The designation of Papiamentu as (d: H=Spanish) and of Spanish as (d: L=Papiamentu) is intended to capture a supposed diglossic relationship between the two languages. I think a more accurate description of the relationship between Papiamentu and Spanish is captured by designating the former a Spanish-based creole since deglossia implies that Papiamentu speakers address one another in Spanish for certain purposes for which Papiamentu is considered unsuited (Ferguson, 1959).

Stewart justifies his classification by pointing out that Spanish once functioned "as a full-fledged literacy alternate to Papiamentu." Today, however, Papiamentu speakers use only Papiamentu among themselves for both spoken and written purposes and within both formal and casual contexts.

The creolist is interested in the language situation in Curaçao for what it can tell him about the nature and origin of creoles. Papiamentu has traditionally been considered a Spanish-based creole. As such, one might reasonably expect that by studying Papiamentu it is possible to learn a great deal which is valid with respect to X-based creoles in general, and that by studying the Curaçao speech community one might discover certain sociolinguistic universals of creole speech communities. In order to safely engage in such generalizations, however, it must first be established that Papiamentu is indeed a Spanish-based

creole. This can be done by compiling evidence that Papiamentu meets the conditions of some agreed upon set of definitional criteria.

The traditional definition of a creole used by most linguists today is based on the notion that a creole is a pidgin or 'jargon' which has become the mother tongue of some group (Bloomfield 1933; Hall 1966). Alleyne (1971) has noted, however, that there is little direct evidence that Papiamentu or any of the other Atlantic creoles are 'nativized pidgins'. In the light of this observation we could join Alleyne in concluding that Papiamentu is not a creole. Before reaching such a radical conclusion, however, one might consider the alternative conclusion that a creole is not necessarily a 'nativized pidgin'.

One definition of a creole in which the 'nativized pidgin' criterion appears unnecessary could be based upon two binary features: Stewart's 'historicity' criterion which distinguishes pidgin, creole and artificial languages from all others, and a new feature, natural, which could distinguish P's and K's from A's. The only remaining difference between pidgins and creoles is based on the attribute of vitality. Figure 3, shows the typology which results from these distinctions:

Figure 3.

Attribute			
Natural	Historicity	Vitality	Type
+	-	+	Creole
+	-	-	Pidgin
-	-	-	Artificial

On the basis of these attributes it can be established that Papiamentu is a creole without evidence that it is a 'nativized pidgin'. By the same set of criteria Haitian Creole, Sranan, Crioulo and other traditional creoles are correctly classified. Certain other languages, traditionally considered pidgins, may also be correctly classified by this set of features (e.g., Chinese Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin). There are other languages, however, traditionally considered pidgins or creoles which are not so classified according to Stewart's typology. This typology, it should be noted, is concerned only with the different languages found in a speech community and ignores basilectal, mesolectal, pidginized and other non-autonomous styles, registers or lects of the language in question. Jamaica Talk would not be considered a different language than English since there is no 'structural gap' (Stewart 1962) separating the creole basilect from Standard Jamaican English in the way that Papiamentu is separated from Spanish and Haitian Creole from French. Tai Boi, spoken in Viet Nam under the French, is often considered a pidgin (Reinecke 1971) but is most accurately described as a pidginized variety of French, or 'broken' French influenced by French foreigner talk. The so-called "working pidgins" used by Australian factory workers (Clyne 1975) would also be better described as 'broken' German or English to distinguish it from languages like Chinese Pidgin.

To include such entities as 'broken' X, foreigner talk and post-creole varieties into our typology it seems necessary to add a feature which distinguishes differences of language, characteristic of the relationship of pidgins and creoles to their lexical source, from differences of variety within a language, characteristic of 'broken' X, foreigner talk and post-creole continua. We may call this feature language.

To complete our typology we must add two dynamic features: pidginized and creolized on the basis of which 'broken' X, foreigner talk and post creole varieties may be distinguished. Pidginization may be viewed as a process which accepts normal X as input and produces 'broken' X as output. Creolization, on the other hand, may be thought of as accepting 'broken' X as input and producing a new X-based pidgin or creole as output.

Before attempting to illustrate the complete typology, a few terminological inconsistencies require our attention. It may have been noted above that according to Stewart's criteria the only difference between pidgins and creoles is that the latter have native speakers. Unless we wish to make such a distinction we might profitably use the term creole to refer to any X-based language, whether or not it has native speakers since either type is a product of creolization. Distinctions based on vitality could still be expressed as functional subtypes: creole mother tongue vs. creole lingua franca. The main consequence of such a decision is that we would have to get used to calling languages like Chinese Pidgin and Nigerian Pidgin creoles. We would be free, on the other hand, to use the terms pidgin and pidginized interchangeably, as many writers already do, with no fear of ambiguity. Reinecke's characterization of Tai Boi as a pidgin (1971) would be appropriate under such a convention as would be Hall's assertion (1966) that Italian foreigner talk used by tour guides is a pidgin. In the remainder of this discussion the term creole will be used in the sense just suggested. The effect of this upon our typology is that the feature 'vitality' is no longer needed. As Figure 4 shows, a creole is defined by the presence of the attributes 'language' and 'creolized'.

Foreigner talk is distinguished from 'broken' X by the presence of 'creolization' in the former and its absence in the latter. Creoles and foreigner talk are both plus 'creolization'. The former is a language, however, while the latter is not. Post-creole continua are minus pidginization and minus creolization. Since all four types are plus 'natural' and minus 'historicity' this information is not included in the table.

Figure 4.

Attribute			
Language	Pidginized	Creolized	Type
+	-	+	Creole
-	-	-	Post-creole
-	+	-	"Broken" X
-	-	+	Foreigner talk

3. The Origin of Creoles

Having established a set of criteria whereby creoles, post-creoles, 'broken' X and foreigner talk may be distinguished from one another we may use the term creole speech community whenever one of them is a prominent feature of the language situation. Such speech communities may be arranged along a sociolinguistic continuum representing various stages in a process beginning with the spread of X as a second language and terminating in an X-based creole or a post-creole variety of X. The problem of the origin of any particular creole may be conceptualized within such a framework on the assumption that if an X-based creole is a feature of a language situation at some particular time (T), then at some earlier time (T-1), in the same community, there should be a contact situation involving the spread of X as a second language among speakers of one or more different unrelated mother tongues. If the creole in question has native speakers there might be an intermediate stage between T and T-1 in which the creole had no native speakers and functioned as a lingua franca among speakers of various mother tongues later replaced by the creole. It should be noted, however, that in either case, the problem of accounting for the emergence of a new X-based language is the same. In both instances, the problem is to account for the transition from the original contact situation, in which the creole does not exist, to a subsequent stage in which it does exist, either in the function of a lingua franca or as the mother tongue of some group.

Creolists are far from agreement as to how the transition from a contact situation to a creole occurs beyond the very general consensus that as the initial stage there must be a mechanism for converting normal X into 'broken' X on a large scale (i.e., for X to be pidginized). The problem of how pidginized X becomes creolized has produced various proposals. Bloomfield (1933) accounts for the transition by blocking access to normal X for speakers of 'broken' X by means of the invariable use of foreigner talk by native speakers of X when they address non-native speakers. Hall (1966) who shares this view claimed that "The aboriginal, not knowing any better, would assume that this (foreigner talk) was the white man's real language, and would delight in using it." Whinnom (1971) also accounts for the transition to a creole by blocking access to normal X. The mechanism he choses, however, is removal of the incipient speakers of X from any contact with native speakers of X. If all the incipient speakers spoke the same mother tongue they would have no use for X once contact with native speakers was ended. If they spoke several different mother tongues, however, they might continue to use X as a lingua franca.

In the absence of native speakers to provide models of correct usage, the variety of X spoken by incipient bilinguals (Diebold 1961) could become the norm transmitted to new speakers and could result in abrupt termination of the continuum which previously linked pidginized X to normal X as speakers of X as a second language acquired increasing degrees of proficiency.

Whinnom's hypothesis that "no simple bilingual situation ever gives rise to a pidgin (i.e., creole)" is supported by the fact that Papiamentu emerged from a multilingual contact situation during the ear of the slave trade in Curaçao and by the fact that during the earlier era of Spanish rule the spread of Spanish among the Curaçao Indians, who spoke a single mother tongue, did not result in Spanish being pidginized or creolized, but only in the use of normal Spanish by the Indians (Hartog 1968). During the era of the slave trade however, we have evidence of the pidginization of Spanish in the report of a Jesuit priest who visited Curaçao in 1704 and claimed that the slaves made use of 'broken' Spanish (Hartog 1968). This 'broken' Spanish apparently provided input to the process of creolization which resulted in Papiamentu. The mechanism which brought it about was apparenlty the frequent necessity for the African slaves, of linguistically diverse backgrounds, to communicate among themselves in Spanish in the absence of native speaker models.

The Portuguese element in Papiamentu may be accounted for by positing the existence, within the linguistic repertoire of the Curaçao slaves, of a Portuguese-based créole related to the creoles spoken in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and the Gulf of Guinea today. It could also be accounted for by the fact that Portuguese was the mother tongue of the Sephardic Jews of Curaçao, but numerous parallels between Papiamentu and the West African creoles are difficult to account for solely on this basis of contact. I do not wish to suggest that a Portuguese-based creole relexified into Papiamentu, however, but only to suggest that the two languages coexisted with one another for a period of time sufficient for the former to influence the structure of the latter before being replaced by it.

4. Conclusion

The situations in which known creoles seem to have come into being may be summarized for purposes of comparison within a typology of creole speech communities. By summarizing and comparing such data with hypothetical situations such as Bloomfield's 'talking down' model and Whinnom's linguistic hybridization theory, it should be possible to develop a model of the origin of creoles based upon a solid body of empirical observations which enables us to formulate hypotheses and correctly estimate the probability of the emergence of new languages under different sets of circumstances. Adequate information already exists for a number of languages and only needs to be pulled together within a common framework. As we await the results of future research within such a framework, we might venture a few generalizations of a very tentative nature based upon the results of the present study and other well known facts.

The first generalization which we might venture with a reasonable degree of confidence is that most, if not all, simple bilateral contact situations do not result in new languages. If the group into which X is spreading is an immigrant group such as the Cocoliche speakers in Argentina, or the Australian factory

workers, the probability of a new language is nil; even if the host group uses foreigner talk, and even if they speak several different mother tongues. The only kind of bilateral situation that seems to have any likelihood at all of producing a new language is the kind of situation found in Viet Nam under the French where such factors as the relatively small numbers of the dominant group, together with pronounced racial, cultural and linguistic differences, and the use of foreigner talk, drastically minimize the chances for more than a tiny minority of the host population to surpass the 'broken' French level of proficiency. The pidginized French which resulted from such conditions in Viet Nam, however, is a much more likely outcome of a bilateral contact situation than a new French-based creole. Even when the community into which X is spreading consists of several different mother tongue groups, the result may not be a new language. The spread of Portuguese among a multilingual national community in the former Portuguese colony of Angola has not resulted in any significant degree of creolization. English, under similar conditions in Ghana has not produced any English-based creole.

In those rare instances in which new languages spread throughout entire communities, a main prerequisite appears to be the existence of new communities, the members of which are drawn from several different communities each of which had previously been in contact with speakers of some common language X. Under such conditions, X is a very likely candidate for adoption by the new community as a lingua franca. If the performance of a language adopted as a lingua franca is characteristically 'broken', chances for the emergence of a new X-based creole should be optimal.

New communities were created in the past by the institution of slavery and apparently gave impetus to the rise of existing European-based creoles in West Africa and the New World. More recently, in two different locations in Africa, new communities appear to have been created around the mining industry. Fanangalo, or Kitchen Kaffir, for example, according to Hancock (1971) is "a pidginized Zulu employed by migrant African mine workers around Johannesburg." In the former Belgian Congo, the development of the Union Minière de Haute Katanga involved the recruitment of a multilingual labor force and was a key factor in the spread of a pidginized variety of Swahili in the Katanga mining district (Polomé 1971). Hancock (1971) also reports that "A pidgin Hausa, called Barikanci, grew up around the European barracks in northern Nigeria and was used as a lingua franca in the armed forces, sometimes taught by English-speakers to speakers of diverse Nigerian languages."

It should be possible to add greatly to our knowledge of how creoles come into being by studying the language situations in new communities which might be found in various parts of the world today and those which might be reconstructed from knowledge of events and circumstances which preceded the emergence of existing creoles. Such situations would be expected to lie at some point along a continuum between two poles. At one extreme there are

incipient speakers of X as a second language who use it as a lingua franca, but no speakers of any new language based on X. At the other pole, the new X-based language has replaced the original substrate languages and eliminated the need for a lingua franca once filled by X. The old European-based languages like Papiamentu, Krio, Nigerian and Haitian Creole lie at the latter end of the continuum, and provide no direct evidence of how such languages develop. In many areas of Africa, however, and other parts of the world where multilingualism is rife and forces of nationalism, urbanization and modernization are giving impetus to increased communication across linguistic lines, it should be possible to find new multilingual communities at various points along the continuum. By studying such communities first-hand it should be possible to document the process whereby new X-based languages come into being and spread.

Footnote

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The Conceptual Framework of Humboldtian Ethnolinguistics in German Africanistics

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1. Introduction

Dealing with what seems to be an entirely German matter in front of an almost exclusively non-German audience may require a word of explanation. It is my belief that we are witnessing the Götterdämmerung of nationality-oriented scholarship in many if not all sciences. In African Studies, African scholars in a steadily increasing number are now taking over from non-African colleagues who until now have been the only ones to deal with African matters in a scholarly manner--provisionally, so to speak. In this situation it may prove to be useful to reconsider the aims and approaches of traditional Africanistic work in the light of the appealing opportunity of an international division of labour in the field. Africa to the Africans? Yes, and no because in the face of the immense tasks no single national university and government in Africa can be expected to cover and finance the whole range of necessary and promising research activities, either within its own state or even across national boundaries in an all-African perspective. On the other hand there are valuable traditions in non-African scholarship that cannot be transplanted into modern African research institutions as easily as, for example, discovery procedures and evaluation techniques. International cooperation including the open discussion of contrasting or even conflicting theorems inherent in the various "national schools" of the past ought to result in a better mutual understanding and the furthering of the science as a whole. This paper is meant to be a contribution to the achievement of these goals.

Besides aiming at presenting aspects of traditional German Africanistic studies relevant to current issues in the rapidly expanding field of the sociology of language and its relation to general linguistic theory, this paper shall advance first steps towards an integrated theory of Africanistics which centres around the hypothesis of a sociologically, psychologically, and linguistically definable "Africanity" as an areal feature of human social behaviour. I was induced to explore the conceptual framework of traditional German Africanistics after certain methodological questions arose whilst attempting to transfer the idea of D. Westermann's comprehensive Africanistics to practical

field operations during my participation in a recent linguistic research programme in the Lake Chad area carried out by members of Hamburg University's Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen under the direction of Professor Johannes Lukas. Unfortunately Prof. Lukas could not be present at this conference and asked me to introduce aspects of the programme[1] to this distinguished audience. Since until now hardly any results have been published[2] because of the recency of the field research, I shall introduce the programme by reflecting on its conceptual background. This will simultaneously serve to lay open those inherent traits of traditional German Africanistics which for long periods in the past have initiated substantial research activities that definitely merit labels such as "sociolinguistic", "ethnolinguistic", or "ethnosemantic", at the roots of which lay the synthetistic and universalistic thinking of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835).

For Humboldt the study of language was the study of content as expression of world views. The diversity of languages is not one of sounds and signs, but a diversity of world perspectives (von Humboldt 1907:152). Language is thus extracted from its function as medium: language itself is not a work (ergon), but rather an activity (energeia), it is itself creative rather than being something created (von Humboldt 1907:44). This led von Humboldt (1907:89ff.) to the concept of the "inner form" of language in which he was more interested than in the outer form. "Humboldt believes that all those features, from the phonology, to the grammar, to the individual peculiarities of designation contained in the lexicon, that distinguish one language from another can be referred back to the operation of that language's inner form. Thus, it is the dynamics of a language's inner form that determines its peculiar world perspective." (Miller 1968:33). Wilhelm von Humboldt had thus brought the classical romantic linguistic concepts to a final stage: language is seen as a whole, not just as sound, but also as content and in its relation to man, culture, and world perspective (Helbig 1974:13). Unlike later idealistic conceptions of the Neo-Humboldtians around Leo Weisgerber in Germany, Humboldt's term Volksgeist (national mentality)--despite all mystification--contained definite materialistic elements, since it is rather a geographical-ethnological term (Helbig 1974:14). A renaissance of Humboldtian thoughts was observed after Second World War not only in West Germany where the Neo-Humboldtians tried to combine Humboldt with the teaching of de Saussure, but also in the U.S.A. where the relationship between language and cognition was discussed along the lines of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. As Dell Hymes (1964:669) had already pointed out: "Bloomfield...had signalled von Humboldt's work as leading the way both to the special philologies of the various language families of the world, and 'the study of the conditions and laws of language: its psychic and social character and its historical development'; but subsequent American linguistics seemed to forget von Humboldt until after Second World War and the interests awakened by discussions centered around Whorf."

2. Currents in traditional German Africanistics

The Lake Chad programme which was carried out by members of the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen between 1972 and 1974 served a dual purpose: on the one hand it aimed at collecting primary linguistic data of little known languages in the area especially of those belonging to the Chadic branch of Afroasiatic. On the other hand the choice of the region implied another equally important aspect: the documentation of social, cultural, and historical data of ethnic groups liable to lose their linguistic and cultural identity under the expansive influence of dominant civilizations. The Lake Chad area in its widest geographical sense is an extraordinarily well suited region for the study of large scale language contact not only between but also within genetically related language groups. A glance at a map of languages and language families shows the degree of fragmentation that resulted from historical population movements and language shifts at the important cross-road of the great trans-African trade routes. With the exception of Khoisan members of all major language families of Africa meet in the vicinity of Lake Chad: the Semitic and Chadic branches of Afroasiatic, the Saharan and Chari-Nile branches of Nilo-Saharan, the Benue-Congo branch of Congo-Kordofanian as well as the latter's Adamawa branch. Different economical and political systems conflict where pagans still oppose the advance of Islam and Christianity and where mallams, traders, and slave-raiders in their walled cities have always looked down upon those hostile savages in the plains, swamps, or mountain regions of their cities' hinterlands. New national boundaries between Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger now cut across the instable set-up that the modern states have inherited from the former colonial rulers, dissecting traditional lines of contact and solidarity. Re-orientation towards new political centres creates new contact situations which rapidly result in the merger of the manifold traditions into the melting pot of modern African national civilizations. In this situation it was felt necessary to design a research programme that would result in the description of social and cultural facets of particular speech communities in interaction, observable through manifestations in patterns of language use. Not only the linguistic, but also the social, political, cultural, and historical identity of the ethnic group under research was to be defined through the application of macro-linguistic techniques and the evaluation of oral traditions and literature.

The programme was organised as a series of individual research projects: Prof. Johannes Lukas on Kotoko and a number of Chadic languages spoken in Chad Republic; Heide Reboul(-Mirt) on Wandala in Northern Cameroon; Norbert Cyffer on Buduma on the Lake Chad islands and peripheral Kanuri groups in Nigeria; and the author on a Chadic language called Lamang and adjacent idioms in the foot hills and plateaux of the Mandara Mountains in Northeastern Nigeria along the Cameroonian border. The programme is well embedded in a long time research activity on the Lake Chad area at the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen, Hamburg.

In 1954 Johannes Lukas (born 7.10.1901) became the director of this institution--twenty years after his famous first reports on the linguistic situation in that region[3] which resulted in the classification of language groups that now bear the names Saharan, Maban, Central Sudanic, and Chadic. The study of Kanuri and of various Chadic languages became the focal point of research in the years of and following Lukas' directorship: out of 12 doctoral theses compiled between 1955 and 1975 six deal with Chadic languages and two with Kanuri, starting off with the works of such outstanding scholars in the field of African linguistics as Carl Hoffmann, now at the University of Ibadan, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, now at Marburg University.[4]

When Lukas in 1956 changed the name of the Hamburg institute from "Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen" to "Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen" this act signalled an attempt to combine three discernable currents in pre-war German Africanistics: the historical linguistic approach of Carl Meinhof, Hamburg; the comprehensive socio-cultural approach of Dietrich Westermann, Berlin; and the Gestalt theory approach of Wilhelm Czermak in Vienna. After the decline of the Vienna school and the closing of the Oriental Seminar in Berlin this synthesis seemed to be a historical necessity at the now oldest German Africanistic institution in Hamburg. (A direct succession to D. Westermann's approach can be noticed at the later established Institut für Afrikanistik in Cologne under its director Prof. Oswin Köhler (born 14.10.1911).)

Besides the general situation of linguistics in Germany at the beginning of this century that was characterized by various attempts of anti-positivistic reaction towards neogrammarian positions, there are two factors worth mentioning which determined the development of Africanistics in Germany as an autonomous academic discipline: the colonial period with its determined practical needs--midwife as well as nurse for the young science; and the impact of powerful personalities--of which I shall restrict myself to Carl Meinhof, Dietrich Westermann, Wilhelm Czermak, and Johannes Lukas.

Carl Meinhof's (1857-1944) basically neogrammarian approach was thinly laid over with a sympathetic reception of Wilhelm Wundt's Völkerpsychologie. His at times rather daring explorations into the fields of semantics which he carried out in order to establish a "psychological" comparative method in addition to the traditional historical comparative method (cf. Meinhof 1943: 103) were considered by the author himself as intrusions of the linguist into the domains of philosophy and psychology. Meinhof finally failed to integrate into his linguistic works his broader interest in African civilizations which had been roused by the close contact of the former parson with missionary field problems of Bible translating.

Dietrich Westermann (1875-1956) who at the same time was the most important and eloquent promoter of an applied Africanistics' practical services for the colonial administration, introduced his

personal learning and shift of interest from linguistics to ethnology into a model of "comprehensive" Africanistics that was meant to serve, among others, the practical needs of the colonial administration for a scientifically based acculturation management. Unlike the theologian Meinhof's monogenetic conception, Westermann though with heavy missionary background as well advanced rather a diffusionistic concept of language and culture, thus stressing the importance of languages-in-contact phenomena in Africanistic research. Sociological problems of language use, especially the development, functions, and dynamics of African lingua francas, as well as sociolinguistic dialects such as secret, ritual, and women's speech were natural fields of study according to Westermann. His approach to one of the core problems of ethnolinguistics, the relation of language to cognition which had occupied quite a number of German scholars in the 20's and 30's following Westermann and v. Hornbostel (both 1927) was that of the study of "sound symbolism". The richness of ideophones and onomatopoeia in African languages was a challenge to the psychological spirit of time in the post-World-War-I epoque. For Westermann language is the expression of collective conscience and common experience, and he never ceased to point out the social function of language as an integrating element of the speech community. At the same time he taught that language itself must be the vehicle by which Africanistics serves one of its major societal functions: that of a transmitter and interpreter between different cultures such as European and African. His comprehensive model has influenced almost every German Africanist. It contains cultural and linguistic studies in synchronical as well as historical perspective. Three fields of applied studies namely Eingeborenenlenkung (acculturation guidance), language planning, culture transmission and language teaching, which were sometimes called "practical" Africanistics (e.g. by Lukas) contrast with at least seven fields of "theoretical" Africanistics with either a prevalent "static" or "dynamic" (in the de Saussurian sense) perspective. Extrapolated from his writings, Westermann's aggregative (as opposed to an integrative) model of comprehensive Africanistics can be shown graphically as follows:

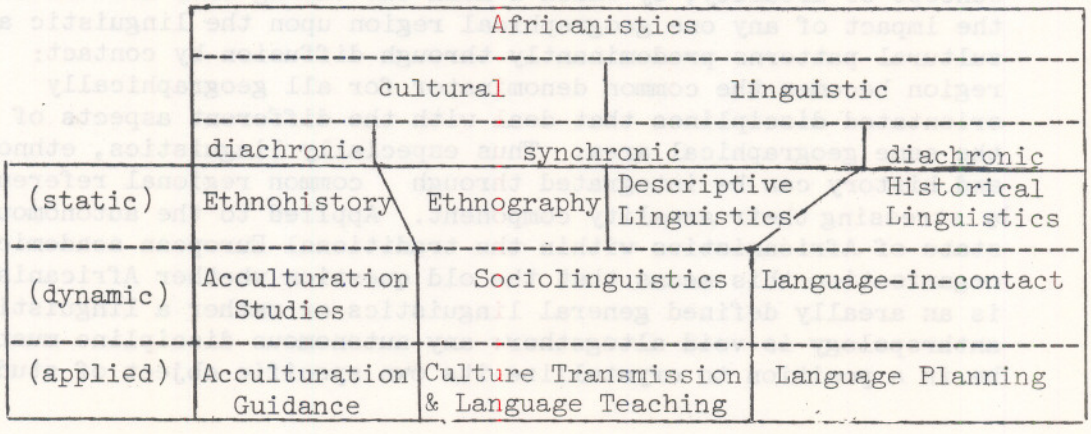

Fig. 1

Westermann's model was a legitimate extension of Carl Meinhof's general ideas about the subject of an autonomous academic discipline called Africanistics. The common inductive approach united what one might call the Prussian School of Africanistics in Berlin and Hamburg. The Vienna School around Wilhelm Czermak (1889-1953) seemed to show a preference for a deductive approach that originated from a synthetic reaction of Ganzheitspsychologie and Gestalt theory against Wundt's physiological psychology and Herrmann Paul's psychologically conceived philological individualism. The basic idea was the concept of the whole as being more than a sum of all its parts, and of the existence of Gestalt qualities that show distinct characteristics independent of the different components that constitute the whole. The paradigm is the melody that remains recognizable as a Gestalt even after its parts, i.e. the sequence of the tones are transponed into a different key. Czermak combined concepts of Gestalt theory with romantic concepts of national mentality and national soul reminiscent of Wilhelm von Humboldt's thoughts. He searched for manifestations of the "African Soul" behind every individual language, accessible through living speech as well as through written records. He rejected the neogrammarian approach denying historical comparativism the right to define the only legitimate goals of linguistic study and disqualified those methods as relicts of a bygone century's thinking. He stressed the expressive and pragmatic aspects of language; his introspective linguacentric method bears a close resemblance to any ethnolinguistic approach.

The common denominator of those three currents in pre-war German Africanistics is a superordinary semantic approach to the study of structure of African languages which themselves are viewed as being embedded in a specific socio-cultural network within which any particular language serves its different functions. The synthesis of those three currents had been at the bottom of most of Johannes Lukas' teaching after 1954 in Hamburg, and it has been attempted to be put into praxis for the first time on the occasion of the Lake Chad Programme. Metaphorically speaking Lukas stripped Czermak's largely intuitive approach of all its antiquitated psychologisms and freed Westermann's comprehensive Africanistics of its colonialistic aspects, then welded the two together with Meinhof's overall historical comparative interests and added a concept of areality, by which I mean the taking into account of the impact of any one geographical region upon the linguistic and cultural patterns predominantly through diffusion by contact: The region becomes the common denominator for all geographically orientated disciplines that deal with the different aspects of the same geographical area. Thus especially linguistics, ethnology, and history can be integrated through common regional reference by stressing their areality component. Applied to the autonomous state of Africanistics within the traditional European academic organisation this means that the old question whether Africanistics is an areally defined general linguistics or rather a linguistic anthropology is void altogether: any autonomous discipline must be in a position to crystallize its own specific object of study

either by its own methods or by a transdisciplinary integration of a variety of methods pertaining to the same theoretical framework. For Africanistics this could be the areality concept of "Africanity", however it may become defined varying according to the methodological and terminological apparatus applied. The areality concept can serve as the integrative moment of Africanistic studies at different geographical/regional levels above the basic unit which is the single speech community--even above the continental frame in Afro-Asian and Afro-European studies in the pursuing of questions whether and which like phenomena may be due to diffusion, convergence, or common genetic properties.

3. Towards an integrative model of Africanistics

Africanistics as conceived in the above sense is characterized by its triple base in linguistics, ethnology, and history, the latter losing its autonomous character through integration as the diachronic vs. the synchronic perspective. In this way it will become possible to progress from purely diachronic linguistics of neogrammarian origin, i.e. the unilinear reconstruction of earlier stages by means of linguistic comparison alone towards a true historical perspective that makes use of all sources of historical information external and internal evidence alike. By this integrated approach we can deal appropriately with the dynamics of change that become apparent in synchronically observable processes. Through the analysis and adequate description of these dynamics in language use we might eventually grasp the areality phenomenon of Africanity which ought to manifest itself in "Africanisms" in the characteristics and trends of observable processes--provided the validity of the hypothesis of areality as a relevant sociological as well as psychological and linguistic variable.

Empirical Africanistics then operates with a wide concept of la parole or code which includes the pragmatic aspects of linguistic performance, whereas theoretical Africanistics will have to interpret the term la langue in the sense of communicative competence viewed also in its cognitive aspects of world perspective.

This triple based model of Africanistics which I call integrative as opposed to Westermann's aggregative model, may graphically be represented as below, showing three possible major subfields of specialized studies: (a) synchronic ethnolinguistics--understood as linguacentric as well as comparative ethnographies of communication (D. Hymes); (b) historical ethnolinguistics--in the sense of Greenberg's (1947) "social diachronic studies"; (c) historical linguistics.

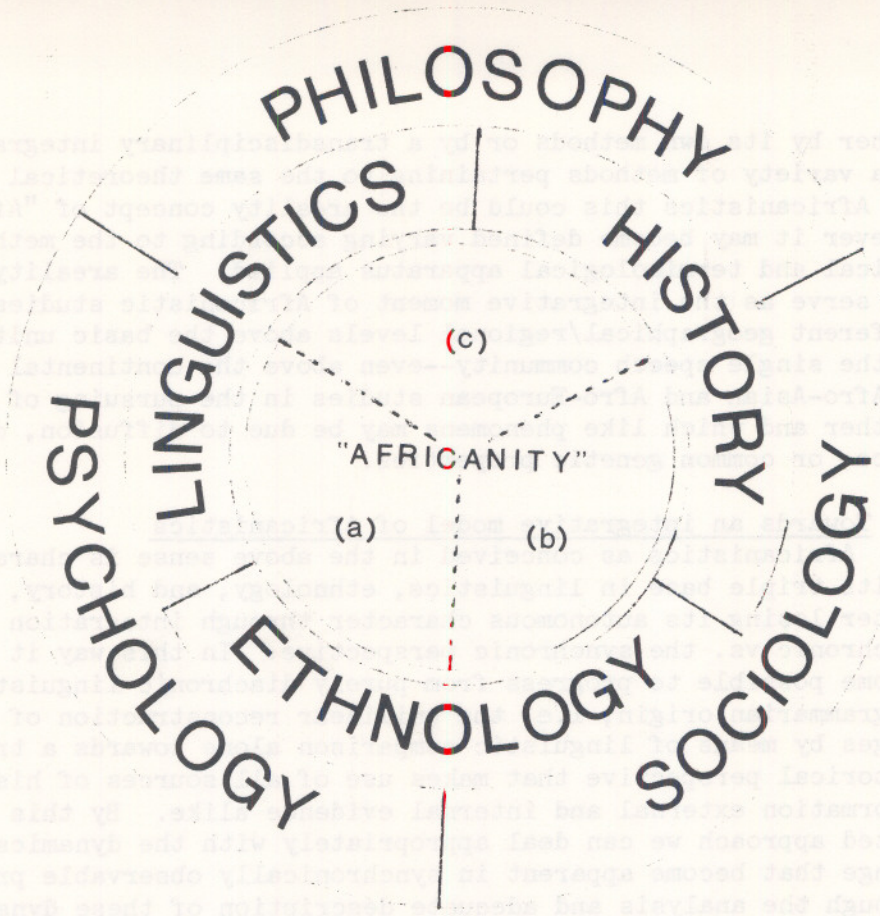

Fig. 2

Since Africanistics is basically an empirical science a vital question is how to transpone theoretical concepts into practical work which to a considerable extent consists of field research and the consequent evaluation and interpretation of the material. A focal point of study has to be the text as authentic document of native culture. The conception implies the application of philological techniques since ethnolinguistics functions as the philology for societies that did not develop philological traditions of their own (Hymes 1964). A typology of texts becomes a necessary prerequisite of ethnolinguistic study as Hockett (1954:123) had pointed out that "the impact of inherited linguistic pattern on activities is, in general, least important in the most practical contexts, and most important in such goings-on as story-telling, religion, and philosophizing...". In Germany Westermann had admonished the need for comprehensive text analyses several times. "Grammar deals primarily with 'forms'; it is the morphology of a language. Since, however, in many African languages forms exist

in extraordinary richness and variety, the grammarian is apt to concentrate his attention too exclusively on their representation. This is the case in most African grammars. They deal with forms of speech, but say little or nothing about syntax, although in it the structure of the language, the way of expressing thought, is most clearly revealed...but even single sentences are living speech only to a limited extent; in most cases they have been taken out of a larger context, in which their life was embedded. In order to fully grasp this life, coherent texts are needed, noted down direct from the mouth of native speakers." (Westermann 1939:24f.). But the mere edition of text material as such is not sufficient. Hymes (1964) once pointed to "past failures...of making native text materials usable by others" and has claimed that " an analysed and edited text fit for publication is not mere data, but a scholarly product". The development of sociolinguistics in recent years provides ample techniques for the study of language in its ethnographic context. Based on the assumption "that the full range of speech activity of a community is structured" (Hymes 1964) all sociolinguistic approaches whether of inter-community or intra-community perspective will have to become stock in trade in Africanistic work. Linguistically discernable social attitudes of role and status within African monolingual as well as multilingual speech communities are as natural objects of study as are the facets of world perspective hidden behind the manifestations of linguistic competence in the performance of native speakers. Besides textlinguistic analyses, structural semantic approaches to lexicon, e.g. in the determination of semantic fields will yield ethnolinguistically relevant results. The use of video tapes in the field in order to record features of interaction patterns, e.g., between narrator and listeners in African communities will open up the subfield of contrastive pragmalinguistics, to mention just another example.

4. Conclusion

The focus of this paper has been on an academic discipline's historical development in Germany. Such reflexions usually imply a critical evaluation of its philosophical background and salient theoretical issues. Since a science is defined according to its particular object of study and/or the methodological approach(es) to a given object of study I have suggested the concept of "Africanity" in the sense of scientifically definable and thus describable and explainable manifestations of African-ness, to fulfill the requirement of Africanistics' particular object of study. In order to fulfill the second requirement for a well established science it chooses as its theoretical frame a transdisciplinary integration of semantic, pragmatic, and historical aspects. Africanistics can offer valuable contributions to the general discussion of an integrated theory of language insofar as it is based on the pragmatic aspect of language, and is thus in a position to provide necessary cross-language and cross-cultural data in this field. Even though at times it might be liable to lose its identity when it merges with "pure" sociological approaches

it is, however, not likely to do so with respect to logic and psychology, just to mention certain aprioristic tendencies in current linguistic theory. Though it is definitely not the task of Africanistics to develop models of linguistic competence, performance, or pragmatics, it does have to live up to the expectation that it can contribute to the development of such models. On the other hand Africanistics provides a testing ground for the validity of any areality hypothesis like the proposed concept of Africanity: The existence of, first of all, psycholinguistically definable areal features of human verbal behaviour in African speech communities--a concept that otherwise could be termed "linguistic Africanness"--might prove to be of stimulating relevance to the general study of language acquisition and language universals. In a phase of various ethnocentric and deductive approaches to core problems of linguistics, Africanistics among other sciences offers data for an inductive approach that allows continuously higher levels of generalisations towards universally valid categories of language. Furthermore, in the field of sociology, it provides equally valuable empirical contributions to the problems of nationism and ethnicity in Africa. Though within the international frame of linguistic science the role of Africanistics as a corrective element to general linguistics may be a minor one, it could prove to be more important with respect to currents in West German linguistic theory, the unscrupulous ethnocentrism of which is only too apparent in its fixation upon neoromantic concepts of "mother-tongue" and the consequent determination of the geistige Zwischenwelt (spiritual mediary world) through the linguistic mediary world which parallels Whorf's thesis of linguistic determinism. In West Germany Africanistics could well play the role which American Indian Studies have played so successfully in the development of linguistics in America before Second World War, the more so, since both German traditional Africanistics--though at times it had been heavily laid over with colonial interests--and neoromantic German linguistics of the Weisgerber School rest upon the common heritage of Wilhelm von Humboldt's language philosophy.

Although the diversity of surface structure in different languages is the starting point for the approaches proposed above, it should have become clear that I am not suggesting the revival of linguistic determinism even though aspects of the Humboldtian language philosophy and the Whorfian hypothesis are showing through--as probably can never be avoided when dealing with the subject of language diversity. Let me conclude my paper with a quotation from Wilhelm von Humboldt's famous work, "Concerning the diversity of man's linguistic structure and its influence on the spiritual development of the human race": "To search for the diversity of human language structure, and describe it in its substantial qualities, to arrange the seemingly indefinite multiplicity in a simpler manner from correctly chosen standpoints, to pursue the sources of that diversity and, first of all, its influence on thinking, perception, and mentality of the speakers, and to follow the course of the spiritual development of mankind through all changes of history through language which is deeply woven into it

and accompanies it from step to step, this is the important and multifold business of the general study of language." (from Steinthal 1883:150. Translation my own.).

Footnotes

[1]The Lake Chad Programme was financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

[2]So far two articles of mine have been published:

Wolff, E. 1974/75. Neue linguistische Forschungen in Nordostnigeria. (New linguistic research in Northeastern Nigeria.) *Afrika und Übersee* 58.1:7-27.

Wolff, E. 1974/75. Sprachwandel und Sprachwechsel in Nordostnigeria. (Language change and language shift in Northeastern Nigeria.) *Afrika und Übersee* 58.3:187-212.

[3]These were:

Lukas, J. 1934. Die Gliederung der Sprachenwelt des Tschadsee-Gebietes in Zentralafrika. *Forschung und Fortschritt* 29.10:356-7.

Lukas, J. 1936. Hamitisches Sprachgut im Sudan. *ZDMG* 90:579-88.

Lukas, J. 1936. The linguistic situation in the Lake Chad area in Central Africa. *Africa* 9:332-49.

Lukas, J. 1936. Neue Aussichten zur sprachlichen Gliederung des Sudan. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Linguists.* Copenhagen, 186-81.

Lukas, J. 1939. Linguistic research between Nile and Lake Chad. *Africa* 12:335-49.

[4]These were:

Hoffmann, C. 1955. *Untersuchungen zur Struktur und sprachlichen Stellung des Bura.* Dissertation, Hamburg.

Jungraithmayr, H. 1956. *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Tangale in Nordostnigerien.*

Schubert, K. 1971/72. Zur Bedeutung und Anwendung der Verbalparadigmen im Hausa und Kanuri. Dissertation. *Afrika und Übersee* 55:1-49, 208-27, 267-300; 56:90-118.

Wolff, E. 1972. *Die Verbalphrase des Laamang (Nordostnigeria). Eine Studie zur Morphologie tschadischer Sprachen.* Dissertation, Hamburg.

Meyer-Bahlburg, H. 1972. *Studien zur Morphologie und Syntax des Muzgu.* Dissertation, Hamburg.

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von Humboldt, W. 1903-1918. Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts (1830-35). In Albert Leitzmann (ed.), *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. VII (1907), 1-344. Berlin.

Hymes, D. (ed.). 1964. *Language in Culture and Society.* New York.

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Miller, R. L. 1968. *The Linguistic Relativity Principle and Humboldtian Ethnolinguistics.* The Hague.

Steinthal, H. 1883. *Die Sprachphilosophischen Werke Wilhelm's von Humboldt.* Berlin.

Westermann, D. 1927. Laut, Ton und Sinn in westafrikanischen Sudansprachen. *Festschrift Meinhof*, 315-28. Hamburg.

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Sub-Saharan Africa. OSU WPL 19.125-141 (1975)

The Beginnings of Ethnohistory in Western Wellegga: The Mao Problem*

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1. Introduction

Most of the fourteen provinces of Ethiopia extend outward from the central province of Shewa like spokes from the hub of a wheel. Wellegga is one which extends due west to the Sudan border.

The western-most part of Wellegga consists for the most part of lowlying swamps and semi-desert beyond the central Ethiopian plateau. However, this is broken by a strip of higher land paralleling the Sudan border from north to south through the major towns of Asosa, Bambeshi, Gidami, and Dembi Dolo. The higher land (about 2000 meters) gets more rain and is fertile agricultural country, while the lower (about 1000 meters) is generally arid and cannot support a high density of population.

The main ethnic groups in western Wellegga are Arabs, Berta, Galla (Oromo-speakers), Gumuz, Komo, Kwama, and "Mao". In addition there are significant numbers of "central Ethiopians" (Amhara farmers, Amharic- and Tigrinya-speaking schoolteachers, etc.). See the map on the following page.

Linguistically, these groups are native-speakers of languages of two of the four great African super-families identified by Greenberg (1966). Arabic and Amharic are Semitic and Oromo is Cushitic, all members of the Afroasiatic superfamily. Berta, Gumuz, Komo, and Kwama are members of the Nilo-Saharan super-family. According to the Greenberg classification, all these except Berta, in addition to the language of the "Northern Mao" belong to the Koman family of Nilo-Saharan, while Berta is one of four branches of the Chari-Nile family. The "Southern Mao", a few hundred agriculturalists living in the Anfillo forest west of Dembi Dolo (see map) speak a language which belongs to the Kefa group of Omotic, one of the six Afroasiatic families. (In Greenberg's classification, Omotic was considered as "West Cushitic": for the reclassification, see Fleming (1969) and Bender (1974)). "Southern Mao" (henceforth: Anfillo) is rapidly being displaced by Oromo. Figure 1 presents family trees:

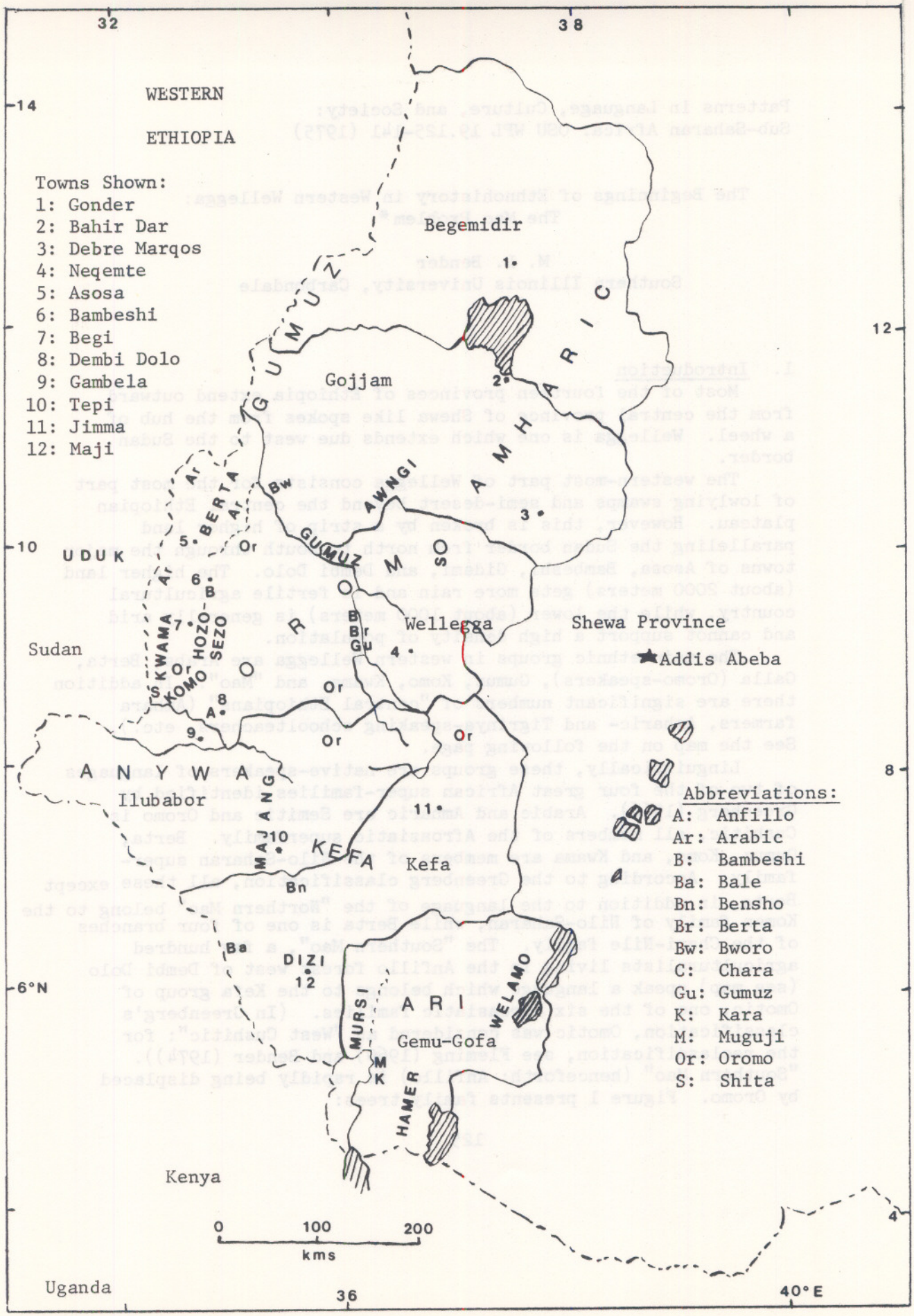
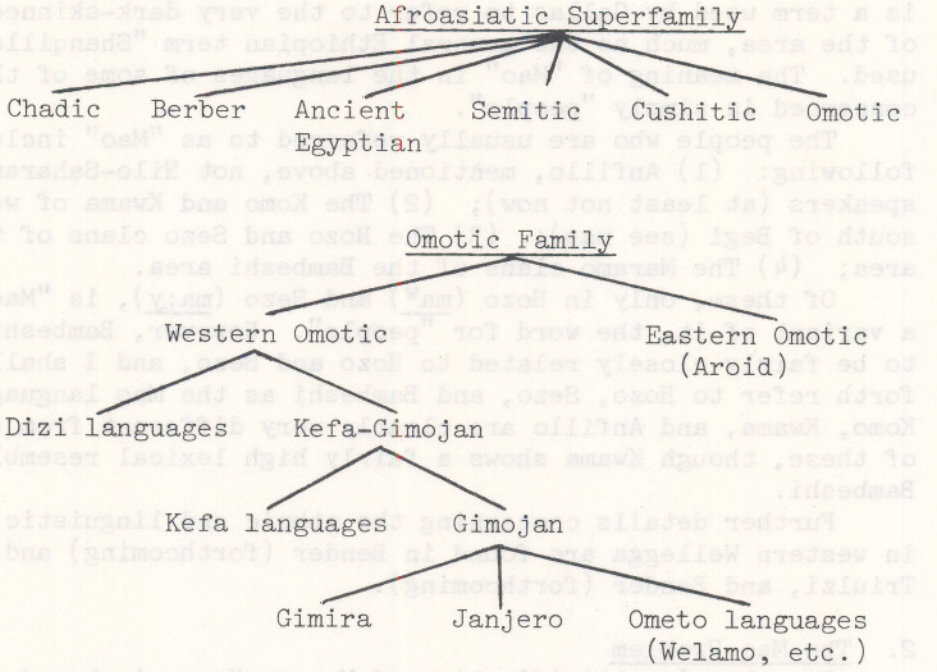
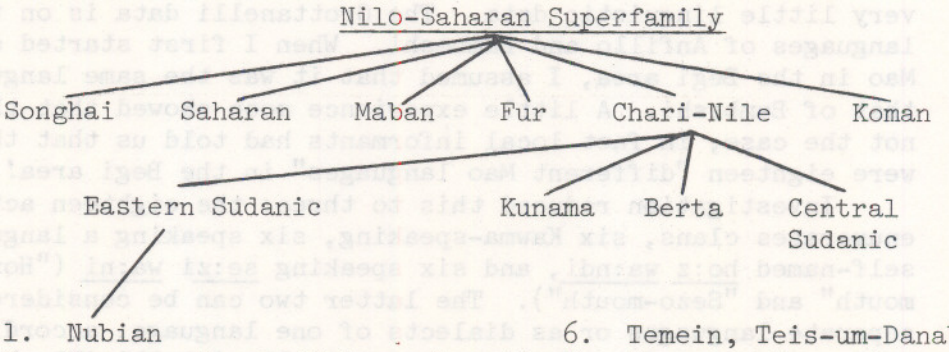

WESTERN
ETHIOPIA
Towns Shown:
1: Gonder
2: Bahir Dar
3: Debre Marqos
4: Neqemte
5: Asosa
6: Bambeshi
7: Begi
8: Dembi Dolo
9: Gambela
10: Tepi
11: Jimma
12: Maji
Begemidir
Gojjam
Wellegga
Shewa Province
Addis Abeba
Sudan
Kenya
Uganda
Ilubabor
Kefa
Gemu-Gofa
GUMUZ
AMHARIC
BERTA
AWNGI
UDUK
SKWAMA
HOZO-SEZO
KOMO
MAJANG
KEFA
DIZI
MURSI
WELAMO
HAMER
ANYWA
ARI
MOROR
Abbreviations:
A: Anfillo
Ar: Arabic
B: Bambeshi
Ba: Bale
Bn: Bensho
Br: Berta
Bw: Bworo
C: Chara
Gu: Gumuz
K: Kara
M: Muguji
Or: Oromo
S: Shita
0 100 200
kms
32
38
14
12
10
8
6°N
4
36
40°E

Figure 1: Simplified Family Trees





1. Nubian
2. Surma: Mursi, Majang, Muguji, etc.
3. Nera (Barya)
4. Ingessana (Tabi)
5. Nyima, Afitti
6. Temein, Teis-um-Danab
7. Merarit, Tama, Sungor
8. Dagu
9. Nilotic: Anywa, etc.
10. Ngangea, Ik

The evidence for subclassification of Nilo-Saharan languages in western Ethiopia is slight: little data was available to Greenberg on Berta or Koman languages. Much more data has become available in recent years, and the result is that some problems have been solved while others are now seen to be more difficult than at first supposed.

For the present, the classification of Berta, Komo, Kwama, and the Afroasiatic languages of the area will be taken as given. But Gumuz shows little in common with Komo-Kwama, and "Mao" still less.

Up to here, I have been writing "Mao" with quotation marks. This is because there is really no such language. In fact, "Mao" is a term used by Gallas to refer to the very dark-skinned people of the area, much as the general Ethiopian term "Shanqilla" is used. The meaning of "Mao" in the languages of some of the people concerned is simply "people".

The people who are usually referred to as "Mao" include the following: (1) Anfillo, mentioned above, not Nilo-Saharan-speakers (at least not now); (2) The Komo and Kwama of west and south of Begi (see map); (3) The Hozo and Sezo clans of the Begi area; (4) The Maramo clans of the Bambeshi area.

Of these, only in Hozo (ma^{w}) and Sezo (ma:y), is "Mao" or a variant of it, the word for "people". However, Bambeshi seems to be fairly closely related to Hozo and Sezo, and I shall henceforth refer to Hozo, Sezo, and Bambeshi as the Mao languages. Komo, Kwama, and Anfillo are clearly very different from all three of these, though Kwama shows a fairly high lexical resemblance to Bambeshi.

Further details concerning the ethnic and linguistic situations in western Wellegga are found in Bender (forthcoming) and Atieb, Triulzi, and Bender (forthcoming).

2. The Mao Problem

Greenberg's classification of Mao as Koman is based on the data available at the time, mainly Grottanelli (1940), which gives very little linguistic data. The Grottanelli data is on the languages of Anfillo and Bambeshi. When I first started collecting Mao in the Begi area, I assumed that it was the same language as that of Bambeshi. A little experience soon showed that this was not the case; in fact local informants had told us that there were eighteen "different Mao languages" in the Begi area!

Investigation reduced this to three: the eighteen actually enumerates clans, six Kawma-speaking, six speaking a language self-named ho:z wa:ndi, and six speaking se:zi wa:ni ("Hozo-mouth" and "Sezo-mouth"). The latter two can be considered as separate languages or as dialects of one language, according to choice of criteria. They are not mutually intelligible by the strictest criterion, but speakers of two varieties converse, each speaking his own variety and understanding enough of the other to communicate. Thus the situation is like that of Spanish and Portuguese, which are considered as separate languages more for political than for linguistic reasons. Note that Bambeshi Mao is not mutually intelligible with Hozo-Sezo: Bambeshi and Hozo-Sezo are two quite distinct languages.

When working on my lexicostatistic classification of all Ethiopian languages (Bender 1971) I was mystified to find that Bambeshi Mao (of which I had collected a 100-item list in 1969) showed much higher lexical resemblance to several Omotic languages than to Koman languages. For example, Bambeshi-Chara stood at 31%, Ometo languages (average) 20%, Gimira and Dizi languages 17% each, Janjero 13%, Kefa languages 12%, Kwama 11%, Kara 10% (Bender 1971:205).

At the time and for several years thereafter, I was inclined to assume that the high Bambeshi-Omotic figures were due to heavy borrowing during some period of extensive contact in the past. I hoped sometime to get around to check this by taking a more careful look, using fuller lexical sources, and carefully screening out loanwords. In the meantime Harold Fleming had already taken what I thought was a drastic step by deciding that Mao is Omotic and not Koman at all (in personal communications and in Fleming (forthcoming)).

It is the purpose of this present paper to try to settle the question: is Mao Koman, Omotic, or something else? I propose to look at both lexical and morphological evidence, taking advantage of the mass of new data now at my disposal as a result of the data-collecting by Fleming, myself, and others during the past decade. I see this effort as the first step in trying to unravel the complex skein of ethnohistory in western Wellegga: Who are the older inabitants of the area and who are the recent immigrants? How does it happen that there are scattered enclaves of Omotic speech far to the north of the main Omotic areas? Etc.

3. The Grammatical Sample

It was not a purpose of the present paper to provide ammunition for either side in the dispute over whether lexical or morphological evidence is more useful or decisive in deciding genetic relationships. My own point of view is that both are valuable and neither can be ruled out. The only real difficulty arises when the two kinds of evidence seem to be contradictory. One notorious example is that of Mbugu or Ma7a in Tanzania: lexically South Cushitic, but morphologically Bantu (see Goodman (1971) for a summary of the status of Mbugu). It was my suspicion that Hozo-Sezo would turn out to be another Mbugu type. To me this appeared to be a not wholly unhappy prospect, since it would provide another example for investigation into the fascinating realm of language hybridization. I am fairly sure that there are several of these in Ethiopia, in addition to the one reported by Habte-Mariam Marcos (1973 and 1975).

I thought that a look at Hozo-Sezo grammar as compared to that of representative Omotic and Koman languages might make the question of genetic relationship transparent. To do this I chose a sample of Omotic and Koman languages from major branches of the two families insofar as my data permits. I wanted to keep the samples chosen for lexical and grammatical data as uniform as possible, and this was a further limitation, though it mainly meant choosing the lexical sample first, since there are few cases in which adequate grammatical information is available but not adequate lexicon.

The languages chosen for grammatical comparison thus consist of Hozo, Sezo, and Bambeshi (henceforth HSB), Welamo, Kefa, Dizi, and Ari (representing the main branches of Omotic), and Komo, Kwama, and Gumuz from Koman. For control purposes and for various ulterior reasons, I adjoined a sample of Nilo-Saharan languages from branches other than Koman: Berta, because it is in contact with HSB; Anywa, Mursi, Majang, and Muguji because they are far removed from HSB. For details about these languages,

see Bender (1971, 1974, and forthcoming); in brief, Majang is included because of its deviance and probable isolation from outside influences; Mursi because it is an "orthodox" Surma language; Anywa because it is the major Ethiopian Nilotic language; Muguji because it is a possible hybrid. All serve as controls on HSB-Omotic and HSB-Koman comparisons: not much can be made of similarities between HSB and either Omotic or Koman if they are not significantly higher than those found between HSB and one or more of the control languages.

The choice of morphological items for comparison is again dictated by the availability of data. In this case, I abstracted from data collected for a comparative Nilo-Saharan study (Bender, forthcoming) those items which were found to be sufficiently documented for the present sample to make comparisons meaningful. These include: pronouns (independent subject and object, possessive, verb affixes), demonstratives, interrogatives, sex-indicators, noun plural markers, verbal nouns ("to" and "-ing" forms), causative and passive derived verb markers, tense markers (present, past, future), copulas (existence, place, "have"), and negative markers (verbal, copular, other).

Note that a fair number of these (from among pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives) are also included in the basic lexicon.

4. The Morphological Evidence

Hozo, Sezo, and Bambeshi (HSB) form a grouping in terms of lexical commonality, as we shall see in section 5: Hozo-Sezo is 64%, Hozo-Bambeshi is 37%, and Sezo-Bambeshi is 47% on a 50-item basic lexicon. None of the three scored more than 31% against any other language. In fact, as noted earlier, Hozo and Sezo are on the borders of mutual intelligibility. The figure of 64% for two marginally mutually intelligible languages agrees well with other results I have gotten in such cases (e.g. Afar-Saho, Kunama-Ilit, Tigre-Tigrinya (see Bender 1971).

In terms of grammatical morphemes, however, the case for HSB is much weaker, especially for the inclusion of Bambeshi (though even in lexical terms, Bambeshi is a questionable member). Because this paper must be kept brief, I am not able to present more than a sample of data here. I would be glad to provide full data to anyone writing to request it.

4.1. Pronominal Elements.

First, let us look at pronominal elements. The first step was to collect these under the headings: independent subject pronouns, object pronouns, possessives, and verb affixes. The following person distinctions were found necessary (in looking at HSB and other pronominal systems): first singular, second singular, third masculine and feminine singulars, third neuter or common singular, first plural inclusive and exclusive, second plural, third plural.

I made an attempt to extract a common element from HSB. I found this possible only in the cases of 2 sg. and 3 sg. as

hi and n respectively. This is a discouraging start: The pronouns of HSB seem to have as little in common as those of three totally unrelated languages!

If HSB pronouns do not give much grounds for commonality, how do they succeed in perhaps linking up all or part of HSB with Omotic, Koman, or other Nilo-Saharan? Wherever possible, "common Omotic", "common Koman", and "common Surma-Nilotic" forms were set up for comparison with HSB. The most convincing comparisons are:

Hozo-Sezo 3 sg. a, common Omotic 3 sg. a
Hozo 1 pl. nu, common Omotic 1 pl. (i)no
Bambeshi 1 sg. ti(ŋ), common Omotic 1 sg. (in)ta

Other HSB-Omotic similarities can be found, but they strike me as less convincing or involving single languages. I would like to caution against getting carried away by either my or other examples because of (a) the subjectivity of such comparisons, (b) the small number of possibilities inherent in pronoun systems, thus leading to a high level of chance coincidences. As an example of the latter, consider the English and Hamer pairs: 2 sg. you, ya; 1 pl. we, wo; 2 pl. you (older ye), ye. Hamer is an Aroid language.

To sum up, I consider the three stronger HSB-Omotic correspondences listed above and the many weaker ones (some very weak indeed!) as being insignificant in establishing an HSB-Omotic connection.

Is the case any stronger for HSB-Koman? Here I find the following most interesting:

Sezo 3 sg. han, common Koman h
Bambeshi 1 pl. ham or m, Koman m
Sezo 2 pl. nam or m, Bambeshi (h)aw, Koman m
Hozo 3 pl. ine, ena, Koman n?

These are more numerous but not more convincing than the HSB-Omotic ones. They are based on forms found (usually) in only one HSB language and two Koman languages, and always depend on a single consonant.

How about HSB with Surma-Nilotic? Consider:

Hozo 1 sg. na, common S-N ani
Sezo 1 sg. vb. af. a, common S-N a
Sezo 2 sg. hin, n, common S-N inu
HSB 3 com. sg. n, common S-N ene
Bambeshi 3 com. sg. iš, iša, S-N š
Bambeshi 3 pl. išk, common S-N k.

These are still more in number, but again unconvincing. The -n- of Hozo hin may be a result of assimilation to a suffix, the -k- of Bambeshi išk is poorly attested. These weaken an already weak case based on generally one HSB language and coincidences of single consonants. However, the presence of both 3 com. sg. n and 3 com. sg. š in both HSB and Surma-Nilotic is interesting.

Note that 3 sg. s is found in Welamo and z in Dizi. HSB comparisons with Berta yield no convincing pairs. In fact Berta is highly idiosyncratic compared to all the other languages. The HSB-Berta contact situation has not led to "intimate" borrowings of pronouns as in the English-Scandinavian case.

My conclusion to this section must be that the findings are only suggestive: in comparisons of HSB with Omotic, Koman, and Surma-Nilotic, it seems that the similarities cannot be placed above the level of insignificance in any case. In fact the use of Surma-Nilotic as control languages has resulted in a standoff: HSB does not look any more like Omotic or Koman than Surma-Nilotic, and it does not look much like any of them in terms of pronouns.

4.2. Other Grammatical Elements

These consist of demonstratives, ("this" and "that"; plurals turned out to be of little use), interrogatives (who?, what?, when?, where?), masculine and feminine sex-determiners (e.g. to indicate "Billy-goat" and "Nanny-goat"), verbal noun ("to" and "-ing" forms, often identical), noun plural markers, causative and passive markers in verbs (data on other derivations was too scanty), imperfect and perfect aspect markers (most of the languages in question seem to have aspect rather than tense systems: the markers were not differentiated in the comparisons, sometimes they mark completed vs. incompleted action, sometimes present-future vs. past, etc.), copulas (existence, place, and possession: often two or all three of these are the same), and negative markers (used with verbs, copulas, and others, e.g. adjectives, adverbs). Of the above, the demonstratives and interrogatives are also found among basic lexicon.

Here more common HSB elements can be set up than with pronouns. The common forms for "what?" kin- and "where?" hint- are impressive; most of the rest are Hozo-Sezo only. Comparing (common) HSB with (common) Omotic does not lead to many strong correspondences.

Similar remarks can be made for HSB vs. common Koman, S-N, and Berta. The comparisons are not enough to convince me of anything, but one interesting pattern which seems to be above the level of chance is that of frequency of Bambeshi, Majang, and Muguji in these comparisons. At present, this can be only suggestive: consider this together with the facts that Bambeshi is clearly quite distinct from Hozo-Sezo, and that Majang and Muguji are isolated and low-prestige groups among the Surma-speakers.

4.3. Conclusions

I did not try to quantify these grammatical comparisons because the data is not full enough nor in all cases of high-enough quality. Thus my conclusion will be more subjective and more open to attack than I like, but on the other hand, perhaps someone will see through the maze and demonstrate that more definite conclusions are possible on the basis of this data. Ultimately I would like to see the data base expanded and improved so that a quantitative classification in the manner of Chretien and Kroeber (1937) (for Indo-European) could be drawn up.

Given the limitations on quality and quantity of data, the problems of using such generally tiny bits of phonological substance as grammatical morphemes generally are, the limited possibilities in pronominal systems, etc., and the apparently random distribution of correspondences found, I conclude that we better go on to lexical comparisons if we hope to approach a solution of the HSB problem.

5. Lexical Comparisons

5.1. Numerals

I hadn't planned to start off this section with a discussion of numerals, but after finishing the grammatical analysis the thought suddenly occurred to me that numerals might provide a clue since they are both part of the basic lexicon and notoriously subject to borrowing (especially higher ones). Thus I compiled Table 1 comparing the first five numerals and the word "hand" (because of its similarity to "five" in many cases) for all the languages used in the lexical study. The result was so interesting and shows so clearly the problems inherent in trying to classify HSB that I have decided to present the table of numerals here.

TABLE 1
NUMERALS

	1	2	3	4	5	hand
Hozo	onna	dombɔ	siyazi	bɛts'i	k'witsi	kʊtsi
Sezo	ɪšilɛ	no:mbɛ	si:zɛ	bɛ:ts'ɛ	ʊwi:sɛ	kʊsɛ
Bambeshi	ɪški	yʊmbo	te:ze	mɛts'ɛ	wʊsi	kusɛ
Welamo	ista, isɔ	naʔa	he:za	oyda	icɛc, ša	k^huši
Chara	issa	nanta	ke:za	oβda	u:ca	kuca
Bensho	ma:t'	nəm	kəz	o:d	ʊ:joc	kʊc
Anfillo	iko	guto	ke:djo	awdo	ammɪtto (Sem.)	ke:šo
Kefa	ɪkko	gu:to	ke:ymo	awɪddo	u^wɪco	ki:šo
Dizi	k'oy	ta:gn	kàdú	kùbḿ	úx́cú	kucu
Ari	wəlɛk'a	k'astɛn	məkkən	oydi (Om.)	dɔ:nk'	ani
Berta	(mʊ:)ŋk'ú	(mó:)làŋ	(mú:)θè	(mè)némù	(mé)k'ú:šú	θàbá
Majang	o,umun	pe:y	ji:d	aŋan	tu:l	a'ri
Bale	ɔDe	raman⌐	i:yɔ	we:	turr	a:yi
Muguji	kiɛm⌐	Da	jiɛn⌐	ɛhoʔ	cɔn	mbu:a
Shita	diše-De	šukā	tušu	hwan	muta-kwei	kwoye
Komo	Deʔ	so, swɛ́yén	diš(én)	dwɔ́gɔ́n-(én)	bʊ́s'(én)	k'wolo
Uduk	Deʔ	suʔ	kwara	doŋon	muDeD	meD
Kwama	sɛndo, sɛ:nɛ	si:ya	twasan	bi:s'ɛn	kum-but'	bit'
Gumuz	meta	mba:nda	koga	nzi:k^ya	ma-k^wo:sa (Berta?)	ela

The first three languages of Table 1 are HSB; following are seven Omotic languages. To the previous selection I have added Chara, from the same group as Welamo (the Ometo cluster), Bensho, giving a wider perspective on the "Gimojan" branch (see Figure 1), and Anfillo, another "Kefoid" language, but a particularly critical one since the Anfillos are the "Southern Maos", people who may once have been speakers of our HSB languages. The reason these were not included in the grammatical comparisons is that these are among the languages for which lexical data is available but not grammatical.

Looking first at the numerals "one" to "five", it doesn't take long to discover that all the HSB numerals are cognate to either Omotic or Koman numerals except for Hozo "one": onna (this seems closer to English than to any of the given Ethiopian languages!).

Thus, HSB falls together with Omotic on one, two, five. "Three" seems to be temptingly similar to "two" in Koman, especially when compared to Hozo siyazi, Kwama si:ya. This comparison is not to be ruled out, but I have accepted as more likely the direct comparison with Koman "three" through Bambeshi te:ze, Kwama twasan to include Shita and Komo also. An argument can also be made for HSB with Omotic through s, t, -z against K-Z, but I think the Koman case is stronger. I am reluctant to accept a t-k correspondence without further supporting evidence. Dizi kàdú, Uduk kwara is also suggestive: perhaps ultimately all are cognate forms (and one might then bring in Majang ji:d, Muguji jien-, Afroasiatic S-D).

"Four" presents the weakest case: HSB B-s' vs. Kwama bi:s'ɛn (the rest of Koman given in Table 3 is quite different). Certainly Omotic presents an unlikely appearance (a die-hard might want to argue for Omotic W-d in this connection, perhaps from *b-d, see Chara).

[Many important details have had to be omitted here.]

I have not attempted to analyze numerals beyond five because they shed little new light on the problem at hand.

I have looked at numerals in some detail because they indicate clearly the mixed nature of the HSB lexicon: considerable affinity with Omotic, especially Ometo (Welamo and Chara in my sample) and Bensho, but also significantly with Koman. The corresponding items do not give the overall appearance of recent loanwords in either case: practical identity rather than significant reshapings indicating some considerable passage of time since either borrowing or a period of genetic commonality. The Koman correspondences seem "deeper" in this sense than the Omotic ones, but the sample is small and subject to question.

5.2. Basic Lexicon

Passing now to general lexicon, a few preliminary explanations are in order. I had intended to do lexical comparisons at three levels, using 100-item lists at each level: basic lexicon, less basic lexicon, cultural lexicon, hoping thereby to sort out correspondences due to genetic relationship from borrowings.

(My original prejudice was to prove that HSB is a Koman cluster with heavy borrowing from Omotic. As I went ahead with this work, and as I listened to Harold Fleming's repeated warnings, I had less and less confidence in this assumption).

Primarily because of the magnitude of the job, and secondarily because of incomplete lists, I reduced the size of the undertaking to 50 basic items, 50 less basic, and 50 cultural. Later I decided to postpone the second 50 perhaps indefinitely, because I began to wonder whether they would add anything significant to the results.

The "first 50" were chosen from my latest basic 100 list (overlapping about 85% with the Swadesh-Rea list; see Lehmann (1962:112-13)) by choosing 27 of the 55 nouns, 10 of the 19 verbs, 8 of the 16 adjectives, and 5 of the 10 other words on that list. I tried to keep the original "mix" by choosing proportional parts of semantic categories (such as body parts, natural phenomena, pronouns, etc.) and I otherwise preferred those items which were present on all lists or which had given me least trouble in eliciting (in terms of synonymy, vagueness, etc.).

The "second 50" were chosen from the second 100 of my revised 200-item list in the same way. The 50 cultural items were chosen from my cultural items questionnaire in order to keep the list as complete as possible for as many languages as possible (with HSB being given preference).

To make a long story short, I then went through several steps to prepare a table of proposed plausible cognates in the format shown by the sample (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Sample Cognations. Item No. 24 "heart"

1	5	10
Ho nibba } (Amh.?)	C tefa	Br bɪ̌sí
An yɪbbo }		
2	**6**	**11**
Se šini	Bn ma:y	S kʼubkānā
Ba sini	Ma Ba:y	Gu kuBitsa
Mu še:n		
3	**7**	**12**
Bm - ɛŋɛ	Kf mu:llo	Ko du:
4	**8**	**13**
W wəzɛna	D cuonu	Kw ši:ši
	9	
	Ari bu:da	
Loans	Missing	Questions
Ho, An < Amh	U (Compound)	2, 4, 8, 14; 6, 7

Here 13 plausible cognate sets are shown for basic item no. 24, several having only one member each, i.e. consisting of isolated

elements. Below the list are given probable loan words and sources, languages for which the items are missing in the available word-lists (or purposely omitted becuase they are synonymous with other items on the list, or compounds) and questions as to possible further combining or cognate sets, e.g. for item 24, it is suggested that cognate sets 2, 4, 8, and 14 might be combined.

Loans were sought for in the main languages in contact with HSB and the other languages: Arabic, Amharic, and Oromo. This task has been carried out rather hastily and incompletely and needs to be redone.

The results of the comparisons are summarized in Table 2, which is a cross-table of percentages of presumed cognates between pairs of languages for the "first 50" items. A similar cross-table of percentages on the 50 cultural items is omitted because of lack of space.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGES OF PLAUSIBLE COGNATES: "FIRST FIFTY" BASIC LEXICON

Se	Bm	W	C	Bn	An	Kf	D	Ari	Br	Ma	Ba	Mu	S	Ko	U	Kw	Gu	
64	37	26	26	23	24	13	15	7	2	0	0	5	7	6	5	5	7	Ho
	47	28	27	25	26	15	15	7	2	0	2	9	9	10	11	9	4	Se
		31	31	31	26	19	20	11	4	4	0	4	6	4	4	12	4	Bm
			55	41	49	32	24	13	4	2	2	9	6	6	2	8	0	W
				44	38	38	14	15	0	4	2	9	2	4	0	4	2	C
					35	27	28	9	0	4	2	9	4	6	2	6	0	Bn
						53	16	7	0	4	0	2	2	6	4	7	0	An
							21	14	0	4	0	11	0	4	0	7	2	Kf
								11	2	2	6	11	4	10	10	4	8	D
									4	13	11	9	0	4	0	2	2	Ari
										6	11	2	4	4	4	4	8	Br
											27	13	6	4	0	0	4	Ma
								22				23	6	10	9	4	2	Ba
													2	9	11	4	0	Mu
														41	35	25	11	S
								29							69	29	8	Ko
																40	10	U
																	12	Kw
																		Gu

Names of languages:

Hozo
Sezo
Bambeshi
Welamo
Chara
Bensho
Anfillo
Kefa
Dizi
Ari
Berta
Majang
Bale
Muguji
Shita
Komo
Uduk
Kwama
Gumuz

Addenda:

Hozo-Bworo 28
Sezo-Bworo 26
Bambeshi-Bworo 22
Bworo-Kwama 6

Hozo-Mocha 17
Sezo-Mocha 24
Bambeshi-Mocha 29

Hozo-Janjero 17
Sezo-Janjero 21
Bambeshi-Janjero 28

Table 2 is blocked off to show significant groupings. As mentioned earlier, HSB forms a group of some sort, with an I.L. (internal low: lowest between-language percent in the group) of 37 and an E.H. (external high: highest percentage of any of HSB against an outside language) of 31 (Bambeshi vs. Welamo, Chara, or Bensho). Likewise Majang-Bale-Muguji (part of the Surma family) form a weak group with I.L. of 13 and E.H. of 11, except for Majang-Ari, which is 13. Shita-Komo-Uduk-Kwama (part of the Koman family) has I.L. of 25 and E.H. of 12 (Kwama-Gumuz).

Gumuz is classified by Greenberg as a Koman language, and indeed Gumuz shows its highest lexical relationships with Koman. But if we extend the Koman group listed above to include Gumuz, the I.L. slips to 8 (Komo-Gumuz) while external figures of 8 through 12 (E.H.: Kwama-Bambeshi) are obtained. Because of the small size of my lexical base (50 or fewer items), a change in only two items could make a difference of as much as 8% in the cognation percent. We have to admit that the case for including Gumuz with Koman is very weak.

The same problem emerges in trying to include Ari in an Omotic group. In fact, no fully satisfactory Omotic group larger than Welamo-Chara or Anfillo-Kefa emerges without extending it to include HSB.

In brief, we have to extend the Omotic grouping to include all of HSB, Welamo, Chara, Bensho, Anfillo, Kefa, and Dizi. Even this is not quite satisfactory because it has an I.L. of 13 (Hozo-Kefa) and an E.H. of 15 (Chara-Ari). But the inclusion of Ari makes matters worse: as with Gumuz in Koman, Ari is certainly very deviant within Omotic if it is a member. Looking at grammatical data, one will also find that Gumuz and Ari show fewer grammatical points in common with their supposed larger groupings than do the other members. This is borne out by the findings with a 100-item list (Bender (1971:190) for Ari; see Table 12 for Gumuz-Sese-Disoha within Koman (Bender 1971:176)). Sharpening of these results might be accomplished by extending the lexical base (this is a good argument for doing the "second 50" computations). Another direction to go for improvement is a more thorough search for loan words.

The important result for present purposes is that lexically HSB must be considered part of Omotic: in terms of basic lexicon, excluding loan words as best as possible, HSB scores significantly higher against Omotic (range 15 to 31 excluding Ari) than against Koman (range 4 to 12) or the control languages (0 to 9). Furthermore, as Fleming (forthcoming and personal communication) points out, an assumption that borrowings could account for the HSB-Omotic relationship would imply that a language can have up to 31% of its basic lexicon as borrowings. This would make HSB a contender for all-time champion among borrowers! In fact Swedesh (1964:632) provides a mathematical demonstration that borrowings cannot exceed 15% in common over a long period of time.

It is worthwhile looking at a few rectangular blocks in the Table also. These show infra-group relationships as against intra-group (which are triangular blocks). First, consider HSB against

"traditional" Omotic, i.e. the block HSB vs. Welamo, Chara, Bensho, Anfillo, Kefa, Dizi, Ari. This clearly divides again: HSB vs. Ari is significantly lower than the rest (this is part of the problem of including Ari in Omotic, though Anfillo-Ari also falls to 7%). The block HSB vs. Kefa and Dizi is next, much higher than HSB vs. Ari but much lower than HSB vs. Welamo, Chara, Bensho, Anfillo. It is interesting that Anfillo is in the highest group, whereas Kefa is in the middle. Could this be related to the fact that the Anfillo are the "Southern Mao" (in other words, that they have a special ethnic relationship to HSB?). But note that Anfillo also scores significantly higher against Welamo, Chara, Bensho than Kefa does. Then look at the horizontal slice Bambeshi against traditional Omotic as compared to Hozo and Sezo: Bambeshi scores consistently higher.

Another rectangle to consider is HSB against Koman: but here one has to include Muguji, in order to say HSB acores consistently higher against the block than against the control languages (Berta, Majang, Bale). Since we are in the area of small percentages here, the question of significance comes up strongly: the Muguji result may be a fluke. One could look here, as elsewhere in problematical cases, at the particular correspondences to see whether they might be knocked down. But this could be dangerously circular: since all "cognations" were supposedly done by the use of uniform criteria, we cannot be justified in juggling figures to make things work out right, except where outright errors are found.

5.3. Cultural Lexicon

The problem of significance is severe here, because the number of comparisons is generally so small (range 10 to 38, average probably about 20). This means that a difference of only one presumed cognate more or less could result in a percentage difference of 10, or even more. Thus we should be really cautious about interpreting these results.

Comparing the results with those obtained for basic lexicon above, it is first necessary to point out that Bambeshi, Anfillo, Shita, Komo, Uduk, and Gumuz are not available for comparison. It is unfortunate that Bambeshi is unavailable and also only one Koman language is available, and that one is the one in closest contact with HSB. However, more data may be forthcoming in the near future and the results could be extended (if nothing else, Uduk could be laboriously filled in from the Uduk-English dictionary of Beam and Cridland).

Most of the corresponding cognate percents appear to be little changed or constant (e.g. Chara-Dizi 14 in both cases, Kefa-Berta 0 in both) while others show increases or decreases. Most of these can be discounted when the small size of sample is carefully studied. Space is too restricted to present any treatment of cultural lexicon here. In general, the results are quite parallel to that of the first 50 items.

Contrary to my original hypothesis that HSB would show few correspondences with Omotic in basic vocabulary, but many identifiable as loans in cultural vocabulary, the HSB-Omotic

correspondences appear to be pervasive and not identifiably loans. In fact the identifiable loans are mostly from Amharic, Arabic, and Oromo. Plausible loans from Omotic are rare.

5.4. A Note on Bworo

After doing most of the work on this paper, I realized that I had omitted a potentially important Omotic language. The northernmost Omotic language appears to be the dialect cluster known as "Shinasha" (Bender 1971) or "Bworo" (Fleming forthcoming), belonging to the Kefa group. This consists of a number of enclaves on the northern side of the Blue Nile in Gojjam Province, across from Berta, Gumuz, and Oromo-speaking areas of Wellegga. The sample of Bworo I obtained from an informant in Metekkel, Gojjam, in 1969, showed 46% common basic lexicon with Mocha, 42% with Kefa, 48% with Anfillo (Bender 1971:175, Table 8) on a 100-item list.

Since Bworo is geographically proximate to the "Mao" area, it might be interesting to see how it compares with other Kefa languages in comparison to HSB. I have added these figures to Table 2 (based on the present 50-item list). As can be seen, Bworo resembles Anfillo in its degree of relationship to both HSB and to Kwama. Bworo is also closer to Anfillo than to any other language, though well below, e.g., English-German.

5.5. A Note on Ganzo

The Ganza or Ganzo of the Sudan border area south of Jebel Bange (a Kwama area) reported by Bryan (1945:192) can hardly be other than the Hozo-Sezo. Reasons: first, the location; second, the fact that Bryan found at least 17 of 62 (27%) and as many as 30 of 62 (49%) lexical items in common with "Western and Omo Sidama."

6. Conclusions

Figures like 26% or 31% for basic lexicon shared by languages not in immediate contact are very hard to "put down" as proof of genetic relationship. In fact, as noted earlier, Swedesh provides a convincing argument that the upper limit for shared basic vocabulary between genetically non-related languages is 15%.

Search for loanwords did not reduce the plausible cognations between HSB and Omotic languages: most identifiable loans are from "culture-bearing" languages of the area (Arabic, Amharic, Oromo) and affect both HSB and Omotic.

HSB seems to be a member of the Gimojan branch of Omotic: highest correspondences are with Ometo and Bensho (see figure 1). What about the third member of Gimojan, Janjero?

A quick check gives the figures addended to Table 2. Janjero is seen to be intermediate between Kefa and the rest of Gimojan, but tending toward Gimojan, as far as its lexical relationship to HSB goes. However, Mocha is even closer to Gimojan, as seen by the addended figures in Table 2. Taking the problem of significance into account, I think it is safe to say that HSB "goes with Gimojan," and is somewhat more removed from Kefa

languages, with Bworo and Anfillo being special cases because of geographical proximity.

What about the comparisons, running 4-12, between HSB and Koman languages? These are as high as HSB-Ari, but are right in the range of probable diffusional influence.

In basic lexicon terms, the case is quite clear: HSB are Omotic languages; similarities to Koman are diffusional. This is not so for grammar. Here the evidence indicates a slight preponderance toward Omotic, but no very convincing case as to HSB belonging to either Omotic or Koman can be made on the basis of our present state of knowledge of HSB grammar.

Finally, how did the HSB languages get where they are? I think the answer to this will have to be seen in the light of the larger problem of outlying areas of Omotic speech as represented by the Bworo cluster, HSB, and Anfillo. The distribution suggests that of a relic area: the remains of a once wide-spread Omotic family in western Ethiopia, split up by Nilo-Saharan incursions from the west, and later Oromo invasions from the east. A large-scale comparative study of grammar and lexicon, especially cultural lexicon, is called for.

Footnote

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The Semantics of Noun Classes in Proto-Bantu

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1. Introduction

Everyone who has ever worked with a Bantu language has faced the problem of deciding what kind of system is encoded with the gender class markers. In particular the idea that noun classes, constituted on the basis of occurrence with class prefixes, have characteristic semantic contents has been considered by many Bantuists. The typical conclusion which is reached is that while all or most members of certain natural classes of entity may be placed in the same class (familiar examples are the placement of trees in class 3/4 and fruits in class 5/6), the classes themselves have no overall intrinsic semantic content (with the frequent exception of class 1/2).

For Proto-Bantu the situation is very much the same. The following conclusion was reached by Richardson (1967:378): "Most scholars agree that the principles which govern the assignment of nominals to classes in modern Bantu languages are far from clear. From first impressions it would seem that at some point in the evolution of the languages concerned (if indeed this was a logical process) there was some kind of confusion which obscured a hypothetical clearcut conceptual taxonomy. A closer examination reveals, however, that it is impossible to prove conclusively by any reputable methodology that nominal classification in Proto-Bantu was indeed widely based on conceptual implication..."

In this paper we will utilize what we argue is a 'reputable' (we would prefer the term 'reasonable') methodology and present evidence to support the claim, previously sketched in Creider (1975), that PB noun prefixes realized a semantic system where each prefix was, in general, associated with a particular characteristic meaning. To look ahead briefly, we will be claiming that the bulk of the noun prefixes were associated with configurational or shape meanings. We will also present evidence to show that systems encoding meanings of this type are not rare among languages of the world (and that in fact they are extremely common).

2. Kinds of evidence

Our evidence is of two sorts, direct and indirect. The direct evidence comes from an examination of PB vocabulary. In order to avoid the possibility of our biasing the content of particular classes we have taken for a first data set only and all of those forms which Guthrie reconstructed as present in PB and for which he gave a probable PB class membership (Guthrie 1971:Appendix 8/1). Since Guthrie had no idea whatsoever of the existence of the

semantic system we describe below we avoid any possible predetermination (by ourselves) of the results and also force ourselves to consider possibly negative data. In a few instances we have augmented our data by considering some of Guthrie's 'starred forms' (i.e., common Bantu forms) which have reasonably wide geographical distributions. We identify all such augmentations below.

Most of the items of each list are concrete nouns but a few are abstract nouns. Although most abstract nouns in Bantu occur in class 14 a few are found in each class; in this study we leave them aside, since an understanding of their class placements requires a study of Bantu intellectual culture. They are listed at the end of each class.

Once appropriate lists of concrete nouns have been constructed and a hypothesis worked out as to a particular dimension of meaning, data can be grouped into cases favourable for the hypothesis (i.e. items which are clearly appropriate to a given class if the class has the hypothesized meaning) and unfavourable cases. If the hypothesis is correct then the result will be a markedly skewed distribution. In other words we test our hypothesis against the null hypothesis that classification in terms of particular dimensions of meaning is independent of noun class membership. We may illustrate with a specific example: we argue below that classes 3/4 and 5/6 contrast in terms of extendedness--nouns in class 3/4 refer to extended objects and nouns in 5/6 refer to non-extended objects (we will characterize these terms more fully below). If classification by extendedness is independent of classification by noun class then the proportion of 'extended' nouns in each noun class should be the same. In fact in class 3/4 we have 27 instances of extended items versus 5 not clearly extended items. In class 5/6 we have 27 non-extended items versus 4 items which are not clearly non-extended. Following a standard statistical decision-making procedure we determine that the probability that we will be wrong in rejecting the null hypothesis of independence is less than 0.001.

The alert reader will note that our procedure is statistical in a second sense: our vocabulary lists are a sample of PB vocabulary. Having no access to the gender class placement of all nouns in PB we cannot begin to answer the question of how productive the system was. It is possible that the system we describe below is one which existed in a cognitively real sense only at some earlier period in the existence of the 'language' and that what we have uncovered is a relic, preserved by the tendency of nouns to remain in the class in which they were originally placed (the original placement being done on semantic grounds). On the other hand, it is quite possible that the system we describe still has cognitive salience for speakers of at least some Bantu languages at present.

The indirect evidence we will present is of a sort which the strictly Bantuist linguist may not care to accept. We will argue that noun classifier sets found in many different language families

in the world exhibit meaning systems which are very much like those of the PB system and that the PB system is not at all unusual.

3. Direct evidence: an examination of PB vocabulary

As shown in Figure 1, we initially separate count nouns from mass nouns. Mass nouns constitute a separate subsystem which utilizes some of the morphemes of the main (count noun) system, but which has sufficient semantic distinctness to justify its separate treatment. Looking now at count nouns the first major division is between prefixes which classify according to spatial configuration and prefixes which are simply class labels. Classes 1/2, the part of 9/10 applying to animals, and 7/8 make up the latter system.

Configurational classes are distinguished according to whether solid shape (3/4, 5/6) or outline shape (9/10, 11/10) are being utilized as the basis of classification. Then within each of these pairs a contrast is made between extended and non-extended configuration. These contrasts are perhaps easiest to grasp by looking at the 'characteristic' visual appearances we have provided in the diagrams under each of these four classes in Figure 1.

In descriptive terms extended means characterized by relative length in one dimension at the expense of the other two. Non-extended may be negatively characterized as not extended, and is positively characterized as rounded, protruded, humped, bunched, etc. The contrast between outline and solid shape is a contrast between objects which have clear profiles, edges or boundaries such that there is a difference between an outside and an inside, and objects which do not have this characteristic. In order that an outline define an interior it must be curved, whether it is extended or non-extended. Thus, the basic shape for class 11/10 is an extended curve within which there is an interior. Typical examples are horn, rib, and hill. Objects of non-extended outline in class 9/10 include pot, drum, seed, and the head pad used for carrying pots of water which is a woven ring of grass. The same contrast between outline and solid shape is found in the locative prefixes. Morava (1975) reports for Swahili that class 18 mu- refers to "a space whose interior is of primary importance" in contrast to class 16 pa- which refers to "a space viewed as simple and homogeneous."

Readers are now invited to scan the lists of the four configurational classes 5/6, 3/4, 9/10, and 11/10 at the end of the paper to see if they agree with these semantic interpretations. We have placed first those concrete nouns which rather obviously show the configuration we have suggested for each class. Then we have listed concrete nouns which are problematic in not obviously showing the configuration in question. Usually we have indicated in brackets characteristics which might account for class membership, and we comment on these below. Finally we list abstract nouns, occasionally with comments, although they lie outside the scope of this paper. The dividing line between concrete and abstract nouns is roughly that which Friedrich (1970) proposed for his studies of shape in grammar, i.e., concrete nouns refer to

objects which possess spatial dimensions. Besides the four main configurational classes there is another one for count nouns, 14/6, but since it has only five items in Guthrie's PB list we advance no semantic hypothesis about it until we have looked later in the paper at the use of 14 for mass nouns. Guthrie's PB list has no items in 15/6.

The non-extended solid figure class, 5/6, contains both independent objects, such as egg, stone, tear, and ember, and protrusions such as breast, heap, and base of tree. It also contains small circular objects which are relatively flat such as freckle, body hair, and fish hook. Among the problematic cases, bone and wing may simply be further examples of protruding body parts like cheek and buttock. The class numbers in brackets indicate other classes in which a given word is found in some languages according to Guthrie's starred forms list (Guthrie 1971:Index A, 118 ff), although 5/6 is the probable class he assigns in the PB list (1971: Appendix 8/1). Certainly, 3/4 (extended solid shape) for bone, and 11/10 (extended outline shape) for wing make good sense. Ear is likewise probably a bodily protrusion--it may seem to have a rather extended configuration, yet it may be blocked from 3/4 because the same stem occurs there meaning 'head'. Fruits are generally found in 5/6, and palm-frond may be a broader sense of fruit meaning that part of the plant characteristically gathered for human use. A similar example from the starred list is *-<u>káyá</u> (tobacco leaf).

The extended solid figure class, 3/4, contains a wide variety of lengthy items which are clear examples of this configuration. The problematic cases include two body parts, head and forehead, for which length may have been culturally valued and cosmetic procedures applied to yield a lengthy appearance. Cases where nouns are reclassified in accordance with cultural values and beliefs, contrary to their actual configurations, have been described for Australian languages by Dixon (1968). The other body part listed, heart, is certainly not extended in shape but is attached to the blood vessels which are in the extended classes 3/4 and 11/10. Also it is associated with blood whose extension throughout the body is marked by its placement in 3 rather than 6 the normal class for liquids. Placement in 3/4 also serves to distinguish it from the same stem in 5/6 meaning 'liver'. Looking briefly at the abstract nouns, we suggest that spatial extension may apply metaphorically to temporal extension thereby including year, month and daytime.

A wide variety of things satisfy the configuration required by class 9/10: that of a non-extended figure with a distinctive interior. First of all, they include all kinds of rigid and flexible containers, from obvious cases like pot and charm bundle to less obvious ones like drum, house, gall bladder, and skin garment. A special case connected with this is -<u>tunda</u> referring to heaps created by dumping material from containers. This noun is also found in some languages in 5/6 with other nouns referring to heaps, and in 7/8 with other artifacts. Secondly, the outline and interior

configuration of 9/10 is satisfied by anything with space in its interior such as rings, holes and hollows, as well as many different geographical spaces of which ground, open space, path, outside, and back are seen here (some apparently used only in the singular). A special case here is 'neck' containing the open ways for air and food to pass into the body. Thirdly, the outline and interior configuration is shown by objects which have a shell and some insides, the example here being seed. A fourth group of cases are those where the outline of the object is distinctive, whether it be a surround as in eyebrow, or a surface as in examples from Guthrie's starred list such as smoothing-stone and grinding-stone. A special case in the present list is peg which, while not itself having the 9/10 configuration, is attached to the edge of things like drumheads and tents in order to stretch them out; the noun is related to a verb for this kind of action. The fifth kind of item also does not have the 9/10 configuration but only participates in it. The example here is -yundo (hammer, axe), but Guthrie's starred list also includes digging sticks, knives, and cudgels. Membership in 9/10 seems to mark these tools as useful for penetrating a surface and getting into an interior.

The problematic cases in 9/10 include body parts such as abdomen and kidney which may possibly be viewed as containers, as well as paddle whose concave shape and whose function may enable it to be seen as a quasi-container of water. Our fanciful suggestion for star and spark is based on their strong brightness contrast with the surrounding darkness.

As mentioned earlier the extended outline shape of items in class 11/10 must be curved so that the outline can contain an interior of some kind. Crust, fingernail, rib, and palm of hand are good examples of extended outlines which curve so as to define an interior. Hill and spider's web also involve curved outlines in which the area inside the curve contrasts strongly with that outside the curve. There is, however, another kind of extended structure which has an interior, the lengthy container, of which horn is an example here, and to which we may add umbilical cord, river, water-hole and perhaps body from the starred forms list. Of the four major configurational classes, Guthrie suggests that 11 is a more recent development than 5, 3, or 9. Certainly it is smaller in both his lists and there appear to be more cases of alternative class memberships.

The class side of the system for count nouns is both easier and more difficult to analyze. It is easier in that two of the three classes have manifestly clear semantic content. Class 1/2 is solidly present in PB with the meaning human, and an overwhelming majority of animals are located in Class 9/10. The only animals which are not found in 9/10 are those with pronounced shape characteristics (leech in 3/4 (extended) and spider in 5/6 (non-extended)) and those which are particularly despised which are placed in 7/8 (frog). Class 7/8 is more difficult to analyse, and recourse must be had to the enlarged data set of starred forms where items such as comb, mat, thing, stool, and basket suggest that its primary meaning is instrumental artifact. Antheap and nest, which are artifacts constructed by non-humans, support this hypothesis.

The class side is also difficult to analyse because it is here that subsidiary principles of classification operate to override the more fundamental ones. Looking first at 7/8 it is a fairly natural extension from 'used object' to 'despised object', and it appears that this additional meaning had been established in PB for class 7/8 as evidenced by such items as sore, pubes, lame person, frog. Less readily understandable, but rather clearly suggested in the data is the use of 9/10 for powerful persons, such as chief and medicine man.

Considerably more work needs to be done on the class side of the system. Among the possibilities are the following: (1) The animal class 9/10 may be related to the configurational class 9/10 (non-extended outline) because animals are recognized by their characteristic outlines. (2) The human class 1/2 may have developed from the extended 3/4--Guthrie reconstructs both the class 1 and 3 prefixes as *mu-. (3) There may be other classes represented on the class side as well as the configurational side of the system. We have mentioned previously that 5/6 seems to be used for typical products taken for human use from plants without regard to their configuration. It has been suggested to us (Marion Johnson--personal communication) that 3/4 may constitute a class for plants on the class side of the system, e.g., Swahili mmea 3/4 (anything possessing vegetative life or growth). If these suggestions hold up the class side might look somewhat as follows: 1/2 human, 9/10 animals, 3/4 plants, 5/6 fruits, and 7/8 artifacts, somewhat as outlined in Givón (1970).

We turn, now, from the count nouns to the mass nouns, the classes for which constitute a semi-independent sub-system. Some of the morphemes from the count system are used again for masses, with meanings which establish suitable classes for mass substances yet which are related to the meanings of the count classes. In the present data set the mass nouns fall mostly into classes 5, 14, 6, and 3. The mass sub-system is depicted, under the equivalent count classes, at the lower left of Figure 1. Note that in re-using the classes for mass nouns the singular-plural distinction disappears and in fact one of the plural prefixes is used, 6, along with three of the singular ones.

If we examine the distinctions in the mass sub-system we can see how they are related to those in the count system. The first distinction, cohesive/dispersive, is related to the non-extended/extended factor for count nouns. The dispersive class of mass substances, class 3, includes those dry particles which are readily dispersed or spread-out, i.e., that can be extended in space: sand, smoke, and rain from the PB list, as well as soot, grain, chaff, salt, rice, and ashes from the starred forms. In contrast, the cohesive classes, 6, 5, and 14, are concerned with substances that stick together such as liquids and cohesive solids. We return for a detailed look at class 3 at the end of this section.

The second contrast is between solids and liquids, which can be shown to be related to the count noun factor, unit/collection. First of all, the class for collections, 6, is often used to mark collective plurals, i.e., those where the units cohere together.

Also, cohesive collections such as a handful of stones, are internally rearrangeable--the stones can move around with respect to each other and still cohere in the collection. Liquids behave in the same manner, cohering but rearranging themselves when moving. Thus the distinction, within the cohesive node, seems to be rearrangeable/fixed: liquids are rearrangeable, class 6, whereas solids are of internally fixed arrangement, classes 5 and 14. Class 6 also includes viscous substances such as excreta, and aggregates, such as charcoal, because they meet the configurational requirements of the class: they are internally rearrangeable but cohere rather than dispersing freely like the dry particles in class 3. Further examples of viscous substances in the starred forms list are dirt, soil, and mud, and of aggregates, millet, grass, and stubble.

The third distinction for the mass sub-system is between homogeneous and differentiated substances (all of which cohere and have relatively fixed internal arrangement). Differentiated substances in class 14 are those which have distinct parts, such as (including some starred forms) brain, honey-comb, mushroom (stem, gills, and cap), fur (hair and skin), mush (individual grains visible), and birdlime. Homogeneous substances, in class 5, are clay, wax, soil, dirt, foam, and dew (again, including some starred forms). The latter two are interesting examples of substances which although not solids do meet the configurational requirements of class 5; they cohere and maintain a relatively fixed internal arrangement. Fog seems to fall in this class in much the same way--it coheres as a homogeneous substance, and at least to human perception does not seem to rearrange itself. Of the classes used for mass nouns, class 5 is the least stable across languages. Guthrie indicates some items which also occur in class 6. These include some liquids like spittle, but also terms for soil presumably because it coheres but can be rearranged internally, especially when worked during agriculture.

Returning for a more detailed look at class 14, we find one interesting member of this class (given in the starred forms list) is bead, presumably included because in beadwork the beads are differentiated elements which are placed together in fixed patterns. Another interesting item is *-ŋgi (large number) which may possibly refer to a collective plurality of elements which is sufficiently coherent that enumeration would not normally be performed, such as a handful of nuts. In Yeei, from Botswana, 14 is sometimes used as a collective plural for 9/10, e.g., oyengora (bunch of ground nuts), or 11/10, e.g., osadi (clump of reeds) (Schapera and van der Merwe, 1942). Our explanation of class 14 for mass nouns suggests an interpretation for 14/6 for count nouns which we did not consider earlier because of the very small number of cases in this data set. The five concrete nouns we found are all units having a differentiated internal structure consisting of various different parts: bridge, bedstead, bow, canoe, and face. Although this is far too little data, we mention as a hypothesis that 14/6 may contain units having a differentiated internal structure.

Our data also contains a few mass nouns in classes 9, 10 and 11, but not enough to allow semantic analysis. As was so for the count classes, the mass classes also show a residue of items which are not obviously examples of the meaning posited for the class. Although we cannot check the secondary classifications of the now extinct proto-Bantu culture, it is important to set out some hypotheses about these, so as to show the kind of questions that might be studied in more recent Bantu cultures. We do this by an exhaustive treatment of class 3, which covers all the items given in Guthrie's starred forms list. These are shown in the last table at the end of this paper. First we have the large group of nouns for dispersible particulate substances which exemplify the basic meaning of the class. Then we have nouns which might be expected in other classes and whose membership here requires special explanation. The first group of these are liquids and viscous substances which might be expected in class 6. The first three listed are infusions, i.e., liquids which are mere carriers of more important substances diffused through them. Placement in class 3 may mark this dispersed presence of these latter substances. The next two refer to blood, again a liquid. However, it is that liquid which is associated with the extended blood vessels in the body. A similar argument may apply to excreta which seems rather like a class 5 item similar to clay or wax, but is associated with another lengthy piece of anatomy, the intestines. It might be argued that other substances are also associated with lengthy carriers, so that it is worth noting that blood and excreta are doubly determined as members of class 3. Not only is blood linked to blood vessels, it is also diffused throughout the body by their network. Not only are excreta linked to the intestines, they emerge in units of lengthy configuration, at least the larger and more satisfying ones. Next, there are three solid substances. Flesh may be placed here because it refers to muscles which are often lengthy parts of the body. Bread is here, perhaps, because it is a derivative of grain which is in this class--this principle is also found in Algonquian where baked foods are in the animate gender because wheat is. Metallic lead may be here because it occurs in veins in rock, contrasting with iron ore found in class 14 because it occurs in differentiated clumps in ore. We can also attempt a brief look at the abstract nouns to see if the basic configurational meaning of class 3 for mass nouns, dispersive, has any application. Some of these seem to refer to qualities which pervade the environment such as daylight and darkness. Flavours and smells might also be considered qualities which pervade the objects that have them and that can be dispersed through adjacent objects and through the air. Most of the number words to ten belong to class 3, which may indicate that items must be dispersed as separate units in order to be enumerated, they cannot cohere as the normally uncounted aggregates do in class 6 (e.g., millet). We have taken this detailed look at class 3 in order to suggest hypotheses which studies of Bantu ethnoscience and intellectual culture might consider.

4. Indirect evidence: other noun class systems

The Bantu noun prefixes are an example of noun class systems of the sort found widely among the language families of the world. Noun classes are realized as noun prefixes in Australian languages as well as in Toba from the Guaykuruan family in South America. However, they are also realized as classificatory verb stems in Athapaskan, as medials in Algonquian, as lexical suffixes in Salishan, and as numeral classifiers in Sino-Tibetan, Malayo-Polynesian, Mayan, and others. Figure 2 shows three examples of noun class systems which we have analysed in order to compare then to Bantu.[1]

We first note that all three systems employ one of the two configurational variables found in the Bantu system, extended/non-extended. However, the extended node is further developed by other variables, whereas in Bantu the extendedness variable is cross-cut by the other configurational variable, solid/outline figure. This latter variable shows up only in Burmese among the three systems we are examining. However, the extendedness variable is not applied within it as it is in Bantu. Indeed the outline figure component of the Burmese system has a much narrower range than that of the Bantu system: it covers holes and rings as does the Bantu but not containers as in Bantu. In Burmese both rigid and flexible containers are found in the non-extended solid figure class. We might say that only an interior consisting of open empty space constitutes an outline figure in the Burmese system.

If we look now at the ramifications of the extended node in some of the non-Bantu systems, we can compare them to the way in which Bantu handles extended objects. The Burmese and Ojibway systems develop extendedness by distinguishing things extended in 1 dimension like poles and ropes from things extended in 2 dimensions like plates and cloth. Cross-cutting this is another variable, rigid/flexible:

	rigid	flexible
1 dimensional	e.g., pole	e.g., rope
2 dimensional	e.g., plate	e.g., paper

This full system is found in Burmese, but Ojibway does not differentiate rigidity for 2 dimensional objects. Some of the very rigid 2 dimensional items introduced by Europeans would go into other Ojibway classes such as non-extended (e.g., plate) or hard (e.g., sheet of glass). In the aboriginal Ojibway world rigid 2 dimensional objects would have been rare. The Burmese system is restricted in another way since the flexible 2 dimensional class includes mostly leaves and paper. The other important exemplar of this configuration, cloth, has its own non-configurational class, thɛ, which we regard as an artifact class.

Returning now to the Bantu extended classes 3/4 and 11/10, we find that PB lists contain largely items that are extended in 1 dimension, whether rigid or flexible. The longer starred form lists however reveal typical 2 dimensional items such as *-kéka 3/4 (sleeping mat) and *-dédé 3/4 (cloth). There are, however,

two other possibilities within the Bantu system for 2 dimensional objects. One is the very broad notion of flexible container which is part of the meaning of 9/10 so that *-gobi (skin, baby sling) is found there, and the other is the artifact class 7/8 which contains *-kúto (garment, skin). Just as for Ojibway, 2 dimensional rigid objects are rare in traditional Bantu life and those that exist tend to go into other classes, e.g., *-doŋga (plate) 5/6 in the non-extended class. We might conclude then that Bantu 3/4 combines 1 dimensional rigid, 1 dimensional flexible, and 2 dimensional flexible objects.

Turning now to the class side of our noun class systems, it can be seen that Burmese and Ojibway have the distinction between configurational classes and classes which are simply that, just as we have suggested for Bantu. This distinction is particularly well-marked in Ojibway where different morphemes for 'one' are used for the configurational classes as against the non-configurational (Denny and Odjig, 1973b). In each of these languages the configurational classes involve the cognizing of perceptible spatial qualities of the object, whereas the pure classes involve cognizing an object as a thing which belongs to a larger class of things, as 'chair' refers to a class of objects belonging to a larger class, 'furniture'. It is interesting to note that in languages like Toba and Athapaskan where only configurational classes exist, if an object changes its configuration it changes its class. Thus in Toba, humans are normally extended and vertical but if seated they are non-extended, and if lying they are extended and horizontal.

The most widely occurring items on the class side of these noun class systems are artifacts, found in all three of the languages which have non-configurational classes, Bantu, Burmese, and Ojibway. Burmese shares with Bantu special classes for animate beings in which humans and animals are separated. Unlike Bantu, Burmese uses several classes for humans which reflect social status (Becker, 1975).

The intent of these comparisons of Bantu with other noun class systems has been to show that the major semantic features of the Bantu classes, configuration/class, solid/outline, extended/non-extended, artifact/animate, are found in noun class systems in a variety of language families. These four languages may possibly show four stages in the development of classifier systems--configurational classes only as in Toba, configurational and artifact classes as in Ojibway, configurational, artifact and animate classes in Bantu, and the addition of special classes for humans of different social status in Burmese. The comparative evidence suggests that systems such as the PB one are developed in cultures with relatively simple material technologies. Given the relatively advanced state of PB technology, we would speculate that the origins of the PB classifiers are quite old. It should be noted at the same time that change in technological base does not necessarily lead to attrition of the classification system. One need only point to the highly elaborated systems found in Southeast Asia and in Mayan languages in Mesoamerica for clear evidence of the expansion of the classificatory system attendant on the development of higher technology.

Hence, we would inject a note of caution to those who would simply assume that the classificatory system of PB has no salience for present day Bantu languages. This may indeed be the case, but it is important to not prejudge the issue. The cognitive salience of classificatory systems is in general not great (in the sense that speakers are often unaware of the bases in terms of which classifiers are chosen), but a weak kind of saliency (perhaps akin to 'form-class' meaning (Brown, 1958)) may exist and result in the proper assignment of new vocabulary items to appropriate classes.

In any event we feel that there is sufficient likelihood that portions of this semantic system are still operative in present day Bantu languages to warrant its investigation.

5. Summary

In summary, we have done the following:

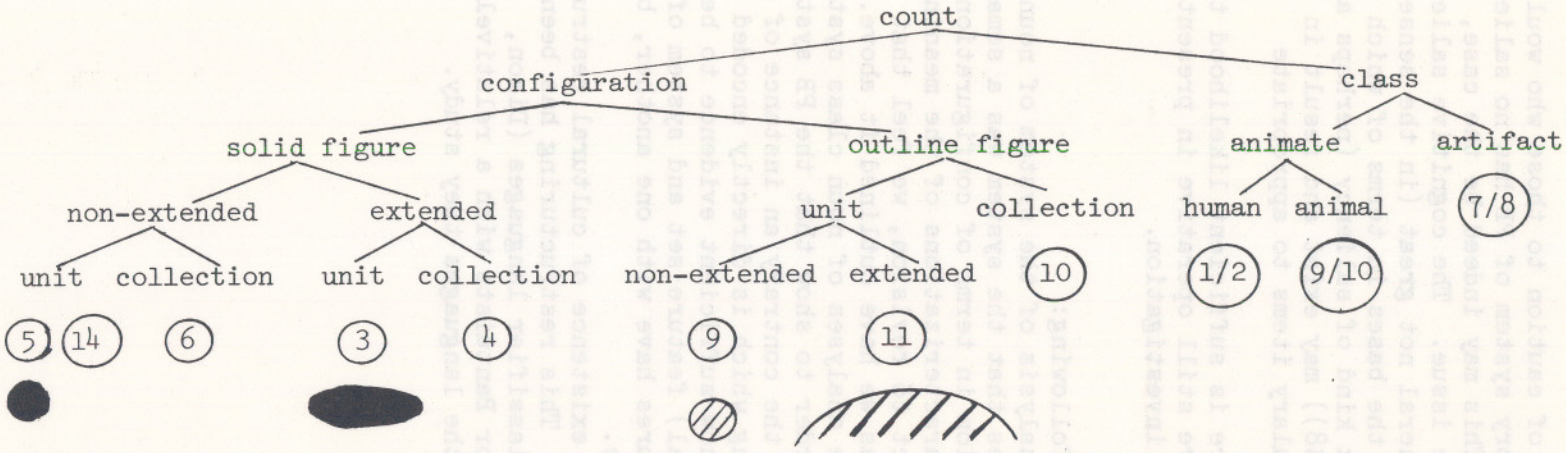
First, we have presented an analysis of the system of noun classification in PB which indicates that the system was a semantic one based on a core of classification in terms of configuration features. Although some of the characterizations of the meanings of particular classes may be subject to revision, we feel that the basic character of the system was as we have outlined it above.

Second, we have presented some analyses of noun class systems from other parts of the world in order to show that the PB system was not a linguistic freak, but on the contrary an instance of a typical kind of semantic structuring which is directly encoded in languages. We feel that there is now sufficient evidence to begin a characterization of the (universal) feature set and system of implicational relations these features have with one another, but we leave that task for a later date.

Third, we have pointed to the existence of cultural restructuring of this perceptually-based system. This restructuring has been elegantly demonstrated for other classifier languages (Dixon, 1968) and now constitutes a task for Bantuists with a relatively deep knowledge of the cultures of the languages they study.

Figure 1. Proto-Bantu noun class semantics

For count nouns:



For mass nouns:

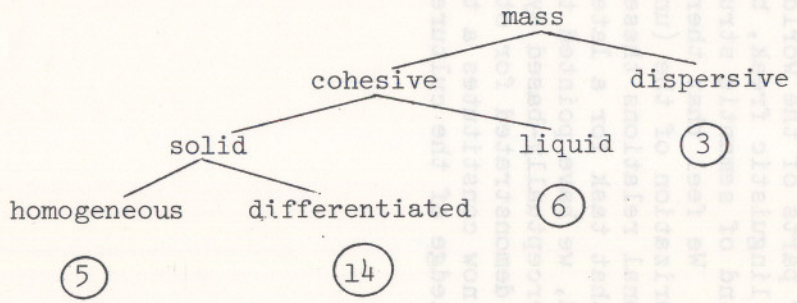
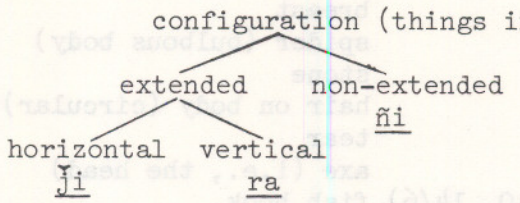
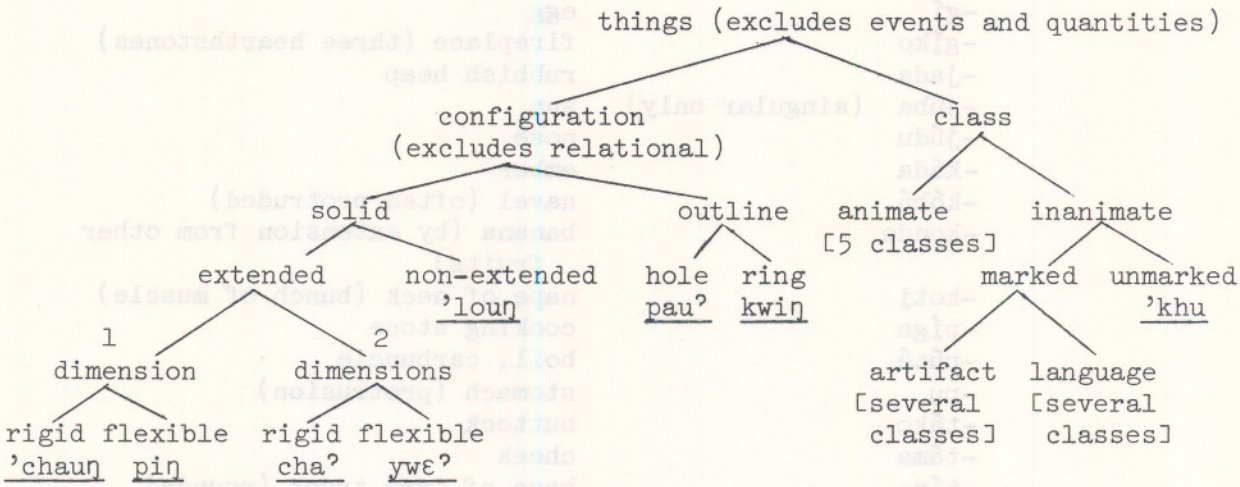


Figure 2. Other noun class systems

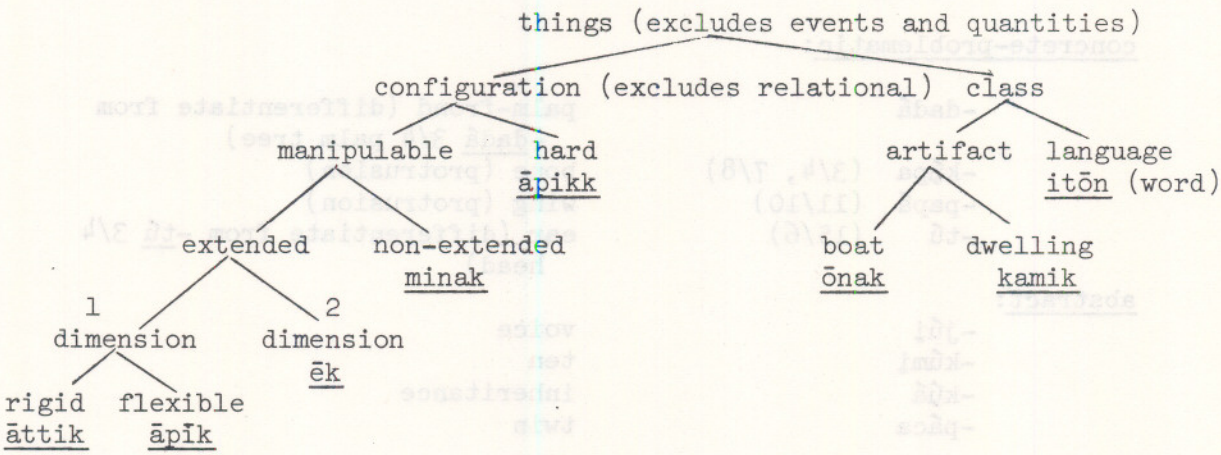
TOBA (Guaykuruan) noun prefixes:



BURMESE numeral classifiers:



OJIBWAY (Algonquian) numeral classifiers:



Class 5/6: non-extended (rounded, protruded, bunched)

concrete:

-báda		spot, freckle
-béédé		breast
-bubi		spider (bulbous body)
-bue		stone
-bụdị		hair on body (circular)
-códị		tear
-coká		axe (i.e., the head)
-dóbo	(7/8, 9/10, 14/6)	fish hook
-dụ́	(singular only)	knee
-gego		molar tooth
-gí		egg
-gị́ko		fireplace (three hearthstones)
-jada		rubbish heap
-júba	(singular only)	sun
-júdu		nose
-káda		ember
-kóbụ́		navel (often protruded)
-konde		banana (by extension from other fruits)
-kotị		nape of neck (bunch of muscle)
-pị́ga		cooking stone
-púté		boil, carbuncle
-pụ		stomach (protrusion)
-táko		buttock
-táma		cheek
-tị́na		base of tree trunk (rounded protrusion)
-yị́co		eye
-yị́no		tooth

concrete-problematic:

-dadá		palm-frond (differentiate from -dadá 3/4 palm tree)
-kụ́pa	(3/4, 7/8)	bone (protrusion)
-papá	(11/10)	wing (protrusion)
-tú	(15/6)	ear (differentiate from -tú 3/4 head)

abstract:

-júị	voice
-kúmị	ten
-kụ́á	inheritance
-páca	twin

Class 3/4: extended (long)

concrete:

-bidi	body
-caŋga	sandy island (usually elongated)
-cúá	termite (particularly long body)
-cúdo	stream
-cúndu	leech
-dɨ	root
-dígɨ	bark-fibre string
-domo	lip
-doŋga	river
-doŋgo	line of objects
-goŋgo	back of body
-gudu	leg
-gunda (5/6, 9/10)	garden (plot) (typically long)
-gúí	arrow
-kída	tail
-kɨpa	vein; tendon
-kúyú	fig tree
-nue	finger
-píni	handle, haft
-tabi	branch
-támbo	trap (bent branch and noose)
-tí	tree
-tete	hamper (long)
-yedé	knife
-yíba	thorn
-yɨko	ladle
-yɨɲci	pestle

concrete-problematic:

-bombó	forehead (length culturally valued)
-díma (5/6)	bat
-gɥba (singular only)	bellows
-tíma	heart (differentiate from -tíma 5/6 liver)
-tú	head (length culturally valued)

abstract:

-dimo	work (cultivation)
-dígo	load
-dímu	spirit
-kíndo	footfall
-yáka	year (temporal extension)
-yédi	month (temporal extension), moon
-yíɲci	daytime (temporal extension)

Class 9/10: non-extended, outline figure

concrete:

-bambo	(7/8, 11/10)	peg (for holding down the edge of something)
-biga		pot for storage
-buga		open space
-búto		seed
-bụ́i		white hair (ring shape)
-cí		ground, country
-cúpa		calabash bottle
-dúdú		gall-bladder
-gandá		chief's house
-goma		drum
-gubo		skin garment
-já	(singular only)	outside
-jida		path, clearing, open way
-káta		head pad (ring of grass)
-kị́gé	(7/8, 11/10)	eyebrow (surrounds the eye)
-kị́ŋgo		neck (openings to stomach and lungs)
-pako		tree hollow
-piŋgú		fetish, charm (bundle)
-tunda	(5/6, 7/8)	heap, mound (of material carried in baskets and dumped)
-yịma	(singular only)	back, rear
-yundo		hammer, axe (tool for penetrating)
-yuŋgú		cooking pot

concrete-problematic:

-boga		vegetable
-cace	(5/6, 11/10)	spark ('hole' in darkness)
-da	(singular only)	abdomen
-kápị́		paddle (often concave)
-ɲéɲedị́		star ('hole' in darkness)
-pị́go		kidney

abstract:

-joodị	dream
-pépo	cold wind

Class 11/10: extended, outline shape (curved)

concrete:

-badụ		rib, side of body
-bubi		spider's web
-gudu		hill
-kóko	(5/6)	crust
-pí		palm of hand, slap
-yádá	(5/6, 7/8, 9/10)	fingernail
-yígá	(3/4)	horn

Class 11/10: extended, outline shape (curved) [continued]

concrete-problematic:

-dímị (5/6, 7/8)	tongue
-kúnị (9/10)	piece of firewood

abstract:

-bodá	bee-sting
-gendo (7/8, 9/10)	journey
-yímbo (3/4, 5/6, 7/8)	song (melodic undulation)

Class 14/6: differentiated internal structure

concrete:

-dado	bridge
-didi	bedstead
-tá	bow
-yáto	canoe
-cị́o	face

abstract:

-tị́ku	night (differentiate from -tị́ku 5/6, 9/10 24 hour day)

Class 1/2: person

-dúme	husband, man
-genị	stranger
-kádị	wife, woman
-kó	relative by marriage
-kúdu	old person
-kụ́	dead person
-ntu	person
-túá	pygmy
-yadí	girl at puberty
-yána	child
-yị́bị	thief
-yị́júkúdu	grandchild
-yíne	owner

Class 9/10: animal

animal:

-bámba	poisonous snake
-béndé	kind of rat
-bogó	buffalo
-bú	mosquito
-búa	dog
-búdị	goat
-cádaku	driver ant

Class 9/10: animal [continued]

animal [continued]:

-cɨ́mba	wildcat
-cʉ́	fish
-dá	louse
-gɨ	fly
-go	leopard
-gombe	cattle
-gʉdobe	bush pig
-gʉbú	hippo
-jogʉ	elephant
-kádá	crab
-káka	anteater
-káŋga	guinea fowl
-kíma	monkey
-kɨ́á	antelope, duiker
-kódá	snail
-kuadí	partridge
-kucu	grey parrot
-kúkú	chicken
-kúndá	domestic pigeon
-kúpá	tick
-kʉ́du	tortoise
-ɲóka	snake
-pádá	impala
-púku	rat
-tʉŋgo	civet cat
-yama	animal
-yáti	buffalo
-yúki	bee

human:

-gaŋga	medicine man
-kʉ́mʉ	chief
-pokʉ	blind person

Class 7/8: utilitarian artifacts, (by extension) despised objects and beings

concrete:

-bedo	thigh (deprecatory)
-démá	lame person (decrecatory)
-donda	sore (deprecatory)
-nama	upper leg of animal (deprecatory)
-nena	(pubes) abdomen below navel (deprecatory)
-nʉ́	mortar for pounding
-táda	platform (granary)
-tɨ́má	well
-yudá	frog (deprecatory)
-yúma	thing (belongings)

Class 7/8: utilitarian artifacts, (by extension) despised objects and beings [continued]

concrete-problematic:

-kuá	yam

Class 3: dispersive substances (separate particles, infusions)

concrete:

-céké	sand
-codi̱	broth
-dumbí	rain (continuous, misty)
-tí	herbal remedy
-yúki̱	smoke

abstract:

-cani̱á	daylight
-doodi̱	whistling
-yáyu	yawn
-yédi̱	moonlight
-yi̱dima	darkness
-yoyo	life

Class 6: liquids, viscous substances, aggregates

concrete:

-béédе	milk
-bí	excreta
-cu	urine
-da	intestines (produce excreta)
-káda	charcoal (also count noun 5/6)
-kú̱ta	oil
-mi̱da	nasal mucus
-pí̱na	pus
-té	spittle

abstract:

-ti̱ka	cold weather (wet)

Class 5: substances which stick together

concrete:

-búmba	clay for pottery
-bú̱	soil
-dobá	sticky soil
-púdo	foam

abstract:

-gudo	yesterday
-gudu	top, sky

Class 14: differentiated substances, abstracts

concrete:

-dimbo	birdlime
-táde	iron-stone (iron-ore)
-yoga	mushroom
-yoŋgó	grain
-yúki	honey (honeycomb)

abstract:

-dogi̱	witchcraft
-dudu	bitterness
-gaŋga	medicine
-kádi	fierceness
-kúdu	old age
-kṵ́pí	shortness
-yóma	fear

Class 9: unclear

concrete:

-búda	rain
-kí̱ma (7)	mush
-pémba (11)	white clay
-yama	meat

abstract:

-cóni̱	shame
-godṵ	strength
-jada	hunger, famine

Class 10: insufficient data

-dedṵ	beard
-kúnde	edible beans

Class 11: insufficient data

-kuŋgú	dust
-kṵ́	death
-pádá	baldness

Class 3: starred forms

dry particulate substances:

-bí̱do	soot
-caŋga	sand
-céké	sand, grains
-dṵmbí	rain, misty, continuous
-juŋgu	chaff
-kéde	salt

Class 3: starred forms [continued]

dry particulate substances [continued]:

-ɲu		salt
-púŋgá		rice
-táma		sorghum
-tó	(14)	ashes
-yɨ́kɨ	(14)	smoke
-yɨ́no		salt
-yóki	(5)	smoke

liquids and viscous substances:

-codɨ	broth
-to	gravy
-yábɨ	ordeal poison
-yadɨ́	blood
-dopa	blood
-kímba	excreta

solids:

-nokʉ	flesh
-káátɛ́	bread
-todʉ	metallic lead

abstracts:

-caná		daylight
-díó		pleasant flavour
-dúdɨ́		whistling
-godo	(5)	evening
-náne		eight
-nʉŋko	(7)	smell
-pako		provisions
-túúbá		six
-yící		daylight
-yɨ́dima		darkness
-yoɲo		life

Footnote

[1]The Toba system is described in Klein (1973). We have taken only the three classificatory morphemes, which are in fact a subsystem within a locative system employing three other morphemes. Classification only occurs when objects are located 'in view', otherwise the prefix slot is filled by a locative morpheme. The Burmese system is described in Burling (1965), Hla Pe (1965) and Becker (1975). For the configurational side we have selected those morphemes which Burling reports as involving spatial dimension, excluding only two which are concerned with specialized

relational configurations. However, the semantic analysis given here was done by the present second author. The Ojibway data is also from the work of the second author (Denny and Odjig, 1973a).

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The Reconstruction of Proto-Bantu Culture from the Lexicon*

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1. Introduction

Though the close kinship of the Bantu languages has long been recognized since the work of W. H. J. Bleek (1862-1869), the systematic reconstruction of the Proto-Bantu lexicon was only started several decades later when Carl Meinhof (1899, 1910, 1932), applying the methods of Schleicher and the Neogrammarians, tried to reconstruct the phonological system of Proto-Bantu. His reconstructions, based on a limited number of languages, did not serve as a basis for a hypothesis on Proto-Bantu culture, because Meinhof was at that time the main promotor of the hypothesis of the Hamitic pastoral expansion as a major civilizing element in Africa south of the equator (Meinhof 1912, 1936). Other German linguists added progressively numerous new comparisons to those of Meinhof, on the basis of the steadily increasing available linguistic information, mainly as a result of the study of the languages of the interior, first by missionaries, later by linguists. Especially important were the collections of O. Dempwolff (1916-1917) and W. Bourquin (1923), to which the contributions of Belgian linguists like A. Coupez (1954) and A. De Rop (1958) may be added. In 1969, the accumulated material was sufficient for A. E. Meeussen to compile an extensive repertory of Proto-Bantu roots under the title *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions*. The following year, the first volume of Malcolm Guthrie's comparative Bantu vocabulary appeared, soon followed by the second volume, both constituting parts 3 and 4 of his monumental *Comparative Bantu* (1967-1971). This contained a systematic synthesis of twenty years of research, compilation and checking of materials in about two hundred languages, presented under the form of some 2,300 lexical correspondences based on a shared semantic content and phonologically closely related forms. The total number of Proto-Bantu roots was much smaller, however, since the lemmas of the dictionary include a considerable number of derivations, e.g. verbs, nouns of agent, nouns of action, reversives and causatives, based on the same root. Moreover, every significant semantic difference leads to positing homonymous, but separate 'roots'. Thus, the term *címbà is listed under three lemmas: (a) 'wild-cat; (leopard)'; (b) 'genet'; (c) 'lion', whose reflexes cover extensive areas of the Bantu territory, whereas the meaning occurring in the various regions seems to depend on the ecology of the habitat of the relevant animal. On the other hand, when reconstructing Proto-Bantu, Guthrie establishes at a very early date a dialectal contrast between a western area (Proto-Bantu A) and an eastern area (Proto-Bantu B).

When a 'root' has valid reflexes in both areas, it is assigned to original Proto-Bantu (Proto-Bantu X), but this does not necessarily imply that terms which do not appear all over the Bantu territory have to be excluded from the Proto-Bantu vocabulary: the absence of reflexes in a given region may be due to lack of information (in particular as regards the zones A, B, and C of Guthrie in the north-west). The occurrence of different terms in the two areas (P.B.A. and P.B.B.) does not necessarily exclude the existence of a common concept at an early date: thus, the fact that the term for 'door' is *bédò in the west and *yìbì (*yìgì) in the east may simply reflect a difference in construction technique. And should one doubt the existence of terms for 'scorpion' or 'chameleon' at an early date because only very localized terms are found for the former, whereas no set of comparable terms is attested for the latter? When one thinks of the magical power ascribed to the chameleon, it is not surprising that its original name may have been made tabu: hence, the absence of a common term! Nevertheless, the abundance of terms occurring mostly in the southern and eastern part of the Bantu territory and the frequent absence of correspondences in Guthrie's zones A, B, C, have led a number of scholars to wonder about the possibility of an early split of the languages of these zones from the rest of Proto-Bantu. Though this question must, for the time being remain open, it is obvious that Guthrie's work, in spite of some of its methodological weaknesses, provides us with a rich and valuable picture of the culture of the early Bantu world.

2. The reconstructed lexicon and its cultural implications

Detailed in certain respects, the reconstructed lexicon remains, however, fragmentary in others. As regards the environment, the vocabulary rather points to a landscape of wooded savanna than to tropical forest: wide stretches of bush, with various kinds of palm trees, baobabs, thorn trees, etc. The fauna is essentially that of the savanna: lion, genet, jackal, hyena, elephant, numerous varieties of antelopes, from the kudu to the impala, warthog, leopard, and so many others. Some terms indicate different varieties of ecological environment, e.g. dense thickets in which the rhinoceros wanders or rivers in which crocodiles swarm and hippopotamuses bathe leisurely. There is a very extensive and precise nomenclature of animal names, including among others, the monkey, the rat, the bat, the monitor lizard, the ant, the termite, the spider, the millipede, the cricket, the locust, the grasshopper, the fly, the mosquito, the cockroach, the turtle, the frog, the porcupine, etc. Living in close contact with nature, the Bantu has an adequate and specific set of terms at his disposal to describe it. This applies, however, to a lesser degree to the birds and the fish: merely a few species of birds are specifically designated in the common vocabulary, except for the birds of prey. There is no linguistic evidence of direct contact with the sea: terms like 'crab' apply to the terrestrial varieties that abound among the palm-trees, the only specific fish-name is that of the 'eel' which could be caught in fresh-water. A more precise terminology applies to cultivated plants and domestic animals.

There is no doubt that the Proto-Bantus were agriculturists and grew cererals, esp. millet. They also seem to have been familiar, at a very early date, with the sugar cane and the banana. As vegetables, they appear to have grown mainly pumpkins and beans. Important were also the oil-yielding plants, esp. the palm-nut and the peanut. As for the agricultural techniques, the vocabulary points out that the Bantus cleared the land with axes and cultivated it with hoes. The cereals were threshed and winnowed; they were stored in safe places. When they wanted to obtain flour, they used two techniques: (a) grinding between two stones; (b) stamping in a mortar.

The Proto-Bantus must also have been picking fruit, but the only known name of fruit tree in their lexicon (except for the palm trees) is the fig tree. Among the techniques connected with agriculture, it should also be mentioned that they had developed a method for brewing beer. On the other hand, they also practiced cattle-breeding on a large scale: beside cows and bulls, which were penned up in kraals for their protection, they also kept goats, sheep, pigs, chickens, and, of course, dogs. As regards their livestock, they may already have had castrated steers. As for preparing food, cooking seems to have been the common practice: a set of verbs indicates the various techniques--'frying', 'roasting', 'boiling', 'baking in hot ashes'; there is a term to indicate that the food is getting cooked enough, and one of the words for vegetables applies specifically to 'cooked vegetables'. They prepared broth, and, with millet, a rather thick mush. Fish was also part of their usual diet. The Proto-Bantus fished with hook and line or caught the fish in basket-traps, like the waGenia still use nowadays in the rapids of Zaïre.

Pottery and basketry were very popular crafts: there are terms for 'moulding the clay'; a distinction is made between pots to cook food in and jars to preserve drinking water in. There were baskets of all sizes and shapes, from the hamper to the small box. Nothing, however, indicates any knowledge of spinning and weaving, though, besides the sheep, a kind of wild cotton was abundantly available as a source for spinning thread. Clothing was presumably limited to a strict minimum to cover the genitals, but animal skins must have been used in particular circumstances. Several terms also indicate the use of feathers, especially as headdress. For the ladies, beauty care must already have included intricate methods of plaiting the hair. It is more difficult to ascertain if the practice of shaving had been generalized for men. Many other activities contributed to the well-being of the community: hunting had been practiced for centuries and was still very much in favor; the techniques used were trapping, throwing the javeline and shooting with bow and arrow. The lexicon also indicates that the Proto-Bantus caught birds with lime and that, in the east zone, at least, they built traps that fell down on their prey. There are several words for 'arrow', and the homonymy of some of them with the term for the midrib of the palm frond indicates that the latter was used at an early date to make arrows. We do not have any indication as to the wood used for bows (the only specific name of

wood mentioned in Proto-Bantu is 'ebony'). Sinews may have been used as bowstrings, but the occurrence of specific words for 'string,rope' points to the existence of a technique for turning fibres into strings and ropes. Another activity practiced by the Proto-Bantus was the gathering of honey. They also used the bees-wax, though we do not know specifically for what purpose.

As for housing, they built huts--presumably of rather different shapes--thatched with palm or banana leaves and divided inside by screens. A special roomier hut was reserved for the chief. The huts were provided with a door, which could be barred during the night. The furniture was rather minimal: wooden stools and head-rests; bedstead with bedding consisting presumably of animal skins. The building techniques were still very unsophisticated, e.g. to put a bridge over a small river, a tree trunk was simply laid across it.

The main cultural feature of the Proto-Bantus was presumably their knowledge of the metallurgy of iron. This is amply evidenced by the lexicon: common terms for 'iron', 'hammer', 'bellows', 'charcoal', 'iron ore', etc. There is even a technical term for 'beat with a hammer', 'sharpen the edge', etc.

In the field of social life, activities were regulated by the rhythm of the seasons: dry season following upon rainy season; the day of the last rain seemed to be particularly important, as well as the day on which the first fruit of the new crop were eaten. There must have been feasts with music, songs, and dances. They already knew the drum and the marimba. Religious life also played an important part in social activities: witchcraft was practiced on a large scale; the witch doctor protected the crops with spells. He presumably controlled the tabus and acted as a go-between with the spirits. Several terms point to an extensive use of fetishes and charms. There was even a regional term for a special type of skin eruption ascribed to the breaking of a tabu. There is a Proto-Bantu word indicating the 'deity': it is found essentially in the west, but its etymology remains obscure and it is not possible to derive any clue concerning its cult.

Society was apparently organized according to the clanic system: there is a special term for 'clan brother' distinct from natural 'brother', but unfortunately, the lexicon does not throw any light on the kinship system. Parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters, maternal uncles, in-laws are all indicated by specific terms, but without any clue as to patrilinear or matrilinear features of kinship.

Interesting facts are the following:

(a) marriage appears to imply the payment of a sizable bride-price to the parents of the bride;

(b) mothers carry their child on the back with a kind of sling; the terms designating this baby-sling and this way to carry a child are homonymous with the words for 'skin' and 'bear a child (in pregnancy)', so that apparently this behavior was considered as the normal continuation of the development of the fetus outside the mother's womb.

(c) Polygamy was common practice, and there is a specific term for 'taking a second wife'.

As for economic activity, there must have been a certain amount of bartering between neighboring groups. The system of numerals is well attested in Proto-Bantu from 'one' to 'five', but there are no common terms for the numerals 'six' to 'nine'; for 'ten', there is again a common Proto-Bantu term, whereas 'hundred' is expressed by different words in the west and in the east. The concept of 'measure' and 'measuring' seems quite widespread, but one does not know what particular entities it applies to (time was measured in lunar months, and the same term is used regularly for 'moon' and 'month').

The Bantus were in contact with the former populations of their territory, especially the pygmies (*túá) whose name was also derogatory. The contacts between tribes were sometimes violent, as is shown by the various words for 'war'. There were different types of arms: bows and arrows, javelins, spears, matchets, shields, etc. Prisoners captured in combat were presumably the source of the 'slaves' existing in the Proto-Bantu community.

Internal strife was settled according to customary law: an indication of it is given by the terms designating a 'fault', a 'punishment', or meaning to 'settle a dispute'. Swearing an oath also seems to play an important part in the practice of tribal law.

Such is the society which the Proto-Bantu lexicon describes to us.

3. Archaeological corroboration of the reconstructed lexicon

In how far can these lexical data be correlated with the archaeological data?

The studies of paleobotanists, like Raymond Postères (1970:47, 51, 53), have indicated that several varieties of millet, sorghum and even rice were known in Subsaharan Africa prior to the development of the Bantu world. It appears, accordingly, that upon their arrival in central, southern, and eastern Africa, the Bantus found populations practicing agriculture and that their contribution consisted of an expansion of that activity owing to the technical progress made possible by the use of iron, which also determined their superiority at war as well as in hunting. This, at least, is the conclusion reached by Christopher Wrigley (1970:66-69, 71) in his analysis of the prehistoric economy of Africa. It agrees rather well with the views of J. H. Greenberg (1963:38), who considers the central valley of the Benue as the original homeland of the Bantus. There, the Nok culture was one of the earliest to use iron in Subsaharan Africa. Though M. Guthrie rejects this area as the Proto-Bantu homeland for rather unconvincing reasons and tries to make them come from the Chad region, the matter is of secondary importance for the subject under discussion. The main thesis is that a population nucleus coming from the northern savanna area has, at a definite moment of prehistory, crossed the tropical forest to come and settle in the southern savanna area. On the basis of radiocarbon datings, this migration must presumably have taken place during the first centuries of our era. Settling down in Katanga, in the present-day Luba territory, the newcomers would have progressively expanded and strengthened their grip over

wider territories. This is confirmed by a number of linguistic and archeological facts:

(a) As the extensive study of linguistic geography undertaken by M. Guthrie has shown, the Luba-Bemba area of Katanga shows the highest percentage of retention (Guthrie, 1970a:135).

(b) The technique of iron-making improving agricultural tools, was accompanied by the introduction of better varieties of sorghum and millet. At a very early date, contact was established with the Indian Ocean, entailing the introduction of the banana and the coconut, originally imported to Madagascar from South-East Asia by the Indonesian conquerors. It is even possible to date this contact: the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (1st century A.D.), describing the coast of the Indian Ocean as far south as the Rufiji, does not show any knowledge of Bantu type people living in this region. However, a 4th century compilation of Ptolemy's Geography mentions them as 'man-eating Ethiopians' (Oliver 1970:148). At that time, the Bantu nucleus had expanded from Katanga along the savanna belt from the mouth of the Congo to the south of Tanzania, facing Madagascar, where Indonesian colonization had taken place in the first five centuries of our era.

The banana will supply an opportunity for further expansion: the region of the great lakes and the coast of the Indian Ocean offers an ideal climate for its cultivation, and during the second half of the first millenium A.D., Bantu will spread over these territories. The expansion towards the northwest and the south of the presently Bantu territory will, however, occur only in the second millenium A.D., but during this last stage Bantu appears to be already deeply differentiated dialectally.

The Proto-Bantu vocabulary on which Gunthrie's study is based is essentially that of the first and second stages in this diachronic development of the Bantu linguistic territory, i.e. (1) the settling of the central nucleus by the Proto-Bantus; (2) the expansion along the savanna belt from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. At the second stage, already a western group and an eastern group are getting progressively more sharply differentiated. At the third stage, at the time of the expansion from the central area to the great lakes, several dialectal changes like Dahl's Law start occurring. However, Swahili, developing from the groups settling at that time along the east coast of Africa, still appears to be very conservative in its vocabulary. At the fourth stage, the degree of retention of the Proto-Bantu lexicon becomes weaker, especially as one moves farther off to the northwest. Besides, Bantuization has never been complete during stages 3 and 4 and many remnants of former populations survive until nowadays in the territories newly occupied by the Bantus, whose oral traditional history often confirms with remarkable accuracy the migrations and their chronology (Oliver 1970:150).

The views of Malcolm Guthrie and their confirmation by historians like Roland Oliver (1970) have, however, been considerably challenged in recent years. The archaeologist J. Desmond Clark (1970:9), indicating that the introduction of the metallurgy of iron in the Congo basin took place about 0 A.D., wonders whether or not the Proto-Bantus had a knowledge of iron-working when they

migrated: their movement to Katanga could have been earlier, but by a people with knowledge of cultivation and water transport. "The archaeological evidence, slight as it is, lends some support to the belief that iron-working may have been diffused to an already sedentary and cultivating Proto-Bantu in a somewhat more extended region than Professor Guthrie's 'nuclear area'." He also notices that cultivation of the sorghums and millets was presumably confined to the drier and more drained areas on the periphery of the Congo basin, so that it is unlikely that these plants were carried from the north across the basin by the ancestors of the Proto-Bantus. "It seems more probable that these cereals, together with iron, reached the Proto-Bantus at a later date than the initial migration, by the way of the northwestern route, on the one hand, and down the high country east of the forest, on the other." (Clark 1970:13). This latter route, probably country free of tsetse, must have favored cattle-raising: pastoral stone-using people were occupying the high grassland of the eastern Rift and the Victoria basin in the first millenium B.C. and continuing at least in the first few centuries A.D. Further complexity is added to the archaeological problem by the connections between Guthrie's eastern zone of Proto-Bantu and the Dimple Based and Channel Ware (Clark 1970:15; cf. also Posnansky, 1968; Sutton 1971: 159-161): these would imply that the western dialect separated before about 200 A.D., and that the ancestors of the Proto-Bantus settled in Katanga even earlier still.

This hypothesis remains quite disputable. If all ancestors of the Proto-Bantus crossed the equatorial forest, this movement may have stretched over a longer period that M. Guthrie and R. Oliver surmise (Posnansky, 1968:11). If such is the case, the linguistic arguments of J. Greenberg (1972:193-195) against the archaism of the central area, and in favor of the northwest region of the Bantu territory as the original area of differentiation, deserve special attention. As we already pointed out, the solution may be found in a different dichotomy of Proto-Bantu: this is the conclusion reached by Bernd Heine (1973) after a detailed lexico-statistical study of the Bantu languages. According to Heine, there must have been three waves of expansion: the first started from the region between the Benue and the Sanaga, moving partly to the east, across the watershed of the Ubangi-Mbomu-Uele up to the foothills of the East African plateau and to Lake Albert (this group included essentially the peoples of Benge-Baali, Bira and Nyali branches in zones C and D of Guthrie); the bulk of the migrants, however, occupied the territory between central Cameroon and the Ogove (zones A and partly B of Guthrie), but a splinter group seemed to have moved further south to the shores of the river Congo. There, they constituted the nucleus of a coherent group from which the second wave will later originate: this migration covered the whole Congo basin and the highlands of Southwest Africa, including zones H, K, R and the Lunda branch of zone L of Guthrie, besides the remainder of his zones B and C. Their point of departure would have been the Lower Congo, and one group branching off to the southeast of the equatorial forest would later have

become the nucleus from which the third and last migration originated, which took the Bantus from Mount Kenya to the deep south of Africa.

These views contrast, in turn, with those of J. C. Sharman (1974:119-120), who believes in a migration from the Cameroon highlands to the east as far as Lake Albert, then southwards along the watersheds from the Semliki to the Rukwa, always essentially in savanna regions down to Guthrie's 'central nuclear area'. This would imply a relatively early occupation of the northwest, which the percentage of reflexes of Proto-Bantu terms identified by Sharman (1974:125) there seems to confirm. The problem of the eastern zone is further complicated by the possibilities of Sudanic and Cushitic influences studied by the historian Christian Ehret (1967, 1968, 1972, 1973, 1974) on the basis of lexical comparisons. If his views according to which the practice of agriculture and cattle raising was, to a large extent, borrowed by the Proto-Bantus from the Central Sudanese of the interlacustrine zone, the whole linguistic prehistory of East Africa would have to be revised.[1]

4. Conclusion

By way of conclusion, we may say that Guthrie's work has undoubtedly opened new fields of research in Proto-Bantu, but by offering an abundance of lexical data illustrating the culture of the speakers of Proto-Bantu, he has faced us with new more complex problems as to the origin of the Bantus, their oldest migrations and routes of penetration to their present territories, their level of culture in prehistory in correlation with the too scanty and incomplete data available in African archaeology.

Footnotes

*This paper was presented in two preliminary versions at the following linguistic meetings: (a) the Proto-Bantu cultural vocabulary was discussed at the 6th International Meeting of Linguists sponsored by the Istituto Lombardo (Accademia di Scienze e Lettere) and the Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese, in Milan (Italy), on September 6, 1974; (b) the recent discussion of Guthrie's views was summarized in a paper read at the Symposium on African Language, Culture, and Society at the 6th Conference on African Linguistics sponsored by The Ohio State University on April 11, 1975.

An extensive French version, with critical apparatus (30 pages) is to appear in the Proceedings of the Milan convention.

[1]With all due regard for the stimulating pioneering work done by C. Ehret, one cannot help noticing that the linguistic argumentation is often rather weak: too many semantic changes remain undocumented (e.g. why does P.B. *gànà mean '100', while its assumed Mangbetu cognate (ka)na mean '1'?); too much use is made of 'mobile' prefixes *t- or *k- with 'characteristic' vowels; some phonological rules appear to be rather ad hoc; etc.

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Historical Implications of the Vai Consonant System*

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1. Introduction

Vai is spoken by probably fewer than 40,000 people, largely along the northwestern coast of Liberia, but extending a little into Sierra Leone. It is a Northern Mande language, but is not geographically adjacent to any of its closest relatives. Vai diverged from Kono, in what is today central eastern Sierra Leone, probably no more than 500 years ago, when the ancestors of the present Vai people pushed their way to the coast with the purpose of stabilizing the salt trade. The ancestor of Vai and Kono, in turn, diverged from Mandekan (Maninka, Bambara, etc.) perhaps 1700 years ago. Among the Southwestern Mande languages, which diverged from Northern Mande roughly 2000 years ago, Mende at present occupies most of the area between Vai and Kono; Vai has also had some contact with Kpelle. The other immediate neighbor of Vai is Gola, a Mel or Southern West Atlantic language. My informant is bilingual in Vai and Gola, and speaks some Mende as well.

2. The consonant system and its historical implications

The consonantal phonology of Vai provides unusual and fascinating evidence for the history of the language. Even in a descriptive treatment of the phonology, which I completed in Liberia and which appears to need only minor revisions, it seemed worthwhile to treat stem-initial consonants by groups which undoubtedly reflect historical developments in the language.

The stem-initial consonants of Vai may be divided into two major categories. The first comprises only those consonants which reflect the proto-Northern-Mande (PNM) consonantal system. This does not mean, of course, that these modern Vai consonants are identical with their PNM ancestors; on the contrary, it is clear that some phonologic changes from PNM to modern Vai have taken place, most conspicuously a merger of PNM *k and *g as modern Vai /k/ (a development shared by Mandekan, but not by some other languages that diverged earlier from the PNM stock). Nor does this mean, of course, that every stem beginning with one of these consonants is inherited from PNM; on the contrary, it is possible to identify a number of words of foreign origin which have initial consonants in this group. What is significant about this category is, rather, that all inherited PNM stems which have been retained in Vai--along with an undetermined and probably undeterminable number of innovated stems--begin with one of these consonants.

They are thus in a true sense the "inherited consonants" of Vai. There are twelve such consonants. In the following chart of them, the numeral after each symbol indicates the number of words, out of a vocabulary of about 1500 items, beginning with that consonant. The figures include some duplication, since some derived forms were counted along with the bases from which they are derived.

	t: 137		k: 268	kp: 101
b: 143		j: 85		
f: 86	s: 138			
w: 62	l: 121			
m: 69	n: 39	ny: 25		

The phonetic values of a few of these require special comment. /kp/ is a doubly articulated (velar and bilabial) stop, with some oral suction preceding the simultaneous release. /b/ is implosive, /ɓ/. /j/ may best be described as a voiced palatal stop; there is very little affrication in its release. /l/ is, for many speakers, usually an implosive stop, [ɗ], which could as validly occupy the blank in the voiced alveolar stop position in the chart above; for many other speakers, however, it is commonly a lateral resonant as the symbol suggests. Before one of the vowels /i, e, ɛ/, /w/ is rare (and undoubtedly not "inherited"), and is usually a close bilabial resonant with no protrusion of the lips, [ʊ]; this is especially noticeable in phrase-medial position after a vowel ending the preceding word. A phonetic [w] may be heard in forms transcribable as [wíì*] 'boil', [wéé] (a sentence-final particle), and [wɛ̀ɛ́] 'today'; these are, however, variants of [wúlì*] or [wúì*], [wóé], and [wɔ̀lɛ́] or [wɔ̀ɛ́] respectively, and speakers of Vai accept /wú'ì*/, /wóé/, and /wɔ̀'ɛ́/ as valid interpretations for these words.[1]

In addition to the twelve "inherited" word-initial consonants of Vai, there are no less than fourteen word-initial consonants which may be called "innovated" consonants. Words beginning with these consonants do not have cognates in other Northern Mande languages. In the following chart of these consonants, the numeral after each symbol again indicates the number of words, out of a vocabulary of about 1500 items, beginning with that consonant. The numerals include a somewhat smaller proportion of duplication than for the inherited consonants, since there are proportionately fewer derived forms.

p: 42 c: 4

bh: 18 dh: 25 g: 29 gb: 36

h: 8

v: 12 z: 19

y: 5

ŋ: 1

nd: 1 nj: 1 ŋg: 2

Of these consonants, /bh/ and /dh/ are non-implosive voiced stops, [b] and [d]. The use of digraphs with h is not intended to imply aspiration or any other special articulation; rather, for use in a practical orthography, the digraphs were chosen to represent these relatively rare consonants as opposed to the far more common /b/, which is always an implosive stop, and /l/, which frequently is.

A comparison of the statistical frequency of initial consonants in the two categories is instructive in itself. It is true that some of the innovated stops appear in more words than some of the inherited nasals (e.g. /gb/ in 36 forms as opposed to /ny/ in only 25); such a comparison, however, is irrelevant. What is significant is that any innovated consonant is far less common than any inherited consonant of the same articulatory type or position. There are 42 cases of /p/, but from 101 to 268 of other voiceless stops, and 143 of /b/. There are only 25 cases of inherited /ny/, but that figure far exceeds the one attested case of initial /ŋ/. These facts alone might well lead one to suspect that the second group of consonants, though they constitute a majority of the word-initial consonants in the language, are of relatively recent origin in Vai, and have very likely come into the language in adopted vocabulary.

This suspicion is readily confirmed by adducing evidence from other Northern Mande languages. The appendix to this paper lists ninety-one certain or highly probable cognates between Vai and Mandekan. The Mandekan forms are from Bambara; I am indebted to Professor Karen Courtenay for their transcription. The Vai initial consonants in all of these forms are in the "inherited" category.

A few notes on the phonetic correspondences may be appropriate. Vai /t/ generally corresponds to Bambara /t/, though one monosyllabic form, and an alternant of another, shows /c/ in Bambara before a front vowel. The Bambara form /ntòrí/ 'toad' is one of several Bambara words with initial prenasalized consonants, generally indicating animates; Professor Courtenay suggests that this may be a survival, previously unrecognized in any Mande language, of a noun-class marker, which may be compared to Bantu Class 9.

PNM *k and *g merged before the separation of Vai-Kono and Mandekan. Recognizable derivations from *g are indicated in cases for which SWM cognates are known, and which reconstruct with *g.

for Proto-SWM. Subsequent to this merger into /k/, /k/ generally became /s/ in Mandekan, but not in Vai, before the vowels /i/ and /e/. A few apparent exceptions to this pattern are included among the cognates listed, and no explanation is offered here; evidence from other languages might clarify these cases.

The correspondence of Vai /kp/ to Bambara /g/ will not seem as strange when it is noted that Bambara /g/ in these and countless other forms corresponds to /gb/ in Maninka, another Mandekan dialect.

The correspondence of Vai /s/ to Bambara /d/ in several forms is stranger; there are other correspondences of /s/ to /s/ and /l/ to /d/, which are more to be expected. The /s/ to /d/ correspondence is, however, adequately attested, and is confirmed by evidence from Southwestern Mande languages; no reconstructed consonant is suggested here, but the cognation of the forms listed is virtually certain.

Of just over 200 Vai forms recorded with the initial consonants that have been called innovated, on the other hand, the Bambara equivalents show at least partial similarity in only three cases. For two of these, however, Vai and Gola have identical forms; for the third, Vai and Mende have identical forms. These appear, therefore, to be far more probably adoptions from Gola and Mende than inherited cognates with Mandekan.

The history of the Vai forms in question, and the consonants with which they begin, will become far clearer when Vai is compared to Kono, to which it is far more closely related than to Mandekan. My Kono data are unfortunately not extensive, based on a few hours of elicitation in Freetown, Sierra Leone in August, 1974; but even the restricted data suggest a predominant pattern. Kono equivalents for about 70 Vai forms with inherited consonants were elicited. They are closely similar to, and almost certainly cognate with, the Vai forms in a vast majority of cases. (The Swadesh list appears to show about 79 percent putative cognation between Vai and Kono.) Kono equivalents for 28 Vai forms with innovated consonants were elicited. Only two show any similarity. For one of these, the Kono informant said that he recognized the word as being of Mende origin; the other is identical with a Mende word. Forms such as these may have been adopted from Mende before Vai and Kono diverged from each other, or they may have been adopted independently more recently; Mende is situated between Vai and Kono today, and is contiguous with both. In any case, it would appear from the available evidence that the vast majority of the Vai forms with innovated initial consonants have come into Vai within the past four or five centuries, after the Vai migration to the present coastal area.

The specific origin of much of the adopted vocabulary of Vai is not easy to determine. Of the 200-plus Vai forms with innovated initial consonants, plus some clearly innovated words using inherited consonants, about 15 are from English, and about 10 from Arabic (probably via Mandekan). Another 10 or so are words of unknown origin that are found in many Liberian languages, and even elsewhere

in West Africa. Of the rest, Gola appears to be the major source of innovated Vai vocabulary, with Mende a poor second. In 63 cases out of some 1500 items in my Vai vocabulary, both Gola and Mende show similar forms; one or the other language is probably the source, but it is rarely easy, on the basis of the evidence available at present, to decide where a word began and in which direction it moved.

As might be expected, most of the clearly adopted lexical items in Vai are nouns, generally referring to items that appear to be easily susceptible to cultural transmission; a number of them have to do specifically with seacoast culture. It may be a bit surprising, however, that out of the 200-plus Vai forms with innovated initial consonants, as many as 19 are verbs, 11 refer to body parts, and 2 are kinship terms.

Vai thus appears to have acquired an unusual amount of new vocabulary in its relatively recent history; if over 200 out of 1500 items are clearly recent inoovations as attested by their initial consonants, probably another 200 items beginning with the inherited consonants are also recent innovations, for a total of close to thirty percent of the recorded vocabulary. In the process, the consonant phonology of Vai has undergone a remarkable expansion, though hardly a substantive restructuring. Vai is still unmistakably a Northern Mande language, and certainly can in no way be called a "mixed" language, but it has undergone unusual developments, which suggest an unusual history.

Many Vai people believe, and it may indeed be a rather strong oral tradition, that those who left the interior of modern Sierra Leone four to five centuries ago to settle along the coast were predominantly men without wives from their homeland. It is thought that they took wives from the Gola tribe, and to a lesser extent from the Mende tribe; village raids and small-scale warfare were probably involved. The linguistic evidence appears to strengthen this hypothesis. If it is true, it is likely that, for at least a couple of generations, there was extensive bilingualism; children grew to adulthood with equally native competence in two languages and thus in two phonologic systems. As a result, Gola or Mende words could be incorporated into Vai usage without modifying their pronunciation to fit the more restricted inherited Vai consonant system, and the number of word-initial Vai consonants thus more than doubled.

It is not surprising that the phonology of Vai was left relatively undisturbed in regard to intervocalic consonants, vowels, and tones. In all of these respects, Gola and Mende were much more similar to Vai to begin with. Vai does seem to have a somewhat more varied inventory of intervocalic consonants than was characteristic of PNM, but the situation is by no means as conspicuous as it is for word-initial consonants. Peculiar restrictions on nasalized vowels in Vai may also reflect outside influence, but the number of forms involved is not great. A great deal of study remains to be done on restricted phonological patterns and on individual words, but all of the evidence seems to point toward a story of invasion, intermarriage, and close interaction over the past five cenutires or so.

A completely independent phenomenon in the consonant phonology of Vai has completely independent historical implications, but implications which are most interesting from the viewpoint of historical linguistics. This is the status of the elusive intervocalic /l/ in Vai. Many an expatriate attempting to learn Vai, or to settle on an alphabetic orthography for it, has been thoroughly frustrated by the vast number of forms he hears sometimes with and sometimes without an intervocalic /l/. With no reflection on either the integrity or the intelligence of either party, one could well imagine a conversation like the following between an expatriate learning Vai and his native-speaking helper:

Learner: What do you call a 'road'?
Helper: [kía].
Learner: [kía]; is that right?
Helper: That's right: [kíla].
Learner: Oh, I guess I was wrong; it's [kíla].
Helper: That's right: [kía].

An extensive and difficult statistical survey of individual usage might be helpful here. It is known that there is no problem of dialect difference. There seems to be some correlation with age, but it is by no means perfect. In general, intervocalic /l/'s are probably more frequent in the speech of older people, and they may be more common in relatively formal speech than in casual conversation. It is possible that /l/ is likely to be heard more often in some words than in others, though Fr. Kandakai could not identify one word, out of several hundred we checked, in which he felt intervocalic /l/ to be obligatory; actually, at one point he thought there were a few, but when I used the same words a few days later without /l/, he registered no surprise, and accepted my pronunciation even when I pointed out what I had done. Apparently there is no phonologic environment in which a possible intervocalic /l/ may not be omitted; such a possibility has been suggested, however,[2] and remains to be checked. Among speakers of Vai who are literate in English, some (perhaps primarily younger people) object to seeing /l/ written in all forms in which it is sometimes heard; others (perhaps primarily older people) object to having it omitted. For purposes of a practical orthography, I have proposed using an apostrophe in all of the forms in question; for those who want the sound symbolized, there is a symbol there, but it is less conspicuous than a full letter, and can be ignored if one chooses.[3]

It is reasonably clear that we are faced here with a phonetic change in process. There once was an intervocalic /l/ in a very large number of Vai words--as many as forty percent of the lexical items recorded. It is being lost by a process of regular phonetic change, apparently with no environmental conditioning. Perhaps in another generation or so it will not be heard at all, though it is quite possible that a new intervocalic /l/ will crop up in words newly adopted from other languages, especially English.

There is some remarkably clear information about the history of this change. In 1850-51, S. W. Koelle consistently recorded interfocalic r in the forms in question.[4] Although he discusses "elision" quite fully, there is no mention of the elision of this intervocalic consonant under any circumstances. Fr. Kandakai says that he remembers, when he was a young boy (in the 1920's), very old people using an [r] (an alveolar tap) in such words. Ordinarily, I would be somewhat skeptical of such a comment, since such phonetic change are not commonly noticed; but Fr. Kandakai added that such old people reminded him of Mandingos (i.e., speakers of Mandekan, especially Maninka) speaking Vai, and [r] would be typical of their pronunciation. A century and a quarter ago, therefore, Vai appears to have had an intervocalic [r] which was never elided. By about fifty years ago, a change from [r] to [l] was virtually complete, with [r] being retained only by old people, some of whom may actually have been born by the time Koelle did his work. The loss of the intervocalic resonant could hardly have begun before the change to [l] was pretty well established, presumably within the present century. At present, the intervocalic /l/ can hardly be given much hope for long survival, though it is not dying without a struggle. The struggle may have something to do with the influence of the Vai syllabic writing system.

3. Conclusion

Modern linguists have frequently and properly maintained that the existence of a written language has relatively little effect on the processes of language change. To be sure, we are all aware that written English, for example, has indeed left its mark on the spoken language in some dialects; yet thou, thee, thy, and ye could disappear from the spoken language in spite of their appearance in writing in the world's all-time best seller. There is a relatively small number of speakers of Vai who are literate in the syllabary; it might seem preposterous to suggest that it has slowed down a phonetic change. It should be remembered, however, that, whether they use it or not, the Vai people are inordinately--and justifiably--proud of their unique indigenous orthography. Further, the Vai culture is one in which there is a profound respect for the elders, and it is especially the respected elder men who take pride in the syllabary and view it as a tradition-preserving treasure. Now, the syllabary uses symbols for the second syllable of forms such as /kí›à/ which differ from symbols for vowels alone, in which /l/ is never lost. There is therefore a certain prestige attached to the pronunciation [kílà], or at least to knowing that pronunciation and perhaps considering it "correct". The final demise of intervocalic /l/ is probably inevitable, but some pressure remains to retain it, perhaps fifty or more years after it began to disappear.

In Kono, cognates for a good many of the Vai forms in question--perhaps fifty or more--were recorded. A very few Kono forms were recorded with intervocalic /l/, but in general Kono seems to have undergone or to be undergoing the same loss; in the vast majority of the forms, no intervocalic consonant was heard. If we were to

judge only from contemporary Vai with no intervocalic /l/'s (which might well be recorded within a few decades), and contemporary Kono, we might well conclude that the loss of intervocalic /l/ was a shared development, dating back to the time when they were a single language in an unbroken community, perhaps five hundred years ago. The evidence cited above, however, establishes that the loss of intervocalic /l/ in Vai is very recent, probably within the present century. Its loss in Kono must therefore be a completely independent development. The significance of shared developments in historical linguistics can hardly be overestimated; the case of Vai, however, underscores the importance of determining that parallel developments in related languages are indeed shared rather than independent of each other.

Footnotes

*This paper is based on work done in Monrovia, Liberia in 1974, for approximately the equivalent of three months full time, primarily with the Rev. Fr. C. K. Kandakai as my informant.

[1]An asterisk after a form indicates that the form is a verb stem, which cannot be cited in isolation with the tones given. In isolation or with an object in the imperative (the usual citation form), all verbs have low tone throughout. The tones as given, however, are contrastive in some other verbal constructions.

[2]Mrs. Gail Stewart, personal communication.

[3]Credit for this suggestion is due to Mrs. Beatrice F. Welmers, personal communication.

[4]An earlier [r] seems most reasonable in the light of the word /bhɛ̀ì/ 'mattress', undoubtedly adopted from English bed, presumably in the nineteenth century, and probably pronounced [bɛ́rì] at first.

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Appendix: Vai - Mandekan

The following are some clear or highly probable cognates between Vai and Mandekan. The Mandekan forms are from Bambara, as transcribed by Professor Karen Courtenay.

Vai	Bambara		
tá	tá(-sùmà)	fire	
táá	táá, tágá	go	
tâŋ	tán	ten	
tĕ	tĭ, cĭ	break apart, split	
té'é	tìlé	sun, day	
tɛ́	cɛ́	middle	
tìɛ́	tìgɛ́	cut	
tó	tó	story	
tòtí	ntòrí	toad	
kàí	cɛ̆, kɛ̆	man	
ká'á	kálá	bow	
kànyà	kɛ̀nyɛ́	wax	
káŋ	kán	neck	
kɛ́	kɛ́	do	
kɛ̀'ɛ́	kɛ̀lɛ́	war	
kó	kó	thing (non-material)	
kɔ́'ɔ́	kɔ̀rɔ́	old	
kɔ̀wɔ́, kɔ̀ɔ́	kɔ̀gɔ́	salt	
kú,ú	kóló	bone	
ká'ó	káló	moon, month	(SWM *g...)
ké'í	kílí	egg	(SWM *g...)
kíŋ	kín	bite	(SWM *g...)
kɔ̀ndé	kɔ̀nɔ́	bird	(SWM *g...)
kŭŋ	kŭn	head	(SWM *g...)
kĕŋ	sĕn	leg, foot	
kí'à	sírá	road, path	
kímá	súmán	cold	
kàmá	sàmá (!)	elephant	
kì'í	sìrí	tie	(SWM *g...)
kpáí	gɛ́n	chase away	
kpàsí	gòsí	beat, flog	
kpɛ̀'ɛ́	gɛ̀lɛ́n	be difficult, hard	
kpɛ́sɛ̀	gésé	"toothbrush"	
kpɔ̀'ó	gòló, wòló	skin	
bă	bă	goat	
báŋ	bán	finish	
bɛ̆ŋ	bɛ̆n	meet	
bɔ̀'í	bòlí	run	
bó'ó	bóló	hand, arm	

Vai	Bambara		
jǎŋ	jǎn	be tall, long	
jèndà	jɛ̀nɛ́	spindle	
jí	jí	water	
jɔ́	jɔ́n	who?	
jù'ú	jùrú	rope	
jɔ̌ŋ	jɔ̌n	slave	
jɛ́'ɛ́	yɛ́lɛ́	laugh	
jì'á	yìrá	show	
fǎ	fǎ	father	
fàá	fàgá	kill	(SWM *p...)
fè'á	fìlá	two	(SWM *f...)
fɛ́ŋ	fɛ́n	thing (material)	
fì'í	fìlí	throw	(SWM *p...)
sá	dá	lie down	
sóó'ú	dúúrú	five	
sɔ́	dɔ̌, jɔ̌	stand	
sɔ́	dɔ́n	know	
sɔ́ɔ̀	dɔ́gɔ́	firewood	
sàkpá	sàbá	three	
sǎŋ	sǎn	year	
sǎŋ	sǎn	buy	
sɛ̌ŋ	sɛ̌n	dig	
sɛ̀nɛ́	sɛ̀nɛ́	farm	
sìí	sìgí	sit down	
sǒ	sǒ	horse	
sǔ	sǔ	corpse	
wó'ó	wóló	give birth	
wù'ú	wùlú	dog	
lá	dá	mouth	
làá	dàgá	clay pot	
lɛ́ŋ	dɛ́n	child	
lǒŋ	dǒn	enter	
lɔ̌ŋ	dɔ̌n	V. song, B. dance	
lɔ̌ŋ	dún, dúmú	eat	
lɔ́ɔ́	dɔ́gɔ́	market	
má	má	(negative)	
mà'ó	màló	be ashamed	
mànjá	màsá	chief	

Vai	Bambara	
mǐ	mǐn	drink
míínyá	mínínyán	python
mɔ̌	mɔ̀gɔ́	person
mùsú	mùsó	woman
ná	nǎ	come
nááni	náání	four
nɛ̀ɛ́	nɛ̌n	tongue
nɔ́ɔ́	nɔ́gɔ́	be dirty
nìí	mìsí (!)	cow (Manya: nísǐ)
nyí	nyí	be good
nyɔ́ɔ̀	nyɔ́gɔ́n	each other
nyɔ̀ɔ̀	nyɔ̀gɔ́n	similarity
nyíŋ	nyín	tooth
nyìná	nyìná	forget

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Sex-Based Differences in Cognitive Processing of Spatial Relations in Bilingual Students in Niger*

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1. Introduction

During the past fifteen years a considerable body of research has emerged on the relations of sexual identity and social behavior. This concentration of research is, of course, not accidental: it stems from the growing awareness on the part of both sexes of the ways in which they are constrained to establish and maintain separate identities. Nor is it accidental that differences in language use have been a focal area in research on sex-conditioned behavior. First, it is clear that an individual's use of language is fundamental to the construction of a social identity. In large measure, we are judged to be who we are by the way we speak. In a phenomenological sense, we are inextricably our language. Furthermore, it is clear that most societies project, in some measure, different norms for male and female speech and that there is significant conformity to these norms.[1]

In addition, the changing paradigm within the discipline of linguistics has contributed a favorable climate for investigating sex-based differences in language use. Linguistic inquiry is no longer dominated by the Chomskian goal, the investigation of a linguistic competence that is not concerned with the inherent variation in language performance. The attention of linguists is gradually shifting from 'the ideal speaker-listener' to social speaker-listener. Linguistic competence is viewed as a social competence, a capacity for using the heterogeneous resources of language in human interaction. As Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968:100-101) have argued,

> ...nativelike command of heterogeneous structures is not a matter of multi-dialectalism or "mere" performance, but is part of unilingual linguistic competence. One of the corollaries of our approach is that in a language serving a complex (i.e., real) community, it is absence of structured heterogeneity that would be dysfunctional.

Linguists who accept this view of language are seeking to measure the degree to which non-linguistic features of the communicative situation condition the selection of linguistic features. Language is viewed as a form of social action. It is

therefore only natural that sexual identity has been consistently examined as a potential source for 'structured heterogeneity' in linguistic performance; sex differences are, after all, fundamental to the social roles we establish and maintain.

Language may vary in relation to sexual identity in two ways: it may vary according to the sex of the person(s) to whom it refers or to the sex of the person(s) who makes use of it. For example, in its referential function language may provide separate terms of address for married and unmarried females, but only a single term for these categories of males:[2]

FEMALE		MALE	
[+married]	[-married]	[+married]	[-married]
↓	↓	↓	↓
Mrs.	Miss	Mr.	

In this instance, language capacities themselves are asymmetrically developed in relation to sex. In contrast, symmetrical capacities may be differentially applied in reference to men and women. As Lakoff (1973) points out, one speaks of a woman scientist, but not of a man scientist. Furthermore, the woman scientist is not commonly referred to by use of the last name only, whereas the 'man scientist' is. Hence language may vary as it refers to men and women, first, as it is considered as langue, a structural resource; secondly, as it is considered as parole, a social gesture.

The popular media have been concerned with these differences in language based on the sex of the persons referred to. On the other hand, linguists, reflecting the changing paradigm of their discipline, have been concerned with variation based on the sex of those who are using language in interpersonal communication. Such differences may be reflected in the sex either of the addressor or of the addressee. For example, in certain languages like Thai the addressor is differentiated according to sex:

dichăn - 'I' (female)
phŏm - 'I' (male)

In other languages like Hausa, the addressee is differentiated according to sex:

kin - 'you' (female)
kaa - 'you' (male)

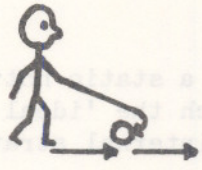
Apart from these structural differences based on the sex of language users, there are many features of language that one sex chooses with greater frequency than the other. These differences of parole may be defined as "sex preferential", as opposed to the "sex-exclusive" differences of langue (Bodine 1975). These "sex preferential" patterns of speech have been primarily examined at the phonological level thus far. In general, it has been found that women tend to use formal variants of a phonological variable more frequently than men do; for example, in communicative situations

that reflect the same degree of formality females use [ŋ] more often than males do as the final consonant of words that end in -ing (Fischer 1958, Shuy et al., 1967, Labov 1972, Trudgill 1972). Apart from women's greater use of the variant [ŋ] in any particular situation, there is also a greater tendency for women to shift to [ŋ] fron [n], as the communicative situation increases in formality (Shuy et al., 1967, Labov 1972). This greater propensity towards style-shifting on the part of women has been demonstrated in respect to other phonological variables such as post-vocalic /r/ and the th-variable /θ/, and /ð/ (Labov 1972).

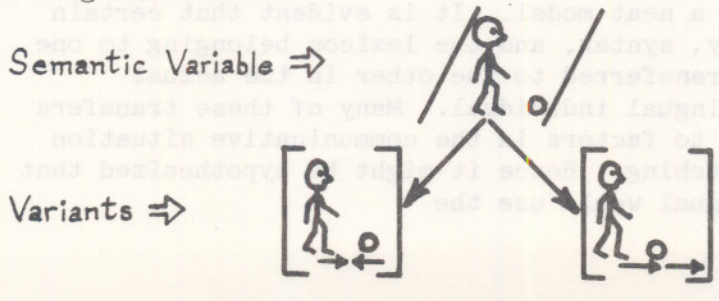
2. Present study

In this paper I would like to report some research concerned with a semantic variable that supports the greater propensity of females to 'style-shifting'. As far as I know, a semantic variable has not been used to study style-shifting propensities among males and females. Shifting at this level is, of course, difficult to measure, since it involved processes that cannot be directly observed, as in the case of differences at the phonological level or, for that matter, at the syntactic level.[3] However, if phenomenological configurations, such as those involving space and time, are carefully controlled in an experimental situation, differences in linguistic responses (or in non-linguistic responses linguistically-conditioned) to these configurations may be used to infer underlying differences in the cognitive universe of the respondent. Consider, for example, the following simple task: a person is asked to touch the front of a ball, an object lacking an intrinsic front.[4] If the person touches the nearer side of the ball, a cognitive universe may be inferred in which non-fronted objects face in towards ego:

If the person touches the far side of the ball, a cognitive universe may be inferred in which non-fronted objects face away from ego:

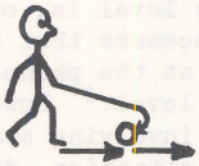


Hence for this semantic variable two variants may be identified, as diagrammed below:



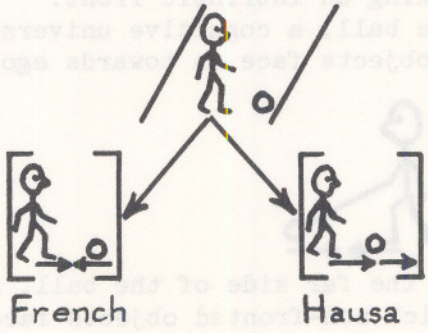
In order to use this semantic variable as a measure of cognitive style-shifting, it is, of course, necessary to observe the behavior of a group of individuals who have access to each variant. In general, a monolingual person will have behavioral access to only one of the variants, though patterns of cognitive development may have provided exposure to each. For example, the linguistic behavior of an English-speaking or French-speaking individual would normally reflect the

variant (Harris and Strommen 1972, Kuczaj and Maratsos 1974), whereas the normative behavior of a Hausa-speaking or Djerma-speaking person would reflect the



variant (Hill 1975).[5] However, a Hausa-French bilingual would have access, at least potentially, to each variant. It might be hypothesized that such a person would appropriately map each variant according to the following model:

MODEL I:

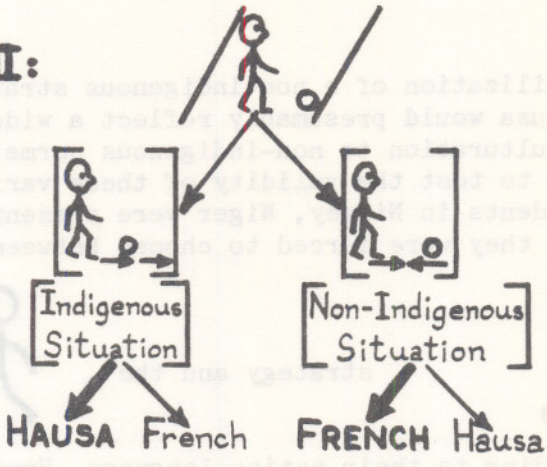


This model, however, assumes a static notion of cognito-linguistic competence, one in which the 'ideal [bilingual] speaker-listener' neatly matches internal strategy to external response.

The performance of bilingual individuals may not, however, be explained by such a neat model. It is evident that certain features of phonology, syntax, and the lexicon belonging to one language are often transferred to the other in the actual performance of a bilingual individual. Many of these transfers appear to be related to factors in the communicative situation that induce code-switching. Hence it might be hypothesized that a Hausa-French bilingual would use the

strategy in responding in Hausa, if it were elicited by non-indigeneous factors in the communicative situation. The following model would account for this kind of cognitive style-shifting:

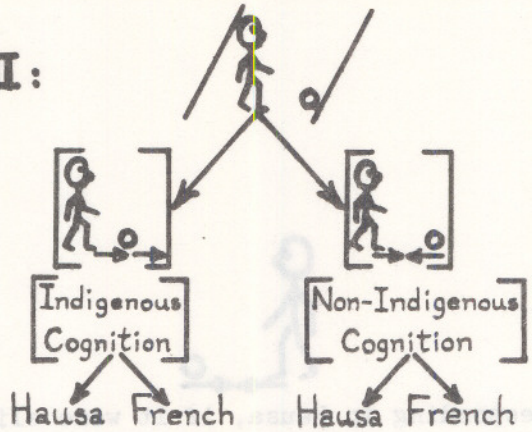
MODEL II:



As indicated by the double arrow and capitalization, Hausa would be the language normally used in communicative settings which may be characterized as indigenous, French the language used in settings which may be characterized as non-indigenous.

A third model might be constructed which would account for a more permanent kind of cognitive shifting, one not necessarily responsive to external features in the communicative situation. According to this model, a single strategy would be stabilized in the cognitive universe of each bilingual person; it would then be mapped onto all responses in each of the languages, irrespective of the communicative situation. In effect, any given Hausa-French bilingual would have behavioral access to only one of the two strategies:

MODEL III:



The stabilization of a non-indigenous strategy by a native speaker of Hausa would presumably reflect a wider pattern of cognitive acculturation to non-indigenous norms.

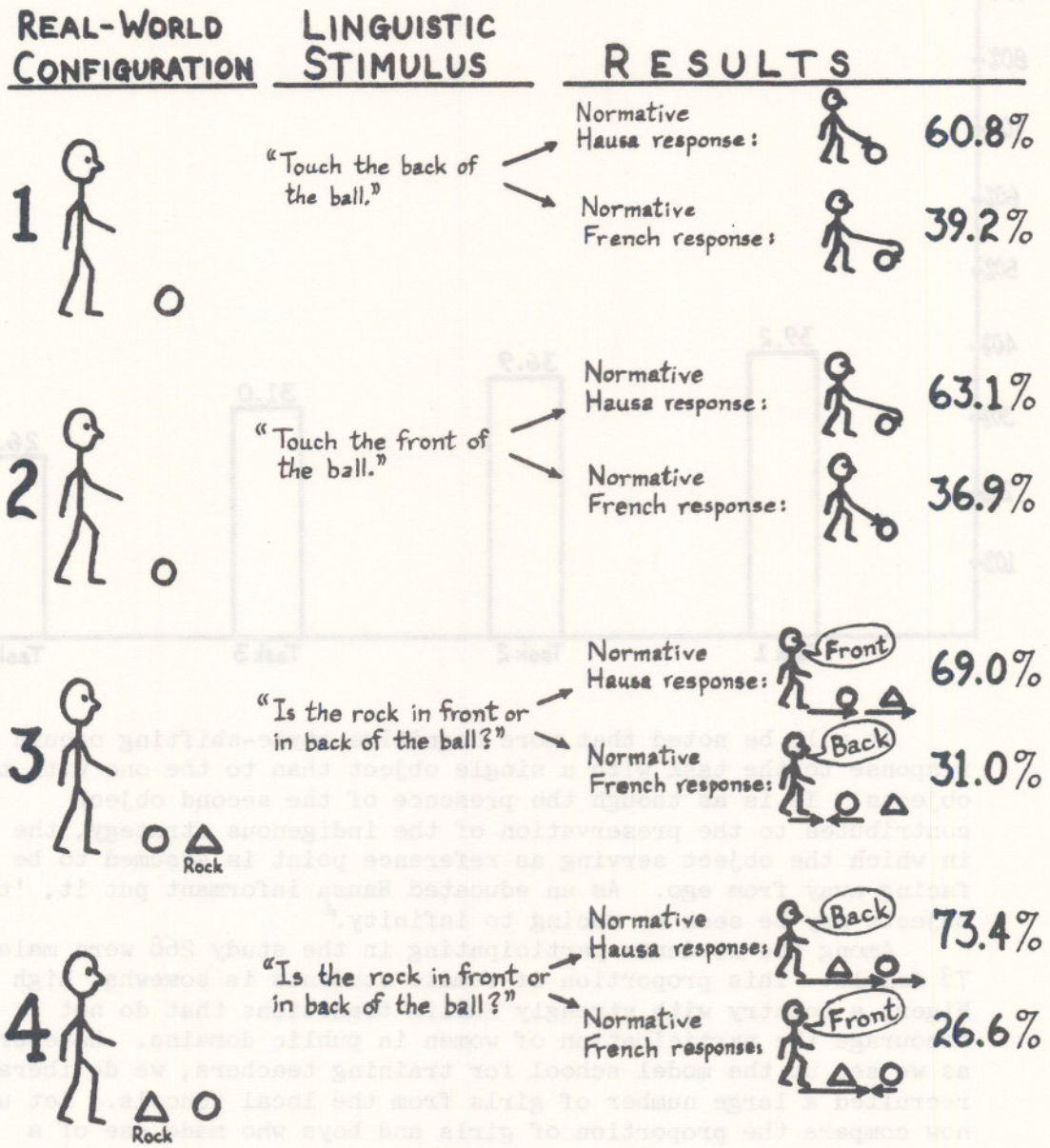
In order to test the validity of these various models, 346 bilingual students in Niamey, Niger were presented a series of tasks in which they were forced to choose between the

strategy and the

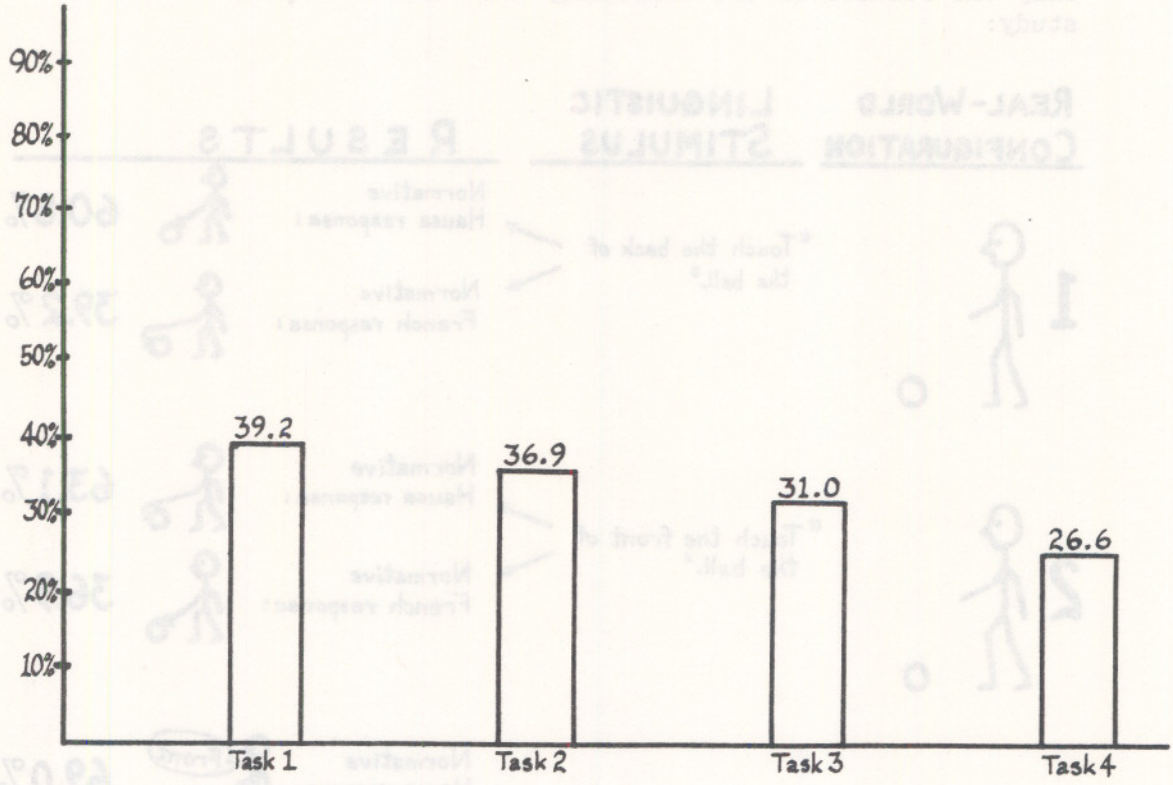
one in responding to their native language, Hausa or Djerma. They were participating in a model school that had been organized for training teachers of English in Niger. The students ranged from 10 to 20 in age and from classe sixième to classe première in school (seventh grade to twelfth grade in the American system). Before entering classe sixième, all had attended six years of primary school in which lessons had been conducted in French. Since French was also the sole language of instruction at the secondary level of education, it was hypothesized that non-indigenous cognitive styles might be used to a significant degree in solving tasks in school, even though the students were required to use their native language in processing the tasks. Hence a communicative situation was designed in which the following factors could contribute to the use of a non-indigenous strategy:

1) setting (a Western-style school);
2) task (problem-solving);
3) discourse frame (a test-like situation, a linear processing of items);
4) mood (relatively formal);
5) audience (predominantly educated Nigerians and Americans; interlocutor was, however, a relatively uneducated Nigerian).

Although a number of tasks were presented in random order to the students (some involving objects with an intrinsic front-back), only the results of the following four will be reported in this study:



The percentage of students shifting to a non-indigenous pattern on each of the four tasks is summarized in the following graph:



It will be noted that more cognitive style-shifting occurs in response to the task with a single object than to the one with two objects. It is as though the presence of the second object contributes to the preservation of the indigenous strategy, the one in which the object serving as reference point is assumed to be facing away from ego. As an educated Hausa informant put it, 'the objects may be seen as racing to infinity.'[6]

Among the students participating in the study 268 were male, 78 female. This proportion of female students is somewhat high for Niger, a country with strongly Muslim traditions that do not encourage the participation of women in public domains. However, as we set up the model school for training teachers, we deliberately recruited a large number of girls from the local schools. Let us now compare the proportion of girls and boys who made use of a non-indigenous strategy on each of the four tasks: ($p < .01$)

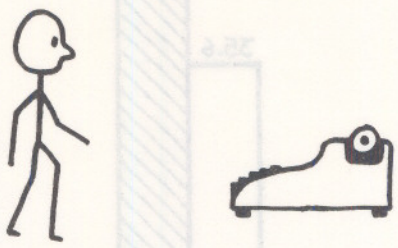
3. Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, the number of girls in secondary schools in Niger is sharply limited by the traditional expectation that female participation in public domains should be restricted. In effect, this restriction means that the girls who do attend a secondary school largely come from sectors of society that have been acculturated to non-indigenous norms. Although the same processes of selection operate in respect to boys, they are much less dominant. The boys who enter a secondary school in Niger reflect a wider socioeconomic background; they are not so concentrated in the particular sector of society that reflects western values.

Initial efforts were made to collect information on the socioeconomic background of all the students so that cognitive style-shifting of girls and boys from the same sectors of society might be compared. However, the collected information was particularly difficult to codify; for example, the different kinds of parental occupation could not be plotted on a western scale of measurement and no local scales were available.[8]

In the absence of such a comparison it can only be hypothesized that girls, irrespective of socioeconomic background, reflect a greater tendency to make use of a non-indigenous strategy than do boys in secondary schools in Niger.[9] In addition, the question that was raised by the construction of Models II and III remains: is the cognitive shifting to a non-indigenous strategy elicited by features in the communicative situation or is it a more permanent kind of readjustment within the cognitive universe of the individual?[10]

If the latter model is chosen as the more accurate one, it may be that we are observing the early stages of a semantic change within Hausa and Djerma, as they are spoken by the educated classes. Such a change would, of course, be motivated by a persistent use of French in daily experience; in addition, the patterns of phenomenological experience of educated individuals would reinforce it. Their world increasingly provides experience of person-object patterns of interaction wherein the object 'faces in' to ego. Consider, for example, the interaction of a person with a typewriter:



The person faces the object; the object faces the person. This face-to-face pattern is built into the person-machine processing of information and hence simulates the norms of social interaction. As a consequence of the persistent pattern of person-machine interaction in a technological society, the face-to-face norm is possibly projected onto all objects, even those lacking an intrinsic front-back. In a world that presents a frequent pattern of face-to-face interaction with machine-like objects, it becomes more efficient to assume that all objects are facing in towards ego.[11]

If such a semantic change is taking place among educated speakers of Hausa and Djerma, it is of particular interest that it is more concentrated among female students than male students in secondary schools in Niger. It has been observed in a number of studies that women are in advance of men in processes of change within a linguistic system. Hitherto, such observations have been made primarily at the phonological level (Gauchat 1905, Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley 1967, Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner 1972). For example, in the last study it was found that women are nearly an entire generation ahead of men in the raising of /eh/ in the speech community of New York City. The results of the study of bilingual students in Niger may provide evidence that females are in advance of males in linguistic change at the semantic level of language as well as at the phonological.

As Labov (1972:302-303) has pointed out, the fact that women tend to be in advance of men

> ...must play an important part in the mechanisms of linguistic change. To the extent that parents influence children's early language, women do so even more; certainly women talk to young children more than men do, and have a more direct influence during the years when children are forming linguistic rules with the greatest speed and efficiency. It seems likely that the rate of advance and direction of a linguistic change owes a great deal to the special sensitivity of women to the whole process.

In conclusion, the study shows that the female students tested in secondary schools in Niger shifted to the non-indigenous strategy with significantly greater frequency than male students. However, the proper interpretation of such cognitive shifting awaits further research to determine whether female bilingual students in Niger make use of the

variant more than male even if (1) they are from the same sectors of society; (2) they are responding naturistically in communicative situations that reflect indigenous values. It should be stressed, however, that the current research, in and of itself, demonstrates the feasibility of using a semantic variable in measuring 'structured heterogeneity' in linguistic performance.

Footnotes

*I would like to thank the following persons who helped in the study: Mohammadou Yacouba who spent long hours conducting the interviews; Bob Vivolo, Sue Rasmussen, and all other Peace Corps volunteers who helped execute the project; and the Nigerien students at the lycée kasaï who participated so willingly in the experiment.

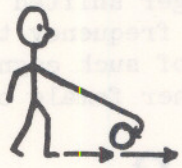
[1]The distinction between social norms and actual behavior is an important one. For example, it has been shown that the popular sterotypes of male and female speech, as exemplified in cartoons, movies, novels, etiquette books, etc., often do not reflect accurately the way people really talk, even in those situations most conducive to the realization of the sterotypes (Kramer 1974; Hirschman 1974).

[2]Even with the creation and use of the term 'Ms.', the imbalance remains; 'Miss' and 'Mrs.' remain in use, and no set of equivalent terms are used to distinguish unmarried and married men.

[3]A number of morphological and syntactic patterns have been identified as more frequent in women's speech than men's: psychological state verbs (Barron 1971); expressive intensifiers like so or such and tag questions (Lakoff 1973); the use of conjunctions rather than interjections to mark topic shifts (Swacker 1975), etc. In general, however, such variables have not been systematically used in controlled observation of men's and women's speech.

[4]It is assumed that the person and the ball are in an environment in which field-dependency has been neutralized, e.g., they are not located in any spatial field that possesses an intrinsic front-back axis, etc.

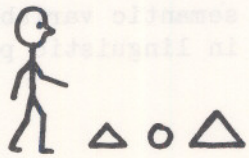
[5]The issue of normative behavior is fraught with difficulty, particularly in areas of cross-cultural research. For example, experimental measurement of cognitive norms in non-western cultural settings is highly problematical, since the experimental situation itself may be alien to the culture (Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp 1971). However, naturalistic observation of the use of language in the Hausa speech community provides strong evidence that the



variant is the norm.

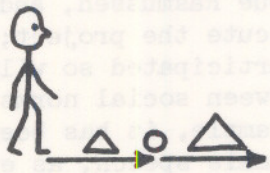
[6]It is of interest that native speakers of English seem to make greater use of the

strategy when confronted with the following task:



Which rock is in front of the ball?

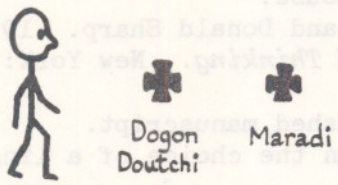
A certain number will answer the 'big one', reflecting a strategy that assumes the ball is facing away:



It is as though the multiplicity of objects sets up dynamic motion in the same direction ego is facing. This same dynamic is reflected in certain linguistic structures used in the processing of temporal relations, such as 'in the months ahead'. As Fillmore (1972 ms.)

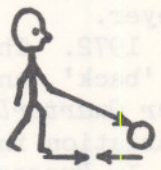
is careful to point out, the opposite dynamic is reflected in a pattern such as 'in the following months'.

[7]It is of interest to observe female-male differences in response to other tasks such as the following:



Is Dogon Doutchi in front or in back of Maradi? (in Hausa gaba and baya, the basic terms for 'front' and 'back', are used in defining relations between points in geographical space)

54.2% of the females made use of the non-indigenous variant



answering that Dogon Doutchi is in 'front'. Only 29.8% of the boys made use of the non-indigenous strategy.

[8]Ideally, a study of social attitudes within Niger toward occupational differences would have been made in order to construct a local scale; unfortunately, time did not permit such a study.

[9]Hopefully, such a hypothesis will be tested in the coming year in northern Nigeria where socioeconomic data will be more easily obtainable.

[10]Certain students reported in formal conversation that they use the same strategy, irrespective of which language they are speaking. But they disagreed amongst themselves as to which is the common strategy. For example, one Djerma girl raised by American missionaries used the indigenous strategy in responding to the tasks in English and French, as well as in Djerma. However, a Nigerien *metisse* used the non-indigenous strategy in responding in Djerma as well as in French. There was some pilot testing of responses to the same tasks in French; the results were inconclusive, but they suggested that use of the non-indigenous variant increases significantly. The research planned in northern Nigeria will involve systematic testing of responses in English as well as in Hausa. The results of that research should help in determining whether Model II or Model III is the more accurate one.

[11]Careful observation was made of the kinds of indigenously made objects used in daily life in traditional homes in Niger. It was discovered that there is virtually a complete absence of objects with an intrinsic front-back axis, at least in a horizontal plane. Some informants would describe the top of objects such as a carved calabash as the gaba 'front', the bottom as the baya 'back'. However, there were no indigenous class of fronted objects which would be functionally equivalent to that of typewriters, telephones, radios, etc.

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African Literary Communications and the European Languages: The Case of Francophone Writers of Senegal

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1. Introduction

African writers are double borrowers: first they borrowed the European languages and then the novel from the West. Out of these they have fashioned "new languages", verbally in "tune" with the metropolitan languages but couched in a different cultural setting. Some of the earliest African writers in the European languages were culturally dispossessed, that is, assimilated. The writings of Afonso Alvares and Olaudah Ekwuano were indistinguishable from those of their contemporaries in Spain and England. But centuries have bridged the gap between their writings and those of contemporary African writers in French and English.

We shall look at the language problem in Senegal, not primarily from a linguist's point of view, but from the literary angle. What have the Senegalese writers done with the French language given to them? What is their attitude towards this language? And how have they used it to express their culture and world view? Underlying the whole question of literary communication is the tension of transition from an oral tradition to the written medium. Equally important is the language policy of France towards her colonies.

2. Assimilation and the French language policy

A language expresses cultures and transmits thoughts. As the corner-stone of all cultural activities it remains the most effective means of spreading a civilization. The French realized this and through the politics of assimilation proclaimed the inferiority of the indigenous languages of Senegal denying them the ability and power of communication and cultural expression. Thus in all fields French was used as the language of culture, "of gentleness and honesty" (Senghor 1964), possessing intrinsic powers that were lacking in the Senegalese languages. As a matter of fact the aim of French pedagogy in Senegal was to facilitate the easy assimilation of the Senegalese, to satisfy some imperial political exigency through the medium of the French language. Monsieur Roume, Governor General of the then French West Africa expressed the French official policy in the following words:

> Through a systematized education, the indigene should be led to conveniently situate his race and his civilization with regards to other races and civilizations past and

> present. It is an excellent means of attenuating this native vanity of which he is accused, to make him more modest, while inculcating a solid and reasoned loyalty in him. (Towa 1971).

In addition, it was the official policy to spread the French language to the masses in order to fix and determine French nationality and citizenship.

Pedagogically this system proved abortive. It did not take into account the linguistic environment of the Senegalese child before his arrival into the French school. This rupture was reflected in his inability to adapt to his new environment. In the new school, the child was linguistically isolated. Culturally he was equally lost since his basic education had nothing in common with what the new school proposed and expounded. Some valuable time was therefore lost in his efforts to conceptualize his world, to make it his own, and then to express it with new words, since the passage from the traditional school to the French school was like a passage from one world to another, a linguistic initiation. This was what Frantz Fanon, the writer and psychiatrist from Martinique meant when he wrote:

> To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization. (Fanon 1967).

The psychological problem that ensued with this linguistic assumption was tremendous. Since the mastery of the French language represented the passport to the French world and all its attendant benefits, the least of which was not the conferral of the coveted title of "le citoyen francais", some frantic efforts were made by the Senegalese to master this language. To speak the French language with a French accent and with French gestures was to <u>become</u> French. It was to become assimilated. To write French like a French man was to become <u>civilized.</u>

Abdoulaye Sadji's novel, <u>Nini</u>, gives us an example of the relative success of the French linguistic politics seen through the behavior of the young protagonist, Nini, a Senegalese mulatto. Nini, one observes, wants to become white, that is, civilized. She and her friends scorn the Wolof language in favor of the French, and Sadji a social scientist in the cloak of a writer makes the following pertinent observations:

> Above all do not ask them if they speak Wolof (the language of their negro ancestors). They understand only the French language, and perhaps English, since English is a language of the civilized and it has some class. They speak French with a vivacity and color that will make the most intoxicated Parisian envious. They are on the look out for fresh linguistic

> expressions formulated in Paris. They turn them over their thick lips adding to them, in spite of themselves, a certain perfume of gutturality which is hot and authentically negro. (Sadji 1954:310).

If the linguistic behavior of the Ninis and the Nanas of Senegal is explained by a need to sublimate their complex of inferiority, by this neurotic desire to be accepted by the white world, how does one explain the fact that several Senegalese writers, who, according to documented evidence,[1] are against the use of the French language in the daily activities of the country continue to write in French? Is the use of French a necessary evil or is French simply a "speaking-tube" as Jacques Nantet has indicated in a recent study? (Nantet 1972:249).[2]

The answer to the above questions is linked directly with the language policy of the present Senegalese government, led by Leopold Sedar Senghor. Senghor's admiration of the French language is euphoric, an admiration which has led him to consciously or unconsciously condemn his own African languages. Among other things he has written in favor of the French language. I will single out these few lines:

> ...I shall not return to the qualities of order and clarity which have made French during three centuries a universal language, especially, the language of science and diplomacy. They are well known. What I would like to add is that French is also a literary language, a poetic language. It is capable of expressing the most noble sentiments as well as the most delicate and troublesome, the sunshine of the spirit as well as the abyssal night of the unconscious. (Senghor 1964:229).

Several Senegalese intellectuals have, however, in spite of the official policy of the government, carried out activities which are directed towards the neutralization of the policy of linguistic assimilation of the Senegalese. The novelist, Semebene Ousmene, and the linguist, Pathe Diagne freely teach the Wolof language to hundreds of Senegalese in the country. They also publish in this language a journal called *Kaddu*. Each writer, however, has retained the French language for international communication.

Officially Senegal is designated a bilingual country. But how does one define bilingualism in a country where more than two languages are spoken? Does one refer to Serer-French bilingualism, or to French-Wolof bilingualism or again to Diola-French bilingualism? And what does one do with the local bilingualism that is common in the country? The simple fact is that many Senegalese are multilingual. More than 75% speak Wolof in addition to their mother language. Less than 12% of the entire population speak French. In Senegal, therefore, Wolof seems far more important than French because of the number of people who speak it and use it in their every day activities. This brief remark by a French sociologist, G. Manessy lends support to the above observation:

> For the Serere farmers as for a good half of the population of Senegal, Wolof has become the second language and even the principal language of all those who have left their village. (Flis-Zonabend 1968:157).

This explains why many Senegalese intellectuals look to Wolof to perform the task of a national language in the very near future.

3. The French language and African literary realities

People often speak of a mongrel style, "le style de métis", when talking about African literary works. What is meant is that the bicultural education that the African writers have received is manifested in their manner and matter of writing. The African writer, it is believed, thinks in African (whatever that means) and expresses himself in French or in English. From this evolves a new style, fashioned out of elements of heterogeneous origins, producing a style which is neither completely African nor French.

There is without any doubt some evidence of a literary "métissage" or syncretism among Senegalese writers. First of all, the novel, a French literary genre par excellence, is used by these writers as a vehicle for their African thoughts. Structurally the novels of Cheikh Hamidou Kane, Abdoulaye Sadji, Sembene Ousmane, Ousmane Soce, and Malick Fall follow the forms of the traditional western novels. These writers develop plots, create characters whom they push into adventures like western novelists. They employ equally the technique of the interior monologue, dialogue and flashbacks, all handled by an omniscient narrator. This structure and technique, it is true, is to be found also in the traditional oral narrative but in a less diversified manner. Thus one can speak of the universality of the narrative structure.

What is more interesting, however, is that, in spite of these basic similarities in form and structure, the francophone African writers of Senegal remain African in their inspiration and style. The Senegalese writer draws from his tradition and culture some esthetic elements which he inserts into his story. Elements of the African folktale, for example, abound in their novels and in some of their poetry. The writers make use of proverbs, songs, dances, and riddles to advance the meanings of their stories. A particular rhythm for instance characterizes the novel of Malick Fall, *The Wound*, a rhythm which places it at a level between poetry and prose. Image-symbols punctuate the pages of Cheikh Hamidou Kane's *Ambiguous Adventure*, reflecting the literary procedures of the Toukleur. It could be argued that the insertion of traditional elements into the novels is an attempt by these writers to remain authentic, to resist literary assimilation. Francophone writers of African origin have, in general, been criticized as a result of this style of writing, and Senghor was quick to come to their defense when he said:

> To accuse Cesaire and others becuase of their rhythm, their 'monotony', in a word because of their style, is to reproach them for being negroes, Antillians or Africans and not being 'French', if not Christians. It is to criticize them for being themselves, completely sincere. (Senghor 1968:224).

Literary sincerity is something quite difficult to come by, not only in Africa but also through the entire world--especially with the proliferation of books and the holding of literary conferences all over the world with the actual dissemination of the proceedings of the conferences and results of workshops. The point, which need not be labored, is that the effort at literary authenticity is directed towards creating a situation in which creative integrity is greatly enhanced. This explains why, at the level of language, there is a constant effort on the part of some of these writers to reflect African social realities. One observes in the poetry of Senghor, for instance, a neat tendency on the part of the poet to avoid the use of French poetic structures. For him as well as for Aime Cesaire it was a question of "...recreating not only a particular language, as is the case with every authentic poet, but also to create a language subtly different from the French of the metropolitan poets." (Mezu 1968:166). According to Senghor there is too much drama in French poetry, and "drama is anti-poetry". African poetry, in contrast, is symphony in which the word becomes spontaneous rhythm, piloted along by its musical phrases. Senghor insists that his poems be accompanied by the proper musical instruments in order to sustain the rhythm of his poems. Therefore, to capture the essential rhythm of Senghor's poems one needs to forget the French style of accentuating words. Traditional African poetry is based upon the alternations of stressed syllables and atonic syllables, between strong beats and weak beats. In a regular poem, on the other hand, each verse has the same number of accents. The essential rhythm of the African poem is not the rhythm provided by the words themselves but that provided by the percussion instruments which accompany the human voice and mark the fundamental rhythms. Senghor's reflections on the language, and style of African poetry have led him to some metaphysical formulations on the nature of the black artist which need not detain us too long. The essential of these metaphysical observations is that rhythm or the use of it helps the black artist to participate in the vital forces of the Cosmos and imbues him with the creative force. No work of art is worth the name if it does not reflect and transmit this essential rhythm.

One observes, in addition, the constant interference of Serer and Wolof accents and rhythms in the poetry of Senghor. Sometimes, he voluntarily inserts Wolof words in his poems and explains them later. Senghor, the most French of all Senegalese writers, remains African because he sings in French with Serer accents Besides, the richness of his poetry, its significance and meaning will be lost without reference to his glossary.

It might well be argued that the use of glossary limits the stylistic freedom of the African writer, and impedes reading. This is true and is the source of the much criticized stilted style of the African writer. The attempt to elucidate and explain culturally bound words and expressions does carry artistic restrictions and sometimes interferes with some of the dramatic moments in the book. But when it is done by a competent writer it can prove very satisfying literally and linguistically.

Sembene Ousmane, the most prolific of the Senegalese writers, displays a serious concern for reproducing the various language levels of his characters making sure that the particular idiom used reflects the social status of the character. Thus, it is easy to distinguish in his writings between the popular language, that is, the French spoken by the average Senegalese and that spoken by the Senegalese intellectual. Here is the translation of a dialogue between Fousseynou and Mannh Kombeti, two veterans rooted in tradition:

> Yo! yo! oho! said Fousseynou crawling in, coming nearer...He said: "To the glory of God" and continued: "What good, kind lady, will it do to conserve water which does not quench the thirst?"
>
> Man, in vain will be the efforts of those who try to boil waters from the pond.
>
> Water kills everything. Everything. Everything, except frogs.
>
> Let us avoid then putting frogs in water that boils, man!
>
> Kind lady, solitude is bad for people...who are getting old. Don't you agree?
>
> "My fathers! He is changing his tactics and harrassing me by the foot. He is going to see that I listened to our ancestors"
>
> She then declared aloud:
>
> I am not lonely, man. I have inside me many people who populate me. And I am not yet too old to re-enter into my culture.
>
> "Yo! yo! If she had seen me five years ago she would have jumped upon me. She is trying to be smart, as the white man would say.
>
> All that is the fault of the doctor"
>
> A hand is never too much when the thunder threatens, replied Fousseynou. (Osumane 1964:45).

In this dialogue, rife with idiomatic expressions, images, proverbs, aphorisms and metaphors, the traditional African style of conversation is evident. This shows that Sembene Ousmane knows very well his tradition and his people whose folklore and mythical universe he tries to reproduce through words. Even in translation, the oral effect and quality of the original language still comes through in the above passage.

In many of his works Sembene Ousmane is not very literary in the use of the French language. He skins this language as it were,

and Africanizes it from the base. For him the French language is a tool, a carrying tube; un langage passe-partout. His style is economical and functional displaying more often than not the language used by the masses in their daily activities. However, Sembene Ousmane is literary and classical in handling language when he paints scenes or describes landscapes.

On the other hand, Cheikh Hamidou Kane and Malick Fall display a cartesian and conformist style. In form, for instance, the *Ambiguous Adventure* of Kane follows the pattern of some traditional French novels. It is divided into three composite parts of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. The language is polished and highly literary. All the characters speak as perfect masters of the French language, including the curious and strange character called the Fool. Listen to him speak of Europe in the following passage:

> "On the hard asphalt, my exacerbated ears and my eager eyes were vainly on the look-out for the soft upheaval of earth from a naked foot. There was no foot anywhere around me. On the hard carapace, there was only the clattering of a thousand hard shells. Had men no longer feet of flesh? A woman passed me, the pink flesh of her calves hardened monstrously in two black terminal conches at the level of the asphalt. I had not seen one single human foot since I disembarked. All along the asphalt, the tide of shells ran level with it. All around, from the pavement to the house rooftops, the bare and echoing shell of the stone turned the street into a basin of granite. This valley of stone was traversed on its axis by a fantastic river of wild and headstrong mechanisms... (Kane 1962:85).

The French of the Fool is faultless, although it raises some questions on the linguistic sensitivity and judgment of the author who makes a character who is not well educated speak such a fluent French that will make many graduates of the language blush in shame at their own insufficiency. The Fool's language is an accumulation of images and symbols. It is evident that he is speaking of the West and its materialism. To do this he employs images, precisely image-symbols, which form part of the traditional esthetic elements of the Toukleur. The Fulani or Pheul presents ideas through the elaboration of symbols and images and through the intermediaries of concrete as against abstract nouns. Listen to this painful meditation of the Knight ruminating over the Occidentalization of Senegal in the twentieth century:

> In truth, it is not acceleration which the world needs, the knight reflected. "What we must have is a bed, a bed upon which, stretched out, the soul will devermine a respite, in the name of its salvation. Is civilization outside the balance of man and his disposability? The civilized man, is he not the expandable man--expandable for the love of his fellows, expandable above all for

> the love of God? But a voice within him will object, man is surrounded by problems which prevent this quietude. He is born to a forest of questions. The substance of matter in which he participates through his body--which the soul hates--harasses him with a cacophony of demands to which he must respond. "I am hungry. Give me something to eat", his stomach orders. "Are we going to rest at last? Let us rest" his limbs keep murmuring. To his stomach and his limbs, a man gives the answers that are called for; and this man is happy. Then a voice implores him: "I am alone. I am afraid. What is my native country? Who brought me here? Where are they taking me?" The man rises and goes in search of man. Then he isolates himself and prays. This man is at peace. Man must respond to all the questions. You, you wish to ignore some of them... "No," the knight objected for his own part, "No, I only wish for harmony. The most strident voices try to dry out the others. Is that good? Civilization is an architecture of responses. Its perfection, like that of any dwelling house, is measured by the comfort man feels in it, by the added portion of liberty it procures for him. But, precisely, the Diallobe are not free--and you would like to maintain this condition? No, that is not what I want. But man's slavery amid a forest of solutions--is that worth anything more? (Kane 1962: 63-64).

In this long extract, in which the Knight is engaged in a dialogue with himself through the personification of parts of his body--the commanding stomach, the murmuring limbs, and the plaintive voices---Cheikh Hamidou Kane is using traditional Peul literary techniques. Instead of mystifying through abstractions, he concretizes his ideas through images and symbols, and assures in this manner a near-perfect integration of culture and language, for the Peul--as we have said--expresses himself in image-symbols. Through this manner of presenting the African ideas in French, Cheikh Hamidou Kane invests his novel with an indelible African flavor. As a revelation of the immense literary possibilities of the Peul-African using the French language to express a highly dignified culture, Cheikh Hamidou Kane's novel remains a very unique literary and linguistic accomplishment.

Yet Kane has not fulfilled the promise which his novel bears the marks of--nor have other Senegalese writers. Malick Fall's prose in *The Wound* is polished but highly affected. He fails, in my opinion, when he makes the protagonist of his novel speak like an "agrégé" of the French grammar:

> This break is decisive. A man is born, whose place is forever marked on the corner of the mat, in the family compound, in the middle of the market, in the tam-tam. A man who will no longer beg, who will

> no longer beg, who will receive in division what belongs to him. I have two hands, two legs, a robust health. The arena belongs to me. Ladies here is your champion!
> Farewell! haunt of criminals, empty beaches, Farewell! obscurity, dangerous sports. Farewell! thunder storms which lashed my nudity, winds of blinding sands. Farewell! infected apparels; huts, and padded cells. (Malick 1967:163).

The above is a beautiful passage, lyrical in its poetic invocations and reminiscent of some of the great poets of the romantic period. But this style of speaking, this sophisticated language is artificial in the mouth of Magamou, whose background and education are far from being elevated. We must, in the final analysis of *The Wound*, concede that its language would make it "pass" very easily for a French novel.

Ousmane Soce's novel, *Karim*, is a highly informational novel and owes much of its staid success on the anthropological and cultural insight it provides on the Senegalese society of the 1930's. There is little linguistic privacy and no language experimentation, although Soce saddles his novel with Wolof words which he translates. Yet his style is bereft of any serious effort directed towards the 'Africanization' of the French language as is found in the novels of Sembene Ousmane. His simple but realistic style remains thus conformist, especially when he is describing a scene:

> Marieme replaced the dancer in the circle. She marched towards the orchestra which strained towards achieving a harmony worthy of her. She beat the ground with measured steps, bent forward, her right hand shaking as if to beat time; the left retaining her boubou. Suddenly, she stopped, and fidgetted. She balanced her bust to show its pure line; then she took off again, and in a stampede marked by rhythmical vaults, she ran around the circle pretending to tear away everything on her way. She raced like a torrent, in perfect accord with the dizzy music, which changed beats, fast or slow, regulating itself on (the steps) of the dancer to let her breathe. The public carried by the moving and resounding "sabar", formed a distracted accompaniment with their hand claps. (Soce 1948:45-6).

The above description could have been that of a Frenchman writing about a particular African event he knows thoroughly well. Abdoulaye Sadji's style is not much different from Soce's. It is simple and conformist. Like Soce's, his novel is decked with Wolof words which are later translated or explained by the author. But when he describes a scene or a landscape, Sadji is as classical as Sembene Ousmane or Soce.

From this rather brief analysis what is clear and what I have tried to demonstrate is that there is not much linguistic experiment to be found among Senegalese writers in general. Their literary style conforms very much to the French style of writing. One thing I wish to make clear here is that I do not want to confuse the mastery of the syntax, morphology and grammar of the French language with a linguistic assimilation. As I intend to show, it is very possible to modify the borrowed European languages and make them conform to, and effectively translate, African realities. The anxiety created by literary purism or linguistic purity could be the result of a complex: that of trying to show that one can write French as well as a French man, which is not strange, given the competition going on between Senegalese intellectuals and their French counterparts during the period when the politics of assimilation was enforced.

4. Language experiments by Nigerian novelists

In West Africa, some Nigerian writers have gone beyond this inherent colonial mentality in their handling of the English language. For many Nigerian writers, the English language is a means, not an end. Thus the Nigerian writer is less interested in writing the schoolmasterly English or the Queen's English than in transmitting ideas. In this respect the controversial Amos Tutuola comes readily to mind. Tutuola's English is prohibitively strange, even to a non-native speaker of the language. It cannot be called the English of Nigeria for it is not Nigerian "pidgin". It is different from the standard educated English; it is equally different from "educated Nigerian English". But despite Tutuola's quaintness, despite his semantic overlaps, he succeeds in communicating his world to others. Here is a typical Tutuolan English, taken from his first novel, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard:*

> As I was carrying him along the road, he was trying all his efforts to excape or to kill me, but I did not give him a chance to do that. When I had travelled about eight hours, then I reached the town and went straight to the old man's house who told me to go and bring Death from his house. When I reached the old man's house, he was inside his room, then I called him and told him that I had brought Death that he told me to go and bring. But immediately he heard from me that I had brought Death and when he saw him on my head, he was greatly terrified and raised alarm that he thought nobody could go and bring Death from his house, then he told me to carry him (Death) back to his house at once, and he (old man) hastily went back to his room and started to close all his doors and windows, but before he could close two or three of his windows, I threw down Death before his door and at the same time that I threw him down, the net cut into pieces and Death found his way out. (Tutuola 1953:15).

This language is highly private and exotic, and despite its strange diction is very powerful and compelling. Tutuola has no linguistic prohibitions and the spell he holds over some of his readers is derived from the oral effect of his prose.

Other Nigerian writers have been less violent in their linguistic experimentation. Nkem Nwankwo, the author of *Danda*, a picaresque novel, interpolated in the pages of his novel the recorded conversations of village elders in order to reflect faithfully their language level and patterns of speech.

One of the most serious efforts to preserve the forms of an African language in English is to be found in *The Voice*, a novel written by Gabriel Okara, one of Nigeria's finest poets. Okara makes a direct transcription of the syntax and grammar of his mother language, Ijaw, into the English language, producing a prose that is stilted and difficult to dig through as in this passage:

> When Okolo came to know himself, he was lying on a floor, on a cold, cold floor lying. He opened his eyes to see but nothing he saw, nothing he saw, for the darkness was evil darkness and the outside night was black black night. Okolo lay still in the darkness enclosed by darkness, and he/his thoughts picked in his inside. Then his picked thoughts his eyes opened but his vision only met a rock-like darkness. The picked thoughts then drew his legs but his legs did not come. They were as heavy as a canoe full of sand. His thoughts in his inside began to fly in his inside darkness like frightened birds hither, thither, homeless...Then the flying thoughts drew his hand but the hands did not belong to him, it seemed. So Okolo on the cold cold floor lay with his body as soft as an over-pounded foo foo. So Okolo lay with his eyes open wide in the rock-like darkness staring, staring. (Okara 1970:25).

Okara's language, it is true, is closer to the Ijaw verbal structure than to the English, but the meaning is obscured. The diction is unnecessarily contorted and twisted yielding an unpleasant verbal style. It lacks, for example, the verbal felicity found in Chinua Achebe's novels, or the compelling oral quality of Tutuola's stories.

Chinua Achebe represents the most successful of all Nigerian writers in the essay to integrate language and culture in literary expressions. This Igbo writer re-creates in English the basic linguistic structure of the Igbo language without destroying the English syntax in the process, and this gives the impression that Achebe thinks in Igbo and then translates his thoughts into English. This explains also the abundance of proverbs in all his novels, since, among the Igbos, proverbs are regarded as the palm oil with which words are eaten. The characters of Achebe rival each other in the use of proverbs, which represent for them a

sure method of expressing their culture and identifying with the Igbo world.

Achebe, it has been said, is more than a pioneer of technique. He is a conscious and competent craftsman whose close control of language is as efficient as his control of subject matter. Thus, in all his novels, from *Things Fall Apart* to *A Man of the People*, there is a perfect integration of language and theme. This results from his language philosophy, which, among other things, aims at fashioning out of the English language, a new English "still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surrounding". To achieve this balance he brings to bear instinct and judgment. Here is a typical example which Achebe himself likes to give:

> I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes 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 man today will be saying had we known tomorrow. (Achebe 1966:20).

Achebe then presents the same material in another form, displaying a different linguistic pattern and sensitivity:

> I am sending you as my representative among those 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. (Achebe 1966: 20).

The first passage was 'altered' from the second quotation with much deliberation and instinct, giving the former an Igbo vernacular aura that is absent from the second passage. The linguistic mechanism of this alteration takes into account not only the medium, but also the Igbo people's imagistic and metaphorical views of the world.

5. Conclusion

I have discussed what some African writers are doing with the languages inherited from the West. On the one hand, language experiments reflect the inadequacy of the colonial languages to express African realities. The absence of experimentation or the lack of linguistic innovation, on the other hand, is symptomatic of a linguistic alientation emanating from colonial or neo-colonial policies. The limitations of both situations are tremendous. They indicate the cultural malaise of the African writer and his language gymnastics, without representing a permanent prognosis of the solution of Africa's language problems.

Footnotes

[1]See the first section of this paper in Ihechukwu Madubuike, *Assimilation and the Senegalese Novel*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, SUNY, Buffalo, 1973.

[2]Translations from French to English are the author's.

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Chair: William R. Leben (Stanford University)

Herbert STAHLKE (Georgia State University)
An Argument Against Binary Features for Tone: Evidence from Igede and Proto-Mixtecan.

Robert W. WILKINSON (Northwestern University)
The Phonemic Status of Mid Tone in Ebolowa Bulu.

Sara GARNES (Ohio State University)
An Acoustic Analysis of Double Articulations in Ibibio.

Grover HUDSON (Southern Illinois University)
Paradigmatic Initiation of a Sound Change in Hadiyya.

Norbert NIKIEMA (Indiana University)
Vowel Length in Moore: Its Phonemic Status and Its Orthographic Representation.

Jacqueline WARNIER (University of Paris) and Jan VOORHOEVE (University of Leiden)
Vowel Contraction and Vowel Reduction in Mankon.

Garry DALGISH (University of Illinois)
Nasal Interactions with Bantu Vowel-Initial Roots: The Morphological or Phonological Solution.

Session II: Syntax 1 (Afternoon, April 12, 1975)
Chair: Erhard F. K. Voeltz (Indiana University)

Claude HAGEGE (Université de Poitiers and Université de Paris XII)
Some Contributions of Central African Languages to African Linguistics, Linguistic Theory and Language Universals.

M. Sorie YILLAH (Queens College, City University of New York)
Temne Complementation.

Amy MYERS (Queens College, City University of New York)
Complementizer Choice in Some Eastern Bantu Languages.

William R. GAINES (Indiana University)
Thematization and Relativization in Bambara.

Ayọ Bamgbọse (University of Ibadan)
Relative Clauses and Nominalized Sentences in Yoruba.

Roger EPEE (Cornell University)
The Case for a Focus Position in Duala.

James HOSKISON (Ohio State University)
Focus and Topic in Gude.

Session III: Afro-European Creoles (Afternoon, April 12, 1975)
Chair: Morris Goodman (Northwestern University)

Milford JEREMIAH (Morgan State College)
The African Element in Antiguan Creole.
Frederic G. CASSIDY (University of Wisconsin)
The Portuguese Element in Jamaican Creole.
Ian F. HANCOCK (University of Texas) and Peter GINGISS (University of Houston)
A Manding Substratum for the European-Related Atlantic Creoles.
Beatrice L. HALL (SUNY at Stony Brook), and R. M. R. HALL (Queens College, CUNY)
Haitian Creole Sandhi Phenomena.
Charles E. DeBOSE (Stanford University)
Creole Speech Communities.
Wayne R. WILLIAMS (Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierre Leone, and Indiana University)
Variation in the Krio Speech Community.
Esla Y. BYNOE-ANDRIOLO (Graduate Center, CUNY) and M. Sorie YILLAH (Queens College, CUNY)
Predicate Clefting in Afro-European Creoles.

Session IV: Historical and Comparative Studies (Morning, April 13, 1975)
Chair: Victoria Fromkin (University of California, Los Angeles)

Chet A. CREIDER and J. Peter DENNY (University of Western Ontario)
The Semantics of Noun Classes in Proto-Bantu.
Tamly GIVÓN (University of California, Los Angeles)
Focus and the Scope of Assertion: Some Bantu Evidence.
R. M. R. HALL (Queens College, CUNY), Beatrice L. HALL (SUNY at Stony Brook), Stephen A. ANTELL (Graduate Center, CUNY), Amy MYERS (Queens College, CUNY), and Lawrence P. SHEERIN (Graduate Center, CUNY)
Toward a Reconstruction of Proto-Nilotic Vocalism.
John M. STEWART (University of Edinburgh)
Lenis Stops and the Origins of Volta-Comoe Consonant Mutation.
(Proxy: Ilse Lehiste)
Thomas J. HINNEBUSCH (University of California, Los Angeles)
A Reconstructed Chronology of Loss: Swahili Class 9/10.
David DWYER (Michigan State University)
Sierre Leone, Liberia and Guinea as a Linguistic Area: A Preliminary Report.
Larry M. HYMAN (University of California, Berkeley, and University of Southern California), Jan VOORHOEVE (University of Leiden), Jean-Marie HOMBERT (University of California, Berkeley), Gabriel NISSIM (University of Yaoundé), Kenneth STALLCUP (Stanford University), Maurice TADADJEU (Georgetown University), and Jacqueline WARNIER (University of Paris)
The Grasslands Bantu Working Group.

Session V: Syntax 2 (Afternoon, April 13, 1975)
Chair: Robert J. Jeffers (Ohio State University)

Bernd HEINE (Universität zu Köln)
The Study of Word Order in African Languages.
Ellen Contini MORAVA (Columbia University)
Swahili Existentials: A Semantic Analysis.
Annie HAWKINSON (University of California, Berkeley)
Possessed Nominals in Swahili: Inherent Ambiguity?
Elizabeth RIDDLE (University of Illinois)
Relational Grammar and Some Aspects of Swahili Syntax.
Frank R. BRANDON (Centro Unifacado Professional, Rio de Janerio)
A Disyllabic Word Constraint in Swahili.
Janet S. WAGER (University of Washington)
Extraposition and Subject Complements in Swahili.

Session VI. Tonology (Afternoon, April 13, 1975)
Chair: Arnold M. Zwicky (Ohio State University)

Carl R. LAVELLE (University of California, Los Angeles)
Universal Rules of Pitch Realization.
Donald G. CHURMA (Michigan State University)
Is Hausa a Suprasegmental Language?
Raymond O. SILVERSTEIN (Southern Illinois University)
Downdrift and Utterance Planning in Hausa.
A. N. TUCKER (School of Oriental and African Studies, London),
and Chet A. CREIDER (University of Western Ontario)
Downdrift and Downstep in Luo.
Jean-Marie HOMBERT (University of California, Berkeley)
Consonant Types, Vowel Height and Tone in Yoruba
John GOLDSMITH (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Tone Melodies and the Autosegment.
Jan P. STERK (University of Wisconsin)
The Ordering of Derivational Tone Rules in Yoruba.
John M. CLIFTON (Indiana University)
Nonsegmental Tone in Lango.

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