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FIVE

African Languages for African Studies: Agenda Setting

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Abstract

It is without any doubt that most African Languages, in the precolonial period, were mostly utilized orally. During the colonial era, colonial languages were used for documentations of official and spiritual correspondences. In Nigeria, generally, and among the Yoruba in particular, English was employed to facilitate all forms of diplomatic transactions. The consequence of this has seen the incapacitation of Yoruba in the area of speakership and usage in diverse fields, especially in the different academic fora. Following this background, this study is an attempt at creating models for the reconfiguration and strengthening of African languages in order to be able to meet up with the demand and present realities of African studies. Suggestions on how to achieve this includes terminology development in various academic study areas; introducing models and strategies of translation, especially machine translation; elevating the status of the languages and revisiting their codification processes. This study will enable the reflexivity of African languages in line with the culture and general worldview of the African people, which the foreign language has been struggling to achieve. It is expected that the outcome of this attempt could proffer solutions to some of the epistemology and semantic issues facing African studies.

Keywords: Codification, Orthographies, Models, Reconfiguration, Terminology Development

Langues africaines pour les études africaines : Mise en place d'un agenda

Résumé

Il ne fait aucun doute que la plupart des langues africaines, dans précoloniale, étaient principalement utilisées oralement. Pendant l'ère coloniale, les langues coloniales étaient utilisées pour documenter les correspondances officielles et spirituelles. Au Nigeria, en général, et chez les Yorubas en particulier, l'anglais a été utilisé pour faciliter toutes les formes de transactions diplomatiques. Cette évolution a eu conséquence l'incapacité du yoruba à s'exprimer et à être utilisé dans divers domaines, en particulier dans les différents forums universitaires. C'est dans ce contexte que cette étude tente de créer des modèles de reconfiguration et de renforcement des langues africaines afin de pouvoir répondre à la demande et aux réalités actuelles des études africaines. Les suggestions sur la manière d'y parvenir comprennent le développement de la terminologie dans divers domaines d'études universitaires, l'introduction de modèles et de stratégies de traduction, en particulier la traduction automatique, l'élévation du statut des langues et le réexamen de leurs processus de codification. Cette étude permettra la réflexivité des langues africaines en accord avec la culture et la vision générale du monde du peuple africain, ce que la langue étrangère s'est efforcée de faire. Les résultats de cette tentative devraient apporter des solutions à certains des problèmes épistémologiques et sémantiques auxquels sont confrontées les études africaines.

Mots-clés: Codification, Modèles, Orthographies, Reconfiguration, Développement terminologique

Introduction

African Study has experienced various levels of development both from western and the African perspectives. Although, the

development seems to have gained more attention from the global north, much more than it is expected from the southern counterpart. During the European exploration of the African continent, studies about the continent were visible in the academic scene, mostly among the Europeans. Studies in archeology and anthropology could be considered as trail blazer in the various attempts at unearthing the hitherto mysteries of the African continent, especially the south of the Sahara. African studies can be said to include all studies identified within all the concept and contexts in relation to the entire African Continent. Although, this definition covers the entire African hemisphere, this report identifies the distinction between the nations of the northern African hemisphere and the sub-Sahara Africa. Therefore, the African Studies under interrogation relates to the entire worldview and realities of the Sub-Saharan Africa. The emergence of the field of African Studies can be connected to the colonial influence or direct involvement of states in either the colonisation, colonial rule or decolonisation of African regions and people – with the latter as the passive objects rather than the architects of the study areas defined (Melber, 2009:186). It is observed that, in the earliest period of scholarship in African studies, the key players in the systematic scientific of the continent are the Europeans on one hand, and later, the Americans on the other. The entire African studies scholars have been sectionalized into two, namely, the externalists that believe that the problem of the development of African is accrued to the presence and ideologies of the west while the other group comprises of the internalists, those that believe that Africa's underdeveloped fate should be traced to bad leadership by the Africans themselves. (Shitta-Bey, 2014; Ofuasia, 2022). In this study, it seems to me that the presence of western ideologies has

caused more harm than good to the African continent. It might not be out of place to conclude that the influence of the west, presented by these externalists is an offshoot of the colonial practices in Africa. Should we conclude that the present misadventure of the African continent is historical, traceable to the precolonial period? Certainly not. Therefore, there should be a limit to the blame game on the people of Africa on the sad situation of the continent (Kitching, 2003). Thus, the outlook of African Studies is more conspicuous with the ideologies and observations of the so-called externalists, especially with the availability and provision of funding opportunities into the research environment in African Studies. In order to achieve an optimum African studies research dynamics, there have been academic debates on whether only African scholars should be at the forefront of African studies or that African identity does not really matter in carrying out good research. The scenario described above is peculiar to the crux of this study in the sense that there are certain peculiarities that allow for proper research and methodologies in carrying out studies relating to African realities. of such peculiarities language. One is mismanagement of language of research could lead to identifiable loophole in African Studies in the Africa continent. Language can be considered as the unsung hero in the centre of any study and especially in African studies, if we consider how important Africans reference their languages. For instance, Language is an important treasure box among the Yoruba people, it contains their general attitude, their perspective and their entire existence. There is a Yoruba proverb that says:

> wón ní "omo re kò gbón", O ní "ó gbón, kò mọ òrò sọ ni. Kí lolórí àìgbón bí kì í bá se àìmòróso?

This can be fairly translated thus:

It's alledged "your child is not wise"
You said "they are wise, they just do not know language-use". What is the height of foolery if not the lack of proper language-use?

The language-use in the above proverb is the ability of a language user to be able to their speech appropriately, for the right purpose and the right situation. The inability to achieve this is considered as serious foolery. This shows that just like other Africans, the Yoruba of people take language-use seriously and it is expected that their children be trained in the art of appropriate indigenous linguistic expertise. To achieve success in the study of Africa, indigenous languages in Africa should not only be given a prominent level of attention but also to be encouraged as research dissemination medium.

African Language Development: Matters Arising

Weapons adopted by the Europeans to achieve colonialism in African include the introduction of their language, religion and other institutions to the African people. Majority of African nations have found it so difficult to maintain their indigenous languages amidst the growing popularity of the languages of the colonialists (Mazrui & Mazrui, 2000). This situation was implemented across colonial Africa (Awoniyi, 1978; Kashoki, 1979). Africans began to find reasons to learn the language of their colonialists in order to meet up with the new requirements since language is a useful tool in all endeavours. Most of the policies and ordinances that were introduced by the colonial governments across Africa were presented in colonial languages.

In Nigeria, and in Yoruba nation in particular, English had no serious competition with Yoruba language.

There was an aggressive awareness and introduction of the English Language in various government units. Most importantly, the introduction of western education to the Yoruba people was a factor that relegated the use of Yoruba language among the people. The Yoruba people had to put in efforts to meet up with the language requirements, this being done at the detriment of Yoruba language development. The missionaries did their bits to make sure that Yoruba language also enjoyed some level of development. They organized workshop and conferences which resulted into orthography development of the language and other reports that could help in the development of the Yoruba language, using the European standard (Bamgbose, 1986).

The first set of Yoruba writing exercise is the translation of the Holy Bible into Yoruba language. This translation exercise was coordinated by a certain Reverend, later Bishop Ajayi Crowther. Bishop Ajayi Crowther himself had been captured by slave traders at his early years but was freed and taken to Freetown, Sierra Leone, where he had his education. Bishop Crowther would later return to Lagos where he was committed to the gospel in the Christian way. As much as the efforts of the missionaries in reducing the Yoruba language into writing is very much appreciated, the Christianity consciousness of these early writers must have affected the deep and complete understanding of the language. For instance, the condemnation of traditional religious practices owing to the belief that they are fetish and that they promote paganism made the missionaries do less research in that area. However, the practice of the traditional religions, with various units producing oral literature which is considered as the treasure box of the understanding of Yoruba language was neglected. This was an obvious gap in the developmental process of Yoruba language. So, two issues that have been identified as the shortcoming of Yoruba language is first, the willingness of the colonial government to integrate the colonial language into the African society, thereby refusing to sponsor and develop Yoruba language, and second, the various gaps identified in the efforts of the missionaries to develop Yoruba due to their isolation to the traditional religious practices. These two have created a weak foundation for the language to develop on.

So, western education thrived in the land, and with the language of the colonialists. Researches that were carried out by various early anthropologists and archaeologists had no complete grasps of indigenous African languages due to the two points that have been identified above.

Later in African studies researches, western anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists and others scholars dominated the study area. Majority of these scholars were engaged in field works, however, very few of them made extra effort to study and understand the Yoruba language, which obviously aided their data gathering process on and off the field, as well as the process of report writing. This is the case with most African indigenous languages because most of the African studies scholars have a very shallow knowledge of the African languages in whose society they are working on.

Scholars in African Studies that are domiciled outside the continent, whose works aim at creating awareness for the elevation of African indigenous knowledge sure need some level of linguistic understanding of the African nation which their works

focus on. However, we have not experienced much of this, only a handful African study scholar could boast of some coherence and competence in African languages. There are not much European scholars in the likes of Ulli Beier and Karen Barber who could boast of a good level of Yoruba language. In recent times, it appears that interest of international scholars in learning new African languages have reduced, thereby leading to a gradual relegation of African languages in African Studies scholarship, most non-African scholars are only interested in having more than the basic knowledge of the African indigenous language. For instance, in Yoruba cosmology, the Ifa, which is a system of divination, and which is also considered as the main instructions and authority from the supreme being. It is also regarded as the totality of God's message to mankind on earth which is sent through one of the deities - Orunmila (Bascom, 1969; Abimbola, 1975; Emmanuel, 2000). There are diverse verses that speak to human existence and livelihood in the Ifa system of divination. These verses contain so much information about the Yoruba people, so much that a considerable percentage of the literary contents of the Yoruba is domiciled in it. Therefore, a level of understanding of the Ifa oracle and how it works is required to be able to leverage on as an important data source.

On the other hand, like many other African languages, Yoruba is a tonal language, and the tones are contrastive, i.e., the tones have their meanings and they can resort to semantic differences in a pair of words. The autosegmental effect of the Yoruba language is so important such that no successful research can be carried out in the language without the proper understanding and use of the tones. For instance, it is the tonal effect that distinct words like àgbà (elder) and àgbá (drum); ìgbá (garden egg), ìgbà (period), igba (two hundered) and igbá (calabash). Another

aspect of the language analysis that requires more than the basic understanding is the various stylistic devices, those that are connotatively employed by indigenous language users. Second language learners will find these language situations as a challenge to be able to make use of the language appropriately. Examples of such devices are irony, metaphor, paronymy, antonymy, homonymy, idioms and proverbs. What the above explanation suggest is that some African languages, like Yoruba language can be a very serious challenge to non-African researchers if any serious research is to be achieved.

One of the reasons why agenda setting is being proposed for scholars, both non-African and African that are doing research in African studies is to facilitate easy comprehension and interpretation of the data coming out from the continent. Also, it provides a model that can be employed by scholars working in a continent that is not indigenous to them.

More like the above, African-based scholars, even with a good understanding and fluency of their languages, have concentrated much on the use of colonial languages rather than putting in effort at utilizing African languages for their African studies scholarship exercises. This realization is not unconnected to the desire of these scholars to make their works accessible and available in the universal space thereby not pursuing the pluriversal advantage of African linguistic multiplicity.

African Studies' repellent

There have been various contentions on the general subject of African Studies, and these contentions have produced diverse implications bothering on the progression or regression of the discipline, both within and outside of the Continent. For instance,

scholars like Gavin Kitching established a strong ground on which he gave up African Studies. Kitching stated that: "I was depressed, that is to say, both by what was happening to African people and by my inability even to explain it adequately, let alone do anything about it" (Kitching, 2003:3).

The various sociopolitical mishap in the postcolonial Africa were part of what put Kitching off as an African Studies researcher. Furthermore, there is strong reason to consider important variables that are vital to the success of African studies on the continent of Africa. Undoubtedly, one of those variables is language. Since there are no people without a language of their own, the appropriate study of those group of people should include their wholeness (Kukah, 2007). If we consider the African development paradigm in the precolonial era vis-à-vis what obtains in African states after the departure of colonial administrators in Africa, the narration has always been that African states have experienced some sort of stagnation. This, unfortunately, has earned them clichés such as 3rd world countries, underdeveloped and developing countries. Although, the debate on the choice of measuring yardstick for the definition of development is still ongoing, yet, African studies, just like African states have not been favourably positioned in the entire universal discourse on development.

Considering the variables discussed above, maybe one should not be too quick to judge Kitching for his frustration in the process of doing African studies. Lack of sociocultural and socioeconomic advancement suffice to cause depression in a chosen lane of practice. In the same vein, scholars in African studies, especially linguists and African language experts are likely to experience depression in the way the language components of African studies are being handled. After the arrival of Christian missionaries, and followed by colonial administrators in the continent, we experienced the necessary reduction of African languages, which were mostly in their oral form, to written form. Although, various African colonial governments made some attempts to document some African languages through the institutionalization and development of their orthographies as well as the codification of the languages, yet, the colonial languages were given a much higher official status. Furthermore, there have been serious misconception that African languages are not able to cater for linguistic demands of science and technology, among other disciplines, and that only colonial languages possess the wherewithal needed to communicate the language of science and technology (Kago and Cisse, 2022)

African Languages and African Studies' Contents

Language and culture of any people cannot be isolated, one from another. And this is the reason why any form of regression and lack of attention on the language of a group of people is not unlikely to produce a dent on the sociocultural praxes of the people. Going by the decision of the early non-African scholars of African Studies on their conception and usage of African indigenous languages in their research dissemination process, they seem not to possess this realization when they first got exposed to Africa and African studies. Little attention was given to African languages in the course of establishing the so-called advanced ideals and attitude in the African continent during the colonial period. This is not only limited to African languages; it was a general attitude in other disciplinary contexts. This is the reason why Rev. Matthew Kukah highlighted that: ...Western colonialists resorted to denying us a sense of culture and religion

as a tool for subjugating us. Similarly, they denied that we have any African literature, African Philosophy nor were we capable of any processes of economic thought (Kukah, 2006:39). This has always been the case; Africans were not given the opportunity to showcase the capability of their languages during their colonial experience. Unfortunately, post-colonial African leaders were somehow doing the bidding of international diplomacy by yielding to the already established colonial attitude (Kitching, 2003). The diverse definitions and perspective of African studies does not exclude the concept of the worldview, history and philosophy of Africa and the African people, both within and outside the continent. Without any doubt, all the abovementioned praxes have language components which cannot be jettisoned in the entire attempt to conserve and develop them in the global space.

In the guest of African studies to carry out a deep-dive analysis of the components of African studies, including for instance, African folklores, African languages should then be given top priority. Without the mincing of words, folklores of the African people contain, and sufficiently, the stories of a society that is usually in transit from generation to generation, albeit through word of mouth. It is pertinent to also note that these folklores are centuries old and if they have been sustained up till this age, language is surely the one and only medium of their survival. It is the way of life of Africans to be conservationists. Africa is believed to be peopled by an old race both in body and mind (Ajikobi, 2007:195). The oral tradition of African folklores has since been reduced to written and by extension, transformed through translations by efforts of colonial administrators through western educational strategies. It is another debate to consider if the translated folklores can sufficiently transmit all the contents from

the source language into the target language. In order to avoid this kind of debate, African studies must diligently allow the use of African languages in their original forms so as to maintain and sustain the originality of not just the lore of the African people, but other contents and contexts of the entire belief-system. Here, we call to mind the famous William Channing's quote: No one should part with their individuality and become that of another. Effort at not to part with their individuality is what is believed to be in existence in the African contexts of language conservation with the identification of over 2,000 languages; emanating from over 2,000 individualities and nationalities in the continent. One of the main concerns of African studies should be how a few colonial languages could appropriately represent the identities, thoughts and aspirations of these number of nationalities. If African languages have not been properly considered by African studies scholars for report dissemination, one wonders how much of African representation has been achieved by African study.

Non-African Researcher, African Languages, and African Studies

Undoubtedly, the contribution of the western world to African Studies cannot be overemphasised. Some of the African Studies scholars are of the opinion that external factors such as the influence of the global north and the various international diplomacy are solely responsible for the non-development of African. On the other hand, some other scholars believed that Africans are the architect of their own misfortune. The contribution of these different crops of scholars to African Studies has not come without its debate in the African studies space, this is regarded by Kitching as one of the reasons why he gave up African Studies. Kitching notes that:

I was depressed by the polarization, within the world of African studies as it was in the early 1980s, between those advocating what were called 'internalist' explanations of Africa's problems and those who continued to favour 'externalist' explanations. I was depressed because advocates of the latter view often charged advocates of the former with "blaming African people" for Africa's parlous state.

(Kitching, 2003:3).

Similar to Kitching's frustration, the debate on whether to consider African languages for African Studies report or to make use of colonial languages that are much more acceptable worldover is ongoing among language scholars. However, it has been suggested by scholars of African studies that it is best to express African worldview in the indigenous languages of the Africans (Ambler, 2011; Falaiye, 2017). The questions that should be asked is that: how can this be made possible knowing that comprehension of African languages might be a challenge to Europeans and Americans who do not speak African languages? The answers to the question might be that, first, these foreign scholars learnt the African languages before they could achieve success in the study area in Africa. Second, it could be that the foreign scholars rely wholly on an indigenous research assistant who also serves as a translator and/or an interpreter. These two say the least, could easily lead to answers. to misrepresentation and misunderstanding of research report and documentations of the indigenous language of the people.

Any of the two possible answers could be valid, all depending on the methods of research employed by the foreign researchers. Examining the answers, firstly, it will be very uninteresting for foreign scholars to depend on the knowledge of the African language as a second learner before going for field trip. Second language learners tend to learn the basic aspect of a language in a bid to utilise it for basic expressions and verbal exchanges. A researcher in a foreign language must have been very fluent in the language before they could embark on such research. Yoruba language is an example of an African language that researchers need to have more than the basic knowledge before any meaningful research can be carried out. The foreign researcher relies on the competence of the research assistant who is believed to have a complete understanding of the language of the society.

However, the complete reliance on such person is risky, such outcome of the research largely depends on the truthfulness of the assistant. If the data gathered are compromised, findings and conclusions will also be compromised. The third possibility depends on the first two possibilities, such that if the foreign scholar learnt the language as a second learner only when the research is about to be carried out, or that the researcher depends wholly on the assistant in the field, these two situations can easily be compromised. And therefore, the research report is misrepresented. This has happened with early colonial researchers in the Yoruba nation where the deities of the Yoruba people were interpreted to be Gods. The foreign researchers, concluding that the Yoruba deities are Gods, should not be, and they were referred to as small gods, writing the word with a lower-case initial letter 'g'. This is a misinterpretation that could have happened due to any of the three questions raised above.

Furthermore, it is the mistake of the translators of the Holy Bible from English to Yoruba, led by the revered Bishop Ajayi Crowther, that made him and his team translated *Esu* to mean Satan. *Esu* is one of the deities in Yoruba cosmology and there is no character called Satan in the Yoruba belief system. These are some of the misinterpretations in African studies, caused by the lack of understanding of the Yoruba language. Indeed, this must have happened to many other African people where foreign researchers have presented them wrongly to the global audience.

Setting the Agenda for African Languages in African Studies

There are diverse studies that have been carried out in the Yoruba cosmology either by a non-Yoruba scholar or an indigenous Yoruba scholar. Whichever, language plays a vital role in the development of Yoruba Studies in particular and African studies in general. Obviously, there are series of language challenges to African Studies including language-use; language interpretation and translation. In this report, I present some agenda that can serve as model for the role of African language in doing research in African studies. This agenda is targeted towards African studies centres, both in the African continent and outside the continent.

African studies centres should, as a matter of policy, include the provisions of the teaching and learning of African Indigenous languages in their curriculum and should be made to be offered as compulsory courses for students. Certificate courses in African languages should also be introduced, this will afford researchers to enroll in such certificate courses with the intention of acquiring a substantial knowledge about the language. Arrangement for language immersion exercise should be an integral part of the language course and certificate programme, where students and

researchers will have the opportunity to integrate with the locals in a particular African ethnic group. This is vital and should be considered a prerequisite for researchers seeking grants to carry out research in African studies where a field trip to that African country is imminent. African language scholars should be made to teach the courses so that the nitty gritty of the language, which is hardly found in black and white, would be communicated to students and researchers. This should go beyond the teaching of only the basics, the advanced concept of the indigenous languages should be critically investigated.

There are still some accounts of orality in the literatures of some of the indigenous languages of Africa which have not yet been documented. Also, there are some languages that have not been reduced to the written form, before research can be carried out in such culture, it is expedient that the language be documented. Therefore, production of dictionaries and metalanguage of selected African languages should be a continuous exercise at African Studies centres and institutes, world over.

One can only wonder what African Studies is being done without the use of African languages as dissemination medium. If all stakeholders are indeed serious about achieving goals and the agenda of African studies, we should take African languages more seriously.

Conclusion

Multilingualism is one of the sociolinguistic features of African nations. It has been stated that the one-third of the world languages are found in Africa. The world has a big role to play in order to make sure that these multiple languages are properly documented and well preserved for the future; this will also avert

possible extinction of many African languages. It is believed that African languages contain all the data needed to do African Studies, the interpretation of these data might not be readily available except a careful attempt to language study is put in place by all concerned. In this study, I have suggested some steps that could help reduce the challenge of linguistic component of African Studies.

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