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Footprints of Caliban: Appropriation of English in Selected African Fictional Texts

Cheela Himutwe K. Chilala

Prolegomenon

This paper is concerned with the appropriation of the English language by African fiction writers. The paper refers to appropriation as Calibanisation—a term derived from the name of Caliban, the monster character who is disinherited and enslaved by Prospero in Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*. Caliban uses the European language taught to him by Prospero to resist the oppressor. This paper explores how some African writers have appropriated the English language to create an Africanised English. Some of the best examples of such appropriation of the English language are the fictional works of Chinua Achebe, especially *Things Fall Apart*. The paper also explores the use of the appropriation device in two Zambian fictional works: *Before Dawn* by Andrey Masiye, and *The Chosen Bud* by John Luangala.

Few fictional characters have attracted as much debate as Caliban, the monster character of Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*.¹ At the heart of this debate has been the contention by some schools of thought that Caliban's experience is metonymic of the experiences of the colonised at the hands of the colonisers. They proceed from the premise that the relationship between Caliban and his master, Prospero is a paradigm of imperialism.² In this regard it may be argued that Caliban's hostile attitude towards his master, Prospero, epitomizes one of the tools of resistance to, and subversion of, the colonial enterprise. More specifically, Caliban's resistance is characterised by the appropriation of the master's language, which, as Lamming argues, is one of the means by which Prospero colonises Caliban.³ Postcolonial literature, as exhibited on the African continent, is in part characterised by the appropriation of the colonial languages—in particular English—to carry the burden of the African spirit and culture.

I: Calibanising English

The concept of postcolonial literature cannot be fully explored without discussing colonialism and postcolonialism. In the seminal work *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Boehmer argues that postcolonial literature “is that which critically scrutinizes the colonial relationship. It is writing that set out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives.”⁴ Postcolonialism “rejects the idea of a universally applicable. . . explanation of things and emphasises the separateness or otherness of post-imperial nations and peoples.”⁵ Just as Caliban opposes Prospero in the master-slave relationship, postcoloniality is also characterised by an “oppositional stance” to colonialism.⁶

If Caliban represents the colonised, Prospero, his oppressive master, represents the imperial centre, or agents of colonialism. Prospero, travelling with his daughter Miranda, is caught in a violent storm that destroys their ship and casts them on a remote island. Upon landing on the island, Prospero discovers that it is inhabited by Ariel, a witch, and Caliban. Prospero takes over the island and enslaves Caliban, the rightful owner of the island, offering him European hospitality and teaching him language.

Caliban, despite being cast as a savage, is no fool, and declares that he is the rightful owner of the island—that he is the one who even taught Prospero what he needed to know about the island, and that Prospero grabbed it from him.

This island’s mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak’st from me. . .⁷

As it was with Caliban, so it is with the colonised territories: European imperialists took over lands belonging to Africa. They extended the ideologies of European civilisation to the conquered territories and confined the indigenous people to a life of suppression and oppression, taking away their freedom. To cap it all, they imposed their language on the colonised peoples in the same way that Prospero taught his European language to Caliban. Thus, through oppression, suppression, false promises, and language, the colonial enterprise was sustained and entrenched. The words of Ngugi wa Thiong’o may be relevant here: “The domination of a people’s language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised.”⁸

In essence, the colonial condition parallels Caliban's condition: oppression, control, and exploitation by the imperial centre; deprivation of land ownership rights; erosion of one's heritage; loss of identity; and imposition of the coloniser's language. During the colonial period, Africa not only lost its cultural heritage; it was, as Davidson states, "reduced to silence and subjugation" by the colonial powers.⁹ The colonial languages—English, Portuguese and French—were imposed upon the colonised territories as part of cultural dominance. As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin observe, "One of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language."¹⁰ However, just as Caliban eventually resisted Prospero, so the colonised nations of Africa began to resist colonialism starting in the 1950s, a period to which Molefi Asante refers as the "freedom era."¹¹

Upon attaining freedom the former colonies also embarked on efforts to rebuild their societies and reclaim their dignity and heritage, which included land and culture. Guerin, Labor, Morgan, Reesman and Willingham argue: "Among the many challenges facing postcolonial writers are the attempts both to resurrect their culture and to combat the pre-conceptions about their culture."¹² Language was at the centre of the colonising process; however, it was also at the centre of the decolonising process and the process of reclaiming national identity and cultural heritage. Caliban uses the very language taught him by Prospero in order to fight back in his quest for freedom and self-identity. Prospero accuses Caliban of being ungrateful despite being "civilised" and knowing how to use the master's language. Caliban responds:

You taught me language, and my profit on't is,
I know how to curse. The red plague rid you for learning me
your language!¹³

Caliban turns the language—a tool used to confine him to slavery—into an instrument of resistance and self-affirmation. Caliban had two options: reject the master's language or embrace it and turn it into a tool of resistance. He chose the latter. The same options are available in the era of postcoloniality: to use or not to use the master's language. This challenge is no less significant in the context of postcolonial literature. Should African writers use or not use the colonial languages?

The use of English, or lack of it, has been a source of unending and, as yet, unsettled debate regarding the nature of African literature itself. Is African literature that which is written only in African languages, or does it include texts in the colonial languages? This debate first came to the fore when prominent African writers and scholars met at Makerere University College in Kampala, Uganda, in 1962. Under the theme, "A Conference of African Writers of English Expression," the meeting was characterised by heated debate.

The summit did not resolve the question of the place of English within the nexus of African literature or literatures. However, two main positions emerged from the conference: those who argued that African writers should only write in their local languages, and those who argued that English could still be used by African writers despite being a non-African language. Ngugi belonged to, and was a strong advocate of the ideals of, the former school of thought. Achebe, on the other hand, belonged to the latter camp, arguing that Africans could use English to carry the burden of their heritage.

Ngugi argues: "Why, we may ask, should an African writer, or any writer, become so obsessed by taking from his mother-tongue to enrich other tongues? Why should he see it as his particular mission?"¹⁴ He has written a number of major works in his native Gikuyu. Achebe, on the other hand, has never written any fiction in his native Igbo language, preferring to write in English. However, he has written in an Africanised English described thus by Palmer:

Without seriously distorting the nature of the English, Achebe deliberately introduces the rhythms, speech patterns, idioms and other verbal nuances of Ibo. . . The effect of this is that while everyone who knows English will be able to understand the work and find few signs of awkwardness, the reader also has a sense, not just of black men using English, but of black Africans speaking and living in a genuinely black African rural situation.¹⁵

Achebe has been described as the "founding father of African writing in English," using the language to challenge "the perspective of colonialist white writers"¹⁶ Appiah says of Achebe and his Africanised style of English:

He found ways to render in his spare and memorable prose the life and the language of traditional village people in Nigeria, in a way that seemed so utterly natural that it is hard to appreciate how magnificent an achievement it was. . . . The result was talking about Africa in the colonial language that allowed his characters to live for us as richly specific human beings, located in a particular place, but belonging, as all great literature does, to people everywhere.¹⁷

This view of the use of the English language by postcolonial writers is supported by Rao who argues: “One has to convey in a language that is not one’s own the spirit that is one’s own.”¹⁸ In other words, instead of rejecting English and replacing it with an indigenous language, this view advocates a usage of English that adjusts it to suit the cultural context of the African writer. In other words, the view advocates the *re-placing* of English rather than *replacing* of it. It rejects the imperial centre’s “rules” of what “good English” is and how the language should be used. It rejects the notion that Received Standard English (RS-English) as perpetuated and promoted by the imperial centre, is the only acceptable way to write.

In postcolonial literature, the use of English to carry the burden of one’s own culture, per Achebe, or per Rao, convey one’s own spirit, is better known as abrogation, or more specifically, appropriation—for abrogation only finds its best expression through appropriation. Okara, as quoted by Ngugi says of appropriation:

Some may regard this way of writing English as a desecration of the language. This is of course not true. Living languages grow like living things, and English is far from a dead language. . . . Why shouldn’t there be a Nigerian or West African English which we can use to express our own ideas thinking and philosophy in our own way?¹⁹

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin say of abrogation and appropriation:

Abrogation refers to the rejection by post-colonial writers of a normative concept of “correct” or “standard” English used by certain classes or groups, and of the corresponding concepts of inferior “dialects” or “marginal variants”. The concept is usually employed in conjunction with the term appropriation, which describes the processes of English adaptation itself, and is an

important component of the post-colonial assumption that all language use is a “variant” of one kind or another (and is in that sense “marginal” to some illusory standard) In arguing for the parity of all forms of English, abrogation offers a counter to the theory that use of the colonialist’s language inescapably imprisons the colonized within the colonizer’s conceptual paradigms—the view that “you can’t dismantle the master’s house with the master’s tools”. Abrogation implies rather that the master’s house is always adaptable and that the same tools offer a means of conceptual transformation and liberation.²⁰

Boehmer describes appropriation as a “take-over” of the English language: “Take-over or appropriation was in its way a bold refusal of cultural dependency.”²¹

Achebe successfully used appropriation of the English language in writing his novels, with the best example being *Things Fall Apart*.²² This appropriation of the language of the coloniser is what Caliban does—using it for his own purpose even if, from Prospero’s perspective, all he does with it is curse. Hence I refer to Achebe’s appropriation of the English language as Calibanisation of language. While Prospero sees the manner in which Caliban uses the language as a “desecration,” to borrow Okara’s phrase, of the master’s language, the bottom line is that Caliban uses it the way he chooses. To Calibanise the English language therefore is to “Africanise” it, to make it say what only an African can say, without being encumbered by the linguistic dictates of the imperial centre. It is to re-place the language in an African cultural context.

Thus, for example, Achebe is on record as having rejected the use of the term *tribe* as determined by the imperial centre. In his book *Home and Exile* he argues that the Igbos should not be referred to as a tribe: “The Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria are more than ten million strong and must be accounted one of the major peoples of Africa. Conventional practice would call them a tribe, but I no longer follow that convention. I call them a nation.”²³

With regard to how Achebe successfully appropriates the English language in his works of fiction, Chukwukere states:

Part of the greatness of Achebe, part of the pleasure we get from reading him, lies in the very fact that he has a sure and firm control of his English, exemplified particularly in his rendering of

Ibo-language processes—idiom, imagery, syntax and so forth—into English.²⁴

Postcoloniality, therefore, is more than just a multi-faceted effort to reject or appropriate the paradigms of the imperial centre; it is also about reclaiming ownership of lost heritage. In addition, it is about recreating self-identity through a revisiting of history and cultural heritage; it is about what Boehmer refers to as “retrieval.”²⁵ He posits that postcolonial literature “gives structure to, as well as being structured by, history.”²⁶ The retrieval of history—through language—is critical to postcolonialism because the imperial centre had, in the past, argued that Africa had no history. Even Newton, a well-known historian, once argued: “Africa had no history before it was colonized by Europeans.”²⁷

The process of abrogation has also involved falling back on historical aspects of African culture, as is evidenced by Achebe’s works, that would pass for archives of Igbo history and culture. Boehmer states that postcolonial writers “participate in the processes of indigenization” by “manipulating English to suit their own creative needs.”²⁸ He adds, “To loosen it from its colonial past, as they would the novel, writers must subject English to processes of syntactic and verbal dislocation. By adopting local idioms and cultural referents in English is acclimatized, made national.”²⁹

II: The Case of Zambia

Achebe’s style of appropriating the English language to write African fiction has inspired and influenced many African writers, including Zambians, who have attempted to imitate him, especially his style as used in *Things Fall Apart*. The influence of the Achebe appropriation-inspired novel in Zambian literature is acknowledged by no less a literary figure than the late Kabwe Kasoma, better known for his plays than his works of fiction. Kasoma, who admits that Achebe was a “great influence” on him,³⁰ does not hide his admiration for the Nigerian’s ability to use English to express African thought: “When you read Achebe you recognise a lot of Ibo patterns of thought in his writing.”³¹

Despite the fact that Kasoma is the only Zambian writer to acknowledge the influence of Achebe on his work, it is evident from the analysis of some Zambian novels, as this article

will demonstrate later, that several “Africanise” the English language. Worth noting, however, is Kasoma’s assertion that Masiye’s novel, *Before Dawn*, “is a novel that portrays the Zambian cultural image. You can see the Nsenga, or is it the Chewa, thinking in the sentence construction,” revealing his attention to the Africanisation of English.³² Kasoma also draws our attention to how he applies the Achebe style in his unpublished novel *Society is to Blame*:

In my own novel the beginning of it is: “Our nakedness has grown very big.” That’s a very typical Bemba expression. When the Bemba are writing letters to their children in the towns and they are in the village, they talk about their nakedness being very big—I’m not being pornographic. They are talking about the clothes, that their clothes are torn and the children should remember them back in the village. This is a typical Bemba thought. An Englishman reading this sentence would get lost unless he continues reading to find out what I mean when I say, “Our nakedness has grown very big.”³³

As Kasoma’s unpublished novel was never made accessible to the public, we shall refer to excerpts from three published Zambian novels to illustrate the influence of Achebe’s writing style: Masiye’s *Before Dawn*, Luangala’s *The Chosen Bud*, and Mulaisho’s *Tongue of the Dumb*. The three novels are largely set in traditional society. Though written in English, the novels occasionally use words and expressions from the Zambian indigenous linguistic repertoire. In addition, the novels are characterised by cultural conflict akin to Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*. Furthermore, the novels serve as “archives” of Zambian traditions and culture.

In *Before Dawn*, Masiye occasionally falls back on Chewa words and expressions. The following passage serves as an example. Tinenenji, heavy with child, is experiencing birth pangs while her husband, Menyani, tries to comfort her:

*Her movements became desperate and, suddenly, she pulled at his arm and held it firmly as if that was her dear life. “Ai-yoh!” she screamed. “Mother, death is mine today. What of yours have I eaten to deserve this?”*³⁴

Masiye makes the painful experience as authentic as possible by using “Ai-yoh!” instead of an English equivalent. Note also the use of Africanised or Chewa-lised English: “Mother, death is

mine today. What of yours have I eaten to deserve this?" If Masiye were to use the English "equivalent," the words might read something like this: "Mother, I'm dying. What wrong have I committed against you to deserve this?"³⁵

Luangala, in *The Chosen Bud*, makes no pretenses about his intention to teach the reader about Nsenga culture and tradition. As in most Achebe-type Zambian novels, the importance of the elderly in Nsenga society is emphasised. At the family gathering, for example, Old Sicholo, who plays the role of a patriarch, is compared to a tree stump and a stream. On behalf of the other young members of the clan, Ndande seeks the help of Old Sicholo over the appearance of the ghost of Leria in the village:

It was our elders long long ago who said that if you see the chicks crouching beneath the feathers of their mothers when they are supposed to be out scratching for small worms and grains, you conclude that there a hawk hovering above them. We are the chicks, and a hawk has scared us. So we gather here beneath our only parent to seek shelter and guidance, for we have seen that all is not well. They also said that a parent is a tree-stump. When a dog is hard pressed with the need to relieve itself, it looks for a stump, it goes there, lifts its hind leg and relieves itself. And those of us who go hunting know very well that when you catch a hare, a squirrel or mouse you kill it better by dashing its head against the tree-stump. And it is on the stump where young shoots sprout to begin life again. An elder is like a stream which is always wet, they also said. Fire can start far away in the bush. But as soon as it reaches the stream, even a weak child can extinguish it very easily. When we have a parent with us, we the young children will always boast of an easy source of a stiff nailed thumb which can crack our lice to give our loins some peace. We the troubled children gather under our only parent, so that he should explain to us what it means when those who have left us come to be seen again among us here in this world.³⁶

In *The Tongue of the Dumb* there is a generous use of interjections that are peculiarly Zambian: among them, *eh*, *hu* and *woo*. Thus, for example, when Dulani calls out to Lubinda, the latter responds with a *woo*, which is a Zambian way of answering respectfully.³⁷ Later, as the two are having a conversation, Dulani responds to a greeting from Lubinda: "I am well. Oh, you are still a strong old man, eh?"³⁸ The use of *eh* is widespread in the text,

but it is a very Zambian way of having conversation. Apart from the interjections, the text also exhibits many cases of Zambianised English, as in the following examples: “I hear this new teacher from the mission, he and his wife don’t get on well together?”³⁹ Mrs Lubinda says to a young maiden being prepared for marriage: “Do not ‘jump’ your husband—do not run about with other men.”⁴⁰ Adultery on the part of a wife is referred to as “jumping” the husband. Another example is when Dulani says: “Who goes there in the road?”⁴¹ The more likely rendition in RS-English might be, “Who is walking down the road?”

Instead of Africanising or Calibanising the English language in their works of prose fiction there are some Zambians who write in the local languages. One of the pioneering writers in this regard is Mpashi, who wrote in his native Bemba language during the last decade of Zambia’s colonisation. His work was published by the Joint Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland being the colonial names of Zambia and Malawi respectively. The Bureau was created in 1948 after the transformation of the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia, which was established in 1937. Upon the collapse of the intergovernmental body in 1962, the Northern Rhodesia branch assumed the name Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau, further changing the name to Zambia Publications Bureau at Zambia’s independence in 1964.⁴²

The publications bureaus were created for the purpose of promoting Zambian culture; hence, writings in local languages were encouraged. Whether these institutions were underpinned by sinister or hidden motives in the policy is a matter of debate. According to a report in the *Central African Post* in 1952, the Joint Publications Bureau published twenty-one new titles in 1951, mostly in indigenous Zambian languages.⁴³ Mpashi, who joined the Bureau in the same year and was one of the editors, had by 1955 published eight titles in Bemba. There were other writers who wrote in other Zambian languages also. Chileshe notes that because of the emphasis of both the Joint Publication Bureau and the Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau on texts in indigenous languages, most of their publications were in Zambian languages, with only about 15-20 percent written in English.⁴⁴

With Zambia’s attainment of independence in 1964, however, the new African government stipulated that English would be the

language of business, in part because of the need to foster national unity in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. After independence, therefore, the tide changed: there were more publications in English than in the local languages, although, in general terms, the publications in local languages drastically increased in terms of both quality and quantity compared to those of the colonial era.

The increase in the publication of fictional works in English was mainly due to the creation of the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation in 1967 by the new government. The parastatal had two subsidiaries: the National Educational Company of Zambia (NEZAM) and the National Educational Distribution Company of Zambia (NEDCOZ). The former was the publishing wing while the latter was the distribution wing. NEZAM launched the NEZAM Library Series (NELISE) to promote the publication of Zambian novels written in English. It was under this series that *Before Dawn* and *The Chosen Bud* were promoted.⁴⁵

Zambian writers published under the NELISE emblem generally tended to imitate the style of writing associated with publications under the African Writers Series by Heinemann Educational Books. It is worth noting that *Things Fall Apart*, the epitome of Africanised fiction writing, was the first publication under the African Writers Series, in 1958. The influence of Achebe's writing on Zambian writers cannot be overemphasised.

Chileshe casts some light on the post-independence period of Zambia's history and why the use of English became a key component of Zambian writing:

Although writing in the indigenous languages proceeded in spurts, more "national" effort was now to be devoted to "standard" writing in English. As an indication, between 1965 and 1979, almost as many literary works were published in English (forty-two) as in all the indigenous Zambian languages put together (forty-seven), by the state-owned [Zambia] publications Bureau and NEZAM.⁴⁶

The situation has not changed: there are more fiction publications in English than in indigenous languages although, of course, the volume of works in indigenous languages has greatly multiplied. Most of the publications however are in Bemba, Tonga, Nyanja, and Lozi, the four main languages of Zambia. In other words, there are still more Zambians writing in English than in the local

languages, and some of those who write fiction in English still want to write in an Achebe-esque Africanised or Zambianised English.

III: Conclusion

Calibanising the English language has become a key component and identifying feature of African literature and is a common feature of Zambian fiction writing. It has also become metonymic of African culture and the drive to reclaim the continent's cultural heritage. African postcolonial writers, as demonstrated in the above examples, have, in appropriating the English language, positioned themselves as the antithesis of the imperial centre's cultural and linguistic metanarrative. Sometimes appropriation has ended up presenting challenges because of the delicate act of finding the balance between using the English language to project the African spirit and maintaining grammaticality. There are more Zambian fiction writers using the English language than those using the indigenous languages—and this includes the three writers whose works are discussed in this article: John Luangala, Andrey Masiye and Dominic Mulaisho.

Notes

¹ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (London and Glasgow: The English Language Book Society and Collins, 1964).

² Trevor R Griffiths, "'This Island is Mine': Caliban and Colonialism," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 13, Colonial and Imperial Studies Special Number (1983): 159-180.

³ George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 15.

⁴ Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁵ Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 33.

⁶ See Introduction to Padmini Mongia (ed.), *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (London: Arnold, 1996), 6.

⁷ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.2, 6.

⁸ Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1986), 16.

- ⁹ Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (New York: Random House, 1992), 8.
- ¹⁰ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 7.
- ¹¹ Molefi Kete Asante, *The History of Africa: The Quest for Eternal Harmony* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 259.
- ¹² Wilfred L Guerin, Earle Labor, Lee Morgan, Jeanne C Reesman, and John R Willingham, *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature, 5th Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 303.
- ¹³ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.2, 6.
- ¹⁴ Ngugi, *Decolonising the Mind*, 8.
- ¹⁵ Eustace Palmer, *The Growth of the African Novel* (London: Heinemann, 1979).
- ¹⁶ Maya Jaggi, "Profile: Chinua Achebe—Storyteller of the Savannah," in *Chinua Achebe: Tributes and Reflections*, eds. Nana Ayebia Clarke and James Currey (Oxfordshire: Ayebia, 2014), 8.
- ¹⁷ Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Odupon Kesee Atutu. A Great Tree Has Fallen. Asante-Twi," in *Chinua Achebe: Tributes and Reflections*, eds. Nana Ayebia Clarke and James Currey (Oxfordshire: Ayebia, 2014), 110.
- ¹⁸ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*, 60.
- ¹⁹ Gabriel Okara, as quoted in Ngugi, *Decolonising the Mind*, 9.
- ²⁰ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*, 5.
- ²¹ Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, 205.
- ²² Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1958).
- ²³ Chinua Achebe, *Home and Exile* (Edinburgh: Canongage, 2001), 3-4.
- ²⁴ B. I. Chukwukere, "The Problem of Language in African Creative Writing," *African Literature Today*, 3 (1972): 19.
- ²⁵ Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, 202.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 187.
- ²⁷ See e.g., the Introduction to J. D. Fage (ed.), *Africa Discovers Her Past* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 2-3. Reference is made here to two eminent British historians, Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper, the Regius Chair of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Professor A. P. Newton, who argued that Africa had no history before it was colonised by Europeans because Africans only learnt how to write when they were colonised, and, according to Newton, "History only begins when men take to writing." This view is disputed, however, by other eminent historians, such as Ivor Wilks, who argues that history can also be gathered from archaeological and oral sources, and that some parts of Africa such as Ethiopia and Muslim-influenced areas of West Africa, were literate before the coming of colonialism. (See the two chapters by Ivor Wilks, "African Historiographical Traditions, Old and New" and "Documentary Sources for African History" both in *Africa Discovers Her Past* cited above.)
- ²⁸ Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, 210.

- ²⁹ Ibid., 211.
- ³⁰ Kabwe Kasoma as quoted in Fanuel Sumaili, *Zambian Writers Talking* (Ndola: Printpak, 1991), 96.
- ³¹ Kasoma, as quoted in Sumaili, *Zambian Writers Talking*, 96.
- ³² Kasoma, quoted in Sumaili, *Zambian Writers Talking*, 84.
- ³³ Kasoma, quoted in Sumaili, *Ibid.*, 84.
- ³⁴ Andrey Masiye, *Before Dawn* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1970), 2.
- ³⁵ Translation mine.
- ³⁶ John Luangala, *The Chosen Bud* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1991), 58-9.
- ³⁷ Dominic Mulaisho, *The Tongue of the Dumb* (Lusaka: Maiden Publishing House, 2007), 3.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁴² John D. Chileshe, "Literacy, Literature and Ideological Formation: The Zambian Case" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 1983), 263-4.
- ⁴³ Ranka Primorac, "At Home in the World? Re-Framing Zambia's Literature in English," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014): 575-591.
- ⁴⁴ Chileshe, "Literacy, Literature and Ideological Formation."
- ⁴⁵ See a more comprehensive treatment of the subject in Cheela Himutwe K Chilala, "Anatomy of the Challenges Facing Zambian Writers and Publishers of Literary Works," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014): 593-606.
- ⁴⁶ Chileshe, "Literacy, Literature and Ideological Formation: The Zambian Case," 305-6.