MUSINGS ON COMMUNICATION AND PERFORMANCE FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

Isaiah Bariki
Taofiq A. Alabi
Domwini D. Kuupole

ISBN: 978-978-8566-08-9

Published by
Department of English,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria
&
Department of French,
University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

PREFACE

In ancient Greek mythology and religion, there existed nine Muses, who were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, deemed to be valuable sources of inspiration for the purpose of intellectual productivity. These muses were goddesses to whom authors made passionate pleas in the belief that their creative skills would be inspired. These invocations were particularly addressed to the Muses of epic poetry (Calliope), epic history (Clio) and love poetry (Erato). Homer's two epic poems – Iliad and Odyssey – had such invocations.

In modern times writers have diverse "Muses" which inspire their creativity. Some authors draw inspiration from individuals, but others are motivated by events or call for papers. This is the third book we have edited as a team. We have done much more as individuals or in collaboration with others. While not arrogating to ourselves the status of Muses, the editors of this book: *Musings on Communication and Performance for Peace and Development* have successfully motivated, mentored and encouraged budding authors through the edited books. For the experienced scholars, this book has again given them an opportunity to publish their research products. As intellectuals cannot be bereft of ideas, all they need are reputable outlets to vent the pent up ideas, novel concepts and theories bubbling in them.

I believe that this book is a helpful opportunity in showcasing original contributions of authors in their attempts at exhibiting their inner muses. Sometimes, writers experience what is known as "writer's block" and so need an avenue to unlock it. Following the apparently "fallow periods", the announcement of a new book in the offing catalyzed the intrinsic urge or musing to respond accordingly and appropriately to external stimuli occasioned by the call for papers.

Consequently, the joy of the editors cannot but be full as they see their colleagues acquire more professional competence, experience and better communication skills. Editing a book that cuts across disciplines as this can be as enriching as it can be tasking. This book has papers from the fields of language, literature, religion, history and the performing arts. There is however a thread that links them: they are all musings, deep reflections, and incisive discourses geared towards appropriate communication for peaceful interpersonal or national relationships which, hopefully, will culminate in the much envisaged development.

To the contributors, I say congratulations for having your names again in print. And to my colleagues on the editorial desk, I appreciate your untiring thoroughness and commitment to intellectual growth.

Prof. Isaiah Bariki

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

REVITALISATION OF FRENCH LANGUAGE STUDY IN NIGERIA FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Afusat Sanni-Suleiman
Department of French,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

French is the first foreign language taught in Secondary and in some private primary schools in Nigeria. It also features prominently as a discipline in most of our institutions of higher learning. It is the official language of most African countries in the Sub-Sahara region, and one of the major languages of international communication that is widely taught in almost every continent. Considering these facts, French will be seen as the most sought after foreign language in our institutions of learning, especially if Nigeria wants to meet up with the major objectives of regional integration. However, over decades, the teaching of French has witnessed a lot of challenges, and also series of reviews to adapt to changing situations. The National Policy on Education (NPE) which is the regulatory body in charge of reform in the Nigeria educational system has ensured that the studies of French have evolved over the years. From a non-vocational subject, French was upgraded to a core subject to be studied in both primary and secondary schools. The upgrading became necessary in view of the fact that the Nigeria Government has to establish a good diplomatic relationship with its immediate neighbours who are all Francophone. Hence the need to ‘’promote national and international understanding and interaction’’ for ‘’total integration of the individual into the immediate community, the Nigerian society and the world’’ (NPE 2013, p.1). All these statements not only confirm the Nigeria government’s efforts to give quality education to its citizens, they also attest to its readiness to interact with the immediate neighbours in the sub region and beyond. Nevertheless, for the laudable goals of the NPE to be achieved effectively, the teaching and learning of French Language in Nigeria need to be given a serious attention so as to “promote inter-African solidarity and world peace through understanding” (NPE 2013, p.1) effectively. No country has ever lived successfully in isolation, there is always the need to establish economic, political and technological cooperation to foster advancement among states. Therefore, in order to work together for peace, security and development in the sub region, the people of the region need to communicate; this calls for common languages cutting across ethnic and national division.

However, as inspiring as the goals of the NPE are, it is worth noting that the educational system has not met any standard of tangible reform as stipulated in the NPE in Nigeria, especially as it concerns the study of French. The thrust of our paper is revitalisation with a view to sustaining and invigorating the teaching of French language that is gradually drifting out of our institutions of learning in Nigeria. To achieve this, the paper stands to analyse the language attitudes and the underlying ideologies of students and people in Nigeria. But before getting to the root of the matter, it behoves on us to make a brief evaluation of the concept of revitalisation with reference to the paper.

Understanding the Concept of Revitalisation

Revitalisation is a fairly recent subfield of linguistics that is concerned with halting and reversing the extinction of languages. Talking of revitalisation of language means that a language is endangered: it is dead, lost, or about to go into extinction.

Language Death: language death is not a recent phenomenon in human history. Tsunoda (2006, p.1) stipulates that language death is a common occurrence that has taken place in both historic and pre-historic times. It has been estimated that living languages in the world are nearly between 5000 and 6000 languages (Cerny 2010, p.51). However, a remarkable number of languages have become extinct (Hoffmann 2009, p.12). A language is regarded as dead when there is no transmission to all the families of the community as a whole (Tsunoda 2006, p. 38). Language is also regarded as dead when there are no records of the language such as books, tapes or CDs or when it stops developing or changing (Dension 1977, pp. 12-13) cited in Tsonuda (2006, pp.38 & 41).

Language Loss: the loss of language is another global issue that has attracted a great deal of attention in the last few decades. The loss of a language can be defined through two significant terms, namely language shift and language attrition. Language shift refers to the gradual replacement of one language by another as the main vehicle for communication in the whole community. Language attrition refers to the loss of competence and fluency in the native language of individual speakers (Myers-Scotton 2002 online).

Endangered Language: an endangered language can be defined as a language that is at risk of falling out of use and becoming dead (Hoffmann 2009, p.12). Tsunoda (2006, p.9) reports that language endangerment is a matter of degree. A number of languages have been proposed based on four criteria, namely number of speakers, age of speakers, and transmission of the language to children and function of the language in the society. Krauss' (1992, p.4) classification of languages is based on its transmission to children: "safe language", endangered language, and moribund language. "Safe language" refers to a language that is still spoken by children and is safe. Endangered language refers to a language that will cease to be learned by children within the century, and "moribund language" alludes to a language that is no longer used as a native by children. Another proposed classification is given by Schmidt (1990, p.54) which is based on number of speakers, age of speakers and transmission to children and functions of language in the community: "healthy language" which refers to a language that is actively used by all generations, "weakening language" referring to a language that is mainly spoken by older people, "dying language" that refers to a language that only has a few speakers and "extinct language" which refers to a language that does not have any speakers.

With the foregoing issues, linguists have become seriously concerned in language documentation, as they work hard to maintain endangered languages and revive extinct ones; that is language planning.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p.3) define language planning as a deliberate effort with the aims of changing a language or its functions in a community. One of the most noteworthy goals of language planning is revival. According to Grenoble (2006, p.1), "over the past fifty years, a number of innovative programs have been undertaken in many parts of the world with the aim of working to wake up sleeping beautiful languages". This brings us to the issue of revitalisation. Revitalisation can be referred to as language revival or reversing language shift in an attempt to stop or reverse the decline of a language or to revive an extinct one. However, a distinction could be made between language revival (resurrection of a dead language with no existing native speakers) and language revitalisation (the rescue of a dying language).

Revitalisation can be viewed in different contexts where conditions vary considerably, e.g. context of nation-states, indigenous linguistic minorities in nation-states, indigenous groups in post-colonial countries and immigrant language groups. Thus, the goals of language revitalisation vary greatly from case to case involving an attempt to expand the number of speakers and use of a language, or trying to maintain the current level of use to protect the language from extinction or language death.

The type of revitalisation which concerns us here is that of a foreign language i.e. French which is drifting out of the school system. French language in Nigeria is neither an indigenous language nor an official language even though it was officially declared as the second official language of the country during the regime of General Sani Abacha, one of the former military Heads of State in Nigeria in 1998. It is however the first foreign language taught at all levels of education in the country. As earlier stated, year in, year out the number of students applying for French studies reduces; hence the need for revitalization. We believe that something should be done to arrest this unfortunate trend. The National Policy on Education which is meant to ensure proper delivery of education will guide us in analyzing the language policy in Nigeria.

French Language and the National Policy on Education

The choice of a foreign language to be used in any country in the world depends on the socio-economic and political affiliations with countries that speak that language. The choice of French as the first foreign language to be taught in schools is therefore not far-fetched.

Just like the official language which is sustained and perpetuated by the educational system of a country, so it is for any foreign language the country decides to adopt. Therefore, the options of any language to be taught in schools are determined by some variables which according to Obanya (1998, p.1) include:

i) the historical experience of colonialism;
ii) the political evolution after attainment of the dependence;
iii) the socio-linguistic contours of each country and
iv) the strength of linguistic educational lobbies in various countries.

Some of these factors informed the adoption of French language in Nigerian schools. Hence, the future and prospects of French language in Nigeria lie in its sustainability by the education policy.

The dwindling status of French over decades, has subjected it to a series of reviews to adapt to changing situations. From an elective non-vocational course for example in 1981, the status of French moved to one of the core subjects in 2004. This is in line with the regulation of the National Policy on Education (1981, p.6) which stipulates that "since education is a dynamic instrument of change, this policy will need to be constantly reviewed to ensure its adequacy and continued relevance to national needs and objectives". The constant review of the policy is an indication that the Nigerian Government is conscious of the fact that no country can develop without a strategic educational policy.

Language is the bedrock of education. No subject can be taught adequately without the use of language. That is why it occupies an important place in the *National Policy on Education* which states thus:

> Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion, and preserving cultures. Thus every child shall learn the language of the immediate environment. Furthermore, in the interest of national unity, it is expedient that every child be required to learn one of the three Nigerian languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. For smooth interaction with our neighbours, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French. Accordingly, French shall be the second official language in Nigeria and it shall be compulsory in primary and junior secondary schools but non-vocational elective at senior secondary school (2004, p.10).

This statement attests to the fact that the Nigerian Government is aware of the huge role languages play in the social development of a nation. The policy advocates for smooth co-existence and understanding among Nigerian citizens, and with its neighbouring countries. And it is only through communication that peace and unity can be achieved.

However, as laudable as the language policy on Education is, its implementation at various levels of education leaves much to be desired. There is need for a proper monitoring of the policy. According to the policy for example, the study of French is supposed to start from primary four in schools, but the policy is yet to be implemented. This lapse among many others only confirms that policies are often abandoned, neglected or abused according to the regime in place. In other words, lack of continuity due to the changing political terrain adversely affects Nigeria's educational policies.

The Study of French Language in Nigeria

The teaching and learning of a language generally evolve around two major components: language and literature, each designated for different functions.

The Teaching of French in a Foreign Language Class

Foreign language study is first and foremost about learning to communicate and connect with other people beyond one's shores. As the world becomes more and more globalised, proficiency in more than one language is critical for business, trade and diplomacy, to promote regional, international, mutual understanding and respect. That explains why the study of French should be given adequate attention if Nigeria wants to maintain its roles as the key player in the sub-region.

In a language class, the study of French is structured to encompass and reinforce the four language skills of reading, written, aural comprehension and oral proficiency, which are indispensable tools in human communication and interaction. In a nutshell, it is suggested that activities that are communication-based, that will help in making classroom situation more interactive is used in teaching. Thus, the communicative approach is preferred to other approaches as it focuses on the ability to communicate in the target language.

Communicative Competence

Communicative competence is a term coined by Dell Hymes (1966) in reaction to Chomsky's (1965) notion of linguistic competence. Communicative competence is the intuitive functional knowledge and control of the principles of language usage. As Hymes (1972, p.277) affirms:

> …a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others.

In other words, learners need to use the language not only correctly (based on linguistic competence), but also appropriately (based on communicative competence). This approach does not reduce the importance of learning the grammatical rules of the language. It is rather one of the four components of communicative competence: linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence. It is in that line of thought that Canale and Swain (1980 online) identify four components of competence:

i) **Linguistic competence** is the knowledge of the language code, of its written representation (script and orthography). The linguistic competence includes the knowledge of the sounds and their pronunciation (phonetics), the rules that govern sound interaction and patterns (phonology), the information of words by means of inflection and phrases to structure sentence (syntax), and the way that meaning is conveyed through language (semantics).

ii) **Sociolinguistic competence** is the knowledge of socio-cultural rules of use that is knowing how to use and respond to language appropriately. The appropriateness depends on the setting of the communication, the topic, and the relationship and the people communicating.

iii) **Discourse competence** is related to the learner's mastery of understanding and producing texts in the modes of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. This competence deals with organising words, phrases and sentences in order to create conversations, speeches, poetry, email messages, newspaper articles, etc…

iv) **Strategic competence** refers to compensatory strategies in case of grammatical, sociolinguistic, or discourse difficulties. This strategy involves repetition, classification, slower speech or the use of gestures, taking turns in conversation, etc.

It is very important to use these four components in a successful language class. The communicative approach is thus the most widely used and most widely accepted in classroom-based foreign language teaching.

However, language learning cannot be disconnected from culture which is encapsulated by literature. So, to understand the culture of a given people in a language class, the study of literature must set in. It is often said that the learning of a language cannot be dissociated from the culture of the people whose language is being learnt.

The Importance of Literature in a Foreign Language Class

Literature represents the culture and tradition of a language or a people. Various structures and functions of language are learnt through literary texts, thus broadening the understanding of human nature. A work of literature is usually linked with a collection of stories, poems, and plays that are mainly focused on a particular text. Literature is generally used in foreign language teaching (French) for the development of knowledge about the language and the native speakers of the language. It helps the learner to get familiar with the socio-political backgrounds of the target language society and also makes them understand how communication takes place in a particular community.

Different definitions have been used to interpret literature throughout history. It is categorised according to various forms. It can be classified as fiction and non-fiction or verse and prose. It can be further divided into major literary format such as poems, drama, novel, and short story. It can also be studied under various classifications such as, Classical Literature, French Literature, Colonial Literature, African Literature, Romantic Literature, Modern Literature, etc.

Various researchers (Kim 2004; Hirvela 2005; Saito 2015; Sage 1987; Naji et al., 2019) have highlighted the supporting role of literature in foreign language teaching. More and more, literature is beginning to be viewed as an appropriate vehicle for language learning and development since the focus is now on authentic language and authentic situations.

There is a close and undeniable relationship between language and literature. Literature is composed of language and it also provides space for applications of language. Brumfit and Carter (1986, p.15) consider literature as “an ally of language”. Learners who study literature and read for pleasure have a higher range of vocabulary, better reading comprehension and better communication skills, such as writing ability. Parkinson and Thomas (2000, pp.9-11) affirm that it provides a good model for good writing. It is memorable, important and challenging and it also helps to assimilate rhythms of a language, therefore facilitating intelligence and sensibility training. When reading literary texts, the learners practise and develop their reading skills and strategies, which contribute to the development of their fluency and proficiency. According to Povey (1972) cited by McKay (1982, p.529), “literature will increase all language skills because it will extend linguistic knowledge which enables learners to develop by giving evidence of extensive and subtle vocabulary usage, and complex and exact syntax". The advantages of using literature to teach language are numerous. Teachers should make it interesting for learners by selecting simple and meaningful passages that will trigger the learner's curiosity and sustain their motivation.

One can attest with this survey that the study of French language is programmed to build an enlightened citizen that is both culturally and linguistically prepared to function in the sub region and in today's world.

On the other hand, as attractive and prosperous the NPE is, it is discouraging to note that the teaching and learning of French has not met any standard for impressive reform. However, according to Tsunoda (2006, p.11), "…any evaluation of the success or failure of a language revitalisation movement would depend on the goals and perspectives of the people involved''. This statement of Tsunoda takes us to examine the linguistic attitudes and ideologies of Nigerians towards the study of French.

Linguistic Attitudes and Ideologies: Challenges Facing the Teaching of French Language in Nigeria

Linguistic attitudes and ideologies play an important role in the language use and language choice strategies of a country, and this is even more prominent in multilingual settings. Thus, ideology and language are two sides of the same coin since they both provide the framework within which a linguistic message is constructed and expressed. The influence of ideology is noted in language policy and language planning efforts as it enables actions taken by a social group or even a government to determine the status of a particular language. For the purpose of this study ideology is defined in terms of language attitudes and not on philosophical background. Thus, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 59) define linguistic or language ideology as "the way we think about language; it is also a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use''. It is also stated that language ideologies expose connections between the beliefs speakers have about language and the larger social and cultural systems they are a part of, illustrating how these beliefs are informed by and rooted in such systems. By doing so, language ideologies link the implicit as well as explicit assumptions people have about a language or language in general to their social experience and political as well as economic interests.

As for Cavanaugh (2019, online), the influence of ideology is present in almost every sphere of social life. According to her, during the course of her research in Italy, she encountered language ideologies everywhere – on menus, some of which featured poems in the local language; uttered as asides in everyday conversations when people critiqued or praised their own and others' speaking; and write large billboards that asserted the political value of local culture and language. She further asserts that language ideologies are ''the beliefs and attitudes that shape speakers' relationships to their own and others' languages, mediating between the social practice of language and the socio-economic and political structures within which it occurs.

Within this framework, the attitudes of Nigerians towards the learning of French are not farfetched. The teaching of French language in Nigeria has faced some ups and downs because of their perceptions about the French language. It is through this lens that we shall examine how Nigerians construe the study of French language in their social and cultural settings, and how their construal is socially positioned.

Most Nigerians are not sufficiently motivated to learn French because they have no strong reasons for doing so. Despite the fact that Nigeria's immediate neighbours are Francophone, Nigerians do not still see the urge for learning French language. Unlike the average Western Europeans who speak two to four languages of surrounding countries due to globalisation, and because their countries are linked by infrastructure, trade, culture and values, Africans have no similar binding ties. In fact, African leaders prefer to relate more with their former colonial masters than themselves.

French learners are also not committed to the study of the target language. Many of them find themselves in the French class due to lack of admission in their chosen courses, and they don't want to remain at home doing nothing; as a result, they accept French as a palliative measure. Most of the learners are not even mindful of their inability to speak the language so long as they read to pass their exams. In short, the French learners are not committed to the language they are learning and this lack of interest or commitment no doubt affects their oral fluency and general performance negatively.

Parents' attitudes in their children's choice of the course are also not encouraging. Since French is not the language of the immediate environment, parents do not see any prospect in it. The erroneous belief is that anybody who studies French can only end as a teacher in the classroom, nothing else.

The government agents who can be represented by school Principals are also not helping in the matter. More often than not, many of them (Principals) impose on students and teachers other subjects which are considered to be more important than French. Thus, teachers of French who are posted to their school to teach French are often sidelined, and consequently demotivated.

The classroom environment and the learners' behaviour in the past decades are not different. The digital age has made learners to be more ICT inclined. The continuous and rapid accessibility to technology innovation effect have changed the needs of learners in learning.

Low prospect of employability at the end of the programme is another reason attached to the low patronage of the course. It is the general belief that no profession other than teaching is attached to learning French whereas there are many job opportunities that await those who excel in foreign language learning.

All these factors and many more are contributing to the dwindling number of students in admission recruitment in French departments, hence putting the subject in an endangered list. Prominent among them are: poor academic performance of learners in French class that translate to poor quality of French graduates, inadequate infrastructure, compounded by inadequate attention policy framework within the sector. Inadequate funding, lack of conducive physical facilities, and above all, poor curricula that cannot meet the challenges for sustainable development of the Nation in this 21st Century. All these mean that French language has to be revitalised to attract more students.

Revitalisation of French Programmes for Regional Integration

Having earlier gone through various definitions, it becomes imperative to shed more light on revitalisation of French language in the Nigerian context. It means, the teaching and learning of French language is endangered, and there is an urgent need to revive it by making every stakeholder and the Nigerian society at large to save its exit from the Nigerian educational system. French language is not only needed in Nigeria, its acquisition will go a long way in fostering a good relationship with our immediate neighbours for a functional integration.

Nigeria and Regional Integration

As earlier remarked, language is an important ingredient in the process of integration, peace and security, and an imperative factor in the achievement of unity in the African sub-region. After independence, many African countries, in search of national unity, adopted the language of their former colonial masters to be used in government and education. The quest for unity also explains why the Addis-Ababa Conference on Education and the Yaoundé Conference in 1961 recommended that Anglophone Africa introduces French as a core subject in its school system and francophone Africa, English, as a second European language, as means of communication and understanding between the people of these two linguistic axes. The co-existence of Nigeria and its neighbouring countries revolves around economy, political and cultural exchange. In order to work together for peace and development, the people of the region need to communicate. This calls for common languages, cutting across ethnic and national divisions, rivalries, and ensuring the need to care for all and sundry.

It is clear that a common language is important for unity of purpose in whatever we do and the purpose here is development. It is also clear that for development to take place, there has to be unity of purpose and sharing of the same vision. The essence of the above is that for development to be successful, the prerequisite is not merely the presence of language, but also the presence of effective communication, which in turn facilitates unity in the sub-region.

Regional integration therefore` is an arrangement for enhancing cooperation through regional rules and institutions entered into by states of the same region. It could have as its objective political or economic goals, or in some cases, a business initiative aimed at broader security and commercial purposes.

To achieve the above objective, all nations must understand one another's language and culture, and Nigeria, being one of the key players in the African sub-region will do a lot more in its role as "the Giant of Africa" if French language is given adequate consideration in the country.

The uncaring attitude so far displayed by the Nigerian government in its implementation of the language policy in the country vis-à-vis French, has not only relegated the teaching and learning of French to the background, it has also contributed in providing a big hole for its interment, thus rendering it an endangered subject in the school curriculum; hence the need for its revitalisation.

Strategies for Revitalisation

Considering the state of affairs in French language study in Nigeria, the following should be addressed to revitalise or boost the interest of Nigerians in learning the language:

i. Ensure full implementation of the National Policy on Education as regards the teaching and learning of French for the successful delivery of French courses.

ii. Make the subject attractive to learners by enhancing their linguistic competence so that they can:
- communicate with confidence and fluency in French in academic, cultural and social contexts; and
- increase and sustain learners' desire to continue their studies in French and choose to use that language in their future career.

iii. Ensure materials and human resources are in place to support French language learning. This can be done through the following:
- upgrade infrastructures adequately through provision of more fund.
- engage qualified and competent teachers for quality instruction.
- revive the immersion programme by sending learners to francophone countries. It has long been established that learners of foreign languages get more motivated and learn better when put into contact with the native speakers.
- review the school curriculum to meet up with the new digital age.

iv. Validate learners' linguistic and educational experience by providing multiple opportunities for learners to develop and strengthen their French language skills through a variety of social, academic and cultural contexts. Develop learners' confidence in the use of the language by providing them with opportunities to assess their language skills, through excursions, drama group, debates and symposiums organised by the French club.

v. Organise trainings to enhance the teaching methodology of teachers through regular workshops, seminar and conferences. The professional development of teachers to ensure an understanding of the philosophy and methodology of foreign language learning in order to develop and strengthen students' learning is very crucial.

vi. Recruitment and retain learners in the French programme. The following steps can be taken:
- intensify community awareness regarding the benefits of learning French to help encourage and maintain learners to continue their studies in French and highlight how bilingualism is a viable option for their life, personal growth, etc., especially in the global world of today.
- information session or open discussions for the general public and the communities, parents, etc.
- information sessions or discussion forums on the relevance of French in Nigeria.
- discussion with learners regarding career opportunities, through mentorship, networking and planning.

- appropriate support for learners with learning difficulties especially in the area of the French grammatical structures that has been seen as the most serious challenge that might render French language difficult to learners.

vii. Teachers' methodology should be accorded deserved attention.

Living in a digital age requires new skills that educational system should develop. Therefore, teachers are expected to be always at alert and involved in the continuous development process to master the latest skills and competencies. Teachers need the ability to handle changes to ensure that their roles and functions remain relevant. Hence, the main area to focus is the approach to methodology. Different approaches are used in a foreign language class, the most advocated for being the communicating competence. However, going with this current dispensation the Task-based learning combined with the communicative approach will be more adequate. Task-based learning is based on the idea that you learn a language by using it, rather than by studying its different components in isolation.

It is an approach where the planning of learning materials and teaching sessions are based on doing a task. In education, a task refers to an activity where communication is necessary, i.e., deciding something, solving a problem, designing or organizing something, or telling someone to do something. According to Lee (2000, p.2), it is "a language learning endeavour that requires learners to comprehend, manipulate and/or produce the target language as they perform some set of working". It implies that the learning of French where the language is taught as a mere subject without any skill input should be dispensed with.

As a matter of fact, the Nigerian government should see French language as important for both cognitive development and economic opportunities. Government should:

- create opportunities that will make learners use the language effectively: make French language worth learning by engaging graduates of French in the right place (ministry of internal/external affairs). International organisations like ECOWAS, AU, the Nigeria Embassies in francophone countries should give preference to French graduates in their recruitment of staff.
- create economic benefits associated with bilingualism, e.g., tourism.
- create bilingual centres: language classes that encompass various activities are not sufficient to create fluent speakers. Only a serious bilingual education programme can build fluent speakers. If well addressed, French graduates can cross the borders to francophone countries to seek for employment.
- establish the Nigeria Translation Bureau: Nigeria as the "Giant of Africa" cannot boast for an International Bureau of Translation. Translators and interpreters have to be recruited from other parts of the continent (e.g., Ghana) whenever the need arises.
- Nigerian soldiers are often sent for peace-keeping purposes in French speaking countries. Thus, more soldiers can be made to study French.

In a nutshell, government has a leading role to play in enhancing the likelihood of success of French revitalisation activities in Nigeria.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, French language should be seen as an important field of study capable of contributing greatly to the development of Nigeria of the 21st century. The ability to speak French in Nigeria should be seen as an added advantage for getting employment with multinational companies using French as their working language in Nigeria and in the West African sub region. It should however be noted that the success of the revitalisation depends largely on the economic usefulness of the language. And Nigeria being the “big brother” of its counterparts in the sub-regions, will increase her wealth and income through better cooperation that will be facilitated by competent speakers of French language groomed in the country. Moreover, if the strategies proffered for the revitalisation of French in this study are adequately implemented, the learning of French language in Nigeria will be attractive to the citizens, therefore saving its collapse in the school system. When the advantages of studying French are seen by all, students will be more motivated and committed to the learning of French.

References

Brumfit, C. J. & Carter, R.A. (eds.) (1986). *Literature and language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Canale, M. & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases on communicative approaches to second Language teaching and testing applied linguistics, http://communicativelanguagelearning.wordsress.com.>... Retrieved on 8/12/2021.

Cavanaugh, J. R. (2019). Language ideology revisited... Retrieved on 16/05/2022.

Cerny, M. (2010). Language death versus language survival: A global perspective, *Beyond globalisation: Exploring the limits of globalisation in the regional context* (pp. 51-57). Ostrava: University of Ostrava Czech Republic. http://conference.osu.eu/globalization/publ/06-cerny.pdf..

Federal Government of Nigeria (1981). *National policy on education*. Lagos: NERDC Press.

Federal Government of Nigeria (2004). *National policy on education* (4th Edition). Lagos: NERDC Press.

Federal Government of Nigeria (2013). *National policy on education*. Lagos : NERDC Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theory and practice of assistant to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Grenoble, L. A. (2006). *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization.* Cambridge University Press.

Hirvela, A. (2005). ESL students and the use of literature in composition courses, *Teaching English in the Two Year College*, 33 (1) 70-77.

Hoffmann, M. (2009). Endangered languages, linguistics, and culture: Researching and reviving the Unami language of the Lenape. http://scholarship.tricolib.brymawr.edu>...

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (eds.) *Sociolinguistics: Selected reading* (pp. 269-293). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B. (1997). *Language planning from practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kim, M. (2004). Literature discussion in adult L2 learning. *Language and Education*, 18 (2), 145-166.

Krauss, M. (1992). The world's language in crisis. *Language*, 68 (1) 4-10.

Lee, J. (2000). *Tasks and communicating in language classrooms.* New York: Mc Graw-Hill.

McKay, S. (1982). Literature in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quaterly*, 16 (4) 529- 536.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford University Press.

Naji, J. et al. (2019). *New approaches to literature and language learning.* Switzerland: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Obanya, P. A. I. (1998). Language education in Africa: Lesson for and from Nigeria. *Fafunwa Foundation Internet Journal of Education,* retrieved on 28 June. 2011, 8-15.

Parkinson, B., & Thomas, H. R. (2000). *Teaching literature in a second language.* Edinburgh University Press.

Sage, H. (1987). *Incorporating literature in ESL instruction*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Saito & Wales, K. (Eds.). *Literature and language learning in the EFL classroom.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Schmidt, A. (1990). *The loss of Australia's Aboriginal language heritage.* Aboriginal Studies Press, Camberra.

Tsunoda, T. (2006). *Language endangerment and language revitalization: An introduction,* vol.148, Walter de Gruyter.

Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23, 55-82.

CHAPTER TWO

APPLYING NEHEMIAH'S BIBLICAL LEADERSHIP PRINCIPLES IN ENTRENCHING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Olasupo Jacob Osaji
Department of Religions,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

The independence of Nigeria was accompanied by a lot of hopes and aspirations especially in the realms of economic and social development. Expectations were so high that the country gained the appellation of the giant of Africa in no time. The country quickly gained prominence among the comity of nations and by 1965, it was already mediating between her formal colonial master (Britain) and "Africa" on the issue of Rhodesia. Participation in peace keeping operations in Congo, New Guinea, Tanzania, Pakistan, etc. within the first decade of independence was part of the initial success of the "new nation". However, the hopes quickly faded as a result of leadership problems orchestrated by lack of cohesion and common goals among the political leadership. The backlash of pre-independence politics in no time started to reverberate and weaken the expected strength of the new state like a baby delivered through caesarean section. Political parties of colonial time like Action Group, Northern Peoples' Congress, among others, were tribal and regional unions and their leaders continued to demonstrate their loyalty mostly to their respective tribes or regions up till the post independence era.

According to Anifowose (2011, p.12) each regional government was more concerned with promoting its particular interests than with promoting the overall interests of the nation. The country has failed to develop national symbols strong enough to supersede existing regional loyalties". These along with the mutual suspicion and distrust of pre-independence era culminated into what Organski (1968, p.23) called problem of primitive unification and reduced the politics of the new state to that of identity politics. Thus, the Nigerian first republic collapsed not because democracy could not work in Nigeria but mainly due to inability of the system to cope with stress created by identity politics and the inability of the elite to coalesce on major national issues like population census of 1962/1963, Federal Election of 1965 among others.

Attempts were made to remove tribal sentiments during the second republic through the criteria for party registration but what we had instead of true national parties were old wine in new bottles. For instance, a look at gubernatorial result in 1979 reviewed how much regional political affiliation remained. The two parties structure of the third republic was able to suppress ethnic politics to a large extent. The two political parties namely Social Democratic Party and National Republic Convention were able to make inroad into the nooks and crannies of the country, thus making them to satisfy the preconditions for true national parties. However, the elite in-cohesion truncated the republic shortly before its birth. The Nigerian masses across the states of the federation peacefully fulfilled the obligation required of them in the democracy but political leaders in conjunction with the military junta under General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the June 12, 1993 presidential election thereby bringing the transition to civilian rule to a halt.

The fourth republic was ushered in with a mountain of hopes. Members of the civil society, political elites and the general populace were committed to the challenges of enthroning democracy once again. Perhaps the oppression and high degree of kleptocracy exercised by the late maximum ruler, General Sanni Abacha was the most important factor that accounted for the mutual understanding.

The problem in Nigeria has been traced largely to one of leadership. Various leadership principles have been attempted without success; hence, our decision to seek the Biblical alternative in this paper.

The focus of this article is on Biblical leadership principles in entrenching democracy in Nigeria. The paper provides a reflection about Biblical leadership principles as a theological trans-disciplinary field of study. The paper notes the varying ecclesial, political, economic and social contexts relevant to the entrenchment of democracy in Nigeria. The subject has become necessary due to the protracted leadership crisis in Nigeria.

The work identifies key areas of research and methodological issues relevant to the field of Biblical leadership principles that can bring solution or reduce the problems militating against democracy in Nigeria. The paper attempts to answer the following questions:

(i) What is Biblical leadership?
(ii) To what extent can Biblical/Christian principles resolve Nigeria's democracy instability?
(iii) What is the place of Biblical/Christian leadership in entrenching true democracy in Nigeria?
(iv) How can Biblical leadership principles be a panacea/way out to Nigeria political leadership problems?

Leadership

Leadership is the art of influencing people to attain group objectives willingly. Leaders in all walks of life are expected to have some basic qualities. They should be able to establish contact with their equals, deal with their subordinates and guide them, mediate in conflicts, resolve issues by weighing various alternatives, allocate scarce resources properly and take risks and initiatives.

The environment in which a leader is placed is important. The organisational culture, the economic and social set-up, the extent of unionisation and other factors may demand different types of leaders in different situations. A task-oriented leader, for instance, may be more successful in situations which are either very favourable or very unfavourable to him, while a relations- oriented leader may be more effective in intermediate situations.

Leadership involves the process of directing the behaviour of others in a predetermined way towards theaccomplishment of certain objectives. According to

Utomi (2014, p.13) "leadership is a goal directed behaviour in which a group is influenced to act relative to some shared goals, in a manner that result in lower cost and have effective attainment of desired objectives. Nigro and Nigro (1997, p.2) see it as act of influencing the action of others. For them, the essential quality of leaders is that they are convinced something must be done, and they persuade others to help them get it done. Like most other concepts, leadership is a concept with definitional pluralism and wide appreciation. Weihrich and Krontz (1993, p.32) defined leadership as "influence, that is, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically toward the achievement of group goals" [7].

However, the term "leadership" is often misinterpreted as one of management function. While the term "management" includes both physical and mental processes which are directed through formal process for the accomplishment of organization objectives, leadership is a higher order of capability which has strategic values even before organizational goals are established. According to Naid, (2011, p.27) "leaders/managers are concerned with doing the right things and at the appropriate time. Leadership has some philosophical connotation. As Henry Kissinger pointed out, a leader has the power to invoke the "alchemy of great vision". That is, it involves the ability to transform a phenomenon.Leadership is a dynamic process, which deserves study. It is a relational process involving interaction among leaders, members and sometimes outside constituencies. Good leaders are made not born. If you have the desire and willpower, you can become an effective leader.

Good leaders develop through a never-ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience. To inspire your workers into higher levels of teamwork, there are certain things you must be, know, and, do. These do not come naturally, but are acquired through continual work and study. Good leaders are continually working and studying to improve their leadership skills; they are not resting on their laurels.

Leadership is a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. Leaders carry out this process by applying their leadership attributes, such as beliefs, values, ethics, character, knowledge and skills. In his article, "what is Christian leadership principle, Campbellsville University acknowledges seven major areas: love, modesty, self – development, motivation correction, integrity, follower of God's will. All of which are rooted in Christ – centered values.

Democracy

Ojo (2000, p.22) observes that democracy does not lend itself to any universally accepted definition because of ideological, cultural, and historical contextualisation that underpin its several meanings. Appadorai (1975, p.18) maintains that democracy means "that form of government in which the ruling powers of a state is legally vested not in any particular classes but in the member of a community as a whole". Similarly, Oyewo (2012, p.17) sees democracy as a system of government based on collective decision, competition, political and economic equality, social justice, accountability and strict adherence to rule of law. It is for this reason that several types of democracy such as liberal democracy, socialist democracy, direct and indirect democracy have received a varying degree of attention. Osaghae however retorts that, in spite of the differences in conceptualization and practices, all versions of democracy share the fundamental objective "to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to the people". However, democracy according to John Calhoun as paraphrased by Roper (1989, p.21) is not to be construed as majority rule[13]. In the developing world of Africa, democracy is largely a majoritarian rule under which a defeat in electoral contest equates defeat in every sphere of life.

Leadership Theories

Transactional leadership theory involves the use of reward system in getting things done. It is a leadership style based on exchange between the leader and the led. Leaders whose actions are based on transaction are mere goal getters without genuine intension to develop but to hold on to power. According to Bass (1985, p.12) transactional leadership is a prescription for mediocrity. Transactional leadership theory explains most actions of Nigerian leaders. This theory was developed by Macgregor in his descriptive research on political leaders. It was however popularised by B. M. Bass (1985, p.12).

A transformational leader is a person who initiates and inspires followers to achieve extra-ordinary outcome. Transformational leadership enhances the motivation, morale, and performance of followers through a variety of mechanisms. These involves connecting the follower's sense of identity of the organization; being a role model for followers that inspires them and makes them interested; challenging followers to take greater ownership for their work, and understanding the strengths and weakness of followers, so the leader can align followers with tasks that enhance their performance. Great leaders who have contributed to the development of humanity such as Nelson Mandela, Pope John Paul II, Mahatma Gandhi etc. all share the transformational leadership qualities as identified by Warrilow (2012, p.24). These include:
1.) Charisma or idealised influence; the degree to which the leader behaves in admirable ways and displays convictions and takes stands that cause followers to identify with the leader who has a clear set of values and act as a role model for the followers; 2) Inspirational motivation: the degree to which the leader anticipates a vision that inspires the followers with optimum about future goals, and offers meaning for the current task at hand ; 3) Intellectual stimulation: the degree to which the challenges assumptions, stimulates and encourages creativity in the followers – by providing a frame work for followers to see how they connect (to the leader, the organization, each other, and the goal) that can creatively overcome any obstacles in the way of the mission; 4) Personal and individual situation: the degree to which the leader attends to each individual. This fulfils and enhances each individual team members' need for self-fulfilment, self-worth – and in so doing inspires followers to further achievement and growth.

The Place of Christian Leadership Quality in Entrenching True Democracy

Christian Servant Leadership

Niewold (2007, p.31) states that Christians have accepted servant leadership as the form of Christian leadership that should be followed because it is the type of leadership that Jesus displayed. Greenleaf (1977, p.22) explains that the starting point for servant leaders is that they must desire above everything else to be a servant first. Servant leadership "is a conviction of the heart that constantly manifests whenever there is a legitimate need to serve in the absence of extenuating personal benefits". Patterson (2003, p.16) explains that servant leadership is an extension of transformational leadership and is characterized by (a) love, (b) humility, (c) altruism, (d) vision, (e) trust, (f) empowerment, and (g) service. Patterson's model of servant leadership explains that servant leaders always act with the best interests of followers in mind. One of the key results of servant leadership is the way in which it helps to build trust in organizations. "Trust provides the foundation for peopleto follow their leaders with confidence and enthusiasm". Servant leaders' appreciation of others reflects their foundational personal values that value others. Servant leadership causes followers to believe that the leader really cares for their feelings and needs, creating a greater motivation to work for the leader. However, the organizational outcomes should always be secondary in the mind of the leader as the focus must continue to be on the followers and their interests in servant leadership.

Appositional and Multidimensional Theory

The theory of biblical leadership needs to be developed for Christian leaders who work in secular organizations. The new model of leadership should be appositional and multidimensional as it incorporates the leader's spiritual life, relational and professional abilities, and desire to complete important goals. A proposed initial model could be divided into four main components that are the most important for a Christian leader in a secular organization: (a) relationship with God, (b) relationship with man, (c) a focus on completing the mission, and (d) organizational relationship skills.

Relationship with God

It is important for Christian leaders to place their trust and dependence in God; 1 Tim 3:1-10; Titus 1:5-9). The Christian's dependence on God strengthens the leader to help them through stressful and challenging situations. The following items are suggested to form the relationship-with-God:

1. Decisions. Christians need to ask God for wisdom regarding the decisions that they are making at work. Nicholas and Kardong (2010, p37) argue that it is not professional or ethical for Christians to engage in prayer, praise and worship service at work, but the theory of biblical leadership emphasizes the importance to pray about everything always (1 Thess 5:17-18). This point needs to be stressed as many Nigerians use a lot of time to pray in their places of work but not to the point of hours meant for work be attributed to prayers and worship. The Bible lays emphasis on work and pray, but the same Bible declare that there is time for everything, time

to plant and time to harvest. (Ecc 1.3) leaders should therefore not rob Peter to pay Paul

2. Authority. God is the source of all power, and the authority of a Christian leader does not come from the person or position, but from God Matt 16:17-19). Therefore, a Christian leader in a secular organization should realize that they are relying on God to work through them in the organization, which should take the pressure off of the leader. Additionally, this authority that a leader finds in God is not exhibited through a haughtiness and selfishness but through a humbling and service to others and the organization Mk 10:41-45).
3. Purpose. Christian leaders seek the goals of Jesus Christ in all areas of their lives as the primary purpose of work is not to gain status but to focus on completing the work to bring glory to God (Col 3:23). The motivation of Christians to work hard and make a difference increases as they understand their purpose from God's perspective Christian are encouraged to work as unto God thus leaders using Christian principles will work for the common good as they try to please God. This means that such dastardly acts as corruption, thierey, going late to work, sluggishness at place of work, etc will be banished.
4. Spiritual Dimension of Life. There is a higher power or being that affects the way in which one operates in the world. The spiritual dimension in the world is real, yet it has received scant attention by researchers. Furthermore, one of the greatest needs for Christians is to know how they can use their biblical knowledge and training in their work and daily activities.

The belief in God's omnipresence should be a guiding principle for Christ inspired leadership to want to render good stewardship. The Bible says, the two most important spiritual laws are love for God and man. Having loved God, it believed the leader to extend his love to his fellow human beingwho he should love as himself.

Relationship with Man

It is important for Christian leaders to form good relationships with their co-workers, vendors, and customers. Christian leaders in secular organizations need to examine their motivation for leadership to ensure that they are not leading because they are hungry for authority, but that their work should focus on serving the organization and those they come into contact with (1Peter 5:2-3). Hebrews 10:24 states, "And let us consider how we may spur one another toward love and good deeds." The following six items are proposed to form the relationship-with-man:

1. Integrity. Integrity is a foundational part of biblical leadership because it "serves as a magnet to draw others who listen and respond to the leader". Proverbs 10:9 states, "Whoever walks in integrity walks securely, but whoever takes crooked paths will be foundout." Leaders who exhibit integrity draw followers through relationships built on trust, while leaders who lack integrity will eventually become exposed.
2. Trust. Fry (2005, pp.619-622) suggests that leaders need to cultivate trust with followers, which increases the follower's intrinsic motivation and commitment. Trust is built through authentic leader follower relationships that do not abuse

power. Trust is crucial. One major problem faced in Nigeria is the clear absence of trust. Nigerians do not trust in their leaders. This is largely because they have not found their leaders to be trustworthy. In the Bible, several leaders – Josephy, David, Solomon just to mention a few – obtained the trust of their followers through their laudable performance. This can be replicated in Nigeria if the Church succeeds in inculcating Biblical leadership principles in their members.

3. Diligence. A Christian leader should be like a workman or farmer who is continually being found and working hard (2 Tim. 1-10). A leader who lacks diligence will not be able to continue as a leader (Prov 20:4). The reference to Proverb 6:6-11 is instructive. The population is inspired when they see their leaders demonstrating diligence.
4. Love/Shepherding. There should be evidence in the lives of Christian leaders of God's love for them and their love for others (1 John 3:10, 4:16). Sanders (1994, p.39) explains that the master principle of leadership is not persuading other people to work for the leader but actually serving and loving them. Kretzschmar (2002, pp.41-60) referred to Jesus' example of leadership in Mark 10:35-45 and explained that Jesus "taught with authority but was never authoritarian, he was compassionate but never ineffectual, he was just but never judgmental".
5. Ethics and Morality. Kretzschmar posits that Christian leaders need to have moral formationto enable them to lead others with competence and honesty. Biblical leadership has some commonalities with ethical leadership, specifically with the moral dimensions of honesty and trust worthiness.
6. Humility. Leaders must be humble, shepherding and leading willingly without being selfish (Acts 20:17-26). Cheline (2003, pp.107-113) explains that "humility has from the early Christian centuries been defined in one word: truth. It is the truth about oneself before God". Selfish ambition is looked down upon in biblical leadership and will actually drain the biblical power from the leader. A situation where leaders in Nigeria glory in their ill-gotten wealth is unbiblical.

Completing the Mission

A biblical leader needs to have a vision to grow the company while also making an eternal difference through their witness for Jesus Christ. In this instance , his company and his country or whatever capacity he occupy's in trust for others. The following three items are proposed for a complete mission work.

1. Vision. Fry posits that the purpose of leadership is to create vision and value congruence across the strategic, empowered team, and individual levels and, ultimately, to foster higher levels of organizational commitment and productivity. Instances of inspirational leadership abound in the Bible. In the face of challenges, Gideon was a great leader who led his people into victory. So was David, the result for David was a higher calling that culminated in his attaining the leadership mantle of Israel.
2. Stewardship. People in groups and organizations gain an advantage when they are managed well and find synergy. God expects Christian leaders to be good stewards of both people and resources that are under their direction (Luke 12:42-46).

3. Evangelism. The scholars who formulated the spiritual leadership theory decided to make it religion neutral because of the divisiveness of issues like evangelism. Fry, Vitucci, and Cedillo explains that: Viewing workplace spirituality through the lens of religious traditions and practice can be divisive in that, to the extent that religion views itself as the only path to God and salvation, it excludes those who do not share in the denominational tradition and often conflicts with the social, legal, and ethical foundations of business and public administration. Christians need to follow Scripture and put God's mission of sharing the Gospel by always being ready to witness in every situation, but it is important for Christians to always share the Gospel with gentleness, respect and love (1 Peter 3:15). And in any case, the most effective sharing of the gospel comes through one's lifestyle. Paul was so representative of God's style that he could boldly deny 1Corithinas 11:1 "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ."

Organizational Relationship Skills

Relational skills within the workplace are important in regards to leadership because it forms the foundation for how leaders should share life and live with one another. The following two items are countercultural and are proposed to form the organizational-relationship- skills:

1. Submissiveness. Leaders must submit to the authority figures that they answer to within an organization (Heb 13:17).
2. Peacemaking. Christian leaders have a responsibility to build community and holiness in the groups that they work with in organizations as God desires peace on earth (James 3:17).

What is Biblical Christian Leadership?

The basis of good leadership is honorable character and selfless service to your organization. In your employees' eyes, your leadership is everything you do that affects the organization's objectives and their well-being. Respected leaders concentrate on what they are [be] (such as – beliefs and character), what they know (such as – job, tasks, and human nature), and what they do (such as – implementing, motivating and provide direction).

What makes a person want to follow a leader? People want to be guided by those they respect and who have a clear sense of direction. To gain respect, they must be ethical. A sense of direction is achieved by conveying a strong vision of the future.

There is no finer example for Christian leadership than our Lord Jesus Christ. He declared, "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep" (John 10:11). It is in this verse that we see the perfect description of a Biblical/Christian leader. He is one who acts as a shepherd to those "sheep" in his care. Bringing it to the context of secular Nigeria, a leader must be so patriotic as to want to die for his country, if the need arises.In a purely secular environment, the 'sheep'could be likened to the citizens or subordinates.

The shepherd is one who has several roles in regard to his sheep. He leads, feeds, nurtures, comforts, corrects and protects. The shepherd of the Lord's flock leads by modeling godliness and righteousness in his own life and encouraging others to follow his example. The Apostle Paul understood this: "Follow my example, as I follow the example of Christ" (1 Corinthians 11:1). The Christian leader is one who follows Christ and inspires others to follow Him as well. The Christian leader is also a feeder and a nourisher of the sheep, and the ultimate "sheep food" is the Word of God. Just as the shepherd leads his flock to the most lush pasture so they will grow and flourish, so the Christian leader nourishes his flock with the only food which will produce strong, vibrant Christians.

The Christian leader also comforts the sheep, binding up their wounds and applying the balm of compassion and love. As the great Shepherd of Israel, the Lord Himself promised to "bind up the injured and strengthen the weak" (Ezekiel 34:16). As Christians in the world today, we suffer many injuries to our spirits, and we need compassionate leaders who will bear our burdens with us, sympathize with our circumstances, exhibit patience toward us, encourage us in the Word, and bring our concerns before the Father's throne. Just as the shepherd used his crook to pull a wandering sheep back into the fold, so the Biblical/Christian leader corrects and disciplines those in his care when they go astray. Without rancour or an overbearing spirit, but with a "spirit of gentleness" (Galatians 6:2), those in leadership must correct according to scriptural principles.

Those whom God designates as leaders are called not to be governing monarchs, but humble slaves; not slick celebrities, but labouring servants. Those who would lead God's people must above all exemplify sacrifice, devotion, submission, and lowliness. These sterling qualities,if brought to bear on Nigeria, could bring about major and lasting changes that could help the country immensely.

Nehemiah Leadership Style as Panacea to Nigeria's Political Instability

Nehemiah lived during the same time as Ezra, Scribe who led the second group of returning exiles). While serving as a high-ranking official to Artaxerxes I, King of Persia, he received the news that the exiles who had already returned to Judah were in trouble and the wall of Jerusalem was still in ruins. After praying about the situation, Nehemiah approached King Artaxerxes with his ancerns.

The king graciously gave permission for Nehemiah to go to Jerusalem to save as governor and to rebuild the city walls. As an inspired leader, Nehemiah stirred the hearts of Jews to completely rebuild the wall in only 52 days. Nehemiah served as governor for twelve years. After a brief return to Persia, he served a second term as governor of Judah (Neh. 2:1, 13:6-7.)

Nehemiah, the Patriotic Exile

Nehemiah had heard terrible news about his home of Jerusalem, similar to the type of news people in diaspora often heard about their countries when there is corruption, fighting, tribalism and brokenness. People react in different ways on hearing such news. They often blame their governments and their own people. From the safety of their host countries, they make unrealistic and insensitentive comments. This should not be the case with Christians.

When Nehemiah heard the news about Jerusalem he wept. He became emotionally attached to the problems, and he prayed. He did not ask for a miracle but for God to give him strength to act in the situation. Then he acted. Nehemiah has given us an example of the ideal reaction to negative news that may come out of our home countries. Like him, we should avoid placing blame and instead focus on prayer and guidance from God on what we can do to help. Instead of finding blame we need to ask God about what can be changed and what action is needed, even if it includes returning to our homeland. Having known what needs to be done, we should go ahead to act decisively as Nehemiah did.

The Value of Team Work

Nehemiah knew that he could never rebuild Jerusalem's wall alone, but he was an organized, a focused, purposeful and motivated leader. He successfully mobilized the people of God. Then he explained the issues to them in a coherent and well-prepared plan. Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem, personally inspected the ruined wall, realistically assessed the damages and passionately addressed the city's leaders. He pointed out the needs and then helped the leaders get motivated to get to work to rebuild the wall (Nehemiah 2: 16-17). These actions successfully motivated God's people into taking action (Nehemiah 2:18).

Nehemiah then organized the people into work groups and deployed them to do specific tasks. Each group had its own leader, including the Levites, priests and goldsmiths. This is a powerful example of leadership; it is wise to realize that we cannot do the work of the mighty alone. We need to help, motivate, then mobilize, delegate and organize people strategically so that we can accomplish the task.

Today's followers need support or leader. And where there is a lack of leadership we should encourage focussed and talented people to lead. Whether in the church, politics, education or industry, we need leaders who can create urgency in people to achieve desired results, leaders who can provide a climate of motivation where people will work and be productive.

Many of our communities farm in groups. A group of people agree to work in one garden/farm on a selected day, and on another day they dig at another person's garden/farm. By so doing they can cultivate a large piece of land within a short time. Often plan are due made for music and food to accompany the working teams. This enhances unity within the community and brings people together in the spirit of "we" rather than "I" culture.

When Nehemiah worked on the wall of Jerusalem he involved all the members of the community in Jerusalem. All categories of people were important particularly. (Nehemiah 3:28). The only ones whose leaders refused to participate were the Tekoan and nobles (Neh 3:5). Team work is not a modern management concept but is biblical and also African. When we work together as a team, we are able to achieve more within a short time.

Nehemiah Faces Challenges

A Yoruba proverb says "If you will hurt a lion, ignore the flies about your ears". This means that great accomplishments often come with serious irritations and frustrations and suffering often precedes success. Through Nehemiah and the Jews had God on their side, they also had stiff external opposition that threatened their lives and work. Nehemiah knew that, "A person standing alone can be attacked and defeated but two can stand back to back and conquer. Three are even better for a triple-braided cord is not easily broke" (Eccl. 4:12). He acted promptly, reorganized and defeated the threat.

Nehemiah was as unyielding and bold despite the stiff opposition. He called the people together, formed a plan and directly confronted the problem. When faced with ungodly opposition. Nigerian leaders could take cue from Nehemiah: have a well thought out plan and take the bull by the horns. Such actions could be seen as unifying force.

Leaders are Generous

Although Nehemiah was allotted a generous portion of food to take care of his family and other government officials, he refused to accept it and personally paid for the food that he used to feed his leadership community of 150 people and numerous visitors. Nehemiah shared whatever he had (Neh. 5:17). As such, he is a great model of the selfless leader. Many leader's first goal is to enrich themselves, but Nehemiah's was not to take advantage of the people. Instead, he took responsibility for his own work (Neh. 5:15-17). Then he cried out to God for his own provision (Neh 5:19). What a different following this example would make in our society/Nation.

Living in Harmony

Nehemiah'sleadership style could be sold to Nigerian leaders. His leadership style suggests that he set aside time to ponder on his assignment, provide, good agenda, pray and plan. Thus he experienced effectiveness and efficiency. Nehemiah knew that planning is a way of giving expression to the dreams, hopes, vision and commitment to his people. Nehemiah understood that leaders ought to pray, plan and be responsible to God and his followers. He took advantage of the time at night to do evaluation on the new task ahead of him. A leader should manage his time wisely because leaders have much to do, they ought to make use of the best of their time.

He was a wise man who surrounded himself with the right and trusted people who shared his vision. He realized this by assembling teams of Hebrews to reconstruct the broken walls of Jerusalem. As a leader he explained his vision to the understanding of his followers. Nehemiah as a transformational leader, used inspirational, motivation and leadership styles in providing a clear vision to his people which motivated them to cooperate with him passionately. In Nehemiah 4:8-9, 22, Nehemiah was prepared for any emergency. As a transformational leader, he knew problems were inevitable. He had a good network of people with right and correct information. Leaders should be connected to the people who give them support and right information. A good leader builds tested, trusted and reliable supporters around him as his team workers. Nehemiah understood that without collaboration and mutual support, the work would not be effective. Nehemiah had a good sense of discipline and good judgment (Nehemiah 5:6-8).

Nehemiah displayed high sense of integrity before his people (Nehemiah 6:5-8). He kept his promises (Nehemiah 2:6, compare 13:6). He returned as promised to King Sussan's palace, after completing his assignment in Jerusalem. As a Governor for twelve years in Jerusalem, he never had a building of himself nor coveted anybody's property to enrich himself and his co-workers (Neh. 5:14:16).

Nehemiah never stole from the land, neither made any of his people suffer as a result of his administration because he feared God and his love for his people (Nehemiah 5:15 & 18.). "But the Governors who served before me laid burdens on the people and took from them bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver. Yes, even their servants bore rule over the people, but I did not do so, because of my fear for God". Nehemiah had a serious burden for his people when he observed their predicament and labored day and night to fulfill, the people's wish despite the serious opposition he faced.

Nehemiah's leadership clearly reveals elements of democracy as defined by Oyewo (2012, p.12). Decisions and actions are taken collectively even though inspired almost solely by Nehemiah. There is social justice and accountability. The result was that the people had a mind to work. This life style of Nehemiah's Biblical principles are highly recommended for our Biblical/Christian and political leaders in Nigeria for a better entrenchment of good governance and democracy in Nigeria.

Biblical Principles as Panacea to Leadership Challenges in Nigeria

Christian doctrine ascribes leadership position to God's provision. (Romans 13: 1-12) In other words nobody gets to position of power without the knowledge of God. Hence, leaders should first and foremost aim at pleasing and fearing God in the course of governance. Leaders should see themselves as servants of the people. Their lives are expected to manifest the four-fold components of appositional and multidimensional theory highlighted earlier in this paper.

Every Nigerian leader must imbibe the democratic culture as encapsulated in Nehemiah's life .such leadership makes the ideals of democracy marketable. According to Riker and Weale (1964, p.49), "democracy is both an ideal and a method of leadership. The method is essentially that of the ballot box and all that goes with it. The ideal is essentially that of free human persons associating together for their common good and mutual advantage. The basic values that lie behind these ideas are the principle of self-respect and self-control.

Leadership position requires vision and tolerance. Nehemiah was a man of vision, Nigeria is in dare need of visionary and detribalised leaders who will use power in the interest of the generality of people, not just members of their clan or ethnic group, or a political party. Good governance as demonstrated by Nehemiah's selfless efforts contributed,to reduce tension in the polity. The beauty of democracy manifests when the dividends of democracy abound through constructive actions that meet the needs and aspirations of the populace. In conclusion, the role of followership is equally important in democratic governance. Even ordinary citizens must realise that final legitimacy is in their hands. In Israel, Nehemiah's people knew this truth:

> Hence, they built us the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work (Nehemiah 4:6)

The people appreciated good governance provided by Nehemiah and reacted positively by having a mind to work." A good leadership is expected to demonstrate the following characteristics.

Manage the Resources of the Nation

Caring for the earth was the first duty God gave to human beings. God said, "they (human beings) will reign over the fish in the sea, the birds in the sky, the livestock, all the wild animals on the earth, and the small animals that move along the ground" (Gen. 1:26). Without good supervision of the resources of a nation, some citizens will abuse them or take more than their share. Many African governments have not done a good job at managing our resources well.

Provide Peace and Security for its Citizens

Peter said Kings and their official are "to punish those who do wrong and to honour those who do right" (I Peter 2:14). Paul added that government officials do not strike fear in people who are doing right, but in those who are doing wrong" (Roman 13:3). Jesus' statement about peace in his kingdom also applies to human government. In his sermon on the mount he said, "God blesses those who work for peace, for they will be called the children of God" (Matthew 5:9). The most basic responsibility of any nation is to provide peace and security for its citizens.

Establish and Uphold Justice

Paul wrote that government officials "are God's servants sent for the very purpose of punishing those who do what is wrong" (Romans 13:4). Courts that led those in power escape punishment have plagued many of our nations like an incurable illness – "when the godly are in authority, the people rejoice. But when the wicked are in power, they groan" (Proverbs 29:2). Too often justice has been delayed or lost because government officials, including Christians, have been silent.

Make it Possible for Citizens to Live Healthy, Productive and Successful Lives

"The authorities are God's servant sent for your good" (Roman 13:4)**.** Every nation must provide good things for its citizens, especially those things individuals and families cannot provide for themselves. Those include services such as roads, communication, education and medical help.

Conclusion

Leadership has been terribly bastardiesed in Nigeria at virtually every situation and sphere of life. The situation is so bad that democratic principles are hardly upheld. However, things could turn for the better if Christian principles as exemplified by Nehemiah's good leadership are brought into play. Such principles would be favourably received by the people and trust established in the polity. The result would be the entrenchment of democratic ideals.

References

Anifowoshe, R. (2011), *Violence and Politics in Nigeria. The Tiv, Yoruba and Niger Delta Experience Lagos*. Sam Iroanusi Ltd.

Appadorai, A. (1975). The Substance of Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bass, B. M. (1985), *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectation*. New York: Free Press.

Cheline, P. G. (2003). Christian Leadership: A Benedictine Perspective. *American Theological Library Association Summary of Proceedings*, *57*, pp.107-113.

Fry, L. W. (2005). Introduction to the Leadership Quarterly special issue: Toward a paradigm of spiritual leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(5), pp.619-622.

Greenleaf, R. K. (1977). *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness*. New York, NY: Paulist Press.

Kretzschmar, L. (2002). Authentic Christian leadership and spiritual formation in Africa. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, *113*, pp.41-60.

Naidu, S.P. (2011). *Public Administration. Concept and Theories*. New Age Intl. Ltd. New Delhi.

Nichols, J. B., & Kardong T. G. (2010). *Salience of Faith: The Role of Religious Values and Practices on Strategic Decision-making of Christian Business Owners* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from Pro Quest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 817396452), p37.

Niewold, J. (2007). Beyond Servant Leadership. *Journal of Biblical Perspectives*, *2*(1), 118-134.

Nigro, F. A., & Nigro, L. G. (1977). *Modern Public Administration*. Winchester, M.A: Unwin Hyman.

Njoroge, M. (1982), *Let the Truth Be Fold*: The Coups d'Etat of 1966. Vol. 1/ Zarial: Udahuda Ltd.

Ojo E.O. (2000), *Towards sustaining Democratic Values in Nigeria* in Saliu H.A. ed. Issues in Contemporary Political Economy of Nigeria Sally and Associates, Ilorin.

Organski, A. F. K. (1968). *The Stages of Political Development Canada.* Random House.

Oyewo, O. O. (2012). Neopatrimonialism and Democratic Governance in Nigeria: A Final Push for Collapse. A Paper Presented at the Department of Public Administration. The Polytechnic Ibadan, Ibadan on the 25th of July, 2012.

Patterson, K. A. (2003). S*ervant leadership: A theoretical model* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3082719).

Riker, H., & Weale, E. (1964). *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Little Brown: New York.

Sanders, O. (1994). *Spiritual Leadership*. Chicago, IL: Moody.

Utomi, P. (2004). Leadership as Impediment to Development. *Guardian Newspaper*, March 4, p.13.

Warrilow, S. (2012), *Transformational Leadership Theory* – The 4 Key Components in Leading Change and Managing Change. (Retrieved 15/03/2013). http://Ezine Articles. Com//expert = Stephen – Warrilow, p24.

Weibrich, & Koontz, H. (1993). *Management: A Global Perspective, 10th ed.* New York: McGraw Hill.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND GENDER IN BUCHI EMECHETA'S *THE JOYS OF MOTHERHOOD*

Adelaide Keudem Dongmo
Department of French,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

The concepts of language and gender have attracted a good number of critics who have studied the use of language in social contexts of communication (Chilton, 2004). One of the most important aspects of language in social contexts of communication is its power and properties. Language is greatly used by those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it both at the micro and macro levels of the society. Most researches within the context of feminine African literature have largely been in terms of theme, few have centered on the use of gendered language using linguistic approach. At the micro level where our interest lies in this paper, there are conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and effects between individuals and between genders. Gender simply refers to "sex-role identities used by humans to emphasise the distinctions between males and females" (Adegbite, 2009, p.12). Therefore, gender refers to behaviours associated with members of that sex.

The words "sex" and "gender" are often used interchangeably but they are not synonyms in any way. Sex relates specifically to the biological and physical feature which makes a person male or female at birth whereas gender refers to the behaviours associated with members of a specific sex. Gender is therefore socially constructed but sex is not. This paper through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies gender identity and subject positioning in Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*. This novel is purposely selected because it portrays a couple's life that is not really influenced by western ways of life and it is the first novel of one of the pioneers of African female writers. Thus, her style has not been influenced by critics. Our objective is to identify the socio-cultural practices that define gender identity in the novel and determine the way characters talk and are talked to, based on their sex. The paper shows how language use is not just an individual's activity but a social act that actively constructs gender asymmetries in the studied novel by pointing out how being a man or a woman affects the ways characters talk or are talked to. Furthermore the paper shows why counteracting phallic subjugation by reclaiming the language through denaturalisation and resistance could not be envisaged by Buchi Emecheta in *The joys of Motherhood*.

Sociolinguistic relationships between language and gender have attracted the attention of many critics. From Lakoff's (1975) identification of a "woman register" to Kramer (1978) who coins the term "genderlect" to refer to differences in male and female speech, critics have shown that there are differences in male and female talk styles. But with the wind of feminist movement female writers have redefined the literary landscape to subdue the phallic overbearing presence of the male characters who relegate the female gender to the position of second class citizen (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994). Curiously some of the female writers in describing their pains still ascribed consciously or unconsciously linguistic and stylistic expressions, that confirm the fact that the sexist and gender biased African writing is not exclusively male (Ogunyemi, 1988 ; Oloruntoba, 1998). This points out the idea that language is gendered and could demand a conscious effort to be denaturalised by individuals hence the study of *The Joys of Motherhood*. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will form the basis for our theoretical framework. After a brief overview of this approach, an emphasis on the methodology coupled with the summary of the studied novel will be done.

Theoretical Framework

A discourse, according to Tablot (2020, p.116), is a social interaction in specific contexts. Discourses are historically constituted social constructions in the organisation and distribution of knowledge… knowledge does not arise out of things and does not reflect their essential truth: it is not the essence of things in the world. Discourses are constituted in history and society; what is included as truth, access to that truth and who may determine it; all these depend on relations of power in institutions (Tablot, 2020, p.117). On the other hand, counter discourses propose alternative versions of social reality; and this is where the critical perspective comes in. It has important implications for movements committed to bringing about change, such as feminism. CDA may bring the gender identity out of the conversation by scrutinizing some of the sociocultural practices that define this gender identity. CDA aims at adopting a viewpoint that asks questions about the rational and legitimacy of something. It helps to remove normal biases from a point of view to determine whether a conclusion is the most valid one. To do this, a subject of study must be thoroughly analysed.

Culture is revealed through the use of language. Interaction is more often than not gendered and it determines gender identity and subject positioning. The bounding, rejection and humiliation of women from the public sphere are often not constitutional but are done through conversation, interaction and storytelling that CDA helps to reveal.

CDA is a form of social practice and the context of language is very crucial (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Blommaert, 2005). The thematic focus of CDA is to unmask opaque meanings. It is mostly concerned with the discourse of power, abuse, race, dominance, inequality, ideology, hegemony, belief and how these are enacted in texts and talks. There are different models of CDA. Some of them include: socio-semiotics by Fairclough (1989), socio-cognition by Van Dijk (1995), discourse historical approach by Wodak (1995). Each of the models has its principles and tenets. The discourse analysis model used in this paper is a model of Van Dijk (2004), it lays more emphasis on the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts and more importantly its mental aspects. As Van Dijk puts it, mental models define and control our everyday perception and interaction in general and the production and comprehension of discourse in particular. There is a sort of mental representation that seems to determine the level of power control and language used according to gender in most circumstances.

A large proposition of discourse analysis concentrates on spoken interaction neglecting the fact that discourse can be written as well. Through CDA, we may ask ourselves: who does the speaking in the text? What is the position and viewpoints from which they speak? CDA stops us from thinking of texts as though they actually have fixed meanings independently of the social worlds they circulate in. The texts meaning is not already there, it is the potential meaning that can be there at first. The text gets it meaning when people interpret it. It means paying a lot of attention to society and history in which the discourse takes place. This conception of discourse developed in CDA provides a valuable framework for studying language and gender. It enables the analyst to overcome the sense of ordinariness and obviousness that everyday language gives; hence our choice for the analyses in this paper.

Methodology

The analysis is committed to examining the way language contributes to social reproduction of gender identity, ideology and subject positioning (power to act) in society in Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*. This analysis explores the discursive strategies in the construction of gender and power in *The Joys of Motherhood* to stimulate critical awareness of the power of language. The aim of the analysis is to show "non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 229) in the novel. It shall be used to explore the social construction of gender.

Synopsis of *The Joys of Motherhood*

The Joys of Motherhood is a fictional story written by Buchi Emecheta. First published in 1979 by Allison and Busby, it is about Nnu Ego's journey to conform to the role of motherhood set by the standards of the Ibo tribe of Nigeria. It tells the tragic story of Nnu Ego, the heroine and daughter of Nwokocha Agbadi's proud, handsome and wealthy chief who encounters a lot of problems with childbearing and was rejected by her first husband Amatokwu because of her barrenness. Nnu Ego returns to her father's house. To avoid the embarrassment, Nnu Ego is remarried to Nnaife, an ugly laundry man, whom she does not love but hopes to stay with if she can have a child. In *The Joys of Motherhood,* characters are placed in gendered frames in terms of behavioural traits, physical attributes and hierarchical relationships. The gendered frames provide a good background for the appreciation of the gendered talk types.

Gender Identity and Subject Positioning in *The Joys of Motherhood*

In the novel under scrutiny, the interaction between male and female characters is gendered. The gendered expressions in the novel show the discriminatory language used to keep the female gender in a lesser position by creating in her a sort of gendering behavioural consciousness. Tablot (2020, p. 116) argues that "knowledge does not arise out of things and does not reflect their essential truth; it is not the essence of things in the world." The female gender in *The Joys of Motherhood* has been made to believe that she is of a lesser value. As revealed through the following paragraph, the gender ideology of Enu Ego's village Ibuza considers the male gender as the ultimate, and a woman as a failure if she is without a child for her husband (p.62)

The Gender Identity and Ideology of Ibuza

A close reading of *The Joys of Motherhood shows* that, according to Ibuza's culture, a male child is regarded as a priceless jewel unlike the female one; it does not matter if he is able to achieve anything in life or not. The warning, given by Nwakusor to Adaku the second wife of Nnaife, who was displaying her wealth to ridicule the first wife, is quite illustrative:

> Don't you know that according to the custom of our people you, Adaku… is committing an unforgivable sin? If Nnaife had been married to only you, you would have ended his life…I know you have children, but they are girls who in few years 'time will go and help build another man's immortality… Though Ibuza men admired a hard-working and rich woman, her life was nothing if she left no male child behind when she had gone to inherit the wealth, children who were her own flesh and blood (p.166).

The male child is the only sex that is able to grant to an Ibuza's woman a licence to real motherhood, the female child is not able, she can only help the mother to "tell the world that she is not barren" (p.66). When a man has many female children and no male child, he is regarded as one of the most miserable men even if he happens to be a king (p. 11). To corroborate this assertion, Cordelia referring to Enu Ego's first delivery states "you have given your husband a son. It's not very common for people to have sons for first baby. You are very lucky" (p.53). To confirm the statement Enu Ego reiterates:

> I know what you mean, Girls are love babies. But, you see, only now with this son am I going to start loving this man. He has made me into a real woman - all I want to be, a woman and a mother. So why should I hate him now? (p.53)

A son is the preferred child, a girl is just a "love baby", a woman is not yet one if she is not a mother. Nnu Ego at 25 years believes that her own "life was nothing but a catalogue of disasters" (p. 9) because she has been reconfigured to adopt a specific gender identity which says motherhood is the only parameter for a woman's recognition and self-esteem. That is why Enu Ego's focus after the sudden death of her first born who happens to be a male child was to terminate her life because the child that turned her into her acceptable societal status was no more (pp.7-9). Nnaife, the husband has the same conception regarding women identity or status in Ibuza. When Enu Egu became pregnant, he affirmed without any doubt: "you look pregnant… what else does a woman want?"(p. 49).

In terms of behavioural traits, a close reading of the novel shows gendering behaviour in the text. A woman is expected "to mind the home" (p.51), "stoop to men" (p.11) any woman that behaves otherwise is "very stupid" (p. 43) "rude and egocentric" (p.12) "wild and uncontrolled" (14). A description of Ona, the king's daughter who refuses to marry the proud hunter Agbadi is a perfect example of the gendering behavioural attitude.

> Ona was a very beautiful young woman who managed to combine stubbornness with arrogance. So stubborn was she that she refused to live with Agbadi. Men being what they are, he preferred spending his free time with her, with this woman who enjoyed humiliating him by refusing to be his wife. Many a night she would send him away, saying she did not feel like having anything to do with him, even though Agbadi was not supposed to be the kind of man women should say such thing to. (p.11)

The behaviour to put on is designed based on the sex of the person involved and therefore it is a gendering behaviour. Women are not to disgrace the man who asks them in marriage or who pays for them to be brought to town. They do not own themselves and therefore must not forget the tradition of their fathers (p.62). As a woman Nnu Ego can never oppose her husband if he desires to marry another wife because her disagreement will only be referred to as a disgrace by her own biological father who, being grounded in the Ibuza culture, will just have to rebuke her by saying:

> Please don't disgrace the name of the family again. What greater honour is there for a woman than to be a mother, and now you are a mother – not of daughters who will marry and go but of good-looking healthy sons, and they are the first sons of your husband and you are his first and senior wife. Why do you want to behave like a woman brought up in a poor household? (119)

Gender Positioning in *The Joys of Motherhood*

Physical attributes and hierarchical relationships are also based on gender in *The Joys of Motherhood.* Women are gendered as domestic social subjects; as wives, mothers, daughters and as such are expected to do whatever work is necessary in the maintenance of their families, regardless of how arduous and unpleasant it may be. Nnu Ego, the senior wife and Adaku, the second wife inherited by Nnaife the husband both agree that the world is "a man's world" (p.127) when Nnu Ego gave birth to a set of female twins. They only console themselves with the position the society has given the female child: "still …these girls when they grow up will be great helpers to you in looking after the boy. Their bride prices will be used in paying their school fees as well"(p.127). The daughters are positioned as merchandises that could be sold to cater for the needs of the boys or instruments specialised in taking care of some domestic chores. Nnaife rejected the twins at birth because they were females. "He did not even suggest their names …but was happier weeks later when Adaku, the new wife gave him a son" (p.127), moaned the mother. Their girls are not even expected to receive any education because they are meant to be exchange for money as soon as possible. "In twelve years' time, when their bride price start rolling in, you'll sing another tune" (p.127), adds Adaku to console Nnaife who sees the birth of a set of twins as a cross to carry.

The boys are positioned right from childhood in a superior pedestal belonging to men; as such they are not meant to participate in cooking which is a woman's job. Oshia, the first son of Nnaife ignores Adaku the day she dares to send him to fetch some water from the tap for the evening meal: "I am not going! I am a boy. Why should I help in cooking? That is a woman's job." (p.128)

The Linguistic Implications of Gender Identity and Positioning in *The Joys of Motherhood*

Adegbite (2009) acknowledges the socio-cultural constraints within which women and men make their linguistic choices and the impact of the constraints. When women and men are in agreement, there is conformity and social peace but the contrary is a panacea for trouble and chaos. "Gendered discourse as a constraint accounts for the stubborn reality that if women and men do not speak in ways associated with their sex, they are likely to be perceived as speaking and behaving like other sex and to be negatively evaluated" (p.14). A discursive construction of paternity and maternity in the novel shows that power relationship is gendered, and gendered discourse gets articulated through language which reveals the issue of power asymmetries in conversation.

The Gendered Power Relationship in *The Joys of Motherhood*

Being a woman or a man affects the way protagonists talk or are talked to in *The Joys of Motherhood*. Power relationships get articulated through language that brings out the difference between a woman and a man's speech. Language is one of the instruments through which power relationship is articulated. Johnstone (1993), studying women and men as storytellers, concludes that stories told by a man reflect local cultural expectation. A man is usually the protagonist in his own story; when he is not, he is telling a story about another man. Men tell about exploits that display their own skill, courage and wit. Men use dangerous situations they encounter, as opportunities for personal display. The story tells of contests. By contrast, women's stories are often about other people both female and male. They do not deal with bravery but they are more likely to portray someone's foolishness rather than their heroism.

The novel contains many stories but two of them deserve our attention: the first one is based on Nnu Ego, a female protagonist and the second one is centered on Nwakocha Agbadi a male one. The female protagonist looks powerless in her story. At 25 years of age, she wants to terminate her life because she has just lost her four weeks old baby she had been longing to get after many years of barrenness. Her action displays madness or foolishness and not heroism, for the reader can only wonder how her death could be of benefit in solving her problem (p.9-10). On the contrary, the story about Nwakocha Agbadi, a male protagonist, shows that Nwakocha Agbadi is a very wealthy local chief who does many exploits. He is a great handsome wrestler. Even though he was wounded to death by an elephant, he struggled to recover his precious life heroically. The story about Nnu Ego shows her embarrassment and fear and most importantly her childish attitude. However, that of the male protagonist portrays his skill, resourcefulness and conquest. The language is used to portray women as weaker vessels and men as powerful beings.

Ibuza's culture determines the vocabulary usable by a woman or a man. Morality is determined by the cultural beliefs of Ibuza, and obligation to family is prominent and dictates the choice of most words by women. On the contrary men's talks deal more with the assertion and maintenance of their position of authorities. Therefore, men are centers of attraction which put the female protagonist at a vulnerable position; men are family judges and they are also the ones that set up standards Adegbite (2009). One of the mistresses of Nwakocha Agbadi, the proud hunter who refuses to marry him is the subject of uncomplimentary remarks just because she refuses to be the eighth wife. Her status as a princess notwithstanding, she is described as a stubborn and arrogant girl (p.11), a wild and uncontrolled woman (p.14), a heartless bitch (p.19), a troublesome and impetuous woman who has the audacity to fight with her man before letting him have her: a bad woman (p.21). Meanwhile Agunwa, the submissive first wife is qualified as an unobtrusive, quiet and complete woman (p.22). Language does not merely reflect a pre-existing sexist world; instead it actively constructs gender asymmetries within specific socio- historical contexts (West et al., 1997).

Issues of Power Asymmetries in Conversation in *The Joys of Motherhood*

Male speakers use a competitive style of speech while women use a more co-operative style. In other words, male protagonists dominate their female counterparts through the use of language. Women, according to Lakoff (1975) use many linguistic forms which weaken or mitigate the force of their utterances while men do not. A vivid example of men talk is "Damn you and your food, Nnu Ego" (p.205) ... I have a mind to tell you and your brats to leave this house immediately. I was not created to suffer for you till I die" (p.206), says Nnaife abruptly to his wife. Meanwhile the linguistic forms used by women are expletives. The conversation below which takes place in a private domain between Nnu Ego and Nnaife shows the means by which Nnaife dominates while Nnu Ego searches for co-operation in their home.

> But, Nnaife. That paper alone won't employ you, will it? "… You must have a master first. All I see all over the place are soldiers…Are they to be the new masters? Why are they all here in Lagos? Nu Ego asked. "There is a war going on. I told you before… (p.85)

The force of the utterance of Nnu Ego in the above conversation is weakened by the preposition "but" and the tag question "will it ?". She politely ask her husband to seek for his opinion even though she had been told the answer earlier. This is a strategy that she uses to build a bridge for her request. On the contrary, the response of the husband is not mitigated. He goes straight to the answer and seems to blame the wife for asking question on a matter that has been treated before.

> I had thought Oshia would be going to school, starting after Christmas. Now we have little money to buy even food"… "Nnaife, since we are not sure when the new person will be here, can I use part of the money we have left to buy some stocks of cigarettes and matches and start my little business again?" … "We can't lose, and it will give me something to do? (pp.85-86)

The above passage is mitigated with the use of "I had thought", "Nnaife, since …", "can I use…", "we can't lose" and the question mark which shows that Nnu Ego is seeking for permission. Her style is elaborate and affective. She uses the pronoun "we" to show desire for co-operation. She formulates requests as proposals with sufficient reasons rather than give orders in order to avoid confrontation and make things easy for all. (Mulac et. al., 2001). The man's utterance as exemplified by the quotation below contradicts this concern for cooperation:

> "And what of Oshia? Do you want to lose him like you lost Ngozi, while you are looking for money? Who is going to take care of him when you go out to sell your stuff?
> "Listen, Nnaife at times, I don't know what to do of you…"
> "But, woman, you have to look after your child. That at least is a woman's job"
> "I would prepare his morning meal and yours too before leaving the house. All you'd have to do is to keep an eye on him."
> "What if a new master comes tomorrow, eh?
> "When the new master comes, we'll make a plan for that. He hasn't come yet, has he? (p.86)

The above passage further illustrates male dominance. Nnaife refuses to look after their only son because, to the best of his knowledge the societal norm dictates that caring for a child is a woman's responsibility. According to him, Nnu Ego wants to sell her "stuff" not "theirs" even though the gain will be used for the feeding of the entire family. The leadership of Nnaife is proven by his reluctant attitude toward his wife's request which portrays his wife's subordination with no trace of authoritative behaviour. Enu Ego unlike Nnaife is from a relatively well-established chieftaincy but Nnaife maintains his leadership status by telling her to cater for her child; meanwhile he resists being told what to do. His speech is direct, succinct and without any affection: "And what of Oshia? ... "But, woman, you have to look after your child. That at least is a woman's job". Power relations in *The Joys of Motherhood* is asymmetrical such that women's interests are systematically subordinated to men's. The obvious financial constraints notwithstanding, Nnu Ego cannot start a petty business without Nnaife's approval. Women opt for collaborative talk while men look for differences, feminine talk is more like melting in together (Coates, 1996). When Nnaife raised the issue of the coming of the new master, Nnu Ego simply replied: "When the new master comes, we'll make a plan for that. He hasn't come yet, has he?" Her answer secures relationship and focuses more on rhetorical questions which maintain and confirm the shared world of their joint possession.

Conclusion

The paper shows the empirical differences between the speech of women and men in Buchi Emecheta' *The Joys of Motherhood* through the study of cross-sex interaction of characters. It highlights gender-related patterns of talk. It identifies the role of language in creating and maintaining social inequality between women and men. It also pinpoints the cultural influences on gender that are kept through language. The paper shows that language use is not just an individual activity but a social act that actively constructs gender asymmetries in the novel by pointing out how being a man or a woman affects the ways characters talk or are talked to in *The Joys of Motherhood.* It concludes that based on Buchi Emecheta's *The Joy of Motherhood*, gender identity is socially constructed and takes the shape of individual culture while the ways of speaking are not just sex-linked but could also be sex-class linked. Illiterate women have a way of speaking different from the way literate women do, the style of each individual is highly influenced by their cultural background because there are sociocultural constraints within which women and men make their linguistic choices.

References

Adegbite, W. (2009). Language, gender and politics: A general perspective. In A. Odebunmi, E. Erua & Sailal (eds.) *Language, Gender and Politics* (pp. 9-21). Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

Coates, J. (1996). *Women talk: Conversation between women friends.* Blackwell.

Emecheta, B. (1994). *The Joys of Motherhood.* Edinburgh: Heinemann.

Fairclough, N. L. (1989). *Language and power.* London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. L. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language.* New York: Longman Publishers.

Fairclough, N. L. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd edn). Longman.

Kramer, C. (1974). Women's speech: Separate but unequal? *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 60 (1), 14-24.

Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and woman's place: Text and commentaries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mulac, B. C. (2001). Empirical support for gender as culture hypothesis: An intercultural analysis of male /female language differences. *Human Communication Research*, 27(1), 121-152.

Ogundipe-Leslie, M. (1994). *Re-creating ourselves: African women and critical transformations*. Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press.

Ogunyemi, C. O. (1988). Women and Nigerian literature. In Y. Ogunbiyi (ed.) *Perspectives on Nigerian literature 1400 to the present*. Vol. 1 (pp. 60-70). Lagos: Guardian Books.

Oloruntoba-Oju, T. (1998) *Language and style in Nigeria drama and theatre.* Ibadan: BENEL Books.

Talbot, M. (2020). *Language and gender.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Van Dijk, T. (1995). *A handbook of discourse analysis.* London: Academic Press Ltd.

Van Dijk, T. (2004). *Politics, ideology and discourse.* Retrieved from http://WWW.discourse-in-society.org/teun.html retrieved 06-05- 22

Wodak, R. (1995). Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. In J. Verschuren, & J. Blommaert (eds.). *Handbook of pragmatics-manual* (pp.204-210). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

West, C., Lazar, M. M., & Kramarae, C. (1997). Gender in discourse. In J. Van Dijk, (ed.) *Discourse as social Interaction* (pp. 119-205). London: Sage Publications.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE PRACTICE STRATEGIES OF STUDENTS LEARNING FRENCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

Anthony Y. M. De-Souza
Department of French,
University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

Introduction

Some years ago, Caroll (1967) suggested that biographies of good language learners might contain clues to the conditions of successful language acquisition. Likewise, we might be interested in finding out specific behaviors of students of the University of Cape Coast that make them successful in the study of French in an environment where Ghanaian local languages and English as a second language dominate in all forms of discourse.

Students use various techniques in an attempt to improve their knowledge of a target language. Most often, these techniques otherwise known as strategies, are purpose-driven as they are controlled and goal-directed (Oxford, 1990) to achieve specific learning outcomes. Strategies imply a conscious movement toward a language goal (Bialystok, 1990; Oxford, 1990; 1996a). Rubin (1975, p.43) defines them as “the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge”. Cohen (1998, p.4) identifies two sets of strategies. On one hand, language learning strategies which “have an explicit goal of assisting learners in improving their knowledge in a target language”. On the other hand, the strategies employed by learners become language use strategies, when they “focus primarily on employing the language that learners have in their current interlanguage” (Cohen, 1996, pp.2-3). A third set of strategies also identified in the literature (Rubin, 1987; Chamot, 1987; O'Malley et al., 1985; Cohen, 1996; Byram, 2004) is rehearsal or practice strategies even though it was not defined. This form of mental activity merits close investigation to clearly determine its role as a strategy in second language (L2) acquisition and learning. In L2 learning, it refers to an important strategic behavior involving silent covert practice of the other language, undertaken in relation to an oral or written, future or past language task (de Guerrero, 1991). Rubin (1987) describes them as a group of strategies that contribute to storing and retrieving language while the learner is focused on accuracy (Rubin, 1987, p.24). Chamot (1987) includes them under advance preparation, that is, the “planning for and rehearsing of linguistic components necessary to carry out an upcoming language task” (p. 77). Chamot (1987, p. 77) and O'Malley et al. (1985, p. 583) consider them as a kind of repetition strategy. Basavanahalli Jagadeesh and Kumar (2020) define them as techniques (internal/mental) that an individual employs to facilitate the processing and/or storage of sensory information (Turley-Ames & Whitfield, 2003). These strategies can include overt or covert (sub-vocal) vocalisation (Baddeley, Buchanan, & Thomson, 1975; Neath & Nairne, 1995), verbalising and/or visualising (Rayner & Riding, 1997), intonation-based grouping (Glanzer, 1976), etc. Another perspective of rehearsal is the one provided by Smith (1983), who associates rehearsal in the native language with talking to oneself. According to Smith, by means of rehearsal, people prepare for what they might want to say or, conversely, review conversations after they have taken place. For Cohen (1998), these techniques are used to rehearse the language in anticipation of a communication act, even though they can contribute as well to the learning of the foreign language. In his words, “some rehearsal strategies could be part of language learning as well as part of language use …” (Cohen, 1998, p.6). For instance, the use of a dictionary by a learner to check a word before a communication act serves the immediate need of language use but indirectly constitutes a form of learning. These techniques therefore enhance both the learning and use of the language.

Through observation of students learning behaviours and practices in the Department of French, a plethora of French language practice techniques were identified that students adopt in anticipation of oral production tests, oral interactions with colleagues and lecturers, written quizzes and examinations. While some of them apply techniques suited for the tasks involved, others are clueless about what to do in the same situation. While the application of strategy training models is a necessary and inevitable step, another important course of direction is obtaining a thorough, in-depth knowledge and understanding of some of the strategies that have been identified, especially those which appear to have an ambiguous status (de Guerrero, 1991). For this research, it will be instructive to document what students perceived to perform well in French adopt as language rehearsal methods to meet their academic goals. In this light, the study will gather descriptive information on mental behaviours that students consciously deploy to practise French in an Anglophone environment such as the University of Cape Coast. It seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the mental practices that enhance the learning and use of the French language?
2. What are the language practice opportunities that are available to students at the Department of French in the University of Cape Coast?
3. How do techniques deployed to rehearse French help in achieving the general language goals set out by students?

In line with these questions, the study will investigate the conditions under which successful language learning took place and what kind of practice strategies were used to achieve this goal. Then, it will discuss from the perspective of the various techniques identified in strategy research the learning behaviors of students that constitute practice or rehearsal of the French language. It will also identify and characterize the opportunities that the learning environment offers learners of French as a foreign language.

The study is posited within the Cognitive Theories of Anderson (1983) and Gagne (1985) and within the Practice Theory of Young and Astarita (2013). Cognitive theories broadly explain the role of the working memory in mental rehearsal and during online processing of information for spontaneous communication acts. Since information stored in the working memory quickly fades within a few seconds due to its limited capacity (Baddeley, 2003; Campoy & Baddeley, 2008; Henry, 2012), individuals, therefore, need to use different 'rehearsal strategies' such as subvocal or overt articulation of the target signals to overcome the effect of decaying memory trace. Practice theory rather offers a philosophical and methodological frame within which the interplay between social context and language learning can be understood. It views second language development not simply within a social context but rather as both constructing and constructed by that context (Kasper & Wagner, 2011). This view considers second language learning as a social practice and what is learned as the ability to perform effectively in interaction with others, which is termed "interactional competence" (p. 118).

Literature Review

Over the years, various researchers have contributed to the existing taxonomies in strategy research (Wenden, 1983; Rubin, 1987; Oxford, 1990; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Cohen, 1998, etc.). As early as 1957, Nida reported that foreign language (FL) students "practice thinking in a foreign language by making up imaginary conversations, constructing speeches, or recalling what one has heard or read in the foreign language" (1957, p. 24). However, these researchers have not been able to classify rehearsal strategies within any clear-cut taxonomy. Rubin (1987) included them within the broader category of Direct and Indirect strategies. In Chamot's (1987) classification, rehearsal is listed as a metacognitive strategy as well as a cognitive one (p. 77). O'Malley & Chamot (1990) fit them within the categories of Cognitive, Metacognitive and Socio-affective strategies.

Rubin (1975) was however the first among her peers who identified language practice or rehearsal as a strategy good language learners apply to be effective in their quest to learn and communicate in the second language. Some years later, Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern and Todesco (1996) provided accounts of language experiences by effective speakers of L2 to help further identify "good language learners". These authors described what model speakers did to enhance their ability to learn and use languages in their environments. Their descriptive accounts become the first of its kind to explain what practice or rehearsal strategies are in L2 acquisition. Since French is learnt as a foreign language in a multilingual context by Ghanaian students, the identification of best practices that enhance learning and use of the language could only be obtained from students perceived to be successful in the subject area.

In a study conducted by Aono and Hillis (1979), learners were identified to successfully use rehearsal as a production strategy. In her study, de Guerrero (1987) reported that students engaged in voluntary rehearsal during which they were consciously retrieving information from memory in order to prepare for future production. This preparation included "organizing the material to be utilized, checking correctness, locating words in memory, refining meaning, etc." (p.544). In another study conducted by Smith (1983, p.91), respondents reported "silently rehearsing and evaluating language that they might overtly produce in the future, usually in spoken but also in written form". Another aspect of rehearsal is that associated with written production. Murray (1992) suggests that it is a normal part of the writing process. According to Murray, rehearsal "usually begins with an unwritten dialogue within the writer's mind" (p. 173) and that "some writers seem to work more in their head" (p. 173) than others. He therefore recommends that research should, in every way possible, "explore the significant writing stage of rehearsal which has rarely been described in the literature of the writing process" (p. 174).

Mental rehearsal or practice of the language is therefore useful in many practical purposes such as for preparations for oral and written production tasks (in both informal and formal situations), for easy retrieval of information stored in memory (Flavell, 1977), for making up imaginary conversations in anticipation of certain events, and generally for practicing thinking in the target language. Zimmerman and Pons (1996) observe that students who frequently employ learning strategies enjoy a high level of self-efficacy (i.e. a perception of being effective as learners). Other studies in L2 acquisition (Nunan, 1991; Green & Oxford, 1995) have also shown that more effective learners showed careful orchestration of strategies, targeted in a relevant, systematic way at specific L2 tasks.

Methodology

The target group for this study is made up of Level 200 students (2nd year) in Bachelor of Arts (B.A. Arts) and Bachelor of Education (B.Ed. Arts) programmes. The purpose of this study is to find out about the language practice strategies they deploy in studying French as a foreign language at the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. In the Ghanaian multilingual context, French is studied as a foreign language, given that it is neither the language for daily interaction among natives nor a second language for the citizens as the case may be in neighbouring francophone countries. Therefore, access to quality inputs in French for learners is quite restricted to the Department of French or the University environment as a whole. The choice of Level 200 students is informed by the fact that they have spent at least three semesters at the Department of French, totalling 117 credit hours in French subjects. Thus, they have formed behaviour patterns that help them overcome their challenges in studying French within this learning environment. Such behaviours constitute the object of our investigation in this study.

A semi-structured interview guide[1] was administered to 20 students who were selected through purposive sampling[2] to participate in this research. In four focus groups, students responded to questions through recollection and self-report of their best practices in rehearsing the French language. Whereas a recollection often consists of a description by learners of significant events in their learning experience of the target language, a self-report is characterized by generalized statements made by the learner about his or her learning behaviour (Cohen, 1998). The interview was conducted by a Teaching Assistant on behalf of the lecturer/researcher in a serene environment where respondents could describe their practices without any fear or intimidation. This arrangement allowed the interviewer to pursue topics of interest which were not originally part of the questionnaire drawn-up (Cohen, 1998). Meanwhile, it also provided the opportunity for students to build on the response provided by their colleagues by adding strategies of their own

[1] See Appendix 1 for the interview guide

[2] Grades and Total scores in French obtained by students in two semesters during the 2018/2019 academic year formed the basis for selecting participants.

(O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). The interviews were recorded and transcribed orthographically using Valibel convention (Bachy S., Dister A., Francard M., Geron G., Giroul V., Hambye P., Simon A. C., & Wilmet R., 2007), in a way to highlight opinions expressed with regards to the language practice techniques adopted by students. The data extracted was analyzed qualitatively using Atlas.ti version 6.2.

Data Analysis and Findings

The analysis focused on the most salient features of the interviews. The data revealed that students' language practice strategies were geared towards improving the four language skills in French: Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing. These four skills reflect the overall approach to language learning and acquisition by students.

Improving listening skills

There are some discussions over whether language learners should initially be allowed to be 'receptive' participants in the classroom, in order to become attuned to the new language, or whether they should be compelled to produce the language, that is to be 'active' participants, from the very beginning of their language learning (Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern & Todesco, 1996). The latter situation was demonstrated in this study.
From responses gathered through the interview, students reported doing active listening of French in communication situations. To improve their listening skills, fourteen (14) students reported that they listened to French audio, music, and news on channels like Radio France International (RFI). Four (4) students said they listened to the conversations of francophone students[3] and their senior colleagues[4] who are fluent in the French language. The respondents found listening to such conversations very useful since they acquire new vocabularies in French. Three (3) other students rather pay particular attention to the words and expressions lecturers used during French lectures. Thus, they listen repeatedly to lectures they had recorded earlier during which they try to guess the meaning of new words by depending on contextual clues of their production (2 occurrences). It can therefore be established that students improve their understanding of French vocabularies through active listening in context.

From the above description, it is obvious that students can identify good communication situations that can feed them with the right input to model their speech. The individual selects what he listens to and determines the relative order of listening and understanding preceding the productive use of language, also known as a 'natural' order (Stern, 1970, p.61). The report also shows that students can identify good linguistic models (Naiman *et al*, 1996) in the environment against which they could measure their own productions.

Places identified in the self-report such as the multimedia room commonly called *La Salle* and the lecture rooms, are rife with good inputs that students use to monitor their own speech. They also monitor the speech of other speakers in these environments

[3] Referring to foreign students from French speaking countries who are studying at the University of Cape Coast.
[4] Referring to students who returned from the 9-months year-abroad programme at CIREL-Village du Bénin in Togo and who are now in Level 400.

(Rubin, 1975). Stern (1975) refers to the latter as a critical sensitivity to language use. Therefore, students take every French communication situation as an opportunity to improve their understanding of French. Listening to authentic materials in French, such as songs, news or native speakers, train learners' ears to the accents and tones they are likely to experience in the indigenous French environment. Hence, difficulties linked with understanding foreign speakers become minimal.

Nonetheless, the environment that provides the opportunities for learners to pick the right language also gives them opportunities for using what they know already in the language. Thus, listening cannot be dissociated from speaking. How do students of French improve their speech in the learning environment?

Improving speaking skills

Students' techniques to retain and recall new vocabulary are vital to increasing knowledge of the foreign language and enhancing its use (Wilson, 1988). Respondents reported different techniques of word retention that helped to improve their speaking skills. During conversations held in French among colleagues, students discover new words that they reinvest into their own speech production (5 occurrences). Others model their sentences on that of their lecturers when attempting to speak the language during lectures (3 occurrences). Finally, other students used newly acquired vocabularies to ask questions during lectures in a bid to retain them (3 occurrences). The more students retain new words and expressions which become an input, the more they boost the quality of their output (Wilson, ibid). Speaking also helps to improve other related skills such as pronunciation, retention, recall and understanding in the foreign language.

It is worth noting that, trying out newly acquired words in a conversation in order to test their appropriateness and understanding is a practice strategy in its own right. In one breath, as students receive positive signals from their fellow speakers, they develop more confidence about using the words in conveying meaning. It thus reinforces the student's ability to use them in the right communicative situation. In another breath, this technique may serve the purpose of word retention as it also affords the students the opportunity to use their interlanguage in the speech act. The word or expression thus used appropriately, contributes to its fossilization in the learner's internal language system.

Students reported other general techniques of enhancing their speaking skills in French. For instance, four (4) students said they speak the language with their course mates, roommates, lecturers, francophone students or other continuing students outside the lecture room. For example, in their halls of residence, students seize every opportunity of using the French language by thanking someone in French (i.e. *"merci"* or *"de rien"*) (1 occurrence); responding to someone who knocks at the door (1 occurrence); and interacting with a francophone roommate on basic needs and topics of common interest (1 occurrence). Thus, personal involvement with various speakers of the French language in the University environment serves as a motivational stimulus (Naiman *et al*., 1996) for the students.

One main characteristic of the good learner is his strong drive to communicate or to learn from communication (Rubin, 1975), as exemplified by accounts given above. The attempt by some students to interact with francophone students indicates an 'integrative orientation' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), in that, they are interested in the culture and the people of the target language.

Other students devise other techniques to achieve the same goal of improving their speaking skills. They rather take active participation in the 'ateliers'[5] or students' clubs (6 occurrences) where they can improve on their proficiency and their cultural knowledge of the French language. Thus, students participated in various ateliers such as: Francophone Music and Dance, Comedy, Drama, Dictation, Poetry, Creative Writing and Debate. The 'Ateliers' serve as platforms for students to showcase their creativity in using the French language. The ateliers generally prepare students to face different interactional situations in the French language (10 occurrences). Students also learn new words and expressions from music and dance, poems, drama and other language learning activities they engage in (6 occurrences), notwithstanding the motivational impact of these activities on less outspoken students who are challenged to speak French (1 occurrence). Another factor thought to be operating in the situations presented above is aptitude to language learning. What the students described above shows a positive aptitude to learning the French language. This aptitude is the result of personal determination to speak the language, willingness to apply oneself, and strong motivation (Naiman et al., 1996).

Rehearsing aloud the French language ahead of lectures constitutes yet another practice strategy for enhancing speaking skills. This preparation consists of reading on topics in the course outline and photocopy materials provided by lecturers (13 occurrences) and discussing these materials in personal study groups (11 occurrences). This practice broadens the knowledge of students and enhances their understanding of topics owing to the input made by their colleagues. In trying to share with group members their reading and understanding of materials from other sources, they rehearse the French language.

What is important in these group discussions is the role each student assumes during the discussions. Those who take-up active roles easily build up their listening, speaking, understanding and reading of the target language. This observation was made by six (6) students who would always assume the role of leaders in such discussions. They explained that being a leader requires good communicative skills in French which is necessary to shape the understanding of issues discussed. This role gives them the opportunity to contribute more effectively to the work at hand by sharing information they have gathered with members. For the same reasons, three (3) students take the backstage in study groups for fear of making mistakes, as they feel that they lack the adequate vocabularies and expressions to lead or contribute to discussions in the group. Therefore, the conscious attempt to assume roles in discussion groups is directed towards oral practice of the language in the academic context. In doing so, students achieve two goals: rehearsing French as a spoken language and rehearsing the knowledge of French as a subject.

[5] It is mandatory for students in Level 100 and 200 to join 'ateliers' which seek to build in them language competences in French though sociocultural, recreational and brain stimulating activities.

Language practice strategies have also been identified during students' participation in lectures. Techniques that were reported included: offering oneself for oral presentations (8 occurrences); constructing sentences and reading them out (6 occurrences); seeking further explanation in class by asking questions (4 occurrences); and initiating debates on topics (2 occurrences). Others reported that lecturers insisted they asked or answered questions in French. In this situation, they either sought help from colleagues in constructing sentences (5 occurrences) or they mobilized their linguistic repertoire to meet the demands of the lecturer (2 occurrences). A good practice strategy during formal instructions is hence to seize every chance for participation as an opportunity for self-actualisation. Learners who hide away from the lecturer for fear of being called to participate miss two kinds of opportunities: displaying the content of their interlanguage and receiving corrective inputs.

A less common but interesting practice strategy identified during this study is the use of 'funny' words learnt in class to crack jokes or to nickname colleagues in the class (1 occurrence). According to this respondent, such words bear resemblances with equally funny words in other languages he speaks already. Anytime he recalls the word in the source language, he can remember the word in question in the target language. For instance, we can cite the example of the French expression "merci beaucoup" that bears resemblances with expressions in some local languages of Ghana like 'Me si wo Bawku' which literally means in Twi "I will alight at Bawku". Such resemblances can be phonic (same rhythm), conceptual (same mental image or meaning) or both (as in keywords) (Oxford, 1990). Byram (2000) suggests that techniques used by the learner to recall the word reflect the techniques used earlier in memorizing it. Students create jokes or nicknames out of new words in order not to forget the words and associate words with their contexts through guessing. Students learn techniques that will improve long-term retention, such as mnemonic devices, simple association, flash cards, and oral recitation (Wilson, 1988).

Another important skill that foreign language learners need to learn is reading. Even though many can speak and understand a foreign language, it is not so obvious reading it. Most Ghanaian students have difficulties reading local languages that they speak fluently, let alone English and French which are second and foreign languages to them. Therefore, a study on learners' techniques for practising the French language should not miss out on what they do to become good readers of the language.

Improving reading skills

When asked about what they do to improve their reading skills in French, most students reported that they read their course materials ahead of French lectures (13 occurrences). This consists of reading on topics as found on the course outlines (12 occurrences), photocopy materials provided by their lecturers (10 occurrences) and lastly, reading old notes from Senior High School (SHS) for easy understanding (1 occurrence). Other students read monolingual dictionaries in French (8 occurrences) as a way of practising reading. They search the meaning of words they had noted down during lectures. This strategy is effective in language learning since students uncover the meaning of words through definitions provided in the target language. These dictionaries also provide them with other substitutes or synonyms for words they have searched. Finally, they get contextual information for the appropriate use of these words. Reading monolingual dictionaries helps students to form meaning by understanding the metalanguage used in the definitions of words. Monolingual dictionaries thus become good tools for improving reading skills in the foreign language.

Another practice strategy that has been reported by respondents is reading aloud. Students read aloud course materials in preparations for quizzes and examinations (6 occurrences). In doing so, their pronunciation, accent, intonation and general fluency are checked by their peers. Some respondents reported reading aloud any materials in French to record themselves (4 occurrences). So, listening to their own rendition of the text helps them to identify their challenges in respect of pronunciation. Students use various devices to check correct pronunciation such as: referring to word transcriptions in the French dictionary (3 occurrences); listening to words' pronunciations on google (1 occurrence); taking a cue from a francophone roommate who provides the model reading (1 occurrence).

It is often said that good reading skills lead to good writing. Even though complementary, the rules that govern these two skills are divergent. The pronunciation system sets out the rules for reading aloud while the orthographic system prescribes the rules for writing the language. Therefore, techniques used by a language learner to practise reading will differ from those used to practise writing of the same language. Which techniques do enhance the writing skills of learners?

Improving writing skills

Respondents reported various techniques that help them to improve their writing skills in French. Among them, essay writing constitutes the topmost (3 occurrences). These students are not too pleased to see mistakes underlined in their marked assignments. Therefore, they put in a lot of efforts to minimize them by varying topics they write on (2 occurrences) and writing stories on their own in French (1 occurrence). However, they face various challenges due to limited vocabulary and application of grammatical rules and principles of the French language.

Students overcome these challenges by deploying techniques that rely mostly on the use of the L1 to produce the L2; these include using bilingual dictionaries (3 occurrences) and Google translator to render essays written in English into French (3 occurrences). They generate basic sentences in the L1 (English language) and render them into the L2 (French). In this regard, Kuupole (1994), in his study, reported that 95% of students in the Department of French are admitted having to reflect or reason over issues first, conceive or produce sentences mentally in English, and then translate them (orally or in written form) into French. To this, he concluded that students establish some correspondences between the two languages which they extend into an area where it does not exist. Even though the use of the L1 and its comparison to the new language is inevitable and useful at the initial phases of language learning, the learner must decide whether to consciously attempt to suppress L1 references or to make use of them. The attempt to reduce dependency on the English language may help the learner to build more self-esteem and confidence in communicating in the French language. However, continuous reference to the L1 may result into language distortions and malapropisms that result from wrongfully dealing with the discrepancies between the two languages. As Naiman et al. (1996, p.27) put it, “within linguistic families, cross-lingual comparisons facilitated comprehension and production, but also produced some confusion, especially at the early stages”. Thus, reference to the L1 could be used as a ‘checking tool’ for comprehension during language production activities but it can also produce interferences, for example, in the choice of vocabulary.

In sharp contrast to what the first group of respondents reported, others adopted writing strategies that rely solely on the L2 to produce essays in French. These students overcome their writing challenges by depending on a few materials in French language such as monolingual dictionaries in French (2 occurrences), Google search engine (2 occurrences) to check the spelling of words, and conjugation books (2 occurrences) to check grammatical rules that apply to sentences needed for the essay. They rather view translation as a hindrance to the production of the French language. They believe that producing essays directly in French helps them to test their ability to recall and use vocabularies they have already acquired and their creativity in the French language. Language practice is achieved more effectively in this type of exercise which provides a better opportunity for rehearsing and internalizing structures of the foreign language.

Lastly, the study revealed some environmental factors that impacted learning of the foreign language. Since French is learnt in an environment where local languages and English are dominant, learners must be ingenious to identify environments within the university that promote practice and use of the French language.

Environmental Factors that Enhanced Practice of the Language

The study has also shown that students take advantage of teaching and learning resources in the learning environment to harness their learning potentials. Language practice strategies necessitate a favourable language learning environment. Students confirmed that resources provided by the Department of French such as a library, a multimedia room, a desktop computer and Internet facility, e-learning platform, photocopies of authentic teaching and learning materials, and audio materials for teaching French oral help them greatly.

The respondents acknowledged the usefulness of the French multimedia room also known as ‘La Salle’ in improving their language learning experience. Indeed, they consider La Salle as their francophone environment (9 occurrences) where they could hear French on daily basis and get other students to interact with. They use the multimedia room as a ground for immersing themselves in the French language (4 occurrences) as they watched and listened to French programmes on TV Cable channels and other francophone channels (such as TV5, France 24, New World TV, Africa 24, etc.). Respondents agreed that watching favourite TV programmes such as cartoons, documentaries, movies, and educational games in French provides them with interactive opportunities for listening and understanding the French language in different sociocultural contexts (9 occurrences). Some students picked specialized vocabularies from French news and cooking programmes (4 occurrences). *La Salle* is also identified as the place where students seek help from senior colleagues when dealing with aspects of

French lessons they could not understand (4 occurrences) and engage in group discussions (3 occurrences).

The Department of French library was identified as another very important learning environment. At the library, students improve on their vocabulary by reading story books and magazines in French (4 occurrences), solving individual assignments (3 occurrences), checking the meaning of words they have noted down from French dictionaries (2 occurrences), and searching information on the Internet (2 occurrences).

The wireless Internet facility is another resource that enhances the practice and use of the French language in the Department of French. Most students browse French websites recommended by lecturers on the course outlines. They use the internet facility to do assignments (12 occurrences); learn conjugation of French verbs (4 occurrences); check meaning of words (4 occurrences); and do online language tests for self-evaluation (3 occurrences). Some students use the same facility to interact in French with colleagues on platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram and email (5 occurrences). Finally, some students used the internet facility to download applications (such as Duolingo) for learning French vocabulary and pronunciation (2 occurrences).

The University-wide e-learning platform is also reported to contribute significantly to learning in the environment. This platform is noted for online general quizzes in French once every semester. However, personal use of the platform by students includes the following: reading and downloading lecture notes/materials in French (4 occurrences); getting direct access to internet resources (links provided by lecturers) (4 occurrences); downloading and uploading assignments (2 occurrences); and using forums for collaborative learning (1 occurrence).

This overview of resources available in the learning environment and how students use them to enhance their skills make practice of the French language much easier and interactive.

Implications for FFL Teaching/Learning in the Ghanaian Context

Studies in L2 acquisition and learning have established the fact that effective learners showed careful orchestration of strategies, targeted in a relevant, systematic way at specific L2 tasks (Nunan, 1991; Green & Oxford, 1995). The current study has shown that students of French as a Foreign Language at the University of Cape Coast can identify and describe a wide range of techniques, they consciously deploy in a bid to practise the French language. These practice strategies should inform the agenda for fresh students' orientation at the beginning of their programme at the University since most of them come with misconceptions and fears about the study of the French language. In ESL/EFL studies, positive effects of strategy instruction emerged for proficiency in speaking (Dadour & Robbins, 1996; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper & Russo, 1985) and reading (Park-Oh, 1994). Chamot et al. (1996), Cohen, Weaver and Li (1995); and Cohen and Weaver (1998) investigated the effects of strategy instruction among native-English-Speaking learners of foreign languages and found some positive results mixed with neutral findings. However, literature has shown that students are not always aware of the power of consciously using L2 learning strategies for making learning quicker and more effective (Nyikos & Oxford, 1993). It behoves skilled teachers to help their students to develop an awareness of learning strategies and enable them to use a wider range of appropriate strategies. If this initial strategy instruction is not carried out effectively, less able learners may use strategies haphazardly in a random, unconnected, and uncontrolled manner as some studies have shown (Abraham & Vann, 1987; Chamot, Barnhardt, El-Dinary & Robbins, 1996) when they start facing challenges in their studies.

The study has also identified language activities that students engage in that solicit the use of receptive and productive skills within the academic, social and personal environment of learners. Nonetheless, the nature and the complexity of the activities may require low or high order skills to achieve the intended goals for communication. On one hand, students engage in more complex language activities, such as social communication or classroom oral presentations, which require integrative skills. According to O'Malley *et al.* (1988), complex language activities required integrative skills such as listening or using language in social contexts. On the other hand, less complex language tasks such as vocabulary and pronunciation (Naiman *et al*, 1978; O'Malley *et al.,* 1988) rather require adaptative skills. Students learn vocabulary and pronunciation with the aim of developing skills to use in communicative contexts – conversations outside the classroom, group discussions, or participation during lectures. They deliberately sought out communication situations to increase their oral skills. They also broaden their vocabularies through skill development in structural analysis and context clues (Wilson, 1988). Classroom instructions in pedagogy for FFL teachers should stress the importance of both skills in language development and their implications for language practice in the Ghanaian multilingual environment.

The role of self-immersion in the French environment within the University space cannot be understated. Indeed, the study showed that students can identify environments which help them develop their listening and speaking skills of the language. It has also described how students behave in such environments. Unfortunately, less intuitive learners of the language are left out of these opportunities. It is incumbent on French language instructors to set out communicative tasks that rely on immersion opportunities within the learning environment. For instance, a task may require students to engage their senior colleagues to seek information about the year-abroad programme in Togo or France; or engage any member of the teaching staff of the Department to discuss modalities for taking part in the year-abroad programme. Other forms of self-orchestrated conversations with staff, friends and francophone students studying in the University may include interactions in French on personal, social, political and academic issues that students can record for discussion among peers or for the purpose of self-evaluation. These proposed activities are geared towards providing students access to correct inputs that enhance their listening abilities, building of vocabulary, pronunciation, intonation, accents, concord, and fluency, through their encounters with model speakers of the French language within the university space.

As demonstrated by the study, techniques devised by students to practise the French language aimed at achieving academic goals. The self-report data shows that activities that students often engaged in, such as participation in lectures, group discussions, research, and essay-writing, among others, helped them to use French meant for academic or formal discourse. In other words, techniques meant to rehearse language meant for personal or social interactions were not identified in the data. One can therefore assume that students select language practice activities that satisfy immediate academic needs since the accredited programmes for French are knowledge-based. Even though knowledge of the language is crucial for students to build a strong foundation and develop broader and critical thinking about what they are learning, and its philosophies, further reviews for the re-accreditation of the French language programmes should incorporate skill-based learning approaches that provide for regular practice of the language for students to develop practical expertise in the subject area. According to Twining (2018), a 'skill-based' approach cannot be adopted without developing knowledge of the language. By bridging the gap between knowledge and skills, the programmes can ensure greater independence in learning and provide students with real-world experience of using the language. Furthermore, students can grasp concepts quicker and absorb information faster as teaching and learning activities engage their reality. The teaching and learning programmes for French language should thus engineer situations of communication that expose students to all forms of communication in French to respond wholistically to various needs of learners, be it in the personal, academic, social and professional domains of communication in the language.

Lastly, the study has revealed how e-learning resources and digital technologies have significantly contributed to the practice of the French language in the University. While smart students devised their own techniques of taking advantage of such tools for self-learning, other students could make little or no use of them. A comprehensive scheme to integrate e-learning technologies and resources into aspects of the language programme should provide instructors and learners clear guidelines to fit such tools into activities for language teaching and learning.

Conclusion and Way Forward

Responses gathered from students of French revealed techniques that sustain students' learning of the French language. Naiman et al. (1996) posit that good language learners take advantage of potentially useful learning situations and if necessary, create them. They also develop learning techniques and strategies appropriate to their individual needs. Indeed, students show their strategic competence by seizing opportunities of speaking the French language with other competent users in the learning environment, engaging in active listening of conversations around them, using the language in group discussions, deploying innovative techniques of understanding new vocabularies, and enhancing recall and use of words and expressions in language production.

This study highlighted the language practice strategies of Level 200 students at UCC. Even though it brought out interesting findings regarding what was described as techniques for practising the French language that proved beneficial to students, the study also revealed a few ineffective techniques that rather impeded the development of the language skills needed for communication in the language. We discussed the negative impact of over-reliance on translation from source language, the use of bilingual dictionaries and google translators, the habit of constructing sentences on paper before reading them out, continuous references to the L1 system to produce the L2, taking the backstage in group discussions for fear of making mistakes, and hiding away from the lecturer for fear of being called to speak. We observed that these language practice techniques hamper students' ability to directly think and produce spontaneous speech in the target language. Highlighting techniques that somewhat shy and reserved students adopt in learning French could as well be instructive in FFL pedagogy. Another dimension not covered by the study is the gender perspective to language practice. Further studies could focus on the significant gender differences in applying strategies aimed at practising French as a foreign language. Furthermore, a tracer study (or strategy assessment) needs to be conducted to ascertain the effect of strategy adopted on grades obtained by French students. Participating students' results over two semesters are indicative of the fact that strategy use may have some incidence on the grade they obtained. Subsequent studies could therefore determine how their academic performance in French language is linked to the practice strategies they adopt.

References

Abraham, R., & Vann, R., (1987). Strategies of two learners: A case study. In A.L. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning,* (pp.85-102). New York: Prentice Hall.

Anderson, J.R. (1983). *The Architecture of Cognition.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Aono, A., & Hillis, P. (1979). One ESL Learner's System for Communication in English: A Pilot Study. Unpublished manuscript. University of Washington, ESL Center.

Bachy S., Dister A., Francard M., Geron G., Giroul V., Hambye P., Simon A. C., & Wilmet R. (2007). *Conventions de transcription régissant les corpus de la banque de données VALIBEL*. Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain.

Baddeley, A. D. (2003). Working Memory and Language: An Overview. *Journal of Communication Disorders, 36*(3), 189–208. https://doi.org/10.1016/ S0021-9924(03)00019-4

Baddeley, A. D., Buchanan, M., & Thomson, N. (1975). Word Length and the Structure of Short- Term Memory. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour, 14*(6), 575–589.

Basavanahalli, J. A., & Kumar, U. A. (2020). Role of Rehearsal Language in Working Memory. *JAIISH, 39*, 31-38.

Bialystok, E. (1990). *Communication Strategies: A Psychological Analysis of Second-language Use.* Oxford, U.K: Blackwell.

Byram, M. (2000). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning.* Canada: Routledge.

Byram, M. (2004). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning.* Canada: Routledge. `

Campoy, G., & Baddeley, A. (2008). Phonological and Semantic Strategies in Immediate Serial Recall. *Memory*, *16*(4), 329-340. https://doi.org/10.1080/0 9658210701867302

Caroll, J. B. (1967). Research Problems Concerning the Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children. In H.H. Stern (ed.), *Foreign Languages in Primary Education,* (pp.94-109). London: Oxford University Press.

Chamot, A.U. (1987). The Learning Strategies of ESL Students. In A. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning,* 71-83. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall International.

Chamot, A.U., Barnhardt, S., El-Dinary, P., & Robbins, J., (1996). Methods for Teaching Learning Strategies in the Foreign Language Classroom. In R. Oxford (Ed.), *Language Learning Strategies Around the World: Cross-cultural Perspectives,* (pp.175-188). Manoa: University of Hawaii Press.

Cohen, A. D., Weaver, S. J. & Li, T-Y (1995). *The Impact of Strategies-Based Instruction on Speaking a Foreign Language.* Research Report. Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Cohen, A. D. (1996). *Second Language Learning and Use Strategies: Clarifying the Issues.* Minneapolis Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Cohen, A.D. (1998). *Strategies in Learning and Using a Second Language.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Cohen, A. D. & Weaver, S. J. (1998). Strategies-based Instruction for Second Language Learners. In W.A. Reyandya & G.M. Jacobs (Eds.), *Learners and Language Learning. Anthology Series 39,* (pp.1-25). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Center.

Dadour, E.S., & Robbins, J. (1996). University-level Studies using Strategy Instruction to Improve Speaking Ability in Egypt and Japan. In R. Oxford (Ed.), *Language Learning Strategies Around the World: Cross-cultural Perspectives,* (pp.157-166). Manoa: University of Hawaii Press.

Flavell, J. (1977). *Cognitive Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall International.

Gagne, E.D. (1985). *The Cognitive Psychology of School Learning.* Boston, Mass.: Little Brown.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Glanzer, M. (1976). Intonation Grouping and Related Words in Free Recall. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior, 15*(1), 85-92. https://doi. org/10.1016/S0022-5371(76)90009-8

Green, J. & Oxford, R. L. (1995). A Closer Look at Learning Strategies, L2 Proficiency, and Gender. *TESOL Quarterly, 29,* 261-297.

Guerrero, M. C. M. de. (1987). The din phenomenon: Mental rehearsal in the second language. *Foreign Language Annals, 20*(6), 537-548.

Guerrero, M. C. M. de. (1991). Mental Rehearsal as a Second Language Learning Strategy. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. New York, NY.

Henry, L. A. (2012). The Working Memory Model. In *The Development of Working Memory in Children*, (pp.1-36). London : SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446251348.n1

Kasper, G., & Wagner, J. (2011). A Conversation-analytic Approach to Second Language Acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition,* 117-142. London: Routledge.

Kuupole, D. D. (1994). French as a Foreign Language in the Multilingual Ghanaian Context. *Legon Journal of the Humanities, 7,* 137-154.

Murray, D. M. (1982). *Learning by Teaching. Selected Articles on Writing and Teaching*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Naiman, N., Frölich, M., Stern, H. H. & Todesco, A. (1978). *The Good Language Learner.* Toronto: Modern Languages in Practice.

Naiman, N., Fröhlich, M., Stern, H. H., & Todesco, A. (1996). *The Good Language Learner*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Neath, I., & Nairne, J. S. (1995). Word-length Effects in Immediate Memory: Overwriting Trace Decay Theory. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 2*(4), 429-441. https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03210981

Nida, E. (1957). *Learning a Foreign Language. A Handbook Prepared Especially for Missionaries.* Committee on Missionary Personnel Division of Foreign Missions National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Nunan, D. (1991). *Language Teaching Methodology*. London: Prentice Hall.

Nunan, D., (1997). Does Learner Strategy Training make a Difference? *Lenguas Modernas*, *24*, 123-142.

Nyikos, M., & Oxford, R. L. (1993). A Factor-analytic Study of Language Learning Strategy Use: Interpretations from Information Processing Theory and Social Psychology. *Modern Language Journal , 77*(1), 11-23.

O'Malley, J. M., Chamot, A. U., Stewner-Manzanares, G., Russo, R. P., & L. Kupper. (1985). Learning Strategy Applications with Students of English as a Second Language. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*(3), 557-584.

O’Malley, J. M., Chamot, A. U., Stewner-Manzanares, G., Küpper, L. & Russo, R. (1985). Learning Strategies Used by Beginning and Intermediate ESL Students”. In *Language Learning 35.*

O’Malley, J., Russo, R. P., Chamot, A. U., & Stewner-Manzanares, G. (1988). Applications of Learning Strategies by Students Learning English as a Second Language. *Learning and Study Strategies Issues in Assessment, Instruction, and Evaluation*, pp. 215-231. California: Academic Press, Inc.

O’Malley, J. M. et Chamot, A. U. (1990). *Learning Strategies in Second Language Acquisition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oxford, R.L. (1990). *Language Learning Strategies: What every Teacher should Know*. New York: Newbury House/Harper Collins.

Oxford, R. L. (1992). Research on Second Language Learning Strategies. *In Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 13.*

Oxford, R. L. (1996). Employing a Questionnaire to Assess the Use of Language Learning Strategies. In *Applied Language Learning, 7* (1-2).

Oxford, R. L. (2003). Language Learning Styles and Strategies: Concepts and Relationships. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 41* (4).

Park-Oh, Y. Y. (1994). Self-Regulated Strategy Training in Second-Language Reading: Its Effects on Reading Comprehension, Strategy Use, Reading Attitudes, and Learning Styles of College ESL Students. Unpublished dissertation, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL.

Pressley, M. & McCormick, C. B. (1995). *Advanced Educational Psychology for Educators, Researchers, and Policymakers.* New York: Harper Collins

Rayner, S., & Riding, R. (1997). Towards a Categorisation of Cognitive Styles and Learning Styles. *Educational Psychology, 1*(1–2), 5-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144341970170101

Rubin, J. (1975). What the 'Good Language Learner' can Teach us. *TESOL Quarterly, 9*, 41-51.

Rubin, J. (1987). Learner Strategies: Theoretical Assumptions, Research History and Typology. In A. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*, (pp.15-30). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall International.

Scarcella, R., & Oxford, R. L. (1992). *The Tapestry of Language Learning: The Individual in the Communicative Classroom.* Boston MA: Heinle and Heinle.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. Reprinted in Richards (1974). *International Review of Applied Linguistics.*

Smith, F. (1983). *Essays into Literacy*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Stern, H.H. (1970). *Perspectives on Second Language Teaching.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Stern, H.H. (1975). What can we Learn from the Good Language Learner? In *Canadian Modern Language Review, 31*.

Tarone, E. (1983). Some Thoughts on the Notion of "Communication Strategy." In C. Faerch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication*, (pp.61-74). New York: Longman.

Turley-Ames, K. J., & Whitfield, M. M. (2003). Strategy Training and Working Memory Task Performance. *Journal of Memory and Language, 49(4)*, 446-468. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-596X(03)0 0095-0

Twining, P. (2018). Why is a Knowledge-based Curriculum no Longer Fit for Purpose? https://halfbaked.education/knowledge-based-curriculum/ (retrieved on 08/01/2022)

Wenden, A. (1983). Literature Review: The Process of Intervention. *Language Learning 33*.

Wilson, J. E. (1988). Implications of Learning Strategy Research and Training: What it has to Say to the Practitioner. *Learning and Study Strategies Issues in Assessment, Instruction, and Evaluation*, 323-331. California: Academic Press, Inc.

Young, R.F. & Astarita, A.C. (2013). Practice Theory in Language Learning. *Language Learning 63, Suppl. 1*, 171-189

Zimmerman, B. J. & Pons, M. M., (1986). Development of a Structured Interview for Assessing Student Use of Self-regulated Learning Strategies. *American Educational Research Journal, 23*, 614-628.

APPENDIX 1 – INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. Language learning opportunities
   a. Do you visit Department of French library?
      i. If yes, what do you do there?
      ii. If no, why?
      iii. What do you think are the opportunities for learning French at the Department of French?
   b. Do you often visit the 'Salle'? What do you normally do there?
   c. Do you think having a place/room such as the 'Salle' reserved for only French students is useful? Why?
   d. Do you watch television programmes in the 'Salle'? If yes, name any two kinds of television programmes you watch in French.
   e. Do you visit French websites?
      i. If yes, what do you do on these websites? When do you visit these sites?
      ii. If no, why?
   f. Do you participate in any atelier in the department? How does that help you use the French you learn?
   g. Do you participate in the activities of the French club? Name any one of the activities you participated in.
      i. How do these activities promote your learning experience of French?

II. Autonomous language learning
   a. Do you have your own way of learning new words and expressions in French? Describe it.
   b. What do you do in order not to forget new words and expressions that you learnt in French?
   c. What aspect of French do you find difficult? What are the measures you put in place to address your difficulty?
   d. Describe the way you revise French for lectures/quizzes/exams?
   e. How do you improve on your
      i. Listening skills in French?
      ii. Reading skills in French?
      iii. Speaking skills in French?
      iv. Writing skills in French?
   f. Of these four skills, which one do you give more priority to? And why?
   g. Do you have a personal dictionary?
   h. Is it a bilingual dictionary (English – French) or a monolingual dictionary (French only)? When do you make use of it? And why?
   i. Are you given course outlines for subjects you take in French? If yes, what do you do with these course outlines?
   j. Do you read any material in French outside those provided by your lecturers? If yes, where do you find them?
   k. Are you provided with a list of websites in French that can enhance your learning? If yes, what do you personally make of these sites?

l. When you are given group take-home assignments, what role do you usually assume in such group discussions and why?
m. Do you belong to a discussion group for French? If yes, what do you usually meet for? In which languages are discussions held and why?
n. What do you do with your marked assignment/quiz papers?
o. In case you are making bad grades in French (in quizzes, assignments, end-of-semester examination), what do you do about the situation?

III. Classroom language practice

a. Do you participate during French lectures? If yes, describe the way you participate. Is there any reason you participate in lectures?
b. In which language would you prefer asking questions during French lectures? And why?
c. Do your lecturers allow you to ask questions in languages other than French? Yes/No? If no, how do you manage to put your questions through?
d. What do you do when you are not sure of the word to use in asking/answering the lecturer's question in French?
e. What do you do when you do not understand the lecture?
f. What do you make of photocopy materials that lecturers provide you in class?
g. Which of the courses you take in French do you find the most relevant? Name it and give reasons.
h. Which of the courses you take in French do you find the most irrelevant? Name it and give reasons.

IV. Practice outside the class

a. Do you speak French outside French lectures? Yes/No?
    i. If yes, with whom? In which situations?
    ii. If no, why?
b. Do you seek out for opportunities to practice French? Yes/No?
    i. If yes, how?
    ii. If no, why?
c. What do you think are the opportunities for learning and practicing French in your environment? (French department, hall of residence, prayer events, entertainment events, etc.)
d. If you notice someone could speak French around you, would you always be the one to start conversations in French with him/her? Yes/No? Give reasons for your answer.
e. Do you feel intimidated when your lecturers speak French to you outside lecture hours (ie. On the corridor, on the street, in a social event)? Yes/No? How do you react in such situations?
f. What do you do with your marked assignment/quiz papers?
g. In which language do you prefer to communicate with your colleagues during French club activities? (ie. Beach party). And why?

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DYNAMICS OF WAR: WEAPONS OF ENGAGEMENT DURING THE 1968/69 PEASANT UPRISING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA

Abiodun S. Afolabi & Rasheed Onagun
Department of History and International Studies,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

The twentieth century witnessed a transformation in the conceptualization of war. Unlike in previous centuries where war was seen majorly as a tool of aggression, the twentieth century epitomised the idea of Carl von Clausewitz (Carl Von Clausewitz, 1943, p.280) that war is a continuation of politics, but through other means. When diplomacy as the heart of politics fails, there is tendency for nations to resort to war as an ultimate alternative to enforce the will of the state or express the concern of a section of society. This understanding reflected across several incidence of warfare across the world. The use of weapons and the aftermath of war is the major concern of this study. Many researches have focused on the engagements in modern warfare with conventional weapons, which include chemical, nuclear and atomic weapons. For instance, the detonation of chemical bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 swiftly led to the end of Second World War. Also, in the Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbour in 1941, the under belly of the USA Air Force was laid bare. The 1991 USA invasion of Iraq also signalled the pursuit of interests with forceful means.

Unlike the Western context where wars are fought with various war arsenals and chemical weapons, the African experience in warfare have always revealed a combination of conventional and unconventional weapons. Warriors in traditional African societies had generally depended on the use of black magic, which is also known as *juju* in prosecuting wars. The traditional African soldiers never relied exclusively on procuring and deploying conventional weapons in warfare. The African fighter still finds it a necessity to be fortified and armed with locally designed weapons beyond the use of guns and other conventional arsenals. The MajiMaji war in Tanganyika epitomise an instance of the extent African warriors' relied on *juju* for the prosecution of a war against German oppression. The uprising, which began in 1905 and lasted till 1907, was the most famous military confrontation against the German colonial authorities that bred discontent among Africans, and the resentment reached fever pitch in 1905 when drought hit the region. The indigenous people, armed with arrow and spear, doused themselves with sacred water which they believed could repel German bullets (blackpast.org, 2019). The Adubi war of 1914 in Yorubaland was another clear instance of Africans' reliance on magical power to fight against the invasion of their territories by engaging the invaders in a bitter struggle over taxation, forced labour and daily indignation of colonial rule. The incident ultimately led to the abrogation of Egba independence in 1918 (Wikipedia, 2019).

The philosophy of African warfare which is mirrored in the philosophy of warfare in Yorubaland and which is the focus in this study, is straightforward. The Yoruba art of war is simply built on using everything in one's power to win the war and ensure victory over the enemy. Total extermination of the opposition is the ultimate goal in Yoruba warfare and there are series of encounters that have proven this point. In the post-colonial period, many individuals in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, were reputed to have possessed great supernatural powers that made it difficult, if not impossible, for their assailants to subdue them. Those who knew Benjamin Adekunle during the Nigerian civil war would always paint a picture of a man who possessed supernatural powers, which rendered ineffectual the sophisticated weaponry that were deployed by the enemy against him. There are recorded events, oral testimonies and incidences, which still serve as testimonials to his magical prowess. The causes, course and consequences of the Agbekoya uprising are examined from various perspectives.

The Origin of the Agbekoya Peasant Farmers Riots

As it was in the British Colonial Western Nigeria, taxation in post-colonial Yorubaland was not characterised by consultation between the people and the government, and the non-consulting characteristic did not help to avert a serious confrontation that was experienced in the heartland of the old Western Nigeria, which was engulfed in chaos, pandemonium and disorderliness from October 1968 until November 1969. This period was characterized by anarchy arising from the conflict between the State and a broad section of the peasantry who rejected and violently resisted the imposition of some economic measures put in place by both the state and the Federal Military Government. These obnoxious measures were intended to assist the Federal Military Government of Nigeria in the prosecution of the Nigerian Civil War and cover up a severe financial scandal in the Western State (Beer 1976, pp.162-168).

Whether among societies, groups, neighbours, nations or individuals, economic considerations usually constitute a huge reason for altercations. The theory of economic determinism also finds support in the Agbekoya crisis. Therefore, ambition, fear, acrimony, resentment and suspicion were not the motives which impelled the peasants to what proved to be a severe struggle. The peasant farmer's war was also not a mere protest movement; it was, indeed, a spontaneous response to distress that was occasioned by economic policies and suppression by an insensitive government. Although, one cannot concentrate solely on the ostensible causes of the Agbekoya riots, it suffices to say that whatever may be the obvious cause of any riot, the real motive is always want of happiness (Paine 1937, p. 137). The farmers were apparently not a happy people on the eve of the riots. The reasons for the peasant's unhappiness at the time of the disturbances were multifarious; there were direct and indirect causes as there were also some causes, not expressed, but inferred from events. There were also some indirect causes, which were actually peculiar to localities. Therefore, generalizations regarding the causes of the peasants' riots may be misleading. Indeed, the real causes of the peasants' disenchantment on the eve of the disturbances were diverse.

One such reason that triggered the riots was the newly introduced State Development Levy, which ignited discontent among the low-income group, most of whom were petty traders/market women who were taxed on the same basis as their male counterparts. Farmers were being fleeced to pay for titled dignitaries and pen pushers (Beer, 1976). Although tax was the central issue in the conflict, several farmers admitted that it was not so much the tax that led the farmers to resort to fighting, but the tax collectors, town planning officials and sanitary inspectors who carried out their duties with excessive high handedness. Naturally, increase in taxation, occasioned by the civil war, was bound to affect the peasantry most devastatingly, and their reaction was spontaneous and violent. But then, research findings indicated that the scattered riots, which broke out in some parts of Western State such as Ijebu Remo, Ibarapa, Egba, Ibadan rural and urban, Osun and Oyo. There were also riots, for instance, in Ibadan rural districts in March 1958 following the sudden death of Adelabu Adegoke, aka *Penkelemes*, which was adulterated from the English words, ‘peculiar mess’ by his rural supporters. from late 1968 were mainly against increased taxation, rates, levies, the arbitrary nature of tax assessment and the often brutal manner of its collection by tax officials (Beer, 1976). One could assert that the agitation against exploitation and oppression was mainly responsible for sporadic guerrilla actions and foray into urban areas by the peasants.

The ‘Agbekoya’, which literally translates to ‘farmers rejected suffering’ was an economic cum political peasant movement, which began in Ibadan towards the beginning of December 1968 when a mammoth crowd of tax agitators marched towards Mapo Hall, singing a war song: *Oke mefa Ia o san. Bi o ba gbakumo, yio gbori bibe. Oke mefa lao san*, which refers to ‘farmer’s insistence on paying only Thirty Shillings’ (30s) tax, and not a penny more’. The farmers protest was occasioned by the increase in Income Tax in the State from £1. 17s. 6d to £3 including a State fund of 7s.6d. In addition, they were expected to pay 10/- water rate, all adding up to £8 in certain parts of the Region, an amount that was considered outrageous by the peasants (Awonor Gordon, 1982). The farmers vehemently opposed the government tax policy because it was not peasant friendly.

The *Agbekoya* ‘war’ can also be understood from the point of view of a class struggle, essentially between the rich and the poor who were commonly referred to as *Mekunnu* (William 1980). The methods used by the state government to extract tax from the resource poor peasants were generally harsh and it consequently led to political unrest and socio-economic hardship for the taxpayers in the society. Interestingly, there was an inexplicable cooperation among the peasants in Western State as they unanimously took decisions in the interest of farmers, a decision that attracted popular supports.

Taxation was actually introduced in Ibadan in 1919 and it was from the generated revenue that the historical Mapo Hall and Cocoa House were built in Ibadan. These structures, among others, were built from the sweat of peasant farmers who were massively short-changed through the activities of the agricultural cooperatives, also known as Western State Marketing Board Commodity/Marketing Board (WSMB) by the bureaucrats in the State (Coker’s Commission Report, 1962). The Western Region was then one of the world leading producers of cocoa and the military regional government was able to increase its tax revenue base through the activities of the Board (Oral Interview with Alhaji Aransi, 2019).

There were public demonstrations in some parts of Western Region in the early days of the crisis. Civil disobedience became the new order of the day, and having been pushed against the wall, the peasant farmers had no choice other than to fight back. They showed their discontent by obstinately refusing to pay taxes (Western Nigeria Digest 1969, p. 6). The riots, however, did not degenerate into mere pilfering and hooliganism. During the public demonstration around Mapo Hall in Ibadan, a combined team of police and army opened fire on the agitators, killing nineteen people. On December 20, tax agitators were killed at Idi-Ayunre, a village some fifteen miles away from Ibadan. At Akanran village, also in Ibadan District, a Customary Court President was beaten up and the thigh bone of a tax officer was broken in a scuffle between tax officials and demonstrators (Ayoola Commission Report 1968, pp.12-20).

The peasant farmer's protest graduated from a mere spontaneous rejection of increased taxes and corrupt local government officials into organised peasant movements, which demanded important social reforms in the State. The open confrontation between the 'little people' (Beer, 1976, p.162; William 1980) and the Western State military administration continued unabated for several months. The riots were widespread and apparently well-co-ordinated, and the farmers in Ibadan villages soon began to see themselves as peasants opposed to an alien and oppressive system (Beer, 1976). They intended to replace the State, which they considered a negative quantity, with their own home-made social order.

The Akanran peasant farmers invaded the Government House, Agodi, but prior to that invasion, Akanran had become a high-risk terrain for anti-riot policemen. Militant individuals such as *Sokoro*, *Raaji Kolobo* and *Supo*, who represented the no-nonsense group of the Agbekoya warriors, ensured that this was so (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi 2017). The militant leaders included Tafa Adeoye, Adegoke Agekuejo, Folarin Idowu, Mudasiru Adeniran and Tafa Popoola (Wikivisually 2019). During the daring encounter, Tafa Adeoye and each of the five other men who constituted the militant leadership of the peasants, that invaded Agodi Federal Prison in Ibadan, set four hundred inmates free on the 16th of September, 1969. These Akanran farmers, in their attempt to mob and bully the government security agents, reduced the Agodi Prison to ruins (Oral interview with Alhaji Laiwola 2018). The event in the West was indeed 'a war within a war' (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969) because the Nigerian civil war was being prosecuted by the Federal Government at the same time. The farmers and the released prisoners then moved back into the districts from where they successfully defended their position against police troops (Beer 1976) for the next six weeks, though with severe loss of human lives, particularly among civilians living in Akanran (Oral Interview with Chief Remi, 2019). The extent of casualties among the civilians in Akanran was really significant as policemen were deployed in large numbers to fight a battle against the recalcitrant farmers that were bent on bringing down the government (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi, 2017). Gradually, what was initially regarded as a mere show of *juju*/magical prowess by a few disgruntled illiterate farmers gradually degenerated into a crisis of national dimension (*Headlines* 1974, p. 8).

Dynamics in the Agbekoya War: The 'Unscientific' Weapons of Altercations

The peasants of Western Nigeria applied violence to compel the Governor Adebayo-led administration to review its unjust tax policy. They used the structures that were available to press for their demand, especially when the government resorted to coercion to extract full compliance with its unfriendly taxation policies. They acted in alliance with the local farmer leaders, with defined goals. The peasants' violence was based on well-coordinated tactics that were largely successful, perhaps the most successful single collective action against government's unjust policies in the history of Nigeria. It was successful to the extent that the military government of the region was left with no choice but to acquiesce to some of the demands of the adamant peasant farmers.

The *Agbekoya* 'war', properly identified as a class struggle, epitomised the reactions of the indigenous Yoruba peasants against the predatory and parasitic exactions by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes. Scholars have attested to the existence of classes among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria (William, 1980). The resource poor *Agbekoya* peasant farmers, therefore, represented their class interests as opposed to communal interests. As the disorderliness and pandemonium raged on, the traditional ruler of Ishara, *Oba* Samuel Akinsaya, was stoned by an angry mob of tax agitators in his town. The king's palace and his Mercedes Benz car, the washing and cleaning of which the *Kabiesi* personally supervised, were completely burnt down, and his library, whose cost was conservatively estimated at $5,000, was razed down. Following the bitter clash between the irate mob and traditional rulers, about five hundred men, armed with Dane guns and indigenous *juju*, stormed the charred ruins of the palace demanding the release of twenty-one men that were arrested and detained earlier in the day for rioting. During a 30-minutes fire exchange between the demonstrators and the police, six men were killed and several others were injured. Before the crowd reappeared the second time, *Oba* Akinsanya had fled to Lagos (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p. 12).

On the 15th of December, 1968, the palace of fifty-eight year-old *Oba* Adebayo Sámi, the Orimolusi of Ijebu Igbo, was besieged by demonstrators armed with cudgels and Dane guns daring their ruler to come out (Ayoola Commission Report 1968, pp.12-15). The *Oba* also cocked and dared his attackers to come closer, but before the detachment of the police could reach the scene, his palace had been badly damaged and his cars burnt to ashes. In a radio announcement shortly after the incident, the whereabouts of king Sámi was declared unknown. Barely three days later, demonstrators again invaded his palace when they heard that the traditional ruler had been smuggled back into it (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p.12).

Also, in early August 1969 at Akanran in Ibadan, rioters led by a leading Akanran hunter, ambushed and murdered policemen as well as soldiers. They also razed down council offices (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p.22). During the pandemonium that ensued, policemen reportedly had their uniform stuck to their bodies on contact with the fierce-looking and disenchanted peasant farmers (Oral interview with Mrs Mary, 2017), while some, who dared shot at the farmers ended up catching the bullets as a result of *atidijo*, an indigenous *juju* that enables bullets to be released only from the rear of the gun, thereby killing the person who pulled the trigger (Oral interview with Gov. Adebayo 2017). *Okigbe*, which made it impossible for cutlass to penetrate the body, was also commonly used by the peasant farmers during the melee.

At Idi-Ayunre, the Commissioner of Police and one Mr Borisade, narrowly escaped from an untimely death when they were confronted by a crowd of 2,000 protesters who had charms and other dangerous weapons in their possession. The two men were grossly outnumbered by the mob. Thanks to the timely intervention of Colonel Olusegun Obasanjo of the Nigerian army who prevented that situation from snowballing into a full-blown altercation as the marauding crowd was dispersed (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p. 18). A senior *Akoda*, Mr. Elekuru, who had reported for duty before the arrival of police reinforcement, was declared missing. His dead body was later recovered. Significantly, from December 1968, council offices were forced to remain closed as officials were unwilling to report for duty without the provision of adequate police protection (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p.23).

The Akanran farmers who attacked Agodi prison only had *Owo*, a broom each in their hands when they confronted the state law enforcement officers. The 'seventh companion of these six men was a dog,' and that couldn't have been an ordinary dog (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi, 2017). Of course, gun shots were fired and holes were made on Tafa's regalia of war, (dotted with cowry shells) during exchanges of fire with law enforcement agents, but police bullets had no effect and did not penetrate his body and those of his entourage that followed him closely during the confrontations (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi, 2017). Tafa's brand of local *juju* could be compared to that which made Benjamin Adekunle a household name during the Nigeria Civil War when he was popularly referred to as the 'Black Scorpion' of the Third Marine Commando. Indeed, those were terrible times. Although, one may not be able to prove the existence of African science as demonstrated by Tafa and his cohorts with empirical evidence, the abracadabra of seeing a broomstick that could severe the human flesh with the precision of a razor sharp cutlass may be inexplicable in the eyes of the uninitiated in Africa. However, most Africans strongly believe in the existence of such science, or if you like, magic!

The popular belief of the time was that the tactics adopted by the peasants were effective to the extent that 'if they were literate, they would have virtually taken over the administration of Western State' (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi, 2017). The farmers were very ruthless and unyielding during altercations with policemen, and whenever their Dane guns failed, they resorted to the use of cutlasses on which they were so adept. Indigenous hunters who were forcibly recruited into the Agbekoya militia also used traditional *juju* such as *afeeri*, which rendered them invisible, *Ayeta,* which made bullets miss the targets, and *Areta*, which weakened the velocity of the bullet (Oral interview with Ladele, 2017).

In fact, the then *Olubadan* of Ibadan, *Oba* Salawu Aminu, suddenly became an object of ridicule and derision among farmers who openly pulled him by his *agbada* (flowing gown in front of Mapo Hall (Oral interview with Pa Lasisi, 2017). Indeed, from July 1968, the life of officials and bourgeoisies was rudely interrupted as a result of the violent activities of the peasants. There was no longer a hiding place for the kings, chiefs, government officials and all those whose interests contrasted with those of the peasants. At Ogbomoso, anti-tax demonstrators also attacked the *Oba* Soun of Ogbomoso, Olajide Olayode, and three of his chiefs with 'broomsticks' (Oral interview with Nojimu, 2019). The *Sou*n, however, did not go down without putting up some spirited efforts to save own life. He, indeed, transformed himself into a number of domestic animals such as chicken, (*Adie*) cat, (*Olongbo*) and so on before he was assassinated, his body dismembered with a broomstick (*Gaga owo*) and displayed round the streets (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p. 30), which validates the claim that the Agbekoya peasant war was not one fought with the orthodox weapons, but with the non-conventional types (Oral interview with Nojimu, 2019).

Most peasant farmers depended heavily on indigenous weapons of warfare, which they were traditionally accustomed to during wars and hunting expeditions. However, some clergymen would not readily agree that reliance on mythical power was an effective means of prosecuting war. Although, charms, amulets and other mystical objects have always existed and have become part of the socio-cultural lives of the indigenous African people, to rely on such in order to win a war can only amount to self-deceit in modern warfare. The truth is that people may be given to a lot of exaggerations while recanting what they witnessed during the Agbekoya crisis in Western Nigeria. One may, however, not be able to rule out the possibility that the indigenous weapons and charms that the farmers used stood them in good stead, particularly in the early period of the altercations (Oral interview with Pastor Olubamiwa, 2017). At the peak of the uprising, the peasant farmer's movement could not be subdued by the organised fire power of the police in spite of the peasant's almost total reliance on 'indigenous juju' (Oral interview with Dr Omoloye 2017), and they appeared largely successful until their leadership was compromised by the Western State government.

It soon became apparent that the state government was incapable of containing the *Agbekoya* menace and had lost total exercise of legitimate power by relinquishing state power to the peasant farmers. One of those interviewed noted that 'if the resource poor peasant farmers were literate, they would have taken over the government of Western State of Nigeria' (Oral interview with Alhaji Aransi 2019), who started mounting roadblocks and collecting 'tax' on some roads. The peasantry knew that they had won a major victory by creating panic in the psyche of the top echelon of Western State administration. At Igbo-Ora, farmers mounted roadblocks, demanding money from policemen as 'protection' taxes (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969). A crowd of about a thousand attended a meeting of *Agbekoya* leaders with the *Olubadan*, king Salawu. This was sequel to the earlier promise made by Chief Agbaje, a prominent Ibadan lawyer, to the effect that he would work a total reconciliation between Tafa Adeoye and the *Olubadan* (*Daily Sketch*, 1969). The hands of the 'great folks' were forced by the revolting peasants, but coordinated actions could, however, not be sustained after the peasants' initial success.

It was often said in some quarters that the people of South-western Nigeria preferred mob rule to constituted government. This could not have been true, and it is saddening that the government of the time did not apply caution in dealing with the festering disturbances. Nowhere in the world would a government impose such astronomic increase in taxes and rates without explaining the rationale and simultaneously seeking consultation and co-operation. It is a truism that the State military government impugned the rights of the citizens, perhaps, in its erroneous impression that the Yoruba of the late 1960s would have preferred not to be guided by constitutionalism (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969).

There was even an attempt to introduce the conspiracy theory into the Agbekoya upheaval. Indeed, insinuations arose from certain quarters that the riots were indeed a political cum economic crisis, which was championed by Adegoke Adelabu and fuelled by Salami Agbaje. The military governor of the Western State, Brigadier Adeyinka Adebayo, had even claimed that 'a few disgruntled elements were behind the agitation' since the riots were 'unprovoked' (*West Africa*, 1969; *Daily Sketch*, 1969). Agbaje was alleged to have instigated the violence in Ibadan.

Apparently, agitated by the unpleasant trend, Governor Adebayo quickly announced a cut of five shillings on every item under taxation in the state, but this was not sufficient to pacify the rampaging peasants. Shortly after the governor's announcement, one soldier was killed by angry mob at Ede near Oshogbo. They had earlier attacked the palace of the Timi of Ede, *Oba* Adetoyese Laoye II, who subsequently escaped to Oshogbo while the angry demonstrators descended on his palace (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968, p.18). But this did not translate to a quick resolution of the crisis as anticipated by the beleaguered Governor. By July, 1968, a state of emergency had already been declared in the Western Region.

The Agbekoya had become a thorn on the flesh of Western State government. These were groups that saw themselves as being outside the purview of the law, and as the expression went, had no civil status. These were people who had everything to gain and nothing to lose from an upheaval and who inspired fear all around. It was, indeed, the failure of government to listen to the demands of a relatively well organized group that led to the rise of the populist movement, using non-constitutional methods to secure redress, and, in so doing, undermined the stability of the entire state. They simply challenged the authority of the state in village affairs (Beer, 1976, pp.381 & 394), and they fought the state to a stand-still using indigenous tools and tactics within their disposal as objects of war. More importantly, they adopted the use of home-made *juju* and got the better of the state's law enforcement agents, for a relatively significant period.

It was also during the crisis that a traditional chief, Elemono of Ila-Orangun and a tax collector, were clubbed to death while several others, including a police officer, were seriously injured during an outbreak of fresh riots in the West. The palace of *Orangun* of Ila was set ablaze and many other houses were damaged. This time around, a police report from Oshogbo revealed that there was a changed atmosphere over tax, which erupted into riots when a group of collectors tried to raid defaulters (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969). The policemen were, however, always come out worst whenever there was an altercation between them and the fiercely violent peasant farmers. In fact, law enforcement agents usually flee whenever they saw a band of marauding peasants.

The police authorities described as 'subversive activities' the actions of twenty-four policemen who allegedly 'retreated' during one of the operations in which some of their colleagues lost their lives. The twenty-four officers were consequently slated for summary dismissal from the force (*Daily Times*, 1969). Apparently, these officers were terrified by what they witnessed happening to their colleagues; they saw how it became impossible for policemen who encountered the Agbekoya warriors to have their uniforms removed from their bodies, and attempts to forcefully pull off these uniforms resulted in the painful removal of their skins (Oral interview with Mrs Mary).

It is significant to note here that, only those warriors who protected themselves with the 'real' *juju* were actually shielded from injury or death from police bullets, and at times, these charms failed them (Oral interview with Alhaji Aransi, 2019). Truth be told that anti-riot policemen and peasant farmers died in their numbers. By and large, the peasant farmers were able to fight the military government of Western Nigeria to a standstill through the adoption of indigenous weapons of war such as *Areta*, *Ayeta*, and *Atidijo*to against perceived injustice against their members. They also used cudgel, broom stick, etc. and held their own against the government's law enforcement agencies that enjoyed the benefit of superior weaponry.

One may also mention that traditional rulers (*Obas* and Chiefs) as well as the council officials became objects of the farmers' hostility as the crisis unfolded and, caught in the classic predicament of the colonial African chiefs, the *Obas, Baales* and chiefs appealed for conciliation, but also asked the farmers to pay their taxes and eschew violence' (William 1980, p. 215). Several *Obas* and numerous *Baales* such as Ajayi, the *Baale* of Akufo, fled for their lives while one *Oba* and several chiefs were murdered. The links between the peasantry and their rulers, which Moore and Wolf regarded as a crucial constraint on rebellion had snapped, and like the industrial worker described by Adrian Peace (Adrian Peace, 1980), the farmers organized themselves under their own leadership to enforce their interests collectively. Thus, one could assert that the historic Agbekoya uprising was, to all intent and purposes, informed by the rise of agrarian populism. The principal actors were able to demonstrate that they had the consciousness and determination to resist oppressive and forcible exactions. They, like cornered leopards, were determined, no matter the means, on self-preservation and were completely purged of fear of government and its superstructures.

The Capitulation of Western State Government

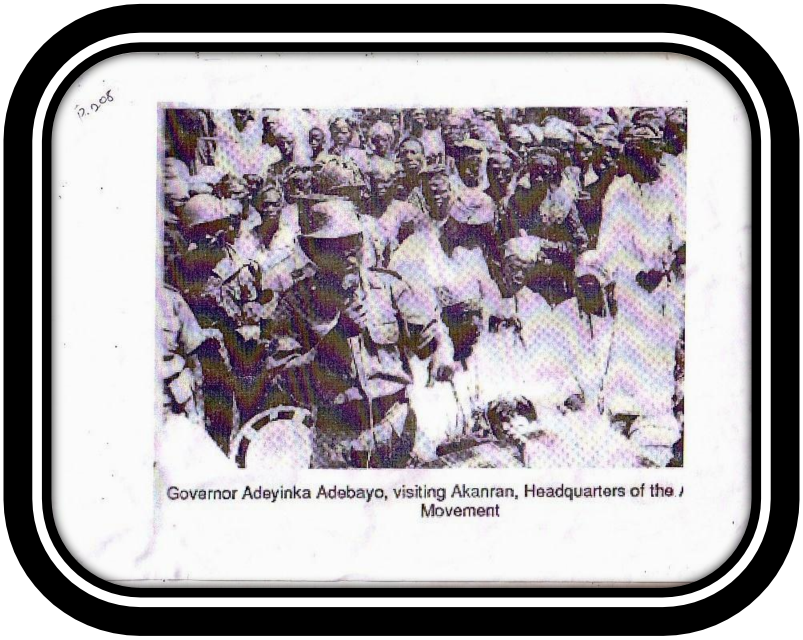
Governor Adebayo's position seemed threatened by late September 1969 and the *New Nigeria* newspaper urged the Federal Military Government to declare a State of Emergency in order to run the government of the West from Lagos (*New Nigeria*, 1969). A meeting of the Supreme Military Council was also reported to have discussed events in the West at great length (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969). It soon became necessary for prominent Nigerians to intervene in the 'festering sore', and that was when Chief Awolowo, the then Federal Commissioner of Finance, paved the way for the much desired peace. The initiatives of Chief Obafemi Awolowo spurred the Governor and the *Olubadan* of Ibadan into lightning action to get to the roots of the grievances of the people, and steps were taken to redress them. Awolowo published a lengthy article in the

Daily Times, calling for the release of the arrested rioters, slashing of the water rate and abolition of the Western State Development Levy (*Sunday Times,* 1969).

On the 14th of October 1969, the Western State Executive Council capitulated. Thus, the axiom that only the peasants were revolutionary (Ayoola Commission Report, 1968) in a colonial country was once again demonstrated in a post-colonial state. The capitulation of the executive council meant that a tide was sweeping over the Western State, and that kings and chiefs were running against it in terror. One could also argue that but for the moderating counsels of 'Awo' and some other leaders, the Western State government might have been compelled to submit absolutely to the dictates of the peasants. On October 15th 1969, the government announced its plan to reduce the flat rate tax from £3:5 to £2. The suspension of the collection of motor park and market fees were affected and local district councils in Ibadan rural areas were abolished (*Sunday Times,* 1969). The *New Nigerian* congratulated the peasants for successfully bringing their grievances to the attention of the government and forcefully demanding redress.

As it appeared, the *elites* all too readily accepted the victory of the peasants. Tafa Adeoye and his retinue of fierce-looking peasants were received and entertained on the grounds of the Governor's House (*Daily Sketch,* 1969). However, what was really taking place was a change in strategy. The new aim of the government was not to resist the *Agbekoya* demands by force but to compromise its leadership and neutralize the effectiveness of the movement. It was only when the government began to implement its new strategy with a view to compromising the Agbekoya leadership that the feasibility of military incursion of farmer's villages became plausible. Government not only ensured that money changed hands as some key leaders among the farmers were corruptly enriched, they also neutralized the bond of the Agbekoya movement and planted a woman police volunteer as a mole to seduce and marry Tafa Adeoye in order to divert the attention of the farmers from the riot. Before then, it was virtually impossible to attempt to arrest Tafa. Significantly, the entirely new *modus operandi* in the war against the peasant farmers was what saved the State from the Agbekoya disruptions, which unquestionably menaced the administration of Governor Adeyinka Adebayo. At this point too, unity in the Agbekoya leadership, and even the entire organization was, notably and fatally, absent. It was diplomacy, rather than force that led to the restoration of peace in Western State, and thus, the struggle inevitably entered a new phase.

GOVERNOR, WESTERN STATE, ADEYINKA ADEBAYO ON A VISIT TO AKANRAN, HEADQUARTERS OF THE AGBEKOYA MOVEMENT



Source: Oluranti Afowowe, 1998. *Onward Soldier Marches On: A Biography of General Adeyinka Adebayo*, Nigeria: Evans Brothers Nigeria Ltd.

Reconciliation and the Return of Peace into Western State

In December 1968, the Justice Ayoola Commission was appointed by Brig. Adeyinka Adebayo-led Western State government to collect evidence on the civil disturbances that ravaged certain parts of Western Nigeria and make recommendations. The Commission, as part of its recommendations, advocated for social justice and also urged the strengthening of the State's repressive apparatus in order to avoid what was referred to as 'mob rule'. On the whole, Ayoola's recommendations went a long way in addressing the problems that were generated by taxation and tax related considerations that caused the upheavals of 1968/69. The water rate was not only reduced; adequate steps were taken to ensure speedy investigation of losses of council funds while swift prosecution of offenders became operative. Among other positive changes, farmers were paid adequate prices for their cocoa while levies paid by the low income group were staggered in order to facilitate easy payment, etc.

However, when General Adebayo's view on the issue of the potency of the Agbekoya peasant 'farmer's *juju* was later sought, he simply dismissed it with a wave of the hand and asked: 'where is Tafa Adeoye today?' (Oral interview with Governor Adebayo, 2008). It is important to note that Tafa Adeoye was taken into police custody on the 16th of September 1970, and despite efforts to secure his release by Bola Ige, he remained in detention in Jos without trial or charges brought against him until March 1971. It is a measure of how much Tafa had lost the support of the farmers that his arrest, which was politically impossible a year previously, generated little or no protest within his constituency (the farmers). Even after the conclusion of the catastrophic altercations of the late 1960s, some of those who witnessed the disruptions, while reminiscing over the violence that erupted and pervaded some part of South-western State, still come up with feelings of trepidation and despair. Long after the riots had subsided, the phobia of the warriors and their magical prowess have continued to haunt those who saw how evil was unleashed on the West.

The whole event, as it appears, reveals the military mind-set that has plagued Nigeria since independence. It is rare to find a place where a responsible government treats its citizens the way citizens are treated in Nigeria, as if the people have no right to complain. It can also be overwhelmingly disturbing when any government raises tax from 50 to 100% at a time anywhere in the civilized world and expect things to remain the same. The overarching question remains: was it right to impose debilitating taxes on the Western State farmers in order to prosecute a civil war they were not interested in? Even the civilian governments in post-colonial Nigeria have not fared better in the ways the pump prices of petroleum products are still being indiscriminatingly raised since 1999, and this has left a bitter taste in the mouths of Nigerians. Today in 2022, the political and economic situation in Nigeria has sadly declined and degenerated to a level of impunity to the extent that the country appears to be dangerously perched on a gunpowder keg.

Conclusion

Firstly, this research found that the peasantry, who generally contributed a large share of their wealth into the Western State coffers during the early post-colonial period, benefited very little because the surplus was appropriated, especially by the local bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic groups. The new taxes, rates and levies, which were levied, did not lead to corresponding improvement in the provision of socio-economic facilities for the people. Riots thus became an inevitable tool used by the peasants to demand for justice and equal rights.

Secondly, the Agbekoya crisis in the West, which started in Ishara on the 25th of November, 1968, and ultimately spread to other parts of Western Nigeria, only abated towards the close of 1969, but not before the peasants had demonstrated their absolute disrespect for the State military government of the day. The peasant farmers, in fact, dealt devastating psychological blows on the psyche of the law enforcement agents through the use of *juju* and other indigenous instruments of war. Cutlasses, clubs, amulets and charms were mostly relied upon by the peasants to prosecute the eventful 'war'. Police guns were rendered impotent against the farmers because bullets shot at some farmers fell off like powder on glass. Apparently, the entire state law enforcement was in total disarray, at least, initially, before they were able to put their acts together against the radicalized onslaughts of the peasant farmers (Oral interview with Chief Remi, 2018).

Thirdly, the 1968-69 tax riots in Western Nigeria was not only devastating in terms of property destroyed, it was also horrendous because many innocent lives were lost. One cannot but agonize when one realises the extreme loss of human lives that attended the use of force in the avoidable revolt. Perhaps, the same feeling was manifested when one newspaper described the "events" in the West as the 'war within a war' (*Nigeria Tribune*, 1969). It was reported that over six thousand (6000) people died, even at a conservative estimate in the uprising (https://sniggle.net nd).

This kind of catastrophe could have been averted if Governor Adeyinka Adebayo had put in place meaningful welfare policy for the peasant farmers when he took over power in 1966. Unfortunately, he saw them as people who had to be milked for the benefit of the State. He had no respect for farmers, particularly the Akanran farmers, and saw nothing wrong if they were short-changed for the benefit of the State. As a result, the threat of violence and unlimited anarchy, which are symptomatic of lack of an effective State, became the order of the day. The Western State government obviously had no respect for human rights, and the contending issues of the period were closely associated with poverty and inequality. Thus, the resource poor farmer's socio-economic development was sacrificed in the interest of the security of the entire nation, and while reflecting over the terror that was, in turn, unleashed on the State by the peasants, the statement of former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, comes to mind, and he said:

> humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.

It is, therefore, not surprising that peace and security became elusive in the Western State as a result of the unfriendly economic policy that was pursued by the governments (Duncan, 2008).

Finally, the revolts forced the military to rescind its harsh tax policies and adopt a milder and more people-friendly option. The flat rate taxation was further reduced to £2 annually while tax defaulters and prisoners were granted amnesty. Although, most of the farmers' demands, especially in the area of provision of basic social amenities, were met, a landmark feature of the revolt was that civil populace stood up to the military and demanded their fundamental rights. It is to the credit of the peasant farmers that the South-western State experienced prosperity again following the amicable diplomatic resolutions of the crisis. But sadly, it is ironic that even in many parts of the African continent today, some undemocratic civilian leaders still apply military fiat to address constitutional issues, thus aggravating issues of instability, leadership and erosion of basic cultural values.

References

"The Agbekoya, a Tax Revolt in Nigeria in 1968-69", Available at: https://sniggle.net/TPL/index5.php (nd).

Adrian, Peace (1980). *Choice Class and Conflict : A Study of Southern Nigerian factory Workers.* Humanities Press.

Awonor-Gordon, O. R. W. (1982). Agbekoya: A Study of Peasant Uprising in Western Nigeria, 1968-1969. M.A. Dissertation in History Department, University of Ibadan.

Ayoola Ebenezer Olufemi (1968). Report of Commission of Enquiry into the civil disturbances in certain parts of Western Nigeria.

Beer. C. (1976). *The Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigerian*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Coker's Commission Report of Enquiry into the affairs of certain statutory corporations in Western Nigeria. 1962. Vol. 1. Federation of Nigeria.

Daily Sketch, 10th December, 1969.

Daily Sketch, 31st October, 1969.

Daily Sketch, 7th of July, 1969

Daily Times, 27th of September, 1969.

Duncan, G. (2008). *From Poverty to Power: How Active Citizens and Effective States Can Change the World.* UK: Oxfam International.

Headlines, 10th January, 1974, p. 8.

http://en.m.wikipedia.org Assessed on the 3rd of July 2019.

http://www.blackpast.org Assessed on the 3rd of July 2019.

https://wikivisually.com Assessed on the 7th of July 2019

New Nigeria, 24th of September, 1969.

Nigerian Tribune, 12th July 1969

Nigerian Tribune, 18th of September, 1969.

Nigerian Tribune, 25 th September, 1969.

Nigerian Tribune, 27th *November*, 1969.

Nigerian Tribune, 7th May, 1969.

Nigerian Tribune. 18th September, 1969.

Paine, T. (2937). Right of Man (ed.) H.B. Bonner.

Sunday Times, 28th of September, 1969. 'Awolowo Speaks out on West Riots and his Political Future'.

Sunday Times, 28th of September, 1969. 'Awolowo speaks….'

West Africa, 12th July 1969.

Western Nigeria Digest Statistics Vol. IV. (1969) Ibadan Government Printers.

William, G. (1980). State and Society in Nigeria. Afrografika, Ondo.

Oral Interview

Oral Interview conducted with Alhaji Aransi Oladoja, (100+) a Cocoa Merchant at Ibadan on 04/07/2019.

Oral interview conducted with Alhaji Laiwola Jagun, (85 years), Abeokuta, 17/01/2018.

Oral interview conducted with Chief Remi Akinajo (100+), Cocoa Trader, Akanran village in Ibadan on 16/07/2019.

Oral Interview conducted with Chief Remi Obisesan (85 years) (Rewire), Akanran Ibadan, 16/07/ 2018.

Oral Interview conducted with Dr. Omoloye, Department of virology, University of Ibadan, New Covenant Church premises, Alumni Centre, University of Ibadan, 16/07/ 2017.

Oral Interview conducted with Dr. Pastor Olubamiwa Olaiwola, New Covenant Church premises, Alumni Centre, University of Ibadan on the 16/07/ 2017.

Oral Interview conducted with Governor Adeyinka Adebayo, former Governor of Western State, was 80+ , Ikeja, Lagos, 01/09/2008.

Oral Interview conducted with Ladele Obisesan (Ekerin *Baale*) (80+), granted the author at Akanran in Ibadan on 16/07/2017.

Oral Interview conducted with Mr Nojimu Akinde, (75 Years), Rewire, granted the author at Apete in Ibadan on 16/07/ 2019.

Oral interview conducted with Mrs Mary Ogu, nee Akinde, (55 Years), at Apete on the 19/07/2017.

Oral interview conducted with Pa Lasisi Obisesan, (100+), Council Official, granted to the author at Akanran in Ibadan on 16/07/ 2017.

Oral interview conducted with Professor Adebayo Omoloye, (58 Years), Lecturer, University of Ibadan, 16/07/ 2017.

CHAPTER SIX

CELEBRATION OF BLACKNESS: IGNITING THE PRIDE OF AFRICA IN TODAY'S WORLD

Erica Kumi
Department of Languages,
St. Francis College of Education-Hohoe, Ghana

&

Moussa Traoré
Department of English,
University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

Introduction

A people's culture is what makes them distinct from other human societies in the world. Human beings have interacted with the environment and formed unique cultures. Culture entails the totality of the traits and characters which are peculiar to people and mark them out from other societies or people. Often, these traits include the people's work, music, religion, dancing, dressing, language, art and other things such as their social norms, their values and their taboos. The centrality of African culture and values is, therefore, appropriate. This includes the heritage and culture that is passed down through generations.

The value of an object or a belief is worth and is of high value if it is treasured. Therefore, value can be viewed as the perspective or the conviction with which people live with, live by and even die for. Values occupy a central position in any culture and form the major bulwark which sustains the culture, making it real and down-to-earth. African culture is described by Idang (2009) as "all the material and spiritual values of the African people in the course of history and characterizing the historical stage attained by Africans in her developments". These things show that there is a peculiar way of life, how to approach issues and the world views and values are typically African.

The cultural values take into consideration some aspects of behaviours, conducts and actions as either being approved of or disapproved of. The extent of disapproval following the violation of values is penalties. Etuk (2002, p.22) writes that "no group of people can survive without a set of values which holds them together and guarantees their continued existence." In the 1960s, black poetry reached its tipping point as not less than 60 anthologies that featured African American verses appeared between 1965 and 1976. There were a large number of African American poets who were enjoying unprecedented popular and critical success. Their images were splashed on the magazines and periodicals regularly cited their words and their voices resonated alongside the famous choirs and artists. The poems at the time were characterized by forceful tones, sometimes outrageous and were infused with Black Nationalist and militant ethos. According to Amiri Baraka, '"We are building publishing houses, and newspapers, and armies, and factories…We will change the world before your eyes."

The African American or generally the black poets worked together with a diverse group of editors, publishers, illustrators, writers and musicians to create a dynamic cultural movement. The major purpose was to coordinate the innovative efforts of the black artists as well as their supporters. This was aimed at increasing their visibility and implications of African American poetry. Additionally, having black poets was also more than the production of literature for coloured people. It involved more than supplying information, rather, it had a direct bearing on the problems facing the Americans. The greatness of the people is known after it produces great literature and the status of the black people or the Negro in the U.S and the world over was a matter of the mental attitude towards them rather than actual conditions. In this case, nothing could change this mental attitude and raise the status of the black people to demonstrate their intellectual parity, other than through the production of literature.

However, even before the 1960s, the African American community and the Africans back in Africa were already expressing cultural pride and social frustrations. Some of the early artists include Contee Cullen, Langston Hughes and Claude McKay who were the Harlem Renaissance Poets. They used poetic structure, themes, style and language which contributed to their assumptions and beliefs. For instance, in the poem, "Any Human to Another", Countee Cullen describes the despair of the African Americans. He writes "Let no man be so proud/ And confident,/ To think he is allowed/ A little tent/ Pitched in a meadow/ Of sun and shadow/ All his little own". Aside from the African Americans, the French Africans and Caribbean writers in 1930, the 40s and 50s protested against the French colonial rule and the policies of assimilation. These efforts were led by Leopold Sedar Senghor. The Harlem Renaissance influenced the negritude movement as Black thinkers and artists sought to exalt Africa's place in literature. The poets at the time were disturbed by the suffering and humiliation that the black people went through under slavery and then under colonial rule. In this sense, negritude refers to the mystic warmth of African life, the strength gained from its closeness to nature as well as the constant contact with the ancestors. They felt that these should be put into perspective and that Africans must look to and embrace their cultural heritage to determine the traditions and values that are most useful in today's modern world. In this sense, the poets are on the African subject. This paper focuses on examining the call to ignite African pride from African poetry.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, Wordsworth's theories on poetry were used to analyse the poems under study. In the Preface, Wordsworth provides an overview of the details that should be focused on when examining his poems. In the Preface, declarations of the objectives of poetry as well as the methods through which the objectives are to be attained and the effects dependent on these axioms are identified (Alexander, 1987). Wordsworth focuses on the facts of poetic creation.

The theory's purpose is two-fold. First, it relates poetry as close as possible to common life. It does this by removing it from the realm of fantasy. Second, it changes it from polite over sophisticated amusement to serious art warranting the attention of the audience. Wordsworth also speaks of the main subject of poetry arguing that we should choose incidences from common life and must relate these to the selection of the language that is used by men (Bacak, 2009). The theory further posits that ordinary things should be presented extraordinarily.

Wordsworth also argued that poetry should have a purpose. It should be aimed at achieving something positive. He argues, "To illustrate how our feelings and ideas are associated in a state of excitement…" (Durant, 1969). In this sense, deep emotion is crucial to poetry and it is the feeling that truly matters. According to Wordsworth, the first thing that matters in a poem is the feeling which when developed gives importance to the situation and the action. So, in the analysis of the poems in this study, the focus will be on examining how the incidences and situations of common life exhibit feelings of affection. The theory will aid in examining how the poets elicit feelings out of the ideas of surviving the sensations of life. He submits that:

> ...Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity: the emotion is contemplated till by a species of reactions the tranquillity disappears, and an emotion kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced and does itself exist in the mind. In this mood successful composition begins and in a mood similar to this it is carried on (Durrant, 1969).

These lines show processes that result in the creation of poetry. The first step is the emotion set up which is based on experience. Therefore, in analyzing the poems, the focus is on the influence of the African experiences such as slavery, colonialism, discrimination among other factors in shaping the emotions of the poet (Alexander, 1987). The second is the interval of time where other elements in African experiences are purged off. Here, the beautiful forms of what the poet expects and retains from past experiences are provided.

Methodology

The current study adopted a qualitative research approach where the data analyzed was not in numerical form. The qualitative research approach was ideal for this study because it allowed the researcher to select and then identify the common themes in the poems. The qualitative research method also utilized poems that were purposefully selected to be analyzed by the researcher. These articles were mainly chosen based on their themes. They had to be poems that were focused on themes on Africans. In total, the purposive sampling process led to the identification of seven poems that were analyzed thematically. The poems analyzed are "Black Woman" by Leopold Sedar Senghor, "Black Woman" by Nancy Morejon, "Black Mask" by Senghor, "Sonnet of Black Beauty" by Lord Edward Herbert of Cher bury, "My black is beautiful" by Naomi Johnson, "I am a black woman" by Marie Evans, "Black is beautiful" by Sharon D.

Brown- Rodgers. Thematic analysis is used to identify the major themes in the poems and how they relate to the African sense of pride in the 21st century.

Analysis

The human race can be defined as the people who share common traits that distinguish them from other people. Around the globe, there are many human races and these races are diverse. All races are beautiful and are born equal; hence they should be treated equally and allowed their freedom. There also should be no discrimination or unequal treatment of people based on the unique trait of their race. It is on this note that the people of colour or African heritage should be proud of who they are. They have to take pride in being black and be positive about themselves through black pride, people of colour can celebrate their black culture, and how they should be proud of themselves both biologically and racially. Many works of literature have focused on black pride as their issue and the poems that are analyzed throughout this section are also rife with black pride as their central theme.

In her poem ‘Black is Beautiful’, Sharon Brown describes the beauty of black. Throughout the one stanza poem, the poet keeps repeating the words ‘Black is as beautiful as.’ she uses imagery to describe the different kinds of things she associated the black beauty with. For instance, in the first three lines, the persona says ‘Black is/ Black is as beautiful as a bed of milky white clouds./ Black is as beautiful as soft as a newborn baby's hair.’ In these lines, Brown contrasts black beauty with the white cloud and also considers it as soft as a baby’s newborn hair. This shows the novelty of black beauty.

The persona also argued that ‘Black is as beautiful as standing up for what is right.’ In this case, Brown is indicating that being black is also about fighting for what is right. She also reiterates that it is as simple as ‘you and I saying Hi!’ which reflects the simplicity that characterizes blacks. It also shows how simple it is to embrace black beauty if only people would break the ice and open up to knowing each other.

The persona also states that ‘Black is as beautiful as two sisters walking hand in hand’ which implies that when women come together and work towards a common goal, they can achieve greatness. It calls on African women to unite and regard each other as sisters, look out for the other and be kind and loving to other black women.

Generally, the poem shows how being black is all-encompassing. It signifies all the things that are inherent to humanity. The persona provides some scenarios, activities and actions that signify black beauty. It shows that black is an inherent part of who Africans are. She calls on the black people to embrace their heritage.

In another poem, *"Black Woman"*, Leopold Sedar Senghor confirms the need to reaffirm and rediscover African identity. Leopold’s poem belongs to the negritude tradition in African literature. Senghor was a leading figure in the Negritude movement and focuses his attention on the need to revive back consciousness (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974).

One of the key features of the ‘Black Woman’ poem by the poet is the glorification of the black woman. Leopold uses both descriptive and narrative techniques in the poem to reveal the different identities of the black woman that come together to make her almost complete.

In the poem, the poet shifts between the various identities of the black woman. At one point, she is simply a woman who has startling physical beauty. He then moves on to describe her as an African woman who has motherly qualities (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974). After this, he returns to the beautiful image of the beloved black woman. In the next instance, Leopold then exalts the black woman as an object of romantic love where she surrenders to the power of her admirer or who is referred to as the 'conqueror'.

He then puts her beauty at the fore again and at the end, he ends up describing her as a mortal being whose beauty is not going to last forever, as her beauty will be destroyed by death. In the first to the third line of the poem, Leopold writes, /Naked woman, black woman/ Clothed with your colour which is life,/ with your form which is a beauty!/ In these first three lines, the persona describes the striking beauty of the black woman (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974). The tone of the poem exalts her beauty and imagines her in front of him. She is the object of his admiration. The significance of these lines in African pride stems from his comparison of her body colour with the colour of life itself. He equates the black colour of the black woman to the colour of life.

The persona then moved on to speak of the shape and form of the black woman's beauty and how she embodies beauty. His lines 4-10 provide a vivid description of the black woman's beauty. He writes, "And your beauty strikes me to the heart/ like the flash of an eagle. Naked woman, dark woman" (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974). In this line, the focus of the persona is on the beauty of the black woman and for that matter Africa. He takes on a narrative and descriptive tone while describing the effect of the black woman on him.

In the fourth line, he writes /And your beauty strikes me to the heart/ This line is very significant as it signifies the power of the black woman's beauty. The beauty appears like a vision before the persona and he exalts in her stunning beauty. The persona shows how stricken he is by the powerful beauty further stating that it '*like the flash of an eagl*e (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974)'. The persona further goes on to describe the shape and form of the black woman. These line /Firm-fleshed ripe fruit, sombre raptures/ of black wine, mouth making lyrical my mouth/ have a romantic or sexual connotation to it (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974). Here, the descriptive tone exalts the form of the black woman. She is described as being ready for consumption and also as a black wine that is tasty and intoxicating to the persona.

In the lines /Savannah stretching to clear horizons,/ the persona is using the expansive African savanna grasslands to show her expansiveness, beauty and natural nature. The next line, /savannah shuddering beneath the East Wind's/ eager caresses/ further reflects the image of a male lover, and also serves as a metaphor for the contact between the African continent and the Europeans (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974). It shows that the African continent and African women have come into contact with people who are of a different colour as her, but still, her beauty shines.

The tone then becomes descriptive as the persona moves from the imagery of the savanna to focus on the "carved tom tom". The carved tom tom is a traditional musical instrument. In this sense, the black woman is described as an acute musical drum where she grows tough under the conqueror's touch. Her emotions grow stronger with each touch like a tom-tom drum and mutter moans and feeble sounds. These lines are very significant as it makes the moments of contact between the African woman and her conqueror deeply spiritual and solemn as evidenced in the lines /Your solemn contralto voice is the/ spiritual song of the Beloved./

The persona then moves on to describe the beauty of his beloved. He described her as being black and naked. She is further described as

> Oil that no breath ruffles, calm oil on the athlete's flanks, on the flanks of the Princes of Mali Gazelle limbed in Paradise, pearls are stars on the night of your skin (Senghor, & Clifton, 1974)

The persona writes that she looks like a gazelle in her appearance and her grace and movement. A gazelle is a graceful animal whose movements are very fluid. So, the persona is embracing her fluidity, the gracefulness of her appearance and also the fluidity of her movement. The next lines;

> Delights of the mind, the glinting of red gold against your watered skin

In these lines, the persona describes the beauty of the blackness of the African woman's skin. He states that the skins can make precious stones shine and droplets of water on the black skins will also shine the same way. This shows that no matter what the black woman is set up against, her blackness and beauty will shine through. The water and precious metals will reflect her inner grace and beauty. This also signifies the inability of anything else to drown her beauty. It can be argued that the water droplets cannot scrub away her beauty, rather, the beauty of the dark skin will shine through the droplets.

The poem then shifts to the effect of all this beauty and glory upon those with whom the black woman comes into contact. Under the beauty of the black woman, the persona forgets all the worries in his life. He says that /Under the shadow of your hair, my care/ is lightened by the neighbouring suns of your eyes/. These lines show how the persona can find a shadow under which he can find comfort. Her hair is done in a way that resembles a treat with her eyes being like many sins. So, the persona can rely on her to forget any worries that he may have while in her company. Generally, these descriptions reflect the African woman's larger than life presence and also perfect shape, perfect personality and presence. Thus how beautiful the black continent is.

In the last five lines of the poem, the persona also shifts his focus to the temporality of physical beauty. The lines are;

> Naked woman, black woman,
> I sing your beauty that passes, the form
> that I fix in the Eternal,
> Before jealous fate turn you to ashes to
> feed the roots of life.

This line can be interpreted to mean that the black believed that the black woman is mortal and that the beauty is impermanent. It can also mean that the beauty of the black woman, if not nurtured and exalted, can easily be snatched away by fate. He, however, aims to fix it in Eternal, likely by ensuring that through his poem, the beauty of the black woman is preserved and broadcasted to all.

Generally, Leopold's poem praises the black woman. He shows the different roles that the black woman fulfils and how significant their effect is on those who come into contact with her. she is a mother, she is a lover, she is the embodiment of beauty and also a person you can rely on to provide comfort and care.

"I am a Black Woman" by Marie Evans (provided in the appendix), the persona uses personal narratives. Mari Evans was influenced by Langston Hughes and she explored the nature of community as well as the power of language to name and re-name. In her poem 'I Am a Black Woman' Marie highlights the unique struggles of the African Americans throughout their history. She specifically focuses on African American women and highlights how they have been shaped by their experiences to become very strong and resilient women. Throughout her poem, Evans uses allusions and symbolism to signify the suffering of the black woman. For instance, in the first four lines, her persona says

> I am a black woman
> the music of my song
> some sweet **arpeggio of tears**
> is written in a **minor key**

She uses symbols and allusion where the Arpeggio of tears helps to describe her son. Appregio refers to the process of playing the notes of a chord in succession in either an ascending or descending order. It can therefore be seen as a broken chord. This shows that the experience of the black woman has been full of pain and sadness in succession. Evans shows that the black woman has been exposed to one injustice after another. She further states that her song is written in a minor key. The minor key in music denotes the sorrowful sound which further underscores the pain of the black woman.

In the next line, she argued that she saw her mate leap screaming to the sea, which is a historical reference that she makes of the African Americans' experiences. The second stanza provides a recap of the Middle Passage where the Africans were taken from their native homes and packed tightly into ships and brought to the New World. The choice of the words, leap screaming into the sea shows Africa's loss and the injustices they faced from the time they were forcefully taken from their homes.

She also recounts the experiences of the black women in the sugar cane plantations where they underwent many injustices. The persona says; /from **my issue in the canebrake/** I lost **Nat's swinging body** in a rain of tears. During slavery, African women were raped and sexually abused by their masters. When they got pregnant, their children were taken away from them. She then refers to Nat's swinging body which is symbolic of Nat Turner, who led the 1831 rebellion and got killed for it. This further signifies the losses suffered by the African Americans. the African women lost their sons, their brothers, fathers and husband to lynching and she uses symbolism to demonstrate the anguish that comes with being a black woman always exposed to injustices.

similarly, the negative experiences suffered by the blacks is seen in her line and /I **heard my son scream all the way from Anzio/** for Peace he never knew…./ The African

American men fought alongside the Americans in the Second World War, but they were still oppressed when they got back home.

However, despite all these challenges, the black woman still had hope as seen in the lines below

> I am a black woman
> **tall as a cypress**
> strong
> beyond all definition still
> **defying place**
> **and time**
> **and circumstance**

In the lines above, the tone of the persona changes from one loss and despair to one of hope and perseverance. Evans compares herself to a cypress tree which is predominantly known for its ability to withstand harsh conditions, its height and its durability. The tree is used as a metaphor for the strength, courage and resilience of African American women. Their strengths and courage enabled them to withstand and overcome the experiences that faced them over the years. Evans further claims that beyond definition, African American women have defied time, place and circumstance throughout history. Instead of being torn down by these experiences, the Africans rose and used their experiences to be strong, determine hopeful women and men.

The other poem is ‘Black Woman’ by Nancy Morejon where her focus is on resisting and rehabilitating the stereotypes against black women and slavery in the history of the Caribbean. The poem tackles slavery and the stereotypes of African black women. She redefines black women. Morejon does not express self-pity in her poems. Rather, she calls on the black people to separate the past and disconnect between their previous experiences and take on a new outlook. Morejon uses persona, emotive and allusion to redefine her new world experiences.

Morejon argues “My real independence was the free slave fort, and I rode with the troops of Maceo.” The poet uses the allusion technique to declare the role of women in the independence of Cuba. She also conforms to her African past and obtains an identity that is socially and implicitly formed without any regard to race. She condemns the oppression of the black women in the last lines of her poem and creates her world in the ‘hills of Africa and then in Batista. Morejon takes on a unique approach in her call for African pride in their origin. She calls for black unity where Africans separate themselves from the past. She believes that a single African homeland is possible, where all the African minorities can return. She believes in the pursuit of a central place in the social order. Generally, the persona in the ‘Black Woman’ resists marginalization. She believes that black women played a vital role in history. In this sense, the Africans in the 21st century should sign, celebrate and welcome her identity. She calls on all people of African descent to embrace their heritage, their past as well as their ancestors'’ wisdom to create new imaginaries characterized by hope, life and dimension.

Just like in the previous poem, 'Black Mask' by Senghor focuses on the permeance of the past in the present. Senghor's reference to the mask is true as it referred to a West African mask which he uses to elevate the mask outside of a time in history.

Face like Mask closed to the ephemeral, without eyes, / Without substance, / Perfect head of bronze with its patina of time, / Unsullied by rouge or blushing or wrinkles / No traces of tears or kisses / O face such as God created you before even the memory of time

According to the poem, a mask is a figure that is carried through eternity. The mask corresponds with the ideas that are presented in the Negritude Movement where the past is key in creating a culture for the future. It is not associated with any person but still connects the people with their ancestors outside of the colonial forces. In this case, the mask represents the symbol of virility.

Discussion and Conclusion

Africans, both in Africa and those outside Africa have undergone many challenges, oppression, discrimination and injustices over their history. Slavery, discrimination and colonization have profoundly affected the sense of identity and pride of many Africans in their identities. Colonization and slavery undermined the Africans and racism continues to significantly affect how Africans are perceived, and in some cases perceive themselves. However, the African culture and heritage are strong and the poems analyzed in this study shows how the poets have used this literary device to advocate for pride amongst Africans. In recent years, incidences of racism have escalated with blacks in the U.S being targeted and brutalized just for their skin colour. These are the major incidents that capture the attention of the media, but incidences of racism are ingrained in the systems, policies and relationships both formal and informal. However, as the poems analyzed above reveal, it is high time that the blacks embrace their identity and be proud of their heritage.

All the poems emphasize the need for the African, and more so, the African Americans need to stand together to challenge the stereotypes and biases that exist in society. Blacks to embrace their identities by focusing on their values, the beauty of their skin colour and culture. The process of colonization and slavery led to the view that Africans or blacks are inferior, but these notions are challenged by the poets who argue that the experiences that the people of African descent have gone through should be turned into strengths, into lessons that can serve the future generations and teach them to embrace their identity and exalt in their uniqueness.

So, it can be generally argued that the poems in this study have shown that the 21st century is characterized by Africans and any other black people accepting their uniqueness where they come out and stand united in their identities. However, in order to do this, the Africans need to come to terms with their history, have a retake on what it entails to be black and how the difference in skin colour is a blessing rather than a curse. Aside from coming to terms with the atrocities of the past, the poems also call on the black people to use their past experiences to take control of their future. To make plans to unite each other and work towards the common goal of making Africa and its people, both in the continent and outside great.

So, in conclusion, it can be argued that poetry has been used by African literary artists to call on the people of African descent to come together and fight the prejudice that has been placed upon them for many centuries. The black people need to come together and work towards getting back their pride and embracing who they are. The poems exalt the uniqueness of the black identity and how every oppression and injustice meted against the black people have shaped who Africans are in the world today. It has united Africans and can work towards further strengthening the bonds of the Africans in the different parts of the world. However, to achieve this, black people need to first embrace their colour and celebrate their values and heritage. To appreciate how their values, their unique characteristics make them who they are and sets them apart from the rest of humanity. A young and upcoming writer, by the name KINGLEY KELLY KRAH sums it all with his yet to be published poem:

AFRICURE
Africure is to reject every lure
Of believing in any way that We're impure
Of evilising everything 'Black'
Of concluding that the land has lack.

They saw We were a broom nearing bloom
Knit and neat, craving for a common good
And, We, were mastermindedly, meddled, and middled,
Causing our doom of gloom!
What was the mission of the emissary?
What else did you leave Africa than misery?

Our aim is to shame but not blame
Our claim is to stand to change the game
Rebirth! Mama Africa ought to be reborn
A dream of the dearly damned departed
And Her Afrinationals shall be imparted
And with one loud harmonious horn
The need to nakedise every blindfold
And to Our true idolized identity behold.

Welcome! United States of Africa!
Welcome wherever you are after the massacre!
Together to gather to better together
Together to share and shelter one another
Yes! This is Africure; this is the cure!
Unity! Possibility! We are sure and assure!

References

Alexander, J. H. (1987). *Reading Wordsworth*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Bacak, M. (2009). *Reader's Guide to William Wordsworth*. New Delhi: Centrum.
Brown- Rodgers, S. D. 'Black is beautiful'.
Durrant, G. (1969). *William Wordsworth*. London: Cambridge UP.
Evans, M. 'I am a black woman.'
Guzman, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Black Writing from Chicago: In the World, Not of It?*. SIU Press.
Hoey, J. (1970). *A Study of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Poetry*.
Johnson, N. 'My black is beautiful'
Mahmoud, M. S. M. (2020). Resistance Discourse in Nancy Morejón's Two Poems;"Black Woman" and "Looking Within": An Analysis. مجلة كلية التربية فى العلوم الإنسانية و الأدبية, *26*(1), 49-72.
Mandri, F. M. G. (2006). Looking within/Mirar adentro: Selected poems/poemas escogidos, 1954-2000. *The Black Scholar*, *36*(2/3), 65.
"Mari Evans." Poetry Foundation, Poetry Foundation, http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/mari-evans. 34.1/2: 10-18. Print.
Senghor, L. S., & Clifton, L. (1974). Black woman. *The Massachusetts Review*, *15*(3), 506-507.
Williams, C. R. (1988). Rewriting the History of the Afro-Cuban Woman: Nancy Morejon's "black woman". *Caribbean Quarterly*

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPERCEPTIBILITY OF THEATRE PERFORMANCES IN AMELIORATING DEPRESSION OCCASIONED BY COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Tayo Simeon Arinde
Department of the Performing Arts,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

For hundreds of years that passed, the world has not witnessed a condition where all its citizens were forced to disengage from their daily economic, political or social activities as it was witnessed during the surge of Corona Virus pandemic (COVID-19) in the latter part of 2019 and early 2020. It was a situation where all human activities were paralysed and in some cases grounded to a halt. The Corona Virus pandemic, otherwise known as COVID-19, succeeded in humbling and submitting every human being by confining them to indoor activities. During the period, many who were diagnosed to have contracted the virus were ostracised from the public or isolated from people, including members of their households.

In other cases, for fear of being diagnosed for having COVID-19, illnesses that were hitherto freely announced and for which treatment sought were concealed. Close affinity, which was the hallmark of close relationship demonstrated by hugging and kissing suddenly became prohibited. The only permissible way of expressing pleasantry was through the use of symbolic/semiotic register of greetings expressed in the adoption of fist bumps, elbow rubs and hails across garden walls and other distance greeting styles. In their bid to curb the spread of the virus, governments and organisations in various countries of the world including the World Health Organisation came up with touchstones referred to as protocols. Some measures were made compulsory : constant washing of hands with soap, use of hand sanitisers, compulsory use of nose and mouth covers made of clothing materials and keeping of distance (also known as 'social distancing') at public gatherings (where the need to gather becomes absolutely necessary). Distribution of palliative materials also became a measure to ameliorate the effect of the pandemic on people who were left in a situation of protracted confinement.

As part of the measures to dissuade large gatherings, staff working in various organisations, including government ministries, parastatals and agencies were directed to be working from home. Later when it was observed that the pandemic was easing out, officers at the managerial levels (who were very few) were allowed to be coming to the office to work in obedience to a protocol measure that discouraged crowded gathering.

The above enumerated approaches were some of the measures adopted to keep in check the spread of the virus, which was spreading like wild fire in the harmattan period. No doubt, most of the measures were welcome and were seen as right measures in the right direction, directed at stemming the tide of the surge of the Corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic that took the world by storm. These precautionary measures to curb the spread of the virus notwithstanding, the pandemic left people with socio-psychological pains, as people who were hitherto active and mobile could no longer participate in their daily socio-economic, political and cultural routines and activities that they were used to.

The devastating effect occasioned by the compulsory lock-down brought depression to some people. Consequently, the recourse to phantom measures to counter the debilitating effects of the pandemic became absolutely necessary; at least the people had to get out of depression. What were the immediate measures that would bring this succour? A succour was found in theatrical performances which is what is underscored in this paper.

Consequent upon this, this paper presents an option of the theatre and explicates on the role it played in ameliorating the agony of the depression caused by solitary confinement occasioned by the pandemic. Theatre therefore provided the pleasure therapeutic medicine could not immediately provide.

Literature Review

Evolution of Corona Virus (COVID-19)

Not many people knew what the Corona virus otherwise referred to as Covid-19 was. Even some medical experts seemed not to understand the virus and its origin. It was later that the respected World Health Organisation (WHO), in one of its authoritative submissions, gave a clue that perhaps the virus came from a community in China:

> On 31 December 2019, WHO was informed of cases of pneumonia of unknown cause in Wuhan City, China. A novel corona virus was identified as the cause by Chinese authorities on 7 January 2020 and was temporarily named "2019-nCoV". Corona viruses (CoV) are a large family of viruses that cause illness ranging from the common cold to more severe diseases. A novel coronavirus (nCoV) is a new strain that has not been previously identified in humans. The new virus was subsequently named the "COVID-19 virus." (*www.euro.who.int/en* 2019)

The World Health Organisation (WHO)'s report in 2019 put paid to insinuations as to what the virus is and where it was coming from. Although, there were arguments and counter arguments as to the authenticity of the information, WHO's submissions were generally accepted due to the credibility it had enjoyed over the decades.

In view of the fact that it was described as a new "strain that has not been previously identified in humans", rigorous efforts to find solution to it became the immediate concern of governments, medical experts and and medical organisations. Subsequently, protocols were reeled out where it became an offence to be seen in public gatherings. Washing of hands and the use of sanitisers were encouraged just as prohibition of hugging, kissing and all forms of close interactions became a taboo. To worsen the situation, both victims and non-victims were "confined" to solitary confinement. While victims were taken to isolation centres for treatment, non-victims were prohibited from leaving their residences to anywhere, not even to the markets, which is the only avenue through which households could stock their homes with food and other essential household items.

This was the situation that the Corona Virus subjected everybody to. The effects of the virus on the world was likened to the biblical enemy's siege on Samaria, which kept the citizens in a perpetual lock-down for years, to the extent that no one could either enter or exit Samaria. This condition the lepers in 2 Kings 7:4 aptly describes thus:

> If we say, we will enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall idle there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die.

The perpetual lock-down of people, occasioned by the precautionary measures handed down to ameliorate the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic made life boring as people who were ever mobile were made compulsorily immobile. Aside from the fear that anyone who went out could contract the virus, people had to contend with the medical challenges that immobility placed on them. Finding measures to counter these various challenges became a necessity. Hence, the need to make people who were hitherto lively and mobile to be psychologically tuned, removed from boredom and depression became necessary. In that direction, theatre came in handy. The questions would be: How? What was the relevance of the theatre? These questions may arise because theatre practice is not one of the medical profession, it neither diagnoses nor applies drugs on patients nor does it carry out any medical laboratory services. In reality, theatre does not come under medical profession, but its performances have been found to provide therapeutic relief, which has been found to warm into the psychological fibre of its 'patients' (audience). To those who do not really understand the concept of theatre, attempts will be made to to illuminate on the concept. In this direction we shall examine the scholarly meaning of theatre and theatre performances. Attempt will also be made to illuminate on how theatre performance can positively affect the society and help it ameliorate the psychological pains that Corona Virus has put the people into.

What is Theatre?

Theatre, according to Wilson (2007, p.12), is "An art. It reflects life, selecting and focussing on part of the total picture, and this selectivity is a key principle in theatre… universal and has appeared wherever human society has developed." In another development, theatre is defined as "a collaborative art form which combines words, voice, movement and visual elements to express meaning…not only live, improvised and scripted work, but also dramatic forms such as film, television and other electronic media."(*portal.ct.gov*.)

The definition above is adopted in his paper to underscore the presentation of 'real or imagined event'. In life, it has been found that from narrated events, many lessons of life are learnt. Through that process, bottled emotions are uncorked, thereby providing a stress-free experience.

Theatre Performance

Wilson (2007, p.9) describes theatre performance, as a soothing phenomenon. He defines it as: "changes from moment to moment as the audience encounters series of shifting impression and stimuli…a kaleidoscopic adventure through which the audience passes, with each instant a direct immediate experience." Drawing from the above it would be seen that the role that theatre performances played in ameliorating the pains of depression during the COVD-19 pandemic era cannot be over emphasised.

Theatre and the Society

Scholarly contributions of the likes of Olu Obafemi, Femi Osofisan, Samuel L. Becker, Augusto Boal, Bakary Traore, Minneke Shipper, Ayo Akinwale to mention just a few, through their essays, plays and other write-ups, succinctly illuminate on theatre and the society. Makey puts the relationship more succintly when he states that: "Theatre is surrounded by human relationships. It is set in an environment that is social, and it is presented in a social manner" (Mackey 1997, p. 208).

Kenneth Tynan, a critic in one of his famous quotes on theatre in 1966 submits that: "No theater could sanely flourish until there was an umbilical connection between what was happening on the stage and what was happening in the world." This underscores the symbiotic relationship between theatre and the society.

It is in the same vein that Becker (1966, p.126), in illuminating on theatre and its roles in the society, says: "it offers needed respite, a chance to laugh, and a chance to escape into the healthy fantasy…a guide to living." In underscoring the dependent quality of theatre and the society, Yerima (2015, p.33) submits pungently that:

> The criticism theatre makes of society is sometimes bitter, most times too biting for society to accept, yet it is important that they coexist in order to stabilise society against its own excesses and in order for drama and the theatre to grow.

The ubiquitous symbiotic relationship between theatre and the society is underscored in the above quoted submissions. The submissions describe very concisely the entwined positive relationship between theatre and society and its unlimited roles. Hence, theatre cannot be separated from the society because it actually replicates the occurrence in the society.

Theatre in a Pandemic Period

Many forms of entertainment suffered serious setback during the COVID-19 pandemic. Theatre was one of such phenomenon as people that were theatre lovers were restricted from their usual entertainment spots. The pictorial illustration below reveals the situation that entertainment spots were during the pandemic era. The theatre and other relaxing spots were no go areas because of the restriction.

Theatre in a Pandemic (courtesy: Shutterstock.com)

How the Theatre Helped in Countering the Depression during COVID -19 Pandemic

As earlier observed, the resultant effect of the surge of COVID-19 rests on the fact that it kept everybody indoor, deprived men and women of engagement in most of their activities, hence, left the theatres empty as we see in the picture above. The continual incarceration of people was the cause of depression, which was more devastating than the disease itself, especially, for the majority of the populace that did not contract the virus. This was underscored by Lukas Richter and Heidinger (2021, p.1) who state that: "The Effect of COVID-19 illness in the Social Environment brought psychological burden in older adults." Carson et al., (2020; Entringer et al., 2020; Heidinger and Richter, 2020; Luchetti et al., 2020; Stolz et al., 2020; Krendl and Perry, 2021) also confirm that: "ever increasing problem of loneliness have been reported as by-products of COVID-19…as lifestyle changes have been previously linked to adverse mental health outcomes, affirming an increase in depression, anxiety and stress symptoms."

Understanding the word "depression" would make one to understand its devastating disposition. Deshpande et al (2014 p.1) did justice to this when they describe depression as "Complex interplay between mind, body, society, and culture". This was what many people went through during the pandemic lock-down era. No doubt, the debilitating effect of confinement during the COVID-19 pandemic era was not pleasant. Isolation may be good when one is incapacitated but when one is agile and active it is better imagined.

As mentioned earlier, theatre came in handy. It became a useful tool that provided an immediate psychological succour and by extension healing. It offered an immediate partial solution to solitary confinement which would have killed many people. This was made achievable through watching of films and home video films in form of dramatic sketches in animation forms, musical performances, dance performances, oratory and entertainment skits. Most of these theatrical/artistic performances, which were in animation forms were the available theatrical performances that were available since actors and performers who would be more than one person are prohibited from meeting. Interestingly, the animation form of theatrical presentations does not require human involvement but artistic invention in which experts turn series of photographs to movements.

Other ways through which some performances were made available to people indoor were through free on-line streaming channels, where some old performances were streamed via You Tube channels and other media channels. These other forms of artistic presentation of performances also provided an immediate ameliorative succour, which stemmed the tide of depression that the perpetual lock-down, occasioned by COVID-19 had brought on the people.

Ameliorative succor could be sought in the following ways.

Transitory Relief

Wilson's description of theatre performance earlier (Wilson 2007, p.9) provided shows that theatre could provide a benefiting relief that reduces the pain that trails the depression occasioned by adhering to COVID-19 protocols; sit at home directive.

Instructional Relief

The Holy Bible, King James Version, in Hosea 4:6 states that "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". Knowledge here is education. Prior to the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, most people in the world population knew nothing about any virus known as Corona Virus. So its sudden surge took the world by surprise, and an immediate solution became a mirage. The unimaginable shock could not make immediate solution thinkable, hence, the agreement to adopt the unchallenged isolation proffered by government of various countries. The uncertainty, virtually made everyone to grope in the forest of confusion, and Theatre or Drama, which has been described as the conduit for education, came in handy. The role of theatre is captured by Osofisan (2001) cited in Yerima (2015, p.33). He describes theatre as:"…the most social of the arts, providing the site in which this inherent menace is most stringent." This in essence foreshadows the educative prowess of the theatre in a society. If theatre had not provided the needed education, perhaps people would have been in perpetual isolation.

Enlightenment Relief

Through the medium of the theatre, enlightenment was provided as to what corona Virus is and the danger that is associated with contacting the virus. Social lives by way of social gathering, the hug, the embrace, the kisses and all forms of body contact relationship were put in abeyance. Some of the Enlightenment in dramatic skits were produced in animation forms and watched in the comfort of peoples homes.

Entertainment Relief

Theatre, from the onset, has been known for being an entertainment tool, hence theatre scholars and enthusiasts have never ceased to amuse people using theatrical medium. Theatre practitioners have overcome the early stigmatization when they were referred to as social outcasts or drop-outs. Theatre performances, which are in various forms and shades – drama, dance, music, oratory, etc – have taken their rightful position as the major entertaining platforms that have been used as succour even in solitude. The case was not different during the era of lock-down caused by COVID-19 pandemic. Theatre became a major medium of entertainment that chased depression that was caused by the lock-down.

Therapeutic Relief

Arising from the enjoyment derived from watching theatrical presentations, joy returns, laughter is orchestrated and, in the process, depression is healed. This was one of the feat that theatre performances during the lock--down provided. Therapeutic succour was enjoyed by many. At least, those who were not healed outright enjoyed psychological relief from their exacerbated painful heath conditions. Laughter is that which is frequently engaged when you watch theatre performances either on the television, stage or in cinema houses. It has been proved medically to be beneficial to one's heath. *helpguide.org* submits that:

> Laughter is strong medicine. It draws people together in ways that trigger healthy physical and emotional changes in the body. Laughter strengthens your immune system, boosts mood, diminishes pain, and protects you from the damaging effects of stress. Nothing works faster or more dependably to bring your mind and body back into balance than a good laugh. Humour lightens your burdens, inspires hope, connects you to others, and keeps you grounded, focused, and alert. It also helps you release anger and forgive sooner.

In the past, many people paid attention to their daily work and never had time to relax. Many did not watch play performances on the television but watching theatre performances during the pandemic lock-down provided therapeutic succour.

Conclusion

This study employed descriptive and deductive approaches which put together theatre contributions in countering depression that was ocassioned by compulsory ostracising of people during the lock-down. One would agree that theatre played significant role in reducing the effect of COVID -19 on people. It realy confirms the fact that theatre is life and that life has continually provided for the benefit of mankind. Perhaps the devastating effect of COVID-19 would have been more grievous if theatre performances were not available on the screen in homes to provide the needed ameliorative succour that chased the monster called COVID-19 to the forest.

The paper further underscores that major way through which man can be comforted even in the condition of illness and ding-dong of life is for one to experience a stress-free life. At times, drugs may not provide the immediate healing magic. This perhaps is the reason why medical practitioners advise patients to purge themselves of every bottled psychological stress to enable the drugs work. It is this psychological therapy that the theatre provides, which has been found to be a potent ameliorative therapeutic support in cushioning the the psychological effect of corona virus on many people.

References

Becker, S. L. (1966). The role of theatre in our society: Implications for school curricula. *The Speech Teacher*, 15:2, pp.126 131, DOI: 10.1080/03634526609377507 downloaded from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03634526609377507?journalCode=rced19 on 6th July 2021

Deshpande, S. S., Kalmegh, B., Patil , Ghate, P. N., Sarmukaddam, M. R., S., & Paralikar, V.P. (2014). Stresses and Disability in Depression across Gender. Downloaded from https://www.hindawi.com/journals/drt/2014/735307/?utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=HDW_MRKT_GBL_SUB_ADWO_PAI_DYNA_JOUR_X&g_clid=Cj0KCQjwt-BhDlARIsAIPRQcLk_X4TVUx8805TP9FCfq9vkW_yWXwXTQw-AC5Wmozd9TQVF31IELsaAqalEALw_wcB on 26/7/2021

https://www.google.com/search?q=what+is+coronavirus&rlz=1C1RLNS_enNG899NG899&oq=what+is+cor&aqs

https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-emergencies/coronavirus-covid-19/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov

Kenneth T. (1966). Theatre and the society. Downloaded from (ivypanda.com/essays/theatre-and- society) (https://ivypanda.com/essays/theatre-and-society-symbiotic- relationship/ on 17th August, 2022.

Laughter is the Best Medicine downloaded from https://www.helpguide.org/articles/mental- health/laughter-is-the-best-medicine.htm on 3rd March, 2022.

Mackey, S. 1997). *Practical Theatre: A Post-16 Approach*. Cheltenham: S. Thornes.

Monster. Downloaded from https://www.google.com/search?q=what+is+a+monster&rlz=1C1RLNS_enNG899NG899&sxsrf on 25th September, 2021

Richter, L. & Heidinger, T. (2021) Hitting Close to Home: The Effect of COVID-19 Illness in the Social Environment on Psychological Burden in Older Adults downloaded from **https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.737787/full** on 7th March, 2022

Theatre download from https://portal.ct.gov/-/media/SDE/Arts/Guide-to-K12-Program-Development-in-the-Arts/Theatre-Introduction-and-PRC.pdf? on 1st June, 2022.

Annimation. Downloaded from https://www.studiobinder.com/blog/what-is-animation-definition/ on 27th September, 2021.

Wilson, E. (2007). *The Theatre Experience.* New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc

Yerima, A. (2015). Issues of Development in Contemporary Nigerian Drama and Theatre Practice. In A. Yerima, (Ed.) *Culture, Drama and National Ethos.* Ibadan: Ebony Books.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF JESUS' ETHNO-CULTURAL PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE OF MATTHEW 15: 21-28 IN AN AFRICAN SETTING

Olatunde O. Ogunbiyi
Department of Religions,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

The Bible is replete with allusions to diverse peoples, cultures and by extension languages. Pertinent to this are the languages used in writing the history of the family of Abraham before God made a covenant with him to the period of the return of his descendants from the Babylonian exile. Prominent among these languages were Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. Primarily the Old Testament was written in the Hebrew language and during the exile in Babylon, Aramaic was used to record the escapades of the Jews who lived at the period. Aramaic was the folk language of the returnees until the time of Jesus Christ. However, by the time of Jesus Christ, the world political leaders were the Romans who ruled over the people but adopted the language of the Greeks that was already the lingua franca of the world at the time. As a result of this, the language used in writing the New Testament was Greek. This enabled easy access to the materials by many who were not of the Judean lineage. It must be reiterated here that the folk language in Judea at the time of Jesus was the Aramaic, an adulterated form of Hebrew which was a result of their long exilic sojourn in Babylon. At the time of Jesus Christ, several ethnic groups and people of other nations in the land interrelated with one another. Some of these were the original owners of the land like the Canaanites. The Romans were also in the land to keep law and order. These intermingled in the time of Jesus Christ.

A similar scenario is playing out among the Yoruba of south west Nigeria, where people of diverse localities intermingle in marriages and socio-economic engagements in their day to day activities. Besides this, the South-western part of Nigeria is filled with people of different religious persuasions. These religions include Christianity, Islam and devotees of the African Traditional Religion of the Yoruba extraction. This picture presents a similar situation at the time of Jesus Christ in Palestine.

Proverbs as vehicles of expression of the intent of the mind is a feature that runs across the languages of the world (Mielder, 1993, p. 10). Asiyanbola (2007, p. 63), talking of the Yoruba of Nigeria, posits that the Yoruba hold proverbs in high esteem. This is similar to the importance and use of proverbs in the days of Jesus Christ in Galilee.

The purpose of this work is to examine the ethno-cultural proverbial language of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel of Matthew, the 15th Chapter and from the 21st to the 28th verse. The intention here is to look at the passage from the African context and compare with what obtains among the Yoruba. This is therefore a comparative study. The Yoruba people of south-western Nigeria are chosen for this study because of their rich repertoire of aphorisms. In addition to this, the Yoruba were purposively chosen because they are an ethnic group that has been extensively studied. The areas that were particularly studied are their religion and language. This will enable access to their worldview from the perspective of their literature as a people. Besides, the Yoruba cultural background is akin to that of the Jews in many areas. They share a common outlook of life with regards to existential challenges. This work is premised on a multi- disciplinary approach of linguistics, African studies and hermeneutics. Relevant materials both on the internet and libraries were consulted in the elucidation of this exercise.

Theoretical Framework

Semiotic analysis has long been an object of keen interest in the academic world with an interdisciplinary orientation. Its relevance is particularly striking in linguistics and anthropology and other linguistics-related studies. Its importance in paremiology, which is the study of proverbs, is therefore not far-fetched. Semiotic analysis is not a traditionally established phenomenon in religious studies. However, our recourse to semiotic analysis is meant to give fresh breath to the study of proverbs in a religious setting.

Morris (1947, pp.58-63) sub-divided semiosis into three semiotic dimensions: the pragmatic dimension, the syntactic dimension and the semantic dimension. The pragmatic dimension deals with the relation between sign and sign users, whereas the syntactic dimension is more interested in the "formal relation of signs to one another" (Grybek, 2014, p.69). The semantic dimension is concerned with the relations to the objects referred to. Morris did not intend to make a distinct difference between the three dimensions. Later studies in the field have not however limited themselves to Morris' close-knit definition of or study of the term. The change or modification in definition and subsequent changing methodological approaches have however not "rubbished" the orientations proposed by Morris.

In discussing semiotics from the perspective of pragmatical dimension, the fundamental question would be predicated on why and how the answers will be sought within contextual and situational explications of a defined social life. In the specific instance of proverbs, the utterances would be seen as "indirect speech acts" (Grzybek 2014, p.17). Grzybek explains this in line with tradition of Austin and Searle: before the situation when someone, in a given communication, says one thing (the locution ring act), and means something different (or additional). This is performing an illocutionary act, with some effect on someone else.

Thus meaning cannot always be understood in a literal sense. In the case of proverbs, it is important to understand the social content of its use and possible significance. An understanding of the social and cultural context and import of the accompanying signs will lead to a proper appreciation of the semantic function of signs.

The syntactical dimension of Morris' semiotics is not limited to grammatical rules of sentence structure. Morris (in Grzybek 2014, p.72) defines syntactical dimensions variously as dealing "with combinations of signs" and a " branch of semiotic that studies the way in which signs of various classes are combined to your signs". This implies among others that meaning of signs could be sought at the level of "simultaneous combination" of a variety of signs. One of the "fall-outs" of this is that, the linguistic environment is no less important in the syntactical dimension. Thus in the specific cases of explaining proverbs in natural senses, the co-text too matters. The co-text means the text preceding or succeeding the proverbial utterance.

On its part, the semantical dimension relates to the signification of signs. Semantics incorporates a variety of foci or branches. Lexical semantics refers to meanings of words and morphemes while sentence semantics studies larger syntactic units. Text semantics deals with a combination of sentences that are studied in relation to real or hypothetical courses. All these can be identified in a proverb. Proverbs in our context will be discussed not merely as representation of meaning but as the process of generating meaning through the signs.

Semiotic is the systematic study of signs and symbols and the process related to their interpretation. The study includes likeness, metaphor and communication. The Swiss linguist de Saussure called it semiology, that is the study of the life of signs within society. In semiotics the main idea promoted is that the inherent meaning cannot be interpreted logically and directly in relation to the object being represented.

Semiotics theory provides a framework for understanding the interplay and interaction of signs, contexts and representation. De Saussure proposed a dyadic model of sign: signifies and signified. De Saussure's binary terms differ from those of C.S. Peirce and Charles Morris (2004), both of whom propose triadic approaches where the sign creates in the mind of the speaker, the listener an equivalent sign. Saussure interpreted semiotics from a structural perspective. For Peirce and Morris, their emphasis was a process and not structure. This study has its root in Morris's semiotic approach.

Proverbs in the Context of Yoruba Language and Culture

The Yoruba people are spread all over the world but traditionally, they are believed to emanate from the South western part of Nigeria spreading as far as the Republic of Benin. They are known to occupy Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Ekiti, Osun and Oyo states. They also occupy parts of Kwara and Kogi states of Nigeria. The Yoruba are a people who have various cultural expressions that have been codified in languages that are expressed proverbially. Their linguistic expressions are comparable to people of other climes outside the African continent.

Culture has been defined as the totality of the way of a people. Leigh and Stanbridge (1991, p.17) perceive culture as a "mixture which incorporates behaviour (thoughts, actions and language), knowledge, belief, art, moral law, custom and other qualities acquired by man as a social being." Language and culture are inseparably interrelated and intertwined. Language is what drives the cultural expressions of a particular people. It is what showcases the worldviews of the people. Oke (2008, p.34) succinctly captures it this way:

> A means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping series of beliefs. Language is not something somehow separate from the ideas it contains….

As a medium, language conveys the ideas, behaviours, actions, and worldview of a particular people. It is in the light of this that it can be said that language is actually what expresses culture. By extension, proverbs fall under the categorisation of culture. Considering this fact among the Yoruba, Ehineni (2014, p.27) concurs that:

> Yoruba proverbs are used to instruct on acceptable norms and conducts in the society. They are therefore repositories of traditional ethos and ethics. Furthermore, proverbs draw from the holistic daily experience of life of language users. They could convey the past, comment on the present and connect the future. This implies that proverbs are very central part of a people's beliefs and culture, and as a result, reflect the totality of their culture. Proverbs give expression to culture.

The foregoing has enumerated the pride of place the Yoruba place on their proverbs. Their language is what drives their culture and gives it expression. By extension, their proverbs are short sayings that encapsulate and bring to the fore, deeper meanings of their culture.

Interplay of Language, Culture and Proverbs

Odebunmi (2006, p.5) has rightly observed that there is an intricate relationship between language and culture. There is no way culture can exist on its own without language. It is in the light of this that language is central to culture. The major role language is playing in culture is that of giving expression to culture. In support of this, Oyelakin (2009, p.8) insists that there is no way language can be separated from culture. Culture therefore can be seen as embracing religion, rules, rituals and symbols. Other components of culture will include government, man-made things like building, artefacts and a host of other things. Certain things come to the fore from the foregoing perception of the term "culture". One of these is that culture is an indispensable material in the existence and survival of a people. Secondly, as an integral part of the society, culture also plays a central role in the establishment of discipline within the framework of the community. One of the major characteristics of culture is the fact that it does not stand in isolation but is shared by many. In his study on culture, Ajayi (2005, p.8) has this to say:

> Depending on the region, the climates and historical heritage, people form a set of values and beliefs which shape their culture. Secondly, culture is learned and not inborn. Culture is handed down from generations to generations and culture is also elastic, not static. There is a gradual change of culture of a people. It loses some values and gains some values.

A cursory observation of the above reveals that culture, without language, is an impossibility. Without language, culture cannot be transferred to generations upon generations. Language therefore becomes a fundamental part of culture.

If language is integral to culture, proverbs, then, is an important part of language. In fact, what language is to culture is what proverb is to language. In his elucidation of logic (to which proverbs are a part) and language, Kazeem (2010, pp.6-7) agrees with this assertion when he says inter alia:

> Logic and language are two fundamental features of all societies. The cultural experiences of any human group are couched in a language. Language in this sense can be viewed as a system of communication that relates what is communicated with something that communicates.

In furtherance of the interplay of language and proverbs, the absence of language will make proverbs an impossibility. Across the cultures of the world especially among the Jews and the Yoruba, the transmission of the overwhelming complexity of experience has been largely rooted in the continent's culture of oral artistry. In fact, proverbs in the language of the Yoruba, is the vehicle that is used to detect words that are missing – *owe l'esin oro, oro l'esin owe; b'oro b'aso nu owe l'a fi nwa*. Oluwole (1997, p.19) captures this succinctly when he insists that proverbs are the analytic tools of thought. When thought is lost, it is proverbs that are used to search for it.

A Semiotic Interpretation of Matthew 15:21-28

Matthew 15:21-28 contains one of the passages where Jesus spoke with a foreign woman who needed spiritual intervention for her demonized daughter. This has a parallel in Mark 7:24-30. The first three verses situate the domiciliary of the woman, the region of Tyre and Sidon, a neighbouring country close to Galilee. The story in Mark calls the woman a Greek, and a Syro-Phoenician. By this word, she was an inhabitant of Phoenicia, which was a part of Syria in the time of the Roman Empire. While Mark's account speaks of the nation, that of Matthew pinpoints the specific abode of this unnamed woman by his reference to the district of Tyre and Sidon. These two cities were the biggest cities of Phoenicia in the time of Jesus. As a Canaanite woman, she descended from a race that has been cursed by Noah and one that was mandated by Joshua for annihilation. This made it easy for the two races (the Jewish race and the Canaanitic race) to be enemies of one another. Besides, she sought healing for another of her gender, her daughter. During this period, women were ordinarily, not highly respected.

The next four verses of Matthew (24-27) capture the dialogue that transpired between Jesus and the unnamed Canaanite woman. Jesus discussed his mission of being sent to the lost sheep of Israel. Obviously, the woman did not qualify because of her nationality. As a result of this, she appealed and the response she heard was the proverb of the unfairness of throwing children's bread to the dog. The Jews regarded themselves as the only children of God, therefore the only recipients of the provisions of God. Dogs were held in great contempt by the Jews. One of the most degrading things to the Jews was to be compared to a dog (1 Samuel17:43; 24:14; 2 Samuel 9:8). The dogs referred to here are the dogs that are left to foray and scavenge in the streets with little care from the owners. In the days of Jesus, dogs symbolized people of low integrity (Deuteronomy 23:18; 2 Peter 2:22; Revelation 22:15). The semantical beauty of the proverb can be appreciated in the metaphorical use of dogs to represent a race, the Canaanites. Besides, while the woman sought for healing, Jesus alluded to bread. While the Jews boasted of their fraternal relationship with God as His children, they saw the Gentiles as dogs, people who have no affinity with the God of heaven and the God of host. This saying of Jesus is a proverb that was well known to the people who lived close to the Jews. This is proven by the response of the woman which elicited her receiving the blessing she sought. The semiotic content of Jesus is clear. The Canaanite woman wanted her child healed yet Jesus said "bread" was not meant for dogs. Bread should not be understood in the literal sense.

Social and Cultural Dynamics in the Days of Jesus

The Syro-phoenecian woman's humility, prudence, patience and clarity of purpose was evident as she answered "Yes Lord". In other words, she agreed she was a worthless dog. She accepted the semiotic import of dog as being worthless. However, she quickly re-strategized by saying that she had a right to have access to the crumbs of the bread from the master's table. This right is predicated on the acceptance of the office of the dog. The result was rewarding to the Canaanite as Jesus told her: "O woman, great is your faith! Let it be to you as you desire." (Matthew 15:8). Her daughter received instant healing.

Jesus was in Galilee until towards the end of his ministry when he relocated to Judea according to the reports recorded in the Synoptic gospels. Galilee was the utmost end to the north of the three provinces in Palestine (Galilee, Samaria and Judea). By the time of Jesus, these places were under the Roman Empire and ruled by the Herods. They introduced taxes and increased the presence of Gentile population in the region. This of led to turmoil and unrest giving rise to hatred of the Gentile folks present in the land. In fact, Jesus referred to Herod Antipas as the fox (Luke 13:32), a semiotic and metaphoric allusion to a character that is cunning, voracious, mischievous and even destructive.

Sheep was of great importance to the agricultural life of the Hebrews of the New Testament. The import of the lost sheep was not lost on the Israelites of the Old Testament. The Messiah intended to gather the "lost sheep," God's people that had missed the way. The coming of Jesus as the Shepherd of Israel symbolized a fulfilment of the prophecy relative to the Messiah (Mark 6:34). They are used in the Bible to symbolize God's people (Jeremiah 50:6). The semantic content of sheep also portrays affection and the ability for submission to authority for the purpose of peaceful co-existence. In his article, "Historicizing the cultural and semiotics a wolf and sheep," Morfen Tonnessen (2016) describes the sheep as a representation of innocence and vulnerability. He goes further to evoke the difference in cultural symbolism and imagery between human identities.

An assessment of Jesus' teaching exposes the dynamics of the social, political, economic and religio-cultural dimensions. He addressed the religious personages of his time, spoke to the rich and the poor using images in proverbs and parables that could easily capture one's attention. He employed several teaching methods in letting his audience understand his message. He used several parables that addressed the dichotomy with the people (parable of the Samaritan), spoke to the rich (the rich young ruler), and gave proverbs that were common place in the hearing of the rural folk of his days (new wine in old wine skin). Semiotics makes Bible scholars to appreciate certain links between certain images within the society and the cultural implications. It has helped to improve communication while also revealing succinctly cultural attitudes, stereotypes and values.

Dogs in the Proverbial Repertoire of the Yoruba

Of particular reference in this passage is the use of the dog. Dog in the passage refers to the dogs found mostly on the landscape of the rural area. They are different from the imported breeds that dot the terrain of urban areas. Unlike the foreign dogs that are kept for the purpose of aesthetics and guarding the house, these local dogs are kept at home for the purpose of cleaning the defecations of children through eating the droppings and leftover food. Usually they are left to scavenge around the village for their sustainability. These dogs were also kept for the purpose of hunting animals. Dogs follow the hunters on hunting expeditions or allowed to tag along, kill rodents or any small animals that may be difficult for the hunter to catch.

Dogs have religious role in the traditional religion of the Yoruba. Dog is one of the principal sysmbols of Ogun, the god of war. Other symbols are iron and palm frond. These symbols are interpreted in terms of transformation, mediation and function. The relevance of a dog in the god of iron is its aggressive and doglike capacity to confront danger. It is also one of the sacrificial animals associated with Ogun. Dogs have symbolic relevance in Yorubaland. A faithful person can be metaphorically referred to as *aja* (dog). In a negative sense, a woman referred to as dog symbolizes a semblance of a prostitute. It is instructive to note that oftentimes, some people are called dogs as a result of some characteristic features the person so called exhibits that are similar to a dog's. For example, a person may be called a dog because of her insatiable penchant for sex as exemplified in a female dog that is on heat. Similarly, a person may be called a dog due to his or her ferocious appetite that dogs are known for. By extension, the person is also regarded as a witch that is dedicated to killing people. Jesus intended to dissuade the woman from her quest, by saying that he was sent only to the household of Israel, met a very strong determination from the woman. He then called her a dog. Saying that "food is for the children and not for dogs." The woman understood the proverb. She knew she was called a prostitute, a ferocious consumer and a witch, all in one word! Of course, she understood the folk language and reacted by accepting the insult and saying that even, dogs eat the crumbs from the children's table. This is actually true of the dogs among the Yoruba. The dog is the one that will kill the animals but the family will eat the meat and throw the bones to the dogs and the remnants which rarely remain.

For a Yoruba reader of the Bible, it is imperative for them to remove his traditional understanding of this animal and study its significance in the Jewish culture. To fully understand the meaning of dog, a Yoruba should not limit his interpretation to Matthew15:26-29. Dogs feature in other portions of the Bible. In some instances they do not portray the symbolic or semiotic sense or sign of worthlessness, while in some cases the idea of worthlessness is reinforced. For instance, the epithet "dog" is used in 1 Samuel Chapter 24 verse 14 in a very negative sense: dog's head, dead dog. The symbols of humiliation can also be seen in 2 Samuel chapter 3: verse 8 and chapter 9 verse 8. Hazael's use of the word in 2 Kings chapter 8 verse 13 is a sign of mock humility. For Paul in Philippians Chapter 3: 2, dogs were an epithet for false apostles. The dreaded

Philistine Goliath referred to dog to show that he was not a mean person when he said "Am I a dog that thou comest to me with staves?"

Conclusion

The foregoing has been devoted to situating the proverb of Jesus as contained in the dialogue between Him and a rural based woman whose daughter was tormented by evil spirits. Africans in general and Yoruba in particular can identify with this woman because the setting is very similar to their own. It is clear that proverbs are not a monopoly of a particular people, rather, they cuts across boundaries and climes. The proverbs of the Jews of the early Church beginning from the time of Jesus have several similarities with those of the Yoruba of Southwest Nigeria. It is clear that many of the components of proverbs are symbolic and are actually frequently used in both cultures. It is clear that most people with rural life background can readily identify with the proverb as proverbs are frequently used in their setting.

References

Ajayi, S. A. (2006). Christian Missions and Evolusion of the Culture of Mass Education in Western Nigeria. *Journal of Philosophy and Culture,* 3(2).

Asiyanbola, A. A. (2007). A Syntactic and Semiotic Analysis of some Yoruba Sexist Proverbs English Translation: Need for Gender Balance, *Nebula* 4.3.

Ehineni, T. O. (2014). The Pragmatics of Yoruba Proverbs in Ahmed Yerima's *Igatibi, Ajagunmale and Mojagbe*. *Issues in Intercultural Communication,* 4 (1).

Grzybek, P. (2014). 4 Semiotic and Semantic Aspects of the Proverb. http://www.peter-grzybek.eu/science/publications/2014/2014_grzybek_proverb-semiotic-semantic.pdf

Hussein, J. W. (2015). The Social and Ethno-cultural Construction of Masculinity and Feminist in African Proverbs. *African Study Monographs*, 26 (2).

Kazeem, F. A. (2010). Logic in Yoruba Proverbs. Itupale: *Online Journal of African Studies,* 2.

Leigh, J. & Stanbridge, D. (1991). *Strategies of Communication*. *Multicultural Communication*. Nicosia.

Mielder, W. (1993). *International Proverb Scholarship*. *Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Charles, M. (1947). *Signs, Language and Behaviours*. Oxford: Prentice Hall.

Odebunmi, A. (2010). Pragmatic Functions of Crisis-Motivated Proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The God's are not to be Blamed*. *Linguistics Online*, 33, 1/08.

Odebunmi, (2006). Language, Context and Socieety: A Theoretical Anchorage. In *Negotiation of responsibility in Consultative Encounters*. Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.

Oke, N. O. (2008). The Nature of Language. In I. Emeka (Ed.) *Language and Communication: A Text for Tertiary Institutions.* Aba: Assemblies of Press.

Oluwole, S. B. (1997). Culture, Gender and Development theories. *African Development,* 22 (1).

Oyelakin, R. T. (2009). Yoruba Traditional and Medicine and the Challenge of Integration. In *The Journal of Pan African Studies,* 3(3).

Stanbridge, S., Leigh, J., & Stanbridge, D. (1991). *Multicultural Communication in Nicosia*.

CHAPTER NINE

A MARXIST ASSESSMENT OF TAX DEFALCATION, BRITISH TAXATION STRATEGIES AND PUBLIC REACTIONS IN COLONIAL YORUBALAND

Abiodun S. Afolabi
[1]Department of History and International Studies/
Unilorin Archives and Documentation Centre (UADC),
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Saliu Danlad Yusuf
[3]Department of History and International Studies,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

&

Oyedele Oluokun
[2]African Studies Department in History Department, Ole Miss,
University of Mississippi, USA

Introduction

Before the advent of colonialism in Africa, the indigenous people paid tributes to their kings in form of taxes. In Yoruba states of the pre-colonial era, government authority was acknowledged through the fulfilment of established civil obligations. Revenue in the form of tributes was generated from all types of occupation, particularly agriculture and hunting (Asiwaju, 1976, p.22). Rulers also obtained revenue from several sources such as trade, market tolls, transit levies, among other means in order to procure items such as gunpowder, arms, and royal regalia among others that were needed for effective running of the state (Ayittey, 1991, p.369). The indigenous people paid tributes to their kings, but this was dependent on how well they ruled. If a king ruled well, they praised him and sent large tributes. Otherwise, they withheld or reduced their tributes to send a clear message to an incompetent government (Ayittey, 1991, p.367). That was the familiar practice in pre-colonial Yorubaland, where the people willingly and expediently paid their taxes (*Isakole*).

There were few direct taxes, and civil responsibility was conceived in communal terms. Consequently, payments and contributions for general welfare of the community were rendered in unit of lineages and villages. During this period, tax assessment of individual citizens was unknown while voluntary labour was available for public works, just as hunters were mobilised in times of crisis to perform enforcement duties (Asiwaju, 1976, p.22). In fact, whenever necessary, hunters voluntarily provided security services on rotational basis (Imoukhuede, 1950, p.3). In spite of these measures of enforcement and management of tax collection, there were still cases of theft. However, if such personnel were caught, he/she could be sacked from his/her position. Put differently, kings were mostly taken out of office for failure to consult the elders or breaking of custom, though there were other causes (Busia, 1951, p.144).

Indirect Rule system was adopted by the British colonial government to control their colonial subject through the instrumentality of the traditional chief. By the time Nigeria came under British colonial rule, the payment, collection and enforcement of taxes became more systemised. In societies where taxes were not collected or unknown, taxation was introduced. The reasons for the introduction of taxes, on the surface, among other reasons, was to provide basic amenities and social development to the colonised people. The approaches and agents used were also entirely new to most of the people. This paper, through the guide of Marxism, however will contest the conventional assumption of the direct and indirect relevance of the colonial taxation system on the colonized African subjects by exploring the experiences of the colonised Yoruba people of modern South-western Nigeria.

Against this backdrop, this study sets out to examine the following:

a. the material background to the draconian colonial taxation system;
b. methods adopted by the Yoruba speaking people to vehemently resist tax impositions;
c. the British colonial administration's response to the people's resistance; and
d. the people's reactions to the British coercive actions.

Marxist Praxis, Dispossession and Resistance

The variant attempts aimed at analysing the all-encompassing question of dispossession have been enriched by the critical approaches of Marxism. This premise is detectable in the methodological and analytical approaches of theories such as structural, systemic, conflict, etc. Dispossession embodies the structural violence that is synonymous with the nature and character of the social existence of a consequential number of persons – the *hoi polloi* in any class society. The crises of modern dispossession, as propelled by the nefarious consequences of the capitalist, class-driven society, are evident in the global surge of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, violence, etc. What Marxism does in interpreting this phenomenon is responsible for its prominence in the global academy.

Marxism is not only concerned with the derivations of dispossession, but also the overall after effects. As the theory teaches the nexus between social being and the elevation of social consciousness, the natural harbinger of mass resistance, action, demonstration, etc. is not far-off. Marx in the Communist Manifesto pushed forward this idea with the submission that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle" (Marx et al., 1998, p.1). The interconnectedness of social struggles, from the prism of Marxism, is therefore based on the scientific disposition of humans towards deprivation. This forms the basis of the conviction of Marxist scholars in the material necessity of equitability in the distribution and consumption of social wealth. The bulwark of this possibility therefore infers the collapse of social classes (Paul, 1999; Engels, 1985; & Ake, 1981).

The existence of social classes is indeed tied to the institutionalization of dispossession in any class society. To be precise, the existence of social classes is synonymous with exploitation, oppression and suppression. In tracing the antecedents of classes, Marxism exposes the chemistry that exists between the forces of production and relations to production. The social interaction that occurs between humans and nature on one hand, and between humans themselves, on the other hand, in the process of material production, explains productive forces and relations to production, respectively. The role of productive forces in the process of material production is however primary because of its direct influence on the nature and character of social production.

Since the advancement of the means of production, otherwise known as forces of production, has a bearing on the overall transformation of any society, its requisite is unparalleled. Against this backdrop, it becomes fundamental to put into consideration how the ownership and control of the forces of production by a section of individuals in any society can trigger hostility and exploitation. As revealed in Marx's historical materialism, the earliest progression of human societies from an unoppressive mode of production – communalism, to subsequent oppressive and exploitative modes of production – slavery, feudalism and then capitalism, is premised on the monopolisation of the forces of production by a privileged social class. Under slavery, the social stratification was at the merit of the slave-owners over the slaves; the landlords over the landless under feudalism; and the bourgeoisie over the proletariats in a capitalist society. Be that as it may, Marxism in the final analysis submits that the subsequent collapse of social classes, and by implication, class stratification, can only be upheld in a socialist society.

The clash of opposing interests that naturally surfaces in a class society is what Marxists describes as class struggle. To reiterate, these clashes are most times dressed in the clothes of civil wars, revolutions, radical demonstrations, terrorism, etc. As buttressed by Haralambos and Holborn, perpetual hostility understandably will be the fate of any society under the dominance of a powerful class that owns and controls collective social wealth at the detriment of the masses (Haralambos & Holborn, 1991) This line of argument has been opposed by proponents of the realist school of thought, based on the assumption of state of nature as echoed in the Hobbesian theory (Kenneth, 2008). The argument that violence is an innate attribute of humankind however lacks any scientific justification, hence, the exclusivity of the Marxian philosophy.

From the foregoing analyses, the significance of Marxian interpretation of the central focus of this paper is instructive. The theory provides an important insight into the inherent contradictions of European colonial rule in Africa. Colonialism, as described by Nkrumah, is the "political manifestation of capitalism" (Nkrumah, 1970). Since the search for newer markets, and importantly, raw materials, are the principal drivers of colonialism, capitalist social relations were introduced to colonized Africans. By the end of the nineteenth century, conscious social classes have emerged: the privileged, bourgeois European colonizers, merchants, etc. and a group of African elite class, on one hand, and the dispossessed indigenous population on the other hand.

Since the appropriation of surpluses is at the heart of colonialism, as argued by Rodney, the colonial state had to enact several exploitative policies and measures to serve this purpose (Rodney,1976). As it became apparent that the lifeline of the nascent factories in nineteenth century Europe were the raw materials from colonial Africa, the colonized people were consequently compelled into the production of cash crops. In fact, the desire for steady production would later contribute to the surge of forced taxation. In point of fact, Marxists share no illusion in the ability of taxation provoking "national wealth and development". Driven by a critical posture on the inherent contradictions of the capitalist social relations, Rodney contends that "Taxes do not produce national wealth and development. Wealth has to be produced out of nature…" (Rodney, 1976, p.33). The scholar-activist further declared that "…the colonial taxation system was to provide requisite funds for administering the colony as a field of exploitation" (Rodney, 1976, p.257).

Marx and Engels extensively engaged the intricacies of taxation, particularly as related to a class society, through newspaper articles, journals and personal letters. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx treated taxation, alongside other related class-motivated policies, as another channel of exploiting and oppressing the labour and surpluses created by the working class. Marx, in fact, was committed to an anti-tax posture so much so that he was prosecuted for igniting the masses against taxation. The dialectician once declared that "It is high treason to pay taxes" Retrieved from https://www.panarchy.org/marx/taxation.html. In spite of this conviction, Marx and Engels were clear on the possibility of progressive income taxes – built on direct taxes, equity and justice. Both philosophers were of the conviction that it is only through this progression that the burden of taxation can be lifted from the poor to the rich. The irredeemable income inequality that forms the bulwark of capitalism nevertheless is antagonistic to progressive taxes (Ireland, 2019, pp.188-221). Be that as it may, for Marxists, progressive taxes are only achievable in a socialist society.

Unlike the practices that encompassed the collection of tributes in pre-colonial African societies, the colonial money tax system was overwhelming, as lands, animals, properties, etc. and the colonized people themselves, were money taxed. The importance the colonial state placed on money taxation can also be premised on its indifference to the funding, of any kind, of the colony. Though the colonies are being exploited, the colonized subjects also had the duty of ensuring this possibility financially. Because Marxism teaches that social consciousness is being determined by social being, the colonized African subjects were bound to react to this form of dispossession. It thus becomes glaring how central anti-taxation movements in colonial Africa was to the overall subject of nationalism. In the context of radical nationalism in colonial Nigeria, Coleman has pointed out the firing and inspiring effects of the 1923 Aba Women Revolt (Coleman, 1958). As a matter of fact, this effort, and others, subsequently culminated in the end of colonialism. This outcome justifies the submission of Marxism on the role of social actions, revolutions, etc. in the transformation of societies.

The manipulation and corruption that accompanied the colonial taxation system, as this paper will unravel, indeed, lies within the framework of the prognoses of Marxism. So also, as argued so far, the reactions of the colonised Yoruba people against the draconian money tax system, an important aspect of the conclusions of Marxism, is brought to the front burner.

The Challenges of Taxation

The beginning of the nineteenth century also coincided with the period when Europe began to use income tax regularly. In the course of that century, taxes were formalized, 'modernized' and simplified everywhere while most countries of the world began to tilt towards incomes duties. But before long, taxation in South-western Nigeria ceased to be simply a source of revenue and became, instead, an instrument of social justice, welfare and economic management (Thomas, 1972, p.564). The advent of the British colonial administration led to a lot of fundamental changes in the African setting. In fact, after the imperialistic moves against Nigeria had been concluded in the late nineteenth century, the British imposed the Indirect Rule system to control the people of Southern Nigeria through the preexisting power structures.

Right from the time British colonial administration was established, the economic policy in South-western Nigeria was centrally based on the achieving the goals of deriving revenue for the mother country, and making the Crown Colony of Lagos and the Western Protectorate as financially self-sustaining as possible (Perham, 1960, 226). Lagos actually became a Crown Colony on the 6th of August 1861, Retrieved from https://www.dictionary.com , and as such, its legislation and administration were controlled from Britain since Lagos had no constitution. It is significant to note that although the obligation of direct taxation was already firmly established in Northern Nigeria by 1914, it was not collected in the Western Provinces before 1918 (Tamuno, 1972). The introduction of direct tax, generally inspired complaints and these complaints led to disturbances, protest movements and riots. Not surprisingly, the Yoruba speaking people, like other people across the globe, not only criticized the British colonial tax impositions, but they did not want to be taxed at all. Not surprisingly also, the inauguration of the Native Treasury by Lord Lugard, which enabled local authority to collect revenue in pursuance of pragmatic colonial economic and political interest, sputtered revolts across Southern Nigeria during the British rule in the area.

It was part of the task of the Native Administration that was instituted to find money in order to implement several projects. However, the tax department, which oversaw this effort, was under the direction of an efficient British officer (NAI, Oyo Prof. 1026/1924, 1145 - 46). What the British government did was to regularise the pre-existing system of arbitrary, irregular and uncertain tributes in order to achieve a fair system of direct taxation rather than introduce an alien taxation system to the people (Lady Lugard, 1964, 467). By doing so, it was expected that the burden of the indigenous Yoruba tax payers would be reduced and easier to pay. The Native Authorities proceeded to make tax rules, but unfortunately, the difference between the imposition of local rate and increase in the rate of tax was not readily grasped by the ordinary tax payer (NAI, Abe Prof. 2668).

There were therefore concerns about signs which were occasionally in evidence that tax rules were made by local authorities without full consultation with the maximum possible number of potential tax payers (NAI. Abe Prof. 2668). This further lends credence to the inherent danger in levying local rates without consulting widely. The derivable advantages in tax levies were usually not fully publicised before rules were made, and this almost always led to protests and riots, which are not part of the focus of this study.

Therefore, recommendation was sent to the Ministry of Local Government, Western Region, Ibadan, that, the imposition of rates and the advantages therein were to be fully publicised before rules were made. Accordingly, the Ministry sent copies of the new policy to the Administrator of the Colony, Lagos, the Resident, Oyo Province, Oyo, the Resident, Benin Province, Benin City, the Resident, Delta Province, Warri, the Resident, Abeokuta Province, Abeokuta, the Resident, Ondo Province, Akure, the Resident, Ijebu Province, Ijebu-Ode and the Resident, Ibadan Province, Ibadan (NAI, Abe Prof, 2668). Copies of these letters, which were also sent to the district offices and native authorities in the Western Region, affirmed that it was ‘lawful for water rate to be levied on capitation basis (NAI, Abe Prof, 2668). Local rates were also imposed in the western provinces in order to encourage local development and impart new life to the administration of towns and villages, and thus, rules were framed and rates were levied for specific purposes.

One could say that Lugard’s Indirect Rule system simply created a separate but subordinate state structure for the people. It was a native administration that had the powers to make bylaws or rules and a treasury to pay its personnel and finance its activities. It was a state apparatus that was seemingly autonomous but actually dependent (Mamdani, 2004, p.62). The Native Authority was the visible Black Hand servicing the ostensibly inaudible voice of the white master. In other words, the white overlord was the whispering voice behind the throne.

The issue of taxes becomes germane owing to the fact that liberals who advocated it even made case for an easy and non-forceful way of obtaining it. To be sure, Smith (1776), in his seminal book: *The Wealth of Nations* noted that “little else is required to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism, but peace, easy taxes and tolerable administration of justice; all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things” (Sambit, 2016, p.3). The overall impact of taxation on the colonial state was not development but rather poverty. Usuanlele also noted that one important but neglected issue with regard to poverty in colonial Africa is the changed role of indigenous political systems under colonial rule. The establishment and functioning of colonial rule in Nigeria required the existence of a stable political order facilitating the realization of British objectives of exploitation at minimal cost to the British taxpayers (Uyilawa, 2010).

While sometimes taxes were designed to favour domestic industry, usually there were specific recourses to raise funds to serve the state undertakings of which war and the servicing of debts could be most important. These were, however, not part of the considerations for British colonial Nigeria when Indirect Rule was inaugurated. The necessity of running a stable and efficient government without making any financial demand from the home government was of major concern to the British ruler, and their focus did not deviate, throughout the period of colonial rule, from the exigency of full exploitation of the resources of the land and expropriation of such to the metropolis. One could say that even from the early days of colonial rule, there had always been a nexus between British colonial expropriation and pilfering by government officials from state coffers, both of which this study found to be un-dignifying and morally unacceptable conducts.

Tax was the first charge on people's incomes for the basic amenities of law, order and social services. Local rates were for 'extra amenities' which communities desired and which they were able to afford over and above their tax liabilities. The British levied local rates with a view to encouraging local development and impartation of good life to the administration of towns in Western Nigeria in general. In fact, local taxes such as education, water and road rates were generally considered when fixing tax rates. Funds were thus raised through the levying of rates with a view to executing projects in all parts of Yorubaland.

On the whole, the level of personal income was low and so, collection proved exceedingly difficult, particularly in the 1933/34 financial year. There was also the problem of defining 'a taxable adult' since there was no birth register, except in Lagos. Considering that scenario, everything depended on the quality of personal contact between tax officials and the people. In fact, tax was collected as 'a capitation levy and not as a true income tax' (NAI, 1904/1937). Consequently, not only was it that the British colonial tax demands were generally not within the paying capacity of the poor people, (NAK/366 ; 12976, pp.12-41) some rich and powerful groups also managed to get reprieve from the taxes they should have borne. In order to meet their obligations, tax administrators and collectors found it necessary to adopt some coercive means. As exposed previously, the colonial establishment, could not have done any better because it was unapologetically created to exploit and oppress the labour and resources of the colonised subjects. Taxation understandably would become one of the tools enacted by the colonial state to facilitate, adequately, this process. As juxtaposed hitherto, the unbearable fangs of the colonial money tax, however, as in other colonies, forced the reaction of the colonized Yoruba subjects who were under the whims and caprices of the British colonial state.

Theoretical Framework

There are many theories that address exploitations. This article adopted Karl Marx's theory of exploitation. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is believed to be one the founding fathers of sociology and his work in the mid-nineteen hundred is still discussed and taught today throughout the world. While Marx discourses did not exclusively dwell on taxation, his writings focus on exploitations through capitalism. Any wonder then why the crux of Marx's dictum is on exploitation as the central categorisation of class society (Lawrence, 1972). To exploit anyone is to take unfair advantage of them by using another person's vulnerability for one's own benefit. Karl Marx believed that the economic and political institutions of capitalism were exploitative in this sense.

In reality, Marx thought that workers' labour under capitalism is neither truly voluntary nor entirely for the benefit of the workers themselves. It is not truly voluntary because workers are *forced* by their lack of ownership of the means of production to sell their labour power to capitalists or else starve. And workers do not labour entirely for their own benefit because the capitalists use their privileged position to *exploit* workers, appropriating for themselves some of the value created by workers' labour. In this sense, the taxes collected by the British colonial government were akin to the bourgeoisie-proletariat relationship. This is so because the tax collectors and the authorities they represented worked in tandem to collect from the poor, but less from the rich. Thus, through the introduction of Indirect Rule system, the colonial state turned the indigenous rulers into tax collectors and suppliers of labour for the colonial state. However, we have no evidence to show that the British colonial officers paid their taxes to the government or to Nigeria. The Europeans generally demonstrated their superiority and over-lordship by dictating who paid what, and where it was channelled into. As Boating rightly observed:

> owing to the greatly superior economic and technological advantages which the developed nations enjoy, they are still in a position to determine or even to dictate to a large extent, the economic fortunes of the developing nations which depend on them for the very things, such as capital goods, technical know-how and entrepreneurial skills, which they need in order to modernise and upgrade their fragile economies (Boating, 1978, p.78).

Marx’s analysis of the rate of profit seems to entail that labour-intensive industries will be more profitable than industries that rely to a greater extent on constant capital. But this conclusion is clearly empirically false (Böhm-Bawerk, 1949) and moreover incompatible with Marx’s assumption of a competitive economy in which investments will adjust so as to equalize the rate of profit between industries (Buchanan, 1985; Arnold, 1990). This was done by subordinating the people to their whims and caprices. Thus, in order to sustain their domination, they seized the lands of people, settled there and imposed various forms of taxes.

The above shows that there was a correlation between the colonial tax regime and poverty. This article will bring to the fore the discourse on how this led to taxation and the psychosis of fraud in colonial Nigeria.

Coercing the Powerless People into Compliance: Assessment and Collection Strategies

It is important to look into the assessment and collection procedures that the local tax office adopted in preparing the nominal roll of all taxpayers and the procedure for its annual revision. The roll reflected the names, addresses and professions of the tax payers in the various wards and quarters. An assessment committee was then expected to send a letter requiring tax payers to send returns of their income (Orewa, 1962, 16). It was on such returns that the committee based their assessments. Some people still succeeded in avoiding and evading the payment of taxes in spite of the authority's efforts at ensuring that all possible loopholes were blocked. In its bid to ensure a successful implementation of its new tax system, the British colonial government put in place new measures, which took the form of ordinances and outright coercion to give bite to their policies. Their determination, therefore, led them to support all objectives that were geared towards its accomplishment, not excluding the application of enforcement through coercion.

When direct tax was, therefore, collected for the first time throughout the southern provinces in 1918, (Orewa, 1962) it did not record any serious disturbances as had been anticipated, although the process witnessed its fair share of difficulties (Ubok, 1968, 15). In the western provinces, however, the Native Authorities instructed the police to stop adult males and ask for their tax tickets with a view to instituting prosecutions, if not produced (NAI, Ondo Prof. 1.1, p.665). Direct police involvement was, however, relatively rare and generally at the instance of the responsible Native Authority. The institution of tax ordinances, legislations and rules meant to guide the British authority in the business of revenue generation for administrative purposes was of paramount importance.

During this period, assessment and collection procedures were designed to block all loopholes that could lead to inadequate tax returns. The local tax office was required to prepare the nominal roll of all taxpayers in the area and was expected to revise it annually. The roll reflected the names, addresses and professions of the tax payers in the various wards and quarters. An assessment committee then sent a letter requiring tax payers to send returns of their income (Orewa, 1962, p.16). It was on such returns that the committee based their assessments. In spite of the colonial authority's efforts at ensuring that all possible loopholes were blocked, some people still succeeded in avoiding and evading the payment of taxes.

It is significant to note that the imposition of local rates led to development in the administration of towns and villages as rules were framed and rates levied for specific purpose(s). Unfortunately, Native Authorities made tax rules without full consultation with the potential tax payers; the reasons/differences between the imposition of rates and the advantages (Abe Prof. 2668), that were expected from the tax burdens were not fully publicised before rules were made, and this ultimately led to protests and riots. Although, these adopted strategies led to increase revenue in early 1923 in Ibadan; but by this time too, it became obvious that taxation constituted a serious burden to many people while issuance of a receipt was already an important document in 1924 (Oyo Prof/187/1924). Before then, however, it was sufficient to refer to a chief or compound head as evidence of payment. The introduction of receipt was, indeed, a revolutionary innovation that made evasion more difficult (Orewa, 1962, p.16).

Although capitation tax was not a Hut or Land tax, it was also demanded in the early days of colonialism. It was levied on each individual in proportion to the wealth of his community and not on his hut or land. And although craftsmen as well as 'cultivators of the soil' were not exempted from this levy, it is difficult to draw a distinction between a capitation and a poll tax. A capitation tax may be a rough income tax when levied on a community subject to communal tenure. There were, largely, active oppositions to capitation tax, which were brought about by self-seeking irresponsible individuals, who were motivated by hopes of their own financial gains by taking advantage of the existing situation of the time to deceive people with propaganda against the capitation tax (NAI, C16/1937).

Such self-seeking agitators did not bring about all active opposition to capitation tax. In few cases, there were genuine bewilderment over the wider introduction of schedule 2, which required that flat rate of tax paid in the Western Region be substantially increased. Also, revenue from liquor generated a lot of problems for Sirs Ralph Moor, William Macgregor, Walter Egerton and even their predecessors. They were all, however, unable to find an easy alternative source of revenue. The revenue from custom duties on spirit was considerable (Tamuno, 1972, p.291), though it generated a lot of controversies. The colonial government did not consider to end the 'drink' traffic in Southern Nigeria during this period and the public was opposed to direct taxation. Egerton even considered that, in the absence of direct taxation, the people's land should constitute the main basis of agricultural production and revenue for the government (Tamuno, 1972, p.310). Although unpopular, the system of forced labour turned out to be a much more convenient alternative to direct taxation because it was less detested by the people. Taxation was, without doubt, a device used by the British colonial government to raise the level of agricultural production and it was also an important source of revenue for the government (Tamuno, 1972, p.310).

The methods adopted by the British colonial authority in order to circumvent tax evasion were not, and could not have been full proof. For example, the tax accounting methods that were operative, for instance, in 1935/36, made no provision for computation, at any stage of the true total assessment of tax for any of the administrative units of the colony. Street register that contained the names of all adult males was used for assessment, although there were a large number of people who were not legally liable to taxation. In the colony districts, between 5 and 10 shillings were levied on income exceeding 50 pounds, but not exceeding 100 pounds. However, this position was soon recognised and considered rigid as the decision to give the tax authorities power to apply intermediate rate, where necessary, was proposed. This new position was ultimately approved and adopted (NAI, *Comcol*. 1.1899). Tax authority referred to the financial secretary and included any other person authorized in writing by the financial secretary to perform any duty imposed upon the tax authority by ordinance.

Significantly, when Mr. Dods, a British Colonial District Officer (DO), was posted to Ibadan in 1936/37 in connection with tax assessment, he introduced a card index of tax payers which was approved by Sir William Hunt on the 5th October, 1936 (NAI/C16/1937). Hunt, the Chairman of directors, was appointed a knight Bachelor for public service and was awarded the King George V Silver Jubilee medal in 1935 (en.m.wikipedia.org Retrieved 1 March 2021). With Hunt's approval, it became possible to see at a glance whether a tax payer had paid his tax or not. However, it was soon discovered in the 1939/40 audit report that the card index had become a mere duplication of the nominal roll that was no longer serving any useful purpose. It was therefore recommended that the application of card index method be discontinued. In reality, however, the alphabetical arrangement of card index gave it an advantage over nominal roll books (NAI, 1937, 1, (1904/1), p.46).

But without question, the Colony Taxation Ordinance of 1937 required that every employer of labour, head of family, householder and every person 'who may be required so to do shall give all such information (verbally or in writing) as may be required of him by the tax authority or any of his assistants, with a view to obtaining information for the assessment or collection of the tax, and anyone who wilfully misled the tax authority or any of his assistants on any matter connected with the assessment or collection of the tax were to be considered guilty of an offence'(NAI/C16/1937; *Nigeria Gazette*, 1960). In places such as Epe, Ikeja area and Badagry, the Commissioner for the Colony, Mr. J.J. Emberton, held that since headmen were obliged by public opinion to share fees with the village councils without whose assistance they were unable to carry out their duties, the names of village councils should be associated with those headmen named. The Income Tax Ordinance No. 4 of 1937 recommended the above guideline as part of the procedure to be followed in implementing the taxation policy of the time in the above mentioned places (NAI, 1904, C.16/1937). These arrangements were expected to lead to improvement in the process of collection of income tax.

It was, however, found that the colonial tax demands were too heavy and were not being readily met by the people. It became increasingly necessary for the government to devise new ways that would facilitate easy payment. Thus, in 1938, a scheme that was meant to bring relief to the low-income classes in the Lagos municipal residence, so that they could meet their tax obligations without having their personal budgets dislocated was proposed. This new scheme was therefore designed to facilitate a form of instalment payment of tax. It was a system intended to assist the low-income earners in the Lagos Township, through the buying and affixation of stamps, meet their tax obligations. It was hoped that the scheme would appeal to those people whose annual chargeable income did not exceed 50 pounds and were therefore assessed at what was practically a poll tax of five shillings per annum (NAI/C.16/Vol. II/1937).

Apart from that, all 'householders' were expected to render a return showing the names of adult males residing in the house, their occupations and the name of the government department or firm, if any, where they worked. The tax staff assisted the illiterate house owners in order to ensure accuracy in the information supplied. These were entered into the ledgers in which each house was shown separately and each individual assessed in accordance with their trades and occupation. Individuals were ordered to attend the tax office for examination regarding his income and/or even required to render a return of his in income in writing (NAI. Oyo Prof. 1. 1927).

Accountants also kept separate registers for Europeans, Syrians, African professional men and other Africans in the higher grades of society. Their returns were kept confidential and the DO in charge of tax fixed their assessments. The following under-noted list were used in fixing assessment: owners of canoes, owners of motor vehicles, rate payers and property owners, license retailers of spirits, beer and wine, money lenders and voters (NAI. Comcol. 1. 1938 - 1939). Foreigners such as: Syrians, Lebanese and Indians, who resided in Ibadan division, also paid their taxes to the native administration (NAI Oyo Prof. III).

During the same period, in their desperation to generate tax from all available sources, the British Colonial Authority insisted that young secondary school boys in Lagos should pay tax. It was proposed that tax should be demanded from boys of Igbobi College, among others, who were under the Church and Methodist Missionary Society in Lagos. This idea was only annulled when a draft bill under the Colony Taxation Ordinance No 4 of 1937 (NAI. Oyo Prof. II), which exempted all males under the age of eighteen from paying tax, was promulgated. Section 8 (a) of the ordinance was drafted on the incorrect assumption that there would be no male over the age of sixteen in the primary school.

How would it have been possible for anyone to guess, correctly, the ages of the pupils? In fact, the heads of schools did not relish the invidious task of deciding who was, and who was not to pay tax. It was certainly inequitable to expect a resource poor peasant farmer to pay tax for his son who helped in the farm work, when, for instance, a clerk, who could afford to conveniently educate his son, was not required to pay his boys' tax. Ideally, the guiding principle on the issue of tax should have been whether the person concerned had any income and not what his age was. This view was supported by section six (6) of the Colony Taxation Ordinance, (No 4 of 1937) legislation enacted in 1939, page A.16, which read that:

> There shall be due, payable by and collected from every (male adult in Nigeria) from whom no tax is due or has been received in respect of the year of assessment …. a tax of five shillings (NAI. Oyo Prof. II).

It was also noticed that the Ibadan Native Authority was collecting illegal tax from certain women in 1945/46: (a) 66 women, having an accessible income of over £50 paid a total of £40:14:7 under section 2 of the schedule. These were the "bigger women traders". (b) 844 women paid a total of £124:5: =, trade tax under section 3 of the schedule. These were palm wine and kola traders. They paid the trade tax but not the flat rate. (c) 46 women paid a total of £39:8: = under section five of the schedule (NAI. Oyo Prof. II). This appears to be legal as the word "male" does not appear in this section. The question, which came up, was whether the taxation of these women should cease or be legalised.

The Olubadan in Council strongly favoured legalisation and recommended that the minimum income (24 pounds) should be applied for both men and women. The observation then was that the 1945/46 taxes was illegally collected and that the matter should be allowed to rest as there was little likelihood of any claims for refund being preferred. During this period, the disposition of the Native Authorities in Ibadan and Oyo divisions was one in favour of women paying tax where it was shown by assessment that their income exceeded £24 per annum (NAI. (NAI. Oyo Prof. II) and as far as there was no real objection to such a course.

Aside that, the District Officer of Ife/Ilesha also demanded that income derived from cocoa farms in Ife, Ilesha and Illa should not be exempted from taxation and that such income should also be subjected to special assessment in the same way as income from various other trades were. Having regard to the rise in the price of cocoa, he was confidently hopeful that the income tax yield from cocoa farmers was going to exceed that which was collected in 1945 in the form of special cocoa tax (*Southern Nigeria Defender Newspaper*, 1948).

The British colonial policy was bound to elicit some reactions from the colonised subject people. As envisaged, the submissions of Marxism on class struggle will subsequently provoke the era of radical nationalism across colonial Nigeria. Though the resistance of the colonised Yoruba people to the oppressive colonial taxation system took different shapes and strategies, it was clear to the colonial state that the people were not subjects of docility.

Public Reactions to British Colonial Taxation Manoeuvres

Taxation was naturally not welcomed by the Yoruba people, particularly because colonial tax demands were exorbitant. It is a universal truth that when taxes are too high, people usually devise dishonest means of evading them. This explains why governments often find it hard to devise effective policies on income. Psychosis of fraud, therefore, characterised the entire process of tax generation in colonial Yorubaland. Indeed, tax evasion is the grandfather of 'smuggling', and it affects democracies and authoritarian governments alike (Thomas, 1972). It is, therefore, not surprising that the Yoruba speaking people of South-western Nigeria wasted no time in devising new ways to circumvent the tax demands of the colonial state. In doing so, the people, at times, adopted reluctant compliance to British tax demands, a position that fell short of overt defiance. These 'poor history losers' of colonial South-western Nigeria just happened to find themselves in 'the ironic position of having to help to power' the British whose plans for taxation and collectivization were very much at odds with the goal peasants would have preferred to be pursuing (James, 1985, 29). They, therefore, did not give full cooperation to the British taxation policy.

The possible loss of revenue to the council was substantial. This was because, the people generally tried to avoid and evade tax as a response to British colonial demands. However, tax evaders were not only mercilessly punished, they were regarded as debtors, and were forced to pay the tax as well as additional fine to cover the expenses incurred in 'flushing them out' (NAI. Ondo Prof. D. 28, 1948). Although, unpopular, it paid off because, the British colonial government's progressive adoption of measures, which were designed to coerce the indigenous people into compliance in order to generate more funds, was largely successful to the extent that they were able to implement social and economic programmes that turned out to be beneficial to Yorubaland. Meanwhile, the indigenous poor peasants, artisans and other powerless people in Yorubaland, on their part, adopted all methods opened to them such as evasion, avoidance, subterfuge, and even direct aggressive confrontation to frustrate the British colonial unfriendly taxation policies and centralised state domination and control.

The British colonial government knew that there were discrepancies in the whole process of tax collection and that evasion represented a form of resistance against their economic system. They therefore realised the necessity to put in place measures to discourage it. But, on the other hand, from 1918, the indigenous people too began to see payment of tax and participation in forced labour as 'double punishment' (NAI. Oyo Prof. II. *Schedule III; NAI.* 1924. Enclosure). Although propaganda was put into circulation that taxes were willingly and readily paid, particularly after the 1916 Isehin/Okeiho riots when the impression was created by Lugard that it was, but he soon dismissed the anti-tax disturbances in Isehin in 1916 and Abeokuta in 1918, alleging that they could not be ascribed 'to any one motive' (Atanda 1969, p.497; Perham,1960, p.226).

It is significant to note that taxes collected were, at times, lost as a result of theft by officials in charge of collection. The loss of considerable tax revenue was prevalent in cities like Ibadan in the Western Region because some women were able to register as many as four taxicabs in their names, and these taxi cabs were each bringing in about £225 pounds annually. Some astute men were also able to hide the size and identity of their business by taking to enterprises that had no need for permanent address, such as commercial transport business (Orewa, 1962, p.77). Indeed, as early as 1919, Yorubaland had begun to record cases of defalcation of money from the treasury. For instance, a substantial sum of five thousand (£5000) pounds disappeared from the Native Treasury as a result of theft by officials in charge of council collection.

There were also times when colonial tax defaulters were tracked down by tax collectors in order to forcefully obtain tax returns. The tax season during which people were hunted to pay was politically tense. Only a few saw payments as a civic responsibility, and many, up to 25 percent by official reckoning, always evaded as escape was regarded as an act of valour, which tax evaders loudly and proudly boasted about amidst friends and family members (NAI. Oyo Prof. II. *Schedule III; NAI.* 1924. Enclosure).

Indeed, a tense situation was also recorded during the annual Gbara social festival in Ago-Iwoye, Ijebu area in 1954 where matters affecting members such as new childbirths, age grade, funerals, etc. were deliberated on (NAI. Ije Prof. 1, 3008/5). The year festival provided an occasion when tax collectors and policemen disrupted the gathering of indigenous people by beating up anyone caught in their bid to forcefully obtain tax. It was an opportunity for these government officials to indulged in petty bribes.

Most people did not realise then that flight and evasion limited the ambition and reach of the state, be it pre-colonial, colonial or independent. The tax resistance capacity of subject people generally made it impossible for the colonial state to attain its fullest potentials in terms of development. It was also a limiting factor for the subject people in the area of social and economic growth. In Ibadan, however, as well as in some other Yoruba speaking areas, violence did not erupt. Opposition simply took the form of refusal to pay, evasions, complaints about extortions, etc. which pervaded the entire towns and villages.

It is significant to note that the British colonial government's adoption of propaganda machinery was found to be grossly insufficient to discourage a people who were not persuaded that tax should be paid in the first instance. Measures, more concrete than words of admonition and appeal were, therefore, taken; the first of these measures was to establish a firm grip on the principal tax collectors, the chiefs, who were only considered good if their views on taxation coincided with those of the colonial officials, but were punished, sometimes, severely, when they showed lapses in collection (NAI. *Comcol*.1. 4, 1937).

Under the Income Tax (Colony) Ordinance 22 of 1931, the government had difficulties in getting a true assessment. The householder's returns were usually inaccurate because names were omitted and persons in regular jobs presented as unemployed. Individuals frequently changed their places of residence or their names, or quite frequently both, between the return of form 1 and the assessment. Unfortunately, taxes collected were sometimes lost through careless handling. For instance, a sum of forty-eight pounds and four shillings, which was the tax returns from Itawikin and Oriba districts was stolen from the clerk on the 21st January, 1932 (NAI. Comcol. 1. 1333/12). Although administrative officers were responsible for the monitoring of fiscal matters, this did not deter occasional losses or even fraud. However, the District Officers simply ensured that the position of the *Obas*, the *Baales* and the Quarter chiefs remained unchanged as far as tax collection was concerned.

The 1955 anti-tax protest movement in Ogbomoso recorded significant cases of defalcation of tax monies. In fact, about twenty temporary tax clerks that were recruited to assist in tax collection were alleged (*Daily Times*, 1955, 2, p.6) to have defrauded the council by embezzling tax money (Afolabi, 2015, pp.28-29). It was discovered that a sum of six hundred and sixty-eight pounds, seven shillings and eleven pence (£668: 7s: 11p) was not accounted for by the collectors in *Ijeru* in *Ogbomoso*. In fact, it was found that although receipts were issued for monies received, there was a shortfall in the amount remitted to the government treasury. The government auditors from Ibadan reported that the total amount embezzled in the council was one thousand and forty-two pounds, three shillings and two pence. The report of this theft, which amply showed that a lot of under hand activities went on during the tax collection process, was made to the Resident in Ibadan on the 22nd April 1955 by the Assistant Local Government Inspector (NAI. Iba Prof. 1/1, 75/8/5, 668:7:11, 23 - 26).

As a result, a number of council officials were arrested and detained. Police investigation revealed more frauds as one Mr. Samuel Larinde Akerele, a Senior Tax Clerk in the council, was also alleged to have defrauded the council of the sum of eight hundred and seventy-one pounds, eight shillings and eleven pence (£871: 8s: 11p) (Afolabi, 2015). Consequently, those that were suspected to be involved such as Mr. Larinde Akerele and some other council officials were arraigned before the court. But for the intervention of Mr D. A. Murphy, the Ibadan Provincial adviser, Mr. S. O. Ogundipe, Chairman of the *Ogbomoso* Native Authority Council and Councilor in charge of tax, would have remained in office (NAI. Iba Prof. 1/1, 75/8/5, 668:7:11, 23 - 26). One may not be able to exonerate Mr. Ogundipe because he actually acknowledged the receipt of cash that was meant to be paid directly to the Senior Tax Collector by the temporary clerks (Afolabi, 2015). This must have led to the discrepancies that resulted in loss of recorded tax money.

Indeed, resource poor peasants, who were forced to pay poll tax after the 1955 tax riot, had the impression that the councillors, council officials and the *Baale* intended to share the six shillings increase on individual tax payers (poll tax) among themselves after the collection (Ajani & Olatunbosun, 2014, Personal Interview). The colonial government, however, erred by not condemning and going ahead to dismiss all those who were found culpable in the alleged loss of public funds. The chairman of council should have resigned honourably the moment such a serious allegation was levelled against him (NAI. 668: 7:11) In fact, one may not be able to divorce the sit-tight syndrome after indictment that came to characterise the Nigerian Civil Service after independence to the experiences that took roots in colonial Yorubaland and other places across Nigeria.

There were also some rich individuals in colonial South-western Nigeria who devised ingenious ways of circumventing tax dues by deliberately choosing to distort information. It was a well-known fact that distorting or omitting a source or sources of income in the government form A was rampart (NAI. Iba Prof. 1/1, 75/8/5, 668:7:11, 40, pp.23-26) despite the fact that it was designated as an illegal method of reducing one's tax liability. This is a clever way of evading tax, but the legal methods of achieving the same purpose with a view to splitting one's income with anyone other than one's wife and children etc. is known as tax avoidance (Ola, 1980, 1; Falola,1987, 16). Complete tax evasion is a situation where a person deliberately escapes from the payment of tax due from him each year and this was very common in colonial and early post-independence south-western Nigeria. In the case of tax avoidance, the tax authority under-assessed potential tax payers whereas in tax evasion, even after being properly assessed, the individual avoided the payment due to him. In 1957, an estimated 'four hundred thousand people evaded tax' completely in south-western Nigeria (Orewa, 1962, 16). Evasion in this regard was treated as a form of resistance against the colonial economic system.

Tax avoidance and evasion were two of the most serious problems that confronted the colonial administrators. Tax avoidance was a means whereby a man arranges his business in a way as to attract less tax under the existing tax rate (Orewa, 1962). The only form of tax avoidance which was prevalent during the colonial era in Yorubaland was that in which salaried men registered their private business in the names of their wives. This was possible because, up to April 1960, when payment of tax by women whose income was below £300 was abolished, many local authorities in the region did not tax self-employed women, (Orewa, 1962, 16) and when they were eventually taxed, it was illegally done, without remittances into government coffer.

Conclusion

Five trends were evident in the colonial taxation policies and other matters concerning the defalcation of tax monies as espoused by this study. To begin with, this study revealed that payment of taxes in traditional Yorubaland was not at all cumbersome; the people paid their tributes to kings willingly and efficiently. To its credit, the pre-colonial taxation system was efficient to the extent that it rarely degenerated into the kind of crisis situations that were experienced in colonial Yorubaland.

Secondly, unlike the pre-colonial leadership that managed taxation to an appreciable degree, the British colonial government conducted their tax system in a way that turned out to be burdensome for the people. Without doubt, the modification of the traditional tax system and the generation of funds through the direct tax system were accompanied by high-handedness of some native authorities. The lesson to note here is that although the state should always seek to generate tax for developmental purposes, it must also strive to avoid stifling its people with excessive tax demands. This study has unequivocally established that the British colonial tax system generated animosity and discomfort between the Native Authority and the indigenous people. In fact, the introduction of British colonial tax policy brought in its wake mutual distrust and disrespect between the ruler and the ruled within the Yoruba society, a situation that climaxed in chaos and social unrest. It meant that the political and economic policies championed by the British government and ran by the Native Authority reduced chiefs and kings to mere agents whose appointment, promotion, demotion and dismissal were dependent on the whims and caprices of those who paid their stipends. The socio-cultural relevance of traditional political institutions was thus questioned when it became obvious that they had become tools in the hands of the British colonialists and mere members of advisory councils to them. For example, the abdication of *Oba* Ladapo Ademola II, the Alake of Abeokuta (1920 - 1962) from the throne in January 1949 is a pointer to this fact (Thompson, et al., 2019).

Thirdly, this article underpinned that although the 'men on the spot' (Tamuno, 1972, p.108), that is, the British and the Native Authority designed measures (revised annually), which were intended to assist them in effective assessment, collection and appropriation, they were unable to effectively stop tax evasion, avoidance and misappropriation in colonial Yorubaland. However, measures such as the introduction of receipt as evidence of payment, installmental payment for low income earners, etc. helped significantly in improving tax returns.

Fourthly, this study also brought to the fore the 'unscrupulous tendencies of government officials and tax collectors' (Christian, 2004, pp.279-303) whose kleptocratic conducts exposed the underbelly of a colonial taxation system. The incidences of malpractices in the collection processes, the arbitrary nature of the taxes demanded and embezzlement characterized the entire colonial tax system in Yorubaland, particularly from 1918 when income tax was first levied in Southern Nigeria. For instance, inefficiency, irregularities and embezzlement by tax collectors were experiences which obtained and pervaded the entire South-western Nigeria geographical landscape from 1918, and were some of the reasons behind the Ogbomoso riot in 1955 (NAI. Iba Prof. 1/1, 75/8/5, 668:7:11, 40, pp.23-26). In fact, one could not agree more that the "leading vice in the British colonial administration was one of good intention, ill directed and a restless desire in governing too much". The hand of British authority practically manifested in everything and every place, and as it is always the case in such "officious universal interference", what usually began in repulsive power ended always, usually without exception, in "contemptible imbecility" (Edmund, 1795).

Finally, this study's appraisal of deficiencies of tax assessment and collection processes in colonial Yorubaland has shown that these issues have remained intractable even in post-colonial Nigeria.

References

Afolabi, A.S. (2015). Interrogating the 1924/55 Anti-tax Movements in Colonial Ogbomosho. *Centre-Point (Humanities),*18, 2.

Ake, C. (1981). *A Political Economy of Africa*. Longman, Nigeria.

Arnold, S. (1990). *Marx's Radical Critique of Capitalist Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Asiwaju, A. I. (1976). *Western Yorubaland under Europeans Rule*; *1889 – 1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism*. Longman.

Atanda, J. A. (1969). Isehin-Okeiho Rising of 1916: An Example of Socio-Political Conflict. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria,* IV (4).

Ayittey, G.B.N. (1991). *Indigenous African Institution.* Transnational Publishers, Inc.

Boateng, E. A. (1978). *A Political Geography of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, https://www.jstor.org › article

Böhm-Bawerk, E. (1949) *Karl Marx and the Close of His System*, T. Fisher Unwin.
Buchanan, A. (1985). *Ethics, Efficiency, and the Market*, Totowa: N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld.
Daily Times, 2 Feb. 1955, 2, 6.
Busia, K. A. (1951). *The Position of the Chief in the modern Political System of Ashanti.* Oxford University Press.
Christian, J. M. (2004). Taxation in the Tribal Areas of the Bechuanaland and Protectorate, 1899-1957. *Journal of African History.*
Coleman, J. S. (1958). *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. University of California Press, 1958.
D'Amato, P. (1999). *Marxism and Oppression*. International Socialist Review.
Burke, E. (1795). *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*. En.m.wikipedia.org en.m.wikipedia.org Vil. CXIX, No. 105. 6 May 1935, Retrieved 1 March 2021.
Engels, F. (1985). *The Origin of Family, Private Property, and the State.* International Publishers.
Falola, T. (1987) *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*. Ife University Press.
Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (1991) *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*. Collins Education.
https://www.dictionary.com
Ireland, D. (2019). What Marxist Tax Policies Actually Look Like. *Historical Materialism*, 27 (2), 188 - 221. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1163/1569206X-00001543 last accessed, 9th May, 2022.
James, C. S. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
Kenneth, N.W. (2008). *Realism and International Politics.* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
Lawrence, C. (1972). Marx's Concept of Exploitation. *Social Theory and Practice*. 2(2), 201 - 215.
Lugard, L. *A Tropical Dependency*. Frank Cass & Cc. Ltd.
National Archives Ibadan (NAI). Loss of Income Tax. Comcol. 1. File No. 1333/12.
NAI. Loss of Tax Money by Ogbomoso District Council, 23 - 26.
NAI. Loss of Tax Money by Ogbomoso District Council, Iba Prof. 1/1 File 75/8/5, 668: 7:11.
NAI. Palm Oil Industry in Nigeria: Development of.18th\ 07\1946. File No. D. 28. Ondo Prof., NA 1\3.
NAI. Iba Prof. 1/1 File No. 75/8/5, 668:7:11, Loss of Tax Money by Ogbomoso District Council, 40, 23 - 26.
NAI. Income Tax Ordinance. No. 4 of 1937, Procedure in Connection with Regulations, File No. C/16, Vol. III. *Comcol*, NAI; *Nigeria Gazette*. No.16. 9th of March, 1960.
NAI. Income Tax Ordinance. No. 4 of 1937. Procedure in Connection with Regulation. 1904. C. 16 Vol. 2.
NAI. Income Tax Ordinance. No. 4 of 1937; Procedure in Connection with Regulation. 1904. *Comcol* No. C/16, Vol. II.

NAI. Oyo Prof. 2/3/C. 187, Director of Prison Department, 30th October, 1924. Enclosure.

NAI. Tax Collection Oyo Province II. *Tax Rates Schedule III: Instructions General*. Oyo Prof. 1. 1927 Vol. V. I.

NAI. Ije Prof. 1, 3008/5. *Ago-Iwoye Town Planning, Ijebu Native Authority: Building Rule* (Applied to Ijebu Igbo, Ijebu-Ode, Ago-Iwoye…).

NAI. Taxation: Municipal Area. 1938 - 1939. *Comcol* 1. File No 2264.

NAI. Taxation; Ondo Province (ii) Division of Direct Taxes between Government and Native Authority. Ondo Prof. 1/1. File No. 665, Vol. V.

NAI. *Comcol*.1. File No. 1904. Vol. II. Income Tax Ordinance No. 4 of 1937. Procedure in connection with Regulations.

NAI. Colony Tax Office- Handing Over of. (Tax authority as defined in Comcol. 1 in 1922 - Income tax), *Comcol*. 1. File No.1899.

NAI. Colony Taxation Ordinance, (1937). *Schemes for Persons Assessed at Minimum Rate of Pay by Installations*. *Comcol*. 1(1904/1).

NAI. Provincial Admin. Dept. Papers. No. "Rating Regulations". ABP. 2668. Abe-prof. 2. 2nd Accession.

NAI. Resident Office & Annual Report, 1924, 1145-46. File No. 1026. Oyo Prof. 1 National Archives Ibadan.

National Archives Kaduna (NAK). SNP, Lokoja Provincial Record, 366 12976; 12 - 41.

Mabel, I. (1950) Can the Old African Culture Survive in a Modern World? *The University Herald, Ibadan*, 3.

Mahmood, M. (2004). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Marx, K., Engels, F. & Samuel, M. (1998). *The Communist Manifesto*. Merlin Press.

Nkrumah, K. (1970). *Class Struggle in Africa*. Panaf Books.

Ola, C. S. (1980). *Nigerian Taxation.* Graham Burns.

Oral Interview Olatunbosun A. O. (100) Ogbomoso, 2014.

Oral Interviews, Mr. Ajani Adio (63) Ogbomoso, 2014.

Orewa, G. O. (1962). *Taxation in Western Nigeria: The Problem of an Emergent State.* Nigerian Social and Economic Studies, Oxford University Press.

Perham, M. (1960). Risings. In *Lugard*: *The Years of Authority, 1889-1945*, London: Collins.

Rodney, W. (1976). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Tanzania Publishing House.

Sambit, B. (2016). The Historical Origins of Poverty in Developing Countries. *MPRA*, 3. https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/67902/1/MPRA_paper_67902.pdf.

Sourced from https://www.panarchy.org/marx/taxation.html last accessed, 9th May, 2022.

Southern Nigerian Defender Newspaper, 1948.

Southern Nigerian Defender, October, 19th 1948.

Tamuno, T. N. (1972). *The Evolution of the Nigerian State: The Southern Phase, 1898-1914.* Longman Group Limited.

Thomas, H. (1972). *History of the World.* Harper and Row Publisher Inc.

Thompson, O. O., Nwaorgu, O.G. F, & Aduradola, R. R. (2019). *The Challenges of African Heroines in Contemporary History* **(**forthcoming).

Ubok, U. (1968). *The Tax System in Nigeria*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Howard University.

Uyilawa, U. (2010). *Poverty and Welfare in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1954*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History Queen's University Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

CHAPTER TEN

TECHNOLOGY AND ITS NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT: AN EXPLORATION OF AYI KWEI ARMAH'S PERSPECTIVES

Moussa Traoré
&
Benedicta Haizel
Department of English,
University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

Introduction

Environmental pollution is one of the challenges that face our world today. Many attempts made by stakeholders seem unproductive, due to factors like modernization and advancements in technology, most especially with respect to the telecommunication industry and the fashion industry. Ayi Kwei Armah, one of Africa's prolific writers whose works convey great messages, has shared his views on the corruption of the environment today, through his books, especially *The Healers*. He is a Ghanaian and was born on 28th October, 1939. He is best known for literary outputs including *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, *Two Thousand Seasons* and *The Healers*.

In most of his works, he deals with issues regarding corruption among African leaders, disillusionment and the filth caused to the environment by the activities of greedy individuals. At the beginning of The *Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* for instance, we see a man, serving as the main protagonist in the story, cleaning his spittle by moving his trunk sideways a few times. This paints a mental picture of filth in the society. In *The Healers* as well, we see the resultant effect of the bribe taken by the Asante Royal family to sabotage Asante Nkwanta's army. Basically, Armah's novels probe into the nature and causes, and possible ways out, of the unending predicaments that confront African societies in particular and the world at large.

The Healers is the focal point for discussion, since it is the primary text in this essay. The interest is on how Ayi Kwei Armah presents the environment as well as man's relationship with the environment in the book. *The Healers* is considered because it reveals how the presence of a foreigner or foreign object in a particular place has the capacity of "robbing" the internal peace and stability of that place. Specifically, it can be said in *The Healers* that, before the arrival of Westerners in Africa or Ghana, there was internal peace and stability among the people as well as harmony between the people and their environment. However, following the arrival of the Westerners, everything began to take a different turn.

In the early chapters of the novel, we see how green the environment was and how happy the people of Esuano used to be, as they lived in unity among themselves while preserving the naturalness of their environment.

> Here the people of Esuano came at the end of every chosen year for the rituals of remembrance…A few remembered the old ceremonies as ritual in which all the people of Esuano had done things together (pp.10 & 13).

We further see Ayi Kwei Armah giving a vivid description of how beautiful the rivers used to be during those times.

> In all truth the bottom was beautiful. Large pebbles, rounded by water and sand and time, lay quiet on the floor, on sand so fine it was almost silt, except that it had such a pleasant firmness underfoot. There were yellow pebbles, black ones, white, purple, reddish, brown pebbles and pebbles streaked and whored with many converging colors all at once… (pp. 31-32)

Towards the end of the novel, however, it can be seen that Western intrusion has an extremely bad impact on the environment. Apart from the fact that the internal stability that existed in the community is being wiped away, the environment is equally being degraded taking a heavy toll on the fauna and flora. Many trees are being cut down and the habitats of very important animals lost.

> Swamp of the Dead' (p.268) and another place where 'All along the road there was the stench of unburied corpses.' (p.338).
>
> 'The forest was cut down beside the road where only small villages had been, new towns sprang up…Bamboo stakes were cut and split… a huge space was cleared and beaten flat (p.311)'
>
> 'A royal eunuch had seen a porcupine, the Asante beast himself, slowly crossing the open space before the principal mausoleum…Scarcely had the porcupine reached the center of the open space when the beast that had put him to flight appeared crawling behind him-a great huge silver pythons…he swallowed him whole… (p. 280).

The ceremonies, the serenity, the unity, etc. that contributed to flourishing of the value system of the people of Esuano are all corrupted by foreigners and foreign objects. The same phenomenon continues, but interestingly in a different form. It is interesting to see how the destruction, pollution and corruption in Armah's books are manifested differently in this postmodern society, still by human agents.

The paper focuses on the tragedy which is represented by the destruction of the environment in the hands of human beings. The domination or intrusion that Armah addresses is replaced by the intrusion of industrialists and multi-nationals in Africa. The Western intrusion factor still persists presently but takes a different form; this time, not as Westerners or foreigners invading the land, but man's actions and activities invading and polluting the environment. This paper stresses that strong analogy. The intrusion of foreigners causes physical and moral damage to the structures of society and also to the environment. The intrusion or presence or arrival of foreign physical materials equally provokes tremendous changes in the environment; a real calamity that decimates the environment and endangers human life, as the following part shows. It also takes a critical look at better ways of eradicating these predicaments by paying attention to the causes of this flail, while equally identifying the emergent threats to the environment and human existence; most especially as occasioned by activities of the fashion industries and the telecommunication companies and their assets.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is premised on the tenets of Ecocriticism which, in itself, is defined in simple terms as how the environment is reflected in literary texts. It is a broad scope of interdisciplinary scholarship which marries knowledge from the sciences with that of the arts and humanities. The term Ecocriticism was coined in 1978 by William Rueckert in his work titled *Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism*. Reddy (2015) in his work: *The Ecocriticism: A New Perspective of Literary Study*, indicates that in America, nature writing was first seen in the works of William Bertram's *Travel through the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida* (1791) and Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854). Ecocriticism as a movement owes much to Rachel Carson's 1962 environmental exposé in her book titled *Silent Spring*. Despite efforts made by individuals to represent the environment in literary texts, Ecocriticism was not recognized in publications until in the 1990s which is believed to be the period scholars began publishing on it.

In William Howarth's *Some Principles of Ecocriticism*, it is stated that Ecocriticism has Greek bearing; *Eco* and *Critic*, derived from two Greek words, *Oikos* and *Kritis* which means house-judge, more like a person who takes a critical view on culture and the non-human nature of his surroundings, and judges the impact the former has on the latter. So, the *Oikos* according to him is nature and the *Kritis* is the one who celebrates the environment and speaks against the spoilers and the misdeeds done to the environment.

According to Cheryll Glotfelty, the use of '*eco-*' over '*enviro-*' as in Ecocriticism gives the theory its significance in the sense that, environment is more anthropocentric with other things in its surroundings that are not connected to it, but *eco-* makes Ecocriticism a stronger term. Ecocriticism as a theory has several other names used in referring to it. Vathana Fenn's paper on *Roots of Ecocriticism: An Exploration of the History of Ecocriticism, A Literary Theory of the Post-modern World*, gives us a few of these names as: Green cultural studies, ecopoetics, and environmental literary criticism. In that particular work, she asserts that Ecocriticism deals with the harmony of humanity and the environment, as well as destruction caused to the environment by the changes which take place in the modern world. She adds that Ecocriticism as a theory negotiates between the human and non-human environment. According to her, Ecocriticism is about the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Just as feminist criticism examines language and literature from a gender-conscious perspective, and Marxist criticism brings an awareness of modes of production and economic class to its reading of texts, Ecocriticism takes an earth-centered approach to literary studies. Despite the broad scope of inquiry and disparate levels of sophistication, all ecological criticisms share the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and being affected by it, thus placing value on the interconnectedness of all things (Glotfelty, 1994).

To Thomas Dean, Ecocriticism is the study of culture and cultural products (art, works, writings, scientific theories, etc) that is in some way connected with the human relationship to the natural world. Ecocriticism is also a response to needs, problems or crises. As indicated by the Norwegian philosopher, Arne Naess, human beings and human consciousness are thought to be grounded in intimate interdependence with the environment. Reddy (2015, p.39) avers that “the theory of Ecocriticism is broad and can be applied to all sorts of nature writings in all ages. It is not a method of analysis or interpretation but a redefined area of research and rediscovery”.

To Heise (2016), Ecocriticism has carved a certain identity for itself and some critics prefer to call it environmental criticism. Transcending its origin, Ecocriticism has been developed to respond to present day crises and issues that carry environmental identity. Consequently, this breaks the theory into waves. The first-wave Ecocriticism began as nation-focused before it actually spread to other areas of the world as a response to the global environmental challenges that the rest of the world faced. The second-wave Ecocriticism cuts across cultures and nations, and thus is referred to as trans-cultural or transnational. Second-wave Ecocriticism, according to Buell, Heise and Thornber (2011), rejects laying emphasis on cultural distinction but rather, shows greater interest in issues pertaining to metropolis and industrialization. Due to global environmental challenges, Ecocriticism had to quit being nation focused in order to respond to such issues as biodiversity loss, climatic changes among other environmental issues. This is why Buell, Heise and Thornber (2011) submit that a different strategy for opening up the local to the global was to re-conceptualize place as a node in global network by highlighting that there is no such thing as a local environmental problem.

In recent times, Ecocriticism has broadened its scope to the point that we can now speak of India, China, Japan, Asia in general, among other areas of the world, as having a form of nature-related studies that deal with their environmental issues. That being said, it will not be out of the place to have an African Ecocriticism, or an Ecocriticism that draws its source from the African setting. To fill this vacuum, Ayi Kwei Armah provides such lenses in his writing as demonstrated in the following section.

Unity and Inspiration as Armah’s Tools for Environmental Protection

How Ayi Kwei Armah carries out environmental protection or conservation is one of a kind. While many people of different nations strive to use tangible and physical methods in environmental protection, he would rather use seemingly insignificant methods, which are exhibited in *The Healers* as inspiration and unity. From Ayi Kwei Armah’s perspective, the decadence seen in our environment today stems from the mental corruption of man and the loss of the bond of unity within our communities. In *The Healers*, Ayi Kwei Armah demonstrates that unity in a community is equivalent to a balance in the ecosphere that is, the global sum of all ecosystems. He also resorts to inspiration rather than manipulation as a measure of healing. The health of the environment depends on a strong ecosystem devoid of any interruptions.

Despite these measures suggested by Armah, the environment still suffers violation, a form of intense and destructive corruption that are corollaries of modernization and technological progress. Most of the environmental problems today are caused by those last two factors. It is interesting to point out that coincidentally, a close scrutiny of effect of technology on the environment shows that it displays or contains some of the notions that Armah identifies or proposes in averting destruction of the environment in his writings.

Technology can be defined as the modification and use of knowledge of science to make tools, machines, techniques, crafts, systems and methods of organization; in order to solve a problem, improve on a pre-existing solution to a problem, achieve a goal, handle an applied input/output relation or perform a specific function (Kwazo et al., 2014). Technology is regarded as the primary pillar of Fast Fashion as well as telecommunication. Technology is partly to be blamed for environmental and ethical fallouts of Fast Fashion consumption as there is now biotechnological interference with the environment and release of life-threatening textile manufacturing byproducts and wastes clouding the ecology (Scaturro, 2008).

That notwithstanding, from Ayi Kwei Armah's perspective, these core challenges of the environment today are as a result of division and not technology as some may see it. Ayi Kwei Armah sees division as when every single individual does not care about the consequences his/her actions will have on the other. Therefore, greed and the selfish interest of certain developed nations can be equated to the division Armah castigates in *The Healers*. While division and lack of unity in the community is a threat to the environment in Armah's work, lack of respect and consideration for nature in developing nations births tragedy. In *The Healers*, we are presented with a very serene environment during the times when The 'Ebibirman' was together. Water bodies were clean and crystal clear before division set in as seen in the following lines:

> In all truth the bottom was beautiful. Large pebbles, rounded by water and sand and time, lay quiet on the floor, on sand so fine it was almost silt, except that it had such a pleasant firmness underfoot. There were yellow pebbles black ones, white, purple, reddish, brown pebbles and pebbles streaked and whored with many converging colors all at once…Anan had his eyes closed. He looked asleep. The thought that he could be relaxed in such a strange environment, under water, made Densu feel inexpressibly close to him… (pp.31-32)

Ayi Kwei Armah further describes the extent of filth and deterioration of the environment after the people were divided. In the novel, attitude (instead of technology) is responsible for waste in the environment.

> The truth was plain: among the wandering people some had chosen homes deeper in the heart of the land, and settled in the forests there. This was division. Some had pushed their way eastward till they came to great, fertile river and settled along its banks. This was division. Some after coming south had gone westward; there they had seen deep mysterious forest places answering their pinned need for withdrawal, and they had settled there. This was division. Some had moved south and south, till the sea told them they could move no farther, and they had settled there along the shore lands. This too was division (pp.11-12).

From his writings, it is seen that if people had the right attitude towards their surrounding, there would be no records of all the calamities being experienced by the current generation. Therefore, in an effort to stem the tide of these calamities, Ayi Kwei Armah resorts to prescribing healing of the environment through unity and inspiration.

The Modern/Postmodern Forms of Issues Raised by Armah in His Writing

A. FAST FASHION

The fashion industry has caused great harm to the environment as it shifted from sustainable Fashion to Fast Fashion (Chandra, 2017). Fast Fashion is borne out of many factors including the desire of the youth to look trendy and unique. Unlike past years when the fashion industry was more sustainable, today, fast fashion has taken over the pre-existing sustainability. One of the reasons is what has already been mentioned. Another reason can be attributed to the fact that, fashion runways and fashion shows which constitute the biggest inspiration for the fashion industry, were hitherto primarily restricted to designers, buyers and other fashion managers (Najmul et al., 2015, p.28). But these fashion shows became a public phenomenon from 1999 onwards, where photographs of the recent fashion shows could be seen in magazines and on the internet, thus culminating in demystification of the fashion process; and by extension getting more people to be fashion driven (Sydney, 2008 as cited in Najmul et al., 2015).

Fast Fashion is a term which describes the short period it takes for clothes to be manufactured. It is a contemporary trend in global retailing that refers to the concept of shortening real time in production, distribution, etc. and offering new and low-cost products to the market as soon as possible (Laura, 2016). Looking at the fashion industry today, clothes are produced as fast as within the space of two to five weeks and are cheaper than they used to be; making it possible for consumers to have more with little amount of money. What this means is that, the level of disposability goes higher. This in turn increases in the emission of carbon into the atmosphere, pollution of water and aquatic life and many other dangers posed to the environment (Zeynep, 2017).

According to Viginija Daukantiené, Fast Fashion clothes are manufactured using synthetic fibers, which raise the problem of the use of oil to create polymers, like acrylic, polyamide and polyesters. This spells a big problem for countries or places where there are no recycling centers for clothing and textiles since finished products of such raw materials are of high complexity and very difficult, if not impossible, to recycle. It becomes a nightmare for a country like Ghana that is already battling with so many issues of environmental pollution, from colonial era to date. One of the concerns of this paper is to consider the environmental implications of the fast-growing rate of the fashion industry and possible ways of dealing with them.

Negative Environmental Implications of Fast Fashion

Fast fashion has put money in the pockets and purses of many at the expense of the environment. Some environmental implications of Fast Fashion are presented as follows:

- Increased Carbon Footprint

As cited in a 2018 article by Sana Akhtar, Bakhtawar Khalid, Mavara Mussawar, Sajid Rashid Ahmad, Shamaila Inayat and Sidra Asghar, carbon footprint refers to an aggregate of greenhouse gas emissions caused directly or indirectly by an individual, organisation, event or product (EAUC, 2007). The use of polyester in the fashion industry gained foothold since Wallace Carothers' (1896-1937) invention of Nylon. This is a plastic that can be modeled into fibers for making fabrics. Nylon is not a single substance actually, but a name given to a large family of polymides. At the discovery of the versatility of Carothers's invention of Nylon to be processed into synthetic fibers, a company like Daiichi Orimono, a Japanese company established in 1948, has built on its quality to make it look like natural fibers or cotton. This has caused most expensive fashion brands like Gucci, Louis Vuitton and Moncler to patronise synthetic fibers. By virtue of increased use of synthetic fibres like polyester, there is a surge in carbon dioxide emission level in the environment. Carbon dioxide emission level of Polyester is up to three times of fibres such as cotton.

According to Virginija Daukantiené (2015), today, hardly will there be garments in stores that are made of clothing material consisting of one fiber type. Fast Fashion clothes manufactured with synthetic fibers like polyester create a problem of carbon dioxide concentration in the atmosphere; because they are non-biodegradable.

- Water Consumption and Water Pollution

Production of clothes not only increases carbon footprint because of oils used in creating polyester, it also puts a lot of pressure on water and water bodies at large. An example of water pollution mentioned by Armah, is seen in the following lines:

> …At the words 'Accept, accept,' strong men cast him forcibly down and a sword slashed his throat. His blood poured out to redden the river... (p.187)

It is recorded that it takes about 7,000 litres of water to produce a pair of jeans and 2,700 litres of water to make a single shirt. And it takes a lot of chemicals for these clothes to be produced, some of which are carcinogenic to both human and animal health (Puvaneswari, Muthukrishnan & Gunasekkaren, 2006). Azo dyes for instance, one of the chemicals used in colouring clothes can be harmful if not used in moderation. Moreover, such pollution does not just end after clothes are stocked in stores. It still continues when the buyer washes it every time; the water used as well as the chemicals in the clothes is re-introduced into the environment. At the discovery of the poisonous content of Azo dyes, several countries have adopted environmental policies to restrict its use in clothing production. A typical example of such legislations is the Consumer Protection Act elaborated by the German government in 1994, prohibiting the use of Azo dyes, on the grounds that some Azo dyes are allergenic.

In addition, water pollution is a key issue for the clothing and textile sector. Recently, there has been an increase in the levels of surface water pollution. A typical pollution site is the Rana Plaza in Bangladesh, where clothing and textile companies have a negative impact on nearby water bodies. Recent analysis revealed that Bangladesh will have a water supply deficit during the dry season of up to 26% by 2030.

- Waste/Landfill

The difficulty in ascertaining the content of a particular clothing material makes it difficult for recycling and managing the waste produced afterwards. As indicated by Daukantiené (2015), the increasing use of waterproof polymeric coatings, zippers, trimmings, buttons, etc. made from plastics, bones or metals make finished product of high complexity. Unfortunately, those products are very difficult, if not impossible, to recycle. Again, when unused clothes are disposed of anyhow without proper recycling, that increases landfills and puts lives (humans, animals and trees) at risk.

A similar instance occurs in *The Healers* where dead bodies are left unburied, and made Densu to retch. Such instances are:

> Swamp of the Dead… (p.268); and
> All along the road there was the stench of unburied corpses. (p.338)

This indicates the negative health implications that societies which have not mastered the art of proper waste disposal are likely to face. The statement made by Natasha Franck, co-founder of Fashion Technology indicates that in fashion, 90% of the 150 billion articles of clothing made every year, end up in landfills. That alone is a great threat to environmental sanity. According to her, it becomes more difficult to deal with the trash or even to recycle since there is no transparency regarding the total content of the clothing material. Lack of transparency is one of the biggest barriers to fashion industry; while many of their products are also not biodegradable.

Oil spillage in water bodies, dumping refuse in water ways, indiscriminate felling of trees make the flail more acute as seen in the following lines:

> The forest was cut down beside the road where only small villages had been, new towns sprang up…Bamboo stakes were cut and split… a huge space was cleared and beaten flat. (p.311)

With all those ill treatments meted out to the environment, coupled with illegal mining activities to date, we believe beyond doubt that, the environment is sick and needs to be taken to "Intensive Care Unit", else the fear of the worst, as highlighted by Ayi Kwei Armah in his works, lies in wait at the doorsteps.

B. TELECOMMUNICATION INDUSTRY AND ASSETS

Having expatiated on the fashion industry, another environmental polluter identified is the telecommunication industry and its assets. From Alexander Bell (1847-1922), inventor of the first practical telephone to today's social media platforms (WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Snap Chat, WeChat, Twitter, etc.), there is evidence of increased use of these telecommunication assets. These technologies, borne out of modernization which gained momentum during the days of industrial revolution have altogether made life simple and easier. But while celebrating the goodness of these telecommunication platforms and assets, it is expedient to reason out their impacts on the environment. Questions like the following need to be posed: Are these inventions ecofriendly? To what extent have these assets contributed to environmental health? Will the world we see today be the same or better in about five decades to come, having to co-habit with these telecommunication assets? If the answer to any of these questions is positive, then we can purge ourselves of any unnecessary fear. If not, then this is a call on all and sundry to awake from sleep.

Cell phones and masts have been identified as great threats to the environment as well as human health due to the following reasons:

- High Carbon Dioxide Emission

Just as the fashion industry, the telecommunication industry produces a lot of carbon dioxide into the environment. Carbon dioxide is denser than normal air. The more it is released, the hotter atmospheric air becomes. As atmospheric temperature increases, there is the risk of drastic climatic changes. Also, when carbon dioxide mixes with water, it produces carbonic acid. That is, if carbon dioxide meets with the seas, rivers, and other water bodies, there is the risk of water pollution. This means aquatic life will be lost because they will not be able to withstand the toxicity of the water. The United Nations Environment Programme estimates that the manufacture of a mobile phone produces about 60kg of carbon dioxide and that using a phone for a year emits up to122kg of carbon dioxide.

According to Baumann (2011) as cited in Painting (2011), series of experiments where carbon dioxide was bubbled into sea water containing the newly-fertilized eggs of the inland silverside and larvae were exposed to levels of acidification representative of modern-day (390-400ppm) right up to projected late 21st century (900-1100ppm) atmospheric CO2 levels. It was revealed after a week that, the higher the atmospheric carbon dioxide, the deadlier it is for aquatic life.

- Toxicity

Catalina Logan's work on *Effects of Cell Phones as an Environmental Hazard* indicates that Worldwatch Institute claims that users discard cell phones after an average of 18months in the United States of America. From this rapid turnover, it means there is danger of toxic leaching into the environment as cell phones pile up without proper recycling and reusing processes. It is also affirmed that, lead, mercury and cadmium found in mobile phones can release dangerous toxins into the air and water. Thomas (2012) asserts that mobile phones that are simply thrown into landfills are hazardous to the environment because they contain chemicals which can leach into ground water systems and affect local ecosystems and potentially drinking water.

- Biological Effects

Moreover, despite many inconsistent reports from WHO stating that there is no one-to-one relation between masts radiation, wireless networks, and biological effects, people have reported to have experienced headaches, dizziness, tingling sensation in the skin of the head and many other symptoms after using mobile phone. A friend, told me that he experiences severe headache anytime he speaks on the phone for long. He later discovered it was as a result of radiation from the phone when he started using anti-radiation for his phone. According to a portion of EMF Scientific Appeal, highlighted on Environmental Health Trust Webpage in 2018, 'cumulative daily radiation exposure is associated with serious health effects including: cancer risk, cellular stress, increase in harmful free radicals, genetic damages, structural and functional changes of the reproductive system, learning and memory deficits, neural disorders and negative impacts on general well-being'.

Further, Anthony B. Miller, Lloyd Morgan, Iris Udasin and Devra Lee Davis's review paper on "Cancer Epidemiology Update, Following the 2011 IARC Evaluation of Radio Frequency Electromagnetic Fields" concludes that 'the current specific evidence supports the conclusion that mobile phone and wireless radiofrequency radiation (RFR) is cancer causing. Vini Khurana, an Australian neurosurgeon of Indian origin says, cell phones are today, what tobacco and asbestos companies were 40 years ago. Cell phones cause more cancer than smoking and asbestos (Nath, 2018).

- Biodiversity Loss

In addition, the mounting of telecommunication masts poses great threat to the ecology. Before mounting these masts, a land space is cleared to make room for the mast to be built. By so doing, the habitats of some animals are lost. When the land is cleared, it is exposed to erosion and loss of important soil nutrients that work together for an effective ecosystem.

Tackling Environmental Pollution Caused by the Fashion and Telecommunication Industries

Studies have shown that one of the best ways of dealing with environmental pollution is recycling. In an era where some nations of the African continent experience high levels of pollution, it has become necessary to think of recycling as a tool in ensuring environmental health sustenance. We believe it would not be out of place to even look at waste as the new resource. If we see it from that perspective it would not be like a situation where we would only want to do away with waste, but we may want to do something with it, just as South-Africa, India, China, Sweden and other nations of the world have done. Such great steps taken have helped to ease the pressure on natural resource extraction. Recycling saves energy, reduces raw material extraction and combats climate change (Friends of the Earth, 2008).

Electronic waste may contain materials such as ferrous metals and aluminum, copper and other different plastic materials (Tanskanen, 2012). Mobile phones for instance, contain a number of precious metals as well as harmful materials which can leach into the soil and cause a lot of harm, some are even carcinogenic (Yu et al., 2010 as cited in Tojo & Manomaivibol, 2011). In light of this, to deal with e-waste produced by telecommunication industry and its assets, it would be best to recycle. That apart, the high levels of pollution caused by these industries have necessitated the fact that fashion designers for instance, must have a rethink of their actions. Some fashion brands have started advocating for sustainable fashion, where the industry will not produce homogenous goods for its passive customers in large quantities as Fast Fashion does, but according to customer’s need, using eco-friendly materials and production processes (April, 2012). This will help create a longer life span for clothes and reduce the rate of disposability.

As far as Fast Fashion is concerned, recycling, one notable way of dealing with environmental pollution, does not promise a lasting solution to the problems of Fast Fashion. Recycling unused clothes would still mean that mass production of clothes would remain unchanged, which does not foster fashion sustainability. In a bid to save the environment, the best method to adopt is to reduce the mass production of clothes and produce to meet consumer needs.

Moreover, to reduce carbon emission into the atmosphere, people should endeavour to find other uses for their old clothes. They can redesign clothes to fit other uses. Clothes should reach landfills only when they have exhausted other waste management methods: reducing, reusing, recycling and recovering.

Another way is to ensure proper remuneration of workers in the fashion industry. If there are practical policies and bye-laws that ensure the welfare of workers in the fashion industry, managers and CEO's will be forced to think carefully about the market value of their products. This is because the higher the production cost, the higher the market value and as the prices of clothes increase, customers will limit the number of clothes they buy, in order not to spend a fortune on fashion. This will help reduce disposability rate. Moreover, if 66% of consumers are willing to pay more for environmentally and socially friendly products and services, as recommended by Nielsen Global Survey of Corporate Social Responsibility and Sustainability in 2015, that would mean that the environment can be saved from 34% of trash.

Conclusion

This paper reports an attempt to demonstrate how environment-conscious the writings of Ayi Kwei Armah are, especially the *Healers*. One other key point that the paper has tried to make is to reveal the timeless nature of Armah's writing, in the sense that the corruption in the Ghanaian society which is metaphorically and skillfully captured in *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and the social and ecological changes that are the aftermath of the arrival of the invaders and colonizers, in *The Healers*, are all replicated in another form by today's industry coupled with its effect on the environment and human life. In Armah's work, the arrival of Westerners and others disrupt the harmonious functioning of society. In a striking manner, contemporary clothing, telephonic and many other industrial activities clearly show that the arrival of multinationals in developing nations and the distant activities of such companies (local branches of international companies) come with proliferation of materials and other items or substances which disrupt the normal functioning of society as they threaten human life in an open manner. What has been initiated in the works of Ayi Kwei Armah keeps gaining a wider dimension. One can safely conclude that the Ghanaian author wrote with profound and explicit prophetic touch.

References

Abdel-Rassoul, G. et al. (2007). *Neuro Behavioral Effects among Inhabitants around Mobile Phone Base Stations*. Retrieved April 14, 2019 from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0161813X06001835?via%3Dihub.

Alleman, J. H., & Emmerson, R. D. (1989). *Perspective on the Telephone Industry: The Challenge for the Future*. New York: Harper & Row.

April, S. M. (2012). Fashioning Sustainability: How the Clothes we Wear can Support Environmental and Human Well-being. Retrieved April 17, 2019 from https://nature.berkeley.edu/classes/es196/projects/2012final/McGrathA_2012.pdf.

Allwood, J. M., Laursen, S. E., Rodriguez, C. M., & Bocken, N. M. P. (2006). *Well dressed? The Present and Future Sustainability of Clothing and Textiles in the United Kingdom*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Annamma, J. F. (2012). Fast Fashion, Sustainability and the Ethical Appeal of Luxury Brands. *Fashion Theory*, 16 (3), 273-296.

Armah, Ayi Kwei. (1978). *The Healers*. Nairobi: EAPH.

Bortkiewikz, A., Zmyslony, M. Szyjkowska, A., & Gadzicka, E. (2004). *Subjective Symptoms Reported by People Living in the Vicinity of Cellular Phone Base Station*. Retrieved May 10, 2019, from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/15620045

Company, T. N., (2015). *The Sustainability Imperative*. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/reports/2015/the-sustainabilityimperative.html

Daukantiené, A. V. (2015). Ecology Ideas in Fashion Industry: From Use to Promotion of Slow Fashion. *Environment Research, Engineering and Management (EREM)*, 71, 3-4.

Dean, T. K. (1994). What is Ecocriticism? Round Table Discussion "Defining Ecocritical Theory and Practice" Sixteen Position Papers from the 1994 Western Literature Association Meeting, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Environmental Health Trust. *5G and its Small Cell Towers Threaten Public Health.* Retrieved May 11, 2029, fromhttps://ehtrust.org/key-issues/cellphoneswireless/5g-internet-everything/20-quickfacts-what-you-need-to-know-about5g-wireless-and-smallcells/

Etsé, A. (2014). The Aesthetic Decay in Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and Meja Mwanji's *Kill Me Quick*. *Acta Iassyensia Comparationis*, 2 (14), 47-54. hal-01171026. Retrieved May 11, 2019, from https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01171026

EAUC (Environmental Association for Universities and Colleges). (2007). Carbon foot printing. An introduction for organizations. Carbon Trust. Retrieved from http://www.sustainability exchange .ac.uk/files/carbon_footprinting_1.pdf.

Franck, N. (2019). *Building a Sustainable fashion ecosystem: Meet Natasha Franck.* Retrieved May 15, 2019, from https://www.microsoft.com/inculture/people-who-inspire/natasha/

Fenn, V. (2015). Roots of Ecocriticism: An Exploration of the History of Ecocriticism, A Literary Theory of the Post-modern World. *Journal of English Language and Literature*, 2 (2), 115-119.

Friends of the Earth. (2008). Briefing: Recycling why it is Important and how to do it.Retrieved from https://friendsoftheearth.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/recycling.pdf. (Assessed on 20th January, 2019).

Glotfelty, C. (1996). *The Ecocriticism Reader:Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens: The University of Georgia.

Geetanjali, C. R. (2017). Thoughtful Threads, Ethical Fashion. *International Journal of Business Management and Research*. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320420879_Thoughtful_Threads_Ethical_Fashion.

Howarth, L. W. (1982). *The Book of Concord: Thoreau's Life as a Writer*. New York: Viking.

Howarth, L. W. (1996). *Some Principles of Ecocriticism, The Ecocriticism Reader*. Georgia.

Kerr, J., & Siim, D. (2017). *Pulse of The Fashion Industry*. Retrieved from https://docs.google.com/document/d/1BDfpqeGCf3VqZz8pQSuUZdDfmBN_GpOfHCnED CAlR9s/edit

Kwazo, H. A., Muhammad, M. U., Tafida, G., & Mohammed, M. S. (2014). *EnvironmentalImpact of Technologies.* Rome-Italy: MCSER Publishing.

Logan, C. (2019). Effects of Cell Phones as an Environmental Hazard. Retrieved January 14, 2019, from https://www.livestrong.com/article/218855-effects-of-cell-phones-as-an-environmental-hazard/ .

Mukherjee, S. (2015). Environmental and Social Impact of Fashion: Towards an Eco-friendly, Ethical Fashion. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies (IJIMS)* Retrieved May 10, 2019, from http://www.ijims.com, 2, Issue 3, 22 -35.

Nath, A. (2018). Comprehensive Study on Negative Effects of Mobile Phone/ Smart Phone on Human Health. *International Journal on Innovative Research in Computer and Communication Engineering,* 6, Issue 1. Retrieved from www.ijircce.com

Natural Resource Defense Council. (2016). *Recycling: Beyond the Bin*. Retrieved from https://www.nrdc.org/stories/recycling-beyond-bin

Najmul, K. K. et al. (2015). Fast Fashion: Marketing, Recycling and Environmental Issues. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention,* 4(7), 28-33. Retrieved March 16, 2019, from www.ijhssi.org//Volume 4 Issue7// July.2015//pp. 28-33.

Ozdamar-Ertekin, Z. (2017). The True Cost: The Bitter Truth behind Fast Fashion. *Markets, Globalization and Development*, 2(3), Article 7. Retrieved March 1, 2019, from http://digitalcommons. uri.edu/mgdr/vol2/iss3/7

Painting, R. (2011). Ocean Acidification is Fatal to Fish https://www.skepticalscience.com/Ocean-Acidification-is-Fatal-To-Fish-.html

Puvaneswari, N., Muthukrishnan, J., & Gunasekaran, P. (2006). Toxicity Assessment and Microbial Degradation of Azo Dyes. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from http://nopr.niscair.res.in/bitstream/123456789/6554/1/IJEB%2044(8)%20618-626.pdf.

Rueckert, W. (1978). Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism. *Iowa Review*, 9(1), 71-86.

Reddy, S. M. (2015). The Ecocroticism: A New Perspective of Literary Study. *Quarterly Research Journal*. Retrieved from http://scholarsimpact.com/english/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/005.pdf.

Sparks, J. F. (1998). *Logistics and Retail Management, Insights into Current Practice and Trends from Leading Experts*. London: Kogan Page Limited.

Scaturro, S. (2008). Eco-tech Fashion: Rationalizing Technology in Sustainable Fashion. *Fashion Theory*, 12(4), 469-488. https// doi.org/ 10.2752/175174108X346940

Skeptical Science. (2011). *Ocean Acidification is Fatal to Fish*. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://www.skepticalscience.com/Ocean-Acidification-is-Fatal-To-Fish-.html

Schlomski, I. (2017). Water sustainability in Bangladesh. Retrieved February 15, 2019, from http://textile-network.com/en/fashion-Water-Sustainability-in-Bangladesh

The Fashion Law. (2016). *Fast Fashion*. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from http://www.Thefashionlaw.com/learn/fast-fashions-green-initiatives-dontbelieve-the-hype

Tojo, N., & Manomaivibool, P. (2011). *The Collection and Recycling of Used Mobile Phones: Case Studies of Selected European Countries*. (IIIEE Reports Vol.20). Sweden: Lund University.

Van Ree, A. L. (2016). *Fast Fashion as a Contemporary Global Justice Problem: Towards More Justice in the 'Fast Fashion' Industry*. Netherlands: Utrecht University.

Ventura-Camargo, Bruno de Campos, Martin-Morales, & Maria Aparecida. (2013). Azo Dyes: Characterization and Toxicity-A Review. *Textiles and Light Industrial Sciences and Technology (TLIST), 2,* Issue 2. Retrieved March 1, 2019, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282815745_Azo_Dyes_ /

Yu, J., Williams, E., & Ju, M. (2010). Analysis of Material and Energy Consumption of Mobile Phones in China. Retrieved May 1, 2019, from Research.lu.se/ws/files/5415153/3630950.pdf

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CAN ADVANCED LEARNERS OF FRENCH DO WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN THEIR ONLINE PRODUCTION? A CASE STUDY OF YEAR ABROAD STUDENTS' DISCOURSE IN FRENCH

Abena N. Agyakwa & Anthony Y. M. De-Souza
Department of French,
University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana

Introduction

Interference can be described as a phenomenon in which a speaker consciously or unconsciously introduces structures, words or knowledge of languages previously acquired or learnt when speaking or writing another language. These interferences can be phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic in nature. The lexical interferences can either be an outright transfer of a lexical morpheme from one language to another or be an extension of meaning of a lexical morpheme owing to similarity with a morpheme in another language. Phonological interferences manifest in the difficulty in pronouncing certain sounds in the foreign language due to the influence from previously acquired languages (Weinreich, 1953; Romaine, 1989). This can equally occur when a speaker uses sounds from other languages when speaking another language. On the other hand, the grammatical interferences involve the borrowing of syntactic structures, word order and agreement of other languages when speaking a different language (Kinzel, 1964; Mackey, 1976). Semantic interferences consist of translation of meanings, word for word, from other languages (Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Odlin, 1997).

In Ghana, French as a Foreign Language (FFL) is learnt in a multilingual society. Research has shown that Ghanaians use a range of languages between fifty (50) and seventy-nine (79) with English language being the official language (Haruna, 2008). In view of this, the learner may have the linguistic knowledge of at least two languages (i.e., his L1 and English) before he starts learning French. English is dominant in Ghana because it is the language of instruction beyond the third year of the Primary School. Also, it is the language used for administrative purposes and even in most media.

This study will therefore be based on interferences from English in the online production of French. An online production is the spontaneous response to a question which leads the speaker to produce a monologue by narrating an event or a language learning experience (Levelt 1989; Buttersworth 1980). Our respondents were therefore subjected to a spontaneous production task where they have to narrate some experiences during their year abroad stay in Togo. This task is done without preparation or prior knowledge of the topic by learners in order to reveal the challenges that the situation of communication pose to Level 400 students referred to as advanced learners of French in the context of this study. These respondents have been selected based on their exposure to French in a native environment for nine months. Also, they have been taught techniques of narrative, descriptive and argumentative texts during their 5-semester study at the Department of French before participating in the immersion program in Togo, which course components even reinforced such skills.

In view of this, we assume that learners have acquired enough skills when it comes to describing events using the French language. However, could it be assumed that due to this prolonged exposure to the French language, such returnees from Togo speak freely with less or no interference from the English language? What types of interferences occur at this level? What causes these interferences? How do these interferences manifest in their online production? The purpose of this article is to analyze the nature of interferences that occur during students' online production in French. This analysis will also focus on the types of interferences and how these interferences occur in the students' online production. We will now briefly examine the framework within which the learners' online production will be studied.

Literature Review

The cognitivist theory is one of the language acquisition theories that dispute the existence of separate mental module for language learning. This theory conceptualizes language acquisition as a buildup on previous knowledge (i.e. learning from the known to the unknown). According to this theory, learners acquire by constructing a series of systems, known as interlanguages, which are gradually grammaticized and restructured as learners incorporate new features (Selinker, 1972). The interlanguage is a temporary system, restructured as the learner tests hypotheses about the new language, and adds, drops, or modifies rules as a result of these trials. Hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing are based on the learner's prior linguistic knowledge, that is, knowledge of language rules in the first or the second language or of some other language (Faerch & Kasper, 1985). Consequently, the effective use of prior linguistic knowledge that aid in developing skills for a foreign language results in positive transfer. Alternatively, there is interference when the understanding of a previously acquired language complicates the learner's understanding of the new language. These interferences manifest in different ways. The learner sometimes transfers a lexical morpheme from one language to the other or extends the meaning of a lexical morpheme owing to similarities with a morpheme in another language; this situation is referred to as lexical interference. Grammatical interference is the transfer of knowledge of various structural features in previously acquired languages to the learning of another language. These may include syntactic substitutions, word order and agreement (Weinreich, 1953). Phonological interference occurs when sounds, stress or intonation from other languages influence the learner's pronunciations when speaking another language (Blanc-Michel, 1998). Learners may equally translate meanings word for word from other languages which result in semantic interference. Thus, wrong translation of meanings from one language into another leads to distortion of meaning. We assume that learners are adept in using these learning strategies to overcome their linguistic challenges hence, they do not experience any communicative need to develop their interlanguage resources. In other words, as these communication strategies help learners to keep conversations going, the former may not help learners negotiate their way to the correct target language forms. This situation is what researchers such as Selinker (1972), Ellis (2003) and Han (2004) refer to as fossilization.

Language production, a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, involves a series of interlocking stages such as conceptualization which helps establish a communicative goal; the next stage is the formulation which helps in the selection of appropriate phonological, grammatical and lexical features for preverbal message; and finally, the articulation where the plan is converted into an actual speech (Levelt, 1989). It must be noted that, these stages run concurrently. As online tasks require the participants to function primarily as 'language users' in the sense that they must employ the same kinds of communicative processes as those involved in real-world activities, there are likely to be trade-offs as the learner struggles to conceptualize, formulate and articulate messages (Ellis, 2003). This means that, a learner who is concerned with what he wants to say, may not be able to give much attention to how to say it. As a result, he may consciously or unconsciously transfer from the nearest language systems expressions, sounds or structures that constitute lexical, phonological or grammatical interferences in the target language. Conversely, the learner's attention to accuracy may interfere with his ability to conceptualize, leading to semantic interferences. We assume that, these interferences occur because some of the learners do not possess effective referential communication skills in speaking the L2 (i.e., English), which they use as language of reference. Therefore, conceptualization and formulation becomes difficult. This means that, learners may fail to perform a task effectively not because they lack the necessary linguistic resources in French but because they find it difficult identifying and encoding the referents they wish to communicate about in English.

Research conducted by scholars such as Hulstijn and Hulstijn (1984) and Ellis (1987) proved that the combined effects of time pressure and focus on form/meaning, distorts online planning of L2 learners. In the first case, some L2 learners of Dutch were asked to perform short oral narratives under four conditions involving combinations of two variables: time, i.e., the learners were told to speak as quickly as they could or to take as much time as they wanted; and focal attention, i.e., learners were instructed to focus on form or on meaning (Hulstijn & Hulstijn, 1984). They found that time pressure by itself did not affect the accuracy of word order but that in combination with focus on form, it had a profound effect. In the same vein, Ellis (1987) compared learners' performance on written and oral narrative tasks based on pictures. In the case of the written task (Task 1), the learners were given as much time as they wanted to write the narrative. In the first oral task (Task 2), they were asked to retell the same narrative but without recourse to their written versions. In the second oral task (Task 3), they were given a different set of pictures and instructed to tell the story with minimal opportunity for prior learning. Ellis found that the learners' use of the regular past tense forms was most accurate in Task 1, least accurate in Task 3 and intermediate in Task 2. We can then conclude from these studies that, when learners use the time at their disposal to attend to formulation and to monitor the use of their grammatical resources their production becomes more accurate. However, if they use time to plan content, no effect on accuracy is observed. The difference between Task 1 and 2 can also be explained in terms of online planning; accuracy was greater when there was no time pressure. With reference to the aforementioned works, we can conclude that narrative, descriptive and argumentative tasks are examples of tasks that elicit spontaneity. By these case studies, we posit that when learners attend to form and meaning at the same time, coupled with the time pressure for the production task, interferences from the L2 occur as a strategy to maintain the flow of speech in the target language.

The current study uses the theoretical framework of Contrastive Analysis. The Contrastive Analysis in foreign language teaching can be traced to Fries (1945) and Lado (1957). Contrastive Analysis is the study and comparison of two languages, learners' target language and learners' native language. This is done by looking at the structural similarities and differences of the studied languages. This theory postulates that where the two languages are similar, positive transfer would occur and where they are different, negative transfer, or interference, would be the result. This is the framework within which the online production of learners will be analyzed and discussed.

Methodology

The target group for this study is Level 400 students of French who have studied French for five (5) semesters at the University and have also benefitted from a 9-months immersion programme in Lomé. These learners can be categorized as independent users of the French language, having attained the proficiency level of B2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001). This is because, learners can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Also, they can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans. The data for this study consists of nine (9) recordings of monologues of approximately one hour and fifteen minutes (1 hour 15 minutes). During the task, learners were asked to recount their experiences in Lomé during the immersion programme and how it has helped improve reflexes and oral competence in French. Learners were not given prior information about what will be demanded from them during the task. Therefore, responses were direct and spontaneous in nature. The task sought to analyse the nature and the types of interference from English that occur when advanced learners' such as those identified earlier are involved in a direct and spontaneous production. We presume that lexical and grammatical interferences will be dominant in their productions. The data was transcribed orthographically, and where necessary phonetically (i.e., as in the cases of phonological interferences) and analyzed with the analysis software ATLAS.ti 6.2.

Analysis and Discussion of Data

Learners' discourses were found to be filled with different types of interference: lexical, semantical, phonological and grammatical. We will therefore describe the nature of these types of interferences with examples from the transcriptions.

Lexical interference

Lexical interference can either be an outright transfer of a lexical morpheme from one language to another or be an extension of meaning of a lexical morpheme owing to similarity with a morpheme in another language. The lexical interference occurred in diverse ways in students productions. This include the use of Faux-Amis, the use of inappropriate verbs, the use of loanwords from English, the use of inappropriate words, the wrong use of expressions, among others.

Use of Faux-Amis

Faux-Amis are words of different languages that overlap in form, (that is having a common orthographic forms) but can vary in terms of the amount of semantic overlap that they share (Burkholder, 2015). An examination of the learners' discourses shows such interferences which were influenced by their knowledge of English.

Table 1: Use of Faux-Amis

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
1.	P1	*«… donc nous étions obligés d'être erm de donner toute notre* ***concentration »***	*"therefore we were obliged to give all our* ***concentration****"*	Attention
2.	P4	*« …oui erm erm et erm on nous a donné erm erm une* ***gaz*** *pour préparer »*	*"yes erm erm and erm we were given a* ***gas*** *for cooking"*	Une bouteille de gaz
3.	P8	*« … ça m'intéresse pour devenir erm dans la* ***future*** *au pasteur »*	*"that is my interest for to become erm in the* ***future*** *to pastor"*	Dans l'avenir
4.	P7	*« eh ce que m'a aidé beaucoup c'est mon (pause) la* ***société*** *dans laquelle nous avons eh avons vécue »*	*"eh what helped me a lot it is my (pause) the* ***society*** *in which we have eh have lived".*	L'environnement or le milieu

These examples as observed in Table 1 are indications of lexical interference where 'concentration', 'gas', 'future' and 'society' in English have served as easy substitutes for adequate words or expressions in French. The word 'concentration' (P1) is inadequately used in the French statement. The right word to use there is 'attention'. The use of 'gas' in the French statement by P4 is wrong as it rather points to any gaseous substance that can be liquefied and compressed under a certain temperature, i.e., Oxygen, Carbondioxide, Methane, Propane, Butane, etc. The right expression should be "une bouteille de gaz". In this excerpt, P8 used 'future' in his French statement. The right word to be used in this context is "à l'avenir". In example 4, the use of 'society' in the French statement by P7 is wrong as it rather points to any formal association of people with similar interests, i.e., Club, Guild, Lodge, etc. The right word should be 'l'environnement' or 'le milieu'.

Because these words are identical in form and are close in meaning, students make conscious recourse to them as a strategy to fill in the gap in knowledge. Even when the word is consciously used, students assume that for the fact that it exists in both languages, it carries the same meaning wherever it is used. We assume that learners thought that because these words exist in both English and French, they carry the same meaning in both languages.

Use of inappropriate words

In this section, we consider cases of interference resulting from the use of words in wrong contexts or what we call inappropriate words. These include the haphazard use of certain words as synonyms. The use of these inappropriate words is also a dominant interference from English on learners' discourses in French.

Table 2: Use of Inappropriate Words

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
5.	P9	*« … c'est une chose et aussi erm **quelques** les professeurs ont toujours essayé de ne pas parler erm anglais pour nous »*	*"it is one thing and also erm **some** the lecturers always tried not to speak erm English for us"*	Certains
6.	P2	« *Oui vraiment c'est* **nécessaire** *de erm (pause) le bain linguistique* »	*"yes indeed it is **necessary** to erm (pause) the year abroad"*	Important
7.	P4	*« au Togo, j'ai eu beaucoup des amis surtout erm des étudiants à l'Université de Lomé et par rapport à mes **échanges** avec eux »*	*"in Togo, I had a lot of friends especially erm the students at the University of Lomé and in relation to my **exchanges** with them"*	Interaction
8a.	P3	«*j'ai pu eu quelques vocabulaires et j'ai eu le courage de parler à aux gens surtout **publiquement »***	*"I was able to get some vocabularies and I had the courage to talk to people especially **publicly**"*	En public
8b.	P3	«*j'ai parlé avec des francophones **directement »***	*"I spoke with some francophones **directly**"*	Face à face

In example 5, P9 chose 'quelques' because 'quelque' and 'certain' both refer to 'some' in English; therefore, after the translation from English, the student was confused as to which of the two words to use. Although 'quelque' exists in French, the context in which it was used makes it wrong. He should have used 'certain' instead.

In Example 6, the word ‘necessary’ is used interchangeably with ‘important’ in English. Therefore, P2 extended that knowledge into French but the context in which he used ‘nécessaire’ makes it wrong although it exists in French.

In Example 7, P4 use of ‘exchange’ in the French statement is wrong as it rather points to any mutual expression of views especially an unpleasant one. The right word should be ‘interaction’.

In Example 8, the use of adverbs such as ‘publiquement’ and ‘directement’ is wrong and we think that the English language influenced their choice because the speaker translated them directly from that language. The right words were supposed to be ‘en public’ and ‘face à face’ respectively but learners extended the rule of adverb formation and added ‘ment’ to ‘publique’ and ‘direct’. From these examples, it is evident that learners’ choice of wrong words was influenced by the English language. We think learners chose some of these words because they overgeneralized the rules on word formation in the French language. The common rule for adverb formation in French is the introduction of the suffix ‘ment’ to the root; therefore learners adopted this rule without checking whether there are expressions that fit better. We believe these thought processes brought about the lexical interferences.

Use of inappropriate verbs

For this type of lexical interference, students used verbs in contexts in which they are not supposed to be used and also interchanged verbs as synonyms for others. The following inappropriate verbs are identified in the learners’ discourses:

Table 3: Use of inappropriate verbs

N	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
9.	P1	*« … quand j’étais erm je **sortais** d’ici, j’étais pas très fort dans la langue française »*	*“when I was erm I **left** from here, I was not very strong in the French language”*	Partir
10.	P6	*« …ils **ont demandé** erm souvent des questions en français »*	*“they **asked** for erm often questions in French”*	Poser
11.	P5	*« je suis habitué avec ma langue maternelle puisque je j’ai pas pu erm bien **échanger** avec mes amis dans la langue française »*	*“I am accustomed with my mother tongue since I couldn’t **exchange** well with my friends in the French language”*	Communiquer Interagir

In the first example of Table 3, P1 translated from English the verb ‘to leave’ as ‘sortir’ in French but the context in which it was used makes it wrong although it equally means ‘to leave’ in French. The right verb to be used in this context is ‘partir’. We also notice the wrong use of ‘demander’ in Example 10 where P6 used the verb ‘ask’ instead of ‘poser’. Probably, the student did not find the right equivalent to the verb ‘ask’ and due to time pressure, relied on the French verb 'demander' to complete his statement. Referring to 11, P5 used 'échanger' in a wrong way to mean 'interacting with someone' but the right verb to use is 'communiquer' ou 'interagir'.

From the above-mentioned cases, we can say that students used these verbs as a compensatory strategy to overcome lexical challenges. Whenever learners face challenges in communicating their ideas in the French language, they rely on certain forms that are readily available to them in the English language. In our case, verbs that were used inappropriately compensated for the lack of knowledge of the right verbs in the French language.

Loanwords from English and slippages

In this category, we will analyse some lexical borrowing in the discourse of students. Loanwords or lexical borrowing refer to "*the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language*" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p.21).

Here, we have identified words from the English language which have slipped into the statements made by the respondents. Since the research could not determine if the speaker used them consciously or unconsciously, we refer to them as loanwords and slippages, respectively.

Table 4: Loanwords from English and slippages

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
12.	P5	*« … je disais que avant qu'on ne part au Togo même les gens de notre groupe **members**… »*	*"… I said that before we left for Togo even the people in our group **members**"*	membres
13.	P5	*« les **rooms** étaient erm très spacieux quoi »*	*"The **rooms** were erm very spacious what"*	chambres
14.	P5	*« …qui causent chaque jour avec moi pour m'aider **like** pour pouvoir améliorer ma langue, mon français… »*	*"…who chat everyday with me for to help me **like** for to be able to develop my language, my French…"*	par exemple; afin;

From examples 12 to 14, the use of 'members', 'rooms' and 'like' can be analyzed either as borrowed words from English or as slip of tongue. On the one hand, these errors could be considered as 'borrowed terms' from English if P5 used them deliberately for lack of the appropriate words in French. On the other hand, these errors could be considered as slippages in the context of their use, which are caused by inattentiveness on the part of the speaker. We assume that P5 was distracted or lost focus on the form of the message at various moments of his monologue. These errors however point to the fact that the speaker in question was using English as a language of thought during his entire production.

Transposition of expression from English

In this section, we examine the direct translations exercised by learners to attain equivalence in French. In these extracts, some learners transposed the meaning of fixed expressions and translated them directly into French.

Table 5: Direct transposition of expressions

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
15.	P9	*« ... mais, mais après ça **merci à** Dr Bakah on a fait des transactions avec le gouvernement »*	*"but, but after that **thanks to** Dr Bakah some transactions were made with the government"*	grâce à
16.	P6	*« ... mais si tu sors tu vas **parler avec** (abandon) »*	*"but if you go out you are going to **talk with** (abandon)"*	parler à

From excerpt 15, P9 directly transposed and translated the English expression 'thanks to someone' into French as 'merci à quelqu'un' instead of using the right expression, which is 'grâce à quelqu'un'. P6 also transposed the English expression 'to speak with someone' into French as 'parler avec quelqu'un' instead of the correct expression 'parler à quelqu'un'.

These examples are evidences of wrong transpositions of expressions from the English language. Since these fixed expressions in English have corresponding expressions in French, translating them directly does not render accurately their meaning. In our case, even though the statements in French are meaningful, we can identify nonetheless such influence from English through the structure of the rendered expressions in French.

Grammatical Interference

Grammatical interference involves the borrowing of syntactic structures, word order and agreement of other languages when speaking a target language. The grammatical interference occurs in diverse ways which include the wrong placement of words (pronouns, adjectives and adverbs), the wrong use of prepositions, wrong sentence structures (subject-verb agreement), the omission and wrong use of articles and the wrong use of auxiliary verbs. For the purpose of this study, focus will be on the wrong use of prepositions and the omission and wrong use of articles which are dominant in the data collected.

Wrong use of prepositions

There are many prepositions that are often used in French for example, 'à', 'de', 'sur', 'dans', 'en', etc. Depending on their usage, they can mean entirely different things in the context; that is, their meaning can change with the type of verb they complement. They are a common source of confusion for many learners. This section examines the choice and use of some of these prepositions and how they are influenced by English.

Table 6: Wrong use of prepositions

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
17.	P1	*« ... c'est-à-dire les étudiants erm* ***à*** *Cape Coast »*	*"that is to say the students erm* ***at*** *Cape Coast"*	de
18.	P4	*« ... il faut que tu marches quelques kilomètres chez eux* ***sur*** *le campus… »*	*"…you will have to walk some kilometers to them* ***on*** *the campus…"*	au
19.	P7	*« ...puisque je j'ai pas pu erm bien échanger avec mes amis* ***dans*** *la langue française »*	*"...since I, I cannot erm exchange well with my friends* ***in*** *the French language"*	en
20.	P2	*« ...ils font ça* ***dans*** *la façon française… »*	*"they do that* ***in*** *the French manner…"*	de
21.	P3	*« ... ou bien vous parlez en classe ou* ***dans*** *la cité… »*	"…or you are talking in class or **in** the hostel…"	à

The wrong preposition used by P1 is 'à'. In the context of communication, he should have used 'de' instead. The use of 'sur' by P4 is wrong as the right preposition in this context should be 'au'. P7 also should have said '…échanger avec mes amis **en** langue française' instead of '…dans la langue française' in example 19. P2 also used 'dans' instead of 'de' in example 20. Finally, we find in example 21 the use of 'dans' in lieu of 'à' by P3.

The use of these wrong prepositions thus reveals that students are not aware of the rules governing the use of prepositions in French as the choice of the French preposition is determined by the verb that is used. In this situation, students would rely on their knowledge of prepositions in English as the language of reference.

Omission and wrong use of articles

This category is characterised by the absence and wrong use of articles in the French discourses of learners. The use of articles is not mandatory in English sentences but they must always be added in the French language. This section seeks to analyse if English as the language of reference for learners influence the omission and wrong use of articles in their French discourses.

Table 7: Omission of articles

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
22.	P8	*« …je prends **phonétique** pour bien erm comprend ça et aussi je prends **linguistique »***	*"… I take **phonetic** for erm understand that and also I take **linguistics**"*	la phonétique and la linguistique
23.	P8	*« erm ok donc normalement on commence les cours **lundi** et on termine erm **vendredi »***	*"erm ok therefore normally they begin lectures **Mondays** and end erm **Friday**"*	les lundi and les vendredi

In the extracts of Table 7, P8 omitted the articles of 'phonétique' and 'linguistique'. Likewise, P8 also omitted the articles for the nouns 'lundi' and 'vendredi'. These nouns should have been preceded by the definite articles 'la' or 'les'. From these examples, it is evident that English interfered in the discourse of learners. In similar contexts of production, nouns such as days and subjects would not need the use of prepositions as in the case of French. We therefore conclude that learners overgeneralised rules governing the use of such nouns in English and extended them to French.

Semantic interference

According to Harvey (2014), Semantic Interference (SI) refers to the co-activation of related representations (whether lexical or semantic) when retrieving the intended word or meaning in the context of semantically related word meanings. In the context of this study, semantic interferences occur when learners do direct or word for word translation of meanings, from source language to target language. The semantic interference occur in diverse ways which include wrong analogy and wrong translation of ideas.

Wrong analogy

Wrong analogy is the assumption that because two things are alike in one or more respects, they are necessarily alike in some other respect. The study examines whether the choice of words and expressions in learners French discourses is influenced by their existence in English.

Table 8: Wrong analogy

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
24.	P1	*« … donc nous étions obligés d'être erm de donner toute notre **concentration** …»*	*"therefore we were obliged to give all our **concentration**"*	Attention
25.	P4	*« oui erm erm et erm on nous a donné erm erm une **gaz** pour préparer »*	*"yes erm erm and erm we were given a **gas** for cooking"*	Une bouteille de gaz
26.	P8	*« ça m'intéresse pour devenir erm dans la **future** au pasteur »*	*"that is my interest for to become erm in the **future** to pastor"*	A l'avenir
27.	P6	*« je voudrais les erm changer erm erm leurs **procédures** erm de faire ça »*	*" I would them erm to changer erm erm their **procedure** erm to do that"*	leurs manières

From examples 24 to 27, we can conclude that the presence of 'concentration', 'gaz', 'future' and 'procédure' in learners' speech are as a result of wrong analogy from the English language. Because these words are identical in form and are close in meaning, students make conscious recourse to them as a strategy to fill in the gap in knowledge. Even when the word is consciously used, students assume that for the fact that it exists in both languages, it carries the same meaning wherever it is used.

Wrong translation of ideas

In this section, interference caused by the direct translation of expressions from the source language to the target language will be analysed.

Table 9: Wrong translation of ideas

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	Word for Word Meaning in English	Appropriate Word or Expression
28.	P1	*« il **n'y avait rien** d'anglais »*	*"**there was nothing** English"*	
29.	P1	*« **je devais me forcer à quitter** la cité ou **pour être parmi** les francophones mêmes »*	***I have to force myself to leave** the hostel or **to be amongst** the francophones"*	
30.	P4	*« …**j'étais pas très fort** dans la langue française… »*	*"…**I wasn't very strong** in the French language…"*	
31.	P7	*« …donc **ils sont va dire non** … »*	*"therefore **they are going to say no**"*	

From examples 28 to 31 above, there are indications of direct translations from English. Learners formed these unacceptable sentences in French after they translated their ideas word for word from the English language.

Phonological interference

Phonological interference manifests in the difficulty in pronouncing certain sounds in the foreign language due to the influence from previously acquired languages.

> When we speak a foreign language we tend to attempt to do so using the familiar sounds and sound patterns of our mother tongue. We make it sound, objectively, rather differently from how it sounds when spoken by native speakers. (Wells, 2000, p.1).

This phenomenon is known as phonological interference (Crystal, 1987). The phonological interference that manifested in this study was the wrong pronunciation of the sounds /y/ and /e/.

Table 10: Wrong pronunciation of sounds

N.	Code Name	Excerpts in French	English pronunciation	Appropriate pronunciation
32.	P9	/res**ɔ**lta/	/resɔlt/	/res**y**lta/
33.	P5	/lit**y**ratur/	/lituruchur/	/lit**e**ratyr/

P9 pronounced /resylta/ as /resɔlta/. We believe this pronunciation is influenced by the speaker's knowledge of the word 'result' in English. The speaker therefore transferred the same sound /ɔ/ when pronouncing the sound /y/ in French. Same goes for P5 that pronounced /literatyr/ as /lityratur/. We believe this pronunciation is influenced by her knowledge of the word 'literature' in English. She therefore transferred the same sound /y/ when pronouncing the sound /e/ in French.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The principal concern of this study was to examine the on-line production of advanced learners to determine whether English interfered in their discourses in French and by extension, explain how these interferences manifest themselves in the oral production of students. The study provided an overview of language systems that learners produced especially in their online productions. It also exposed evidences of structures, expressions and words depicting deviations from the norms governing the use of the French language. The analysis of the data showed transposition of words, ideas and structures of the English language in their productions.

From the findings in this study, it is noted that majority of these advanced learners' reflect in English before they translate their ideas into French. In fact, some words or expressions used by these learners reveal their language of thought to be English. Where there are similarities between the English language and the French language, learners borrowed these words directly into French, assuming that they have the same meaning in both languages. The findings also reveal that, despite the number of years these learners have been exposed to the French language, their discourses are still influenced by English. A feature of effective second or foreign language learning is the ability to cope adequately with native language interference (Naiman et al., 1978). Therefore, these language learners have to resist the overpowering influence of a firmly entrenched English language system. The English language has, in fact, become a highly overlearned set. As a result, learners must be flexible enough to break away from this language and the learning set associated with it, and attend to the aspects of the French language independently.

The following recommendations may be considered to lessen the effect of previously acquired languages on the production of learners of French as a Foreign Language. First of all, with regards to lexical interferences, language instructors should present to learners fixed expressions and their equivalences in both languages as well as grammatical rules that vary from one language to the other. In so doing, learners' awareness is sharpened on the forms to select when dealing with any of the language systems. This will help reduce slippages and malapropism (or inappropriate use of words and expressions) by learners. It is also important for instructors to contextualise their teaching when introducing new sets of vocabulary to learners of French. Thus, it is highly recommended to adopt texts as source materials for the teaching of vocabulary and grammar so that learners can appreciate the meaning of new words, expressions, and grammatical rules in their specific contexts of production. As was noted in the data, most occurrences of lexical interferences (faux-amis; semantic; wrong use of words; wrong use of prepositions) can be attributed to the lack of appreciation of the contexts of words used by learners. Finally, even though less phonological interferences were recorded in the data, they somewhat constitute obstacles to the reception of the message by native speakers of the language when the foreign language learner realises words using the phonological system of the source language. The verbotonal method (Guberina, 1972; Asp & Guberina, 1981; Asp, 2005) could serve as a remedial measure to phonological errors identified with foreign language learners.

References

Asp, C. W. (2005). *Verbotonal Speech Treatment*. San Diego – Oxford – Brisbane : Plural Publishing Inc.

Asp, C. W., & Guberina, P. (1981). *Verbotonal Method for Rehabilitating People with Communication Problems.* New York: NY: World Rehabilitation Fund, Inc.

Blanc-Michel (1998). *Concept de base de la Sociolinguistique*. Paris : Ellipse.

Burkholder, M. (2015). *Les Faux-Amis: Investigating Lexico-Semantic Ambiguity across Two Languages*. http://cla-acl.ca/wp-content/uploads/Burkholder-2015.pdf. Consulted on 28/5/2018.

Buttersworth, B. (1980). Some constraints on models of language production. In B. Buttersworth (ed.) *Language Production, Vol. 1*. New York: Academic Press.

Bygate, M., Skehan, P., & Swain, M. (2001). *Researching Pedagogic Tasks, Second Language Learning, Teaching and Testing.* Harlow: Longman.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, N. (1996). Sequencing in SLA: phonological memory, chunking and points of order. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 18, 91-126.

Ellis, R. (1987). *Second Language Acquisition in Context.* London: Prentice Hall International.

Ellis, R. (2003). *Task-based Language Teaching and Learning*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press.

Faerch, C., & Kasper, G. (1985). Procedural knowledge as a component of foreign language learners' communicative competence. In H. Boete & W. Herrlitz (Eds.), *Kommunikation im (Sprach-) Unterricht* (pp. 169-199). Utrecht: University of Utrecht.

Fries, C. C. (1945). *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Guberina, P. (1972). *The Correlation between Sensitivity of the Vestibular System, and Hearing and Speech in Verbotonal Rehabilitation* (Appendix 6, pp. 256–260). Washington, DC: Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Han, Z. H. (2004). Fossilization: Five central issues. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14, (2).

Haruna, B. (2008). *Phénomène du mélange des codes parmi les étudiants fantiphones de l'université de Cape Coast*. Mémoire non publié du M. Phil de l'University of Cape Coast. Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast.

Harvey, D. Y. (2014). *Semantic Interference in Language Production and Comprehension: Same or Separable Loci?*. PhD diss., Rice University. http://hdl.handle.net/1911/77166. Consulted on 28/5/2018.

Hulstijn, J. & Hulstijn, W. (1984). Grammatical errors as a function of processing constraints and explicit knowledge. *Language Learning*, 34, 23-43.

Kinzel, P. F. (1964). Lexical and grammatical interference in the speech of a bilingual child studies. In *Linguistics and Language Learning, Volume 1*. Washington University: Seattle.

Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across Cultures*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Levelt, W. (1989). *Speaking: From Intention to Articulation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2006). *How Languages are Learned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mackey, W. F. (1976). *Language Teaching Analysis*. London: Longman.

McLaughlin, B. (1987). *Theories of Second Language Learning.* London: Edward Arnold.

Naiman, N., Frölich, M., Stern, H. H., & Todesco, A. (1978). *The Good Language Learner*. Toronto: Modern Languages in Practice.

Odlin, T. (1997). *Language Transfer-Cross-linguistic Influence in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Romaine, S. (1989). *Bilingualism*. United Kingdom: Black Publishers.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics,* 10, 209-231.

Thomason, S. G., & Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language Contact*, *Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact*. New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York.

Wells, C. (2000). Overcoming phonetic interference. *Journal of the English Phonetic Society of Japan*, 3.9-21. http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/interference.htm.

CHAPTER TWELVE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NAMES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND CONTEMPORARY YORUBA CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

Michael O. Oyetade & Esther Adeola Femi-Olubiyi
Department of Religions,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

According to Ainiala., Saarelma & Sjöblom, (2016,p.16), Onomastics or onomatology, which is the science of naming, has been able to identify the various origins of names such as classical, biblical, Germanic, etc. and has categorized names on the basis of their communicative and functional ingredients, identifying names that are associated with occupation, family line, and religion. Further research has also identified some socio-cultural dimensions to naming, and has categorized names in terms of such criteria as, chieftaincy, ancestral, supernatural, re-incarnation, and religious and moral links (Ajileye, 2002; Oha, 1997; Osundare, 1993).

According to Ainiala, et. al., (2016, pp.16-17), names are used in all languages and cultures. With names, it is easy for people to speak about individuals, certain people, certain places, certain objects or subjects, without having to describe them with a great deal of words. Without names, communication would be difficult, practically even impossible. It is a name that identifies and sets apart a referent from others of the same class. Names are crucial words when it comes to efficient language use. On the other hand, they are also words with which many emotions are associated: a name carries all of the information we have about its bearer, such as a person, an animal, a place or object. On the emotional level, significant topics such as identity, history, tradition, kinship, ownership, power and money are associated with names. Because names are such words of special quality, they fascinate people and arouse many questions. In Africa, names are texts of vision and experience (Oha, 1997).

The word "name" has two fundamental meanings. On the one hand, a name is a word or combination of words; it can mean a word or combination of words, such as "boy", referring to people, beings, subjects, or objects as a representative of their class, whereupon we can speak of a common noun or an appellative. Onomastics is a branch of linguistics in which proper nouns are examined. In this discipline, the word "name" always refers to a proper noun.

Names identify their referents, by differentiating it from all other referents of the same class. The question of what a name is has piqued the interest of linguists and philosophers for hundreds, even thousands, of years. When we speak of names on a philosophical and theoretical level, we are always speaking about both meanings found in the human mind and our external reality. As the two-fold meaning of the word name already shows, expressions that are categorizing and those that are identifying can somehow be quite similar to one another. They are both words of a language, but moreover, common to them are the recognition and naming of various, real world phenomena and beings as well as those in the imaginative world. However, due to a certain "something" in their essence, they are considered different from each other.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle divided these notions into the concepts of "individual" and "class." The greater the abstractions of a concept, the more beings are included in the set. Thus, a proper noun referring to one individual would be a more concrete concept. The most abstract concepts of all are hypernyms, which Aristotle called categories. Beings, substances, are designated by both proper and common nouns. Aristotle, for one, emphasized concepts and ideas: they are unchangeable, and names represent these never-ending ideas. The word name has quite an old history to it.

So, names, as elements in language, are quite special, but it is not easy to linguistically define them. Nevertheless, most of us language users, on the basis of our sense of language, know quite well if a word is a proper noun. It is easy to see expressions such as Helsinki, Amanda, Johnson, Blackie, and Kalevala as proper names, but can we say that expressions such as Pearl, Stone, Owl, and the Internet are names and equally clear? In written form, we can interpret them as names because they begin with a capital letter, but in speech, the only opportunity we have to identify the preceding expressions as proper names is to rest on context, that is, the environment in which the words appear.

A name is a word charged with emotion, but on the other hand, due to its identifying nature, it is quite a handy and economical expression: names make language use easy because when we talk about a particular place or certain person, we do not need to go so in depth in describing it to a listener each time. Place names help us navigate by extracting and identifying certain locations in the environment, and personal names immediately conjure an image of a certain individual. Names are important with regard to the operation of the society, and furthermore, the form and use of a name can be more or less jointly steered with given laws and decrees. There can be many kinds of socio-political problems associated with names: the public approval of and attention to ethnic and linguistic minorities' as well as small indigenous peoples' own names in their own languages go hand in hand with democracy and equal rights.

Among the Yorùbá, child naming is a ritual in itself, a communal festive occasion celebrated jointly by relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and well-wishers. Traditionally, the naming ceremony is a symbolic initiation of the baby into society and into life. All its kinfolk are expected to attend and participate in the ceremony, joining in the cooking, eating, singing and dancing as well as contributing goods and services to the utmost of their ability. They owe the new baby and its parents these obligations, which are expected to be reciprocated in the future.

A branch of onomastics is called anthroponomastics or anthroponymy. It's the study of "anthroponyms", which originates from the Greek words *anthropos*, meaning human, and *onoma*, meaning name. Combined together, it means "the names of human beings". The concept also implies the origin of names. According to Hornby (2010, p.1027) the history and etymology of the concept of "name" can be used as a noun or verb. From Old English, it is called "*nama*; akin to Old High German "*namo,"* while in Latin, "*nomen,"* and in Greek, "*onoma," onyma."* It is defined *as* "a word or phrase that constitutes the distinctive designation of a person or thing"**.** Hornby (2010, p.797) defines "name" as a word or a combination of words that designates, calls, or knows a person, place, or thing, a body or class, or any object of thought. According to Osundare (1993, p.3):

> In naming the world, we also name ourselves, evoking a recognizable, tangible construct of that panoply of realities which constitute what we call the human experience. Names serve as the door to the house of experience, a guide to hidden meanings in the shadowy nooks of time and place. Names tell stories, liberate or imprison; they may also serve as self-fulfilling prophecies. This is why the Yoruba say that it is only mad people who do not mind the names they are called, or who refuse to see the difference between the names they choose to bear and the ones the world prefers to call them by.

The question about names has become a cliché in our culture. The significance of a name is found in its ability to confer affluence and reputation. If one has a famous name, one is being treated with respect and honour. If one's name is associated with ill-repute, it is believed that one gets disrespected and dishonored. Names are used as designators to distinguish one person from another. They do not have much significance to us, and any meaning attached to that name is either unknown to the bearer of that name, or the bearer is not concerned with such trivialities (Dulle, 2000).

What is more, a name serves to refer to a specific entity, such as a person or place, whether it is in a real or imaginary world (Anderson, 2004, p. 80). Names can also have broad or generic references, referring to groups of entities. A very frequent use of names, especially in speech, is the vocative use. Names are used to get people's attention, especially in order to address them. Vocatives may be accompanied by special particles. Languages differ greatly in the range of vocative particles they have at their disposal and their subtle nuances, and this is naturally something for translators to keep in mind. Some languages require the use of definite articles or noun class morphemes with names to show case, gender, and or other semantic distinctions. Their use will depend on the grammar and pragmatics of the language (Anderson, 2004, p. 435).

A name can have various types of associative or conventionalized meaning (Bailey, p.2007). Fakuade, Friday-Otun, and Adeosun (2020, p.253) opine that naming can be considered as a universal cultural practice. Every society in the world gives names as tags to its members. However, the interpretations attached to the name vary from society to society and from one culture to another.

Chiluwa (2010, p.234) states that an interesting development in the church today is that people adopt names that are English (European) in form but African in content. Such names are pragmatically encoded to express contextual experience and Christian ideology. They no longer conform to Geertz's date standardized labels automatically given to a child to show whether it is the first or second child in the family. Christian families no longer identify with their ancestors or group with the names they give their children. Only a few still do. Names like Sunday, Monday, or Friday, which show the day of the week a child was born, are no longer popular among Yorùbá. What we have now are allegorical names that represent events, qualities or virtues in the tradition of Spenser's Faerie Queen and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. And one thing about them is that they are heavily extended metaphors, also showing interesting personifications of abstract qualities. Names like "Progress", "Miracle" or "Goodness", are encoded to assert moral norms and religious beliefs. A discourse interpretation of some of these names will show what functional relevance and social goals proper names do have as linguistic expressions. This paper focuses on the significance of Old Testament names, and their significance to contemporary Christians in Yorùbá society.

The Biblical Concept of Names

O'Donovan (1996, p.73) submits that in African culture, names are very important. Names are meaningful, often describing a person's character, the circumstances of his or her birth, and the person's family lineage. A person's name usually reveals his or her family, clan or tribal attachments. In many cases, the name given to a child reflects the character of a respected ancestor. Often, a person will also have a secret personal name which most people may not know. Some people feel that if they reveal this secret name to another person, they will somehow come under the influence or control of that person. It is interesting that Jesus Christ also has a secret name which no one knows except himself (Rev. 19:12).

The Bible is not unfamiliar with the practice of naming a child solely on the basis of how it appears to the parents. In some cases, parents look to their religious beliefs in giving names to their children. Some religious individuals traditionally opt for the names of saints, such as the name Mary. The word "Mary" is a Hebrew term for beautiful. Most names also have a traditional meaning. It is worth noting that Jewish families have the common practice of naming their babies after their deceased family members, whose names are traditionally taken from the Bible. Even in cases where it offers some high sounding, moralistic or religious sentiment, it would run beyond the evidence to assume without a question that the name was conferred with that thought in mind rather than that the parents were indulging a preference for that rather than any other label.

God places tremendous significance on names, and the meanings of them (Dehnart, 2020). Joseph Hartropp (2016) explains Old Testament views on names by tracing the origin of names. The book of Genesis is full of names enriched with meaning. The word 'Genesis' means 'beginning'; the first book of the Bible is a book of origins, and there are many stories where people's names are rooted in how they began. For example, the first man: Adam. His name is so common in Western society to the point that one might not consider enquiring about its meaning. However, the Hebrew word, *Adam* does not mean 'generic first human' but is derived from the Hebrew word, *Adamah*, meaning 'ground'. Adam was formed "from the dust of the ground" and so, his name (and the general Hebrew name for 'man') is rooted in how mankind began.

Another famous character explained in Genesis is Abraham's name (an extension of his old name 'Abram') means 'father of many'. God made a great promise to him when he was 75 years old that he would be a "father of many nations". This new name embeds God's mighty promise to Abraham into his very identity. Sarah and Abraham's first-born child is named 'Isaac' because Sarah says, "God has brought me laughter, and everyone who hears about this will laugh with me." (Genesis 21:6). Isaac's child 'Esau' is so named simply because his name means 'hairy', and Esau is indeed hairy. His brother Jacob is so named because Jacob means 'he grasps the heel', which is a Hebrew idiom for 'he deceives'. In this case, Jacob is really named after what he would become.

Many other interesting names abound beyond Genesis. David means 'beloved' in Hebrew, which is appropriate because he was Israel's favourite King, albeit a deeply flawed one. Many other classic names from the Old Testament have God rooted in them – just look out for the 'El' (Hebrew for 'God'): Daniel, Nathaniel, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha etc. (Hartropp, 2016). In addition, Dolores Smyth (2016) opines that, names signify origin. Biblical names are rich in symbolism. This is why Scripture opens with the Book of Genesis, detailing the beginnings of Creation. Adam then named his wife Eve, a name that means "living" and commemorates Eve's role as "the mother of all the living" (Genesis 3:20).

Names in the Old Testament

According to Verbrugge (2000, p.412), the Hebrew *shem* appears 770x in the Old Testament; the Greek *onoma* occurs over 1000x in the LXX, both of which mean "name". The numbers of its appearing in the Bible gives an indication of the significance of a name. To the Hebrews, a name was not a label, or a tool to distinguish one person from another; a person's name was viewed as equivalent to the person himself. A person's name signified person, worth, character, reputation, authority, will, and ownership. In Revelation 3:4, it is said that there were "a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments…." The reference is to the people in Sardis, but they are called "names." Many modern translators, understanding the meaning of *onoma*, simply translate it as "people." Names connote diverse things: names signify authority (Exodus 5:23; I Kings 21:8); indicate one's ownership of a person/thing (Genesis 1:5, 8, 10; 2:19-20; II Samuel 12:28; Amos 9:12). To forget God's name is tantamount to departing from Him (Jeremiah 23:37); acting in someone's name was to represent them (Deuteronomy 25:6); to blot out someone's name is to destroy that person (Deuteronomy 9:14; II Kings 14:27; Isaiah 14:22); one's name signifies their reputation and their character (Ecclesiastes 7:1; Matthew 6:9).

What is more, personal names given by Jewish parents in Israel are carriers of the cultural values derived from their social and national backgrounds. This cultural essence is explained by Schwartz (2012). Names can tie us to our origins and traditions. Names can also allude to our circumstances or stand for something that matters to our parents in choosing what others would call us. The importance of a person's name is especially evident in the Bible, making Scripture a longstanding go-to resource for parents when choosing a baby's name. Motyer (1992, p.811) categorizes name-giving situations in the Old Testament into seven. These are:

***1. The Status-name*:** Names in this category are those that have a lega,l social or professional position. The same level of importance in position is given to such names. Of his new-found wife, Adam said that she would be called 'Woman', thus according to her a co-equal (or, better, counterpart) status with her husband: he is 'îš; she is 'iššâ. In general, name-giving is an authority function in the Bible: the imposition of the name

'Man' on the couple by their Creator (Gen. 5:2), the giving of animal names by man in his capacity as the lord of creation (Gen. 2:19f), the naming of children by parents (by the mother and by the father), the naming of a conquered king (2 Kings. 23:34), and so on. But in Gen. 2:23, the 'man' acknowledges his complementary equal, the one who, with him, shares the God-given dominion of the world (Gen. 1:28ff). Twins are closer to this kind of name among the Yoruba, since the two babies are born on the same day by the same mother.

2. The Occasion-name: These are names as a result of a particular time when something happens, a special event, ceremony, or celebration. The birth of her first-born is to Eve the significant moment of the fulfilling of the promise of a victorious seed; therefore, 'along with Yahweh', as she said (Gen. 4:1)—he, fulfilling his promise, brings forth a child, whom she therefore calls "Cain' (qayin).

3. The Event-name: Sometimes, names encapsulate a whole situation: e.g., Babel (Gen. 11:9) or Peleg (Gen. 10:25). Both these names have the same quality, but we can see what was afoot more clearly in the fully-documented case of Babel: the name was in effect a word of God. Men had already discerned in themselves a tendency to separate or scatter (11:4) and they purposed by their technological advance (v. 3) to be their own saviours in this regard. The divine edict goes forth against man's confidence that his own cleverness can save him, and the word which imposes judicially on the human race the disability which it feared (v. 8) is succinctly built into the fabric of earthly things by the place-name 'Babel' ('confusion') which is to be henceforth the evil genius of the Bible story until the end (cf., e.g. Is. 13:1; 21:1-10; 24:10; Rev.18:2)

4. The Circumstance-name: This principle specifies the salient social or circumstantial context for any personal name. There are four basic types, which are listed as a-d below: a. The special circumstances that strictly pertain to the birth of the child or its appearance at birth - How was the baby born? For example, did it present its legs first, rather than the head? (b). the social, economic, political, and other conditions affecting the family or lineage into which the baby was born: Was there a famine, war, or economic boom? An example is. (c). the religious affiliation or deity loyalty of the family -- Which God or deity is worshipped and what is his or her contribution to the welfare of the family? and (d). the traditional occupation or profession of the parents or the family line. Are they hunters, drummers, or warriors?

According to Chiluwa (2020, p.238), this is also known as an experience or circumstantial name. It represents the parents' experience and the circumstances of the child's birth. Such names function as experiential symbols and relics of history that are constantly kept in view. Some of these significant circumstances are memorable, while some are apparently painful. The names in this category generally trace the bearer's or producer's experience of the natural and social world. Still on circumstance-name, Isaac was named because of the attendant laughter of his parents (Gen. 17:17; 18:12; 21:3-7); Samuel, because of the prayer of his mother (1 Sam.1:20); Ichabod, because of the loss of the ark, seen as significant of the withdrawal of divine favour (1 Sam. 4:21); Jacob, because of the position of the twins at birth (Gen. 25:26). In many such cases, the Bible provides the evidence to show that such 'accidents' were truly symbolic: the victory at the Red Sea makes Moses pre-eminently the man who came up out of the water; the story of Samuel is precisely the story of the man who knew that prayer is answered, and so on. In other words, there is a continuing link between the idea of giving a name and the dynamism of the ever potent Word of God affecting that which it declares.

5. The Transformation or Alteration-name: Names were bestowed in order to show that something new had entered the life of the person concerned, one chapter was complete and a new chapter was opening. Though this giving of a new name is usually hopeful and promissory, the category opens with the sad re-naming of iššâ (Gen. 2:23) as Eve (Gen. 3:20), the name expressive of coequality of status and complementariness of relationship becoming the name of function; the former name expressed what her husband saw in her (and was glad), the latter expressed what he would use her for, giving her domination in return for her longing (Gen. 3:16). But to the same category belongs the re-naming of Abram as Abraham, signifying the beginning of the new man with new powers: the childless Abram (whose name ‘high father’ was only a sour joke) becoming Abraham, which, though it does not grammatically mean ‘father of many nations’, has sufficient assonance with the words which would (at greater length) express that thought. Many significant names operate on just such a basis of assonance. Thus, on one and the same day, Benoni and Benjamin (Gen. 35:18), the circumstance-name of pain and loss, become the status-name of ‘right-hand man’. The dominical bestowal of the name Peter (Jn.1:42) has the same significance, as does Saul's (presumably) self-chosen changed to Paul (Acts13:9).

6. The Predictive/Admonitory-name: Isaiah’s two sons are pre-eminent in this class. It is significant of the prophet’s certainty of the word of God through him that he was willing to embody it in his sons who thus were, within their own time, ‘the word became flesh’, the greatest of the acted oracles or prophecies of the OT, cf. Isa. 7:3; 8:1-4,18, 2 Kings 24:17, where the name Zedekiah embodies the righteousness element (ṣedeq, ‘righteousness’) which Pharaoh thus warns the new king to practice. The Lord’s naming of James and John as' Bounérges' was equally a warning against the unacceptable element of fire in their zeal (Mk.3:17; cf.Lk.9:54) and once again the name proved itself to be an effective word of God.

7. Precative and Theophoric-names: A name like Nabal (nāḇāl, ‘fool’) (1 Sam. 25:25) can only have been given on the basis of a mother’s prayer—‘Let him not grow up to be a fool’—a prayer for which a cogent background could be provided without too much stretch of the imagination. It is likely that many theophoric names have this same element of prayer in them—or at the very least, most of those which are based on an imperfect tense of the verb: thus Ezekiel (‘May God strengthen!’); Isaiah (‘May Yah [weh] save!’). Even those which in direct translation make an affirmation (e.g., Jehoahaz, ‘Yahweh has grasped’) are most likely the product of pious parental aspirations—not always realized, as the sad case of Nabal (1 Sam. 25) may show, or the case of King Ahaz, whose name is probably an abbreviation of ‘Jehoahaz’: it is fully in accord with the story of that politically astute, spiritually inept king.

The Yorùbá People

The Yorùbá people are a large ethno-linguistic group in Nigeria, who speak the Yoruba language. There are many mutually intelligible dialects of Yoruba, such as Ekiti, Ijebu, Egba, Owe and Ikale. The Yoruba constitute more than 35 percent of Nigeria's total population, and around 40 million individuals throughout the region of West Africa (CIA Factbook, 2013). While the majority of the Yoruba live in Western Nigeria, there are also substantial indigenous Yoruba communities in Benin, Ghana, Togo and the Caribbean. According to Fakuade, Friday-Otun and Adeosun (2019, pp.255-256), the Yoruba are the main ethnic group in Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo, Ọsun, Ogun, and Ọyọ States of Nigeria, and they also constitute a sizeable proportion in Kwara, Kogi, and Edo states. Traditionally, the Yorùbá organized themselves into networks of related villages, towns and kingdoms, with most of them headed by an Oba (King). Major Yoruba cities and towns include Ile-Ife, Ibadan, Lagos, Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta, Akure, Ilorin, Ijẹbu-Igbo, Ogbomọsọ, Ondo, Ikarẹ, Akoko, Omuo-Ekiti, Badagry, Ado-Ekiti, Osogbo, Ilesa, Oyo, Ọwọ, Kabba, Ọffa and Ẹdẹ among others. There are other Yoruba cities and towns in the republic of Benin, such as Ketu, Sabe and Dassa. Yorùbá language is studied from primary school up to university levels. Yorùbá is used as one of the languages of legislation in conjunction with English in the Ọyọ State House of Assembly till date in Nigeria. The Lagos State House of Assembly recently passed a bill making the teaching of Yoruba compulsory in schools in the state (Fadare, 2016). The Yoruba people have a very rich culture and tradition which is distinct from other ethnic groups in Nigeria. They have particular traditional marriage ceremonies, naming ceremonies, burial ceremonies and rites. Yoruba people are easily known or identified by their native names, as every Yoruba name is a product of Yoruba culture, tradition, belief and circumstances surrounding the birth of a Yoruba child. However, as a result of Christianization and Islamicization, changes and modifications have been noted in the Yoruba naming system.

Names in Contemporary Yoruba Christianity

Consequently, according to Kofoworola (2015, p.23), the Yorùbá statement on the issues of names provides some views which are contrary to identification as the primary purpose of naming a child, for instance, the statement 'Nítori kí á má ba à dáràn ni oníkálukú se ní orúko'. Translated literally, it means thus, 'we (human beings) are each given individual names to bear, so as to avoid being incriminated in the confusion that may be generated by the crime committed by a criminal, as society's arms are stretched forth to identify and apprehend the offender'. When we ponder the statement above in conjunction with another statement of Yorùbá cultural values, we shall be moving towards the fulfillment of what our names represent in the Yoruba worldview and why we are given the names we bear.

To demonstrate how seriously a Yorùbá man cares about the sanctity of his name, the following statement provides an insightful picture. Thus he will implore you, "Má ṣe ṣo mí ní orúko". That means "Please do not give me another name". The multi-farious meanings of that statement go beyond its surface interpretation. It could be translated as: the preciousness of the names given to me by my parents at birth, cannot be quantified with money. It is an affirmation of the Yorùbá belief that one's names could affect one's destiny either positively or negatively. And so, "Do not give me some new names" is a loud protest against anyone whose behaviour or attitudes tend towards the dislocation of one's good destiny, already set in place at one's naming ceremony following one's birth. The biblical opinion among the *Yorùbá* that one's name cannot be quantified with money can be observed in the Yoruba statement that " orúko rere sàn ju wùrá àti fàdákà lo", which means that a good name is better than silver and gold. Consequently, the Yoruba are usually prompt in responding to dubious situations with such statements as, "Do not do, or engage yourself in anything that is capable of destroying one's image." All these attitudes are indications of the sanctity with which one's names are held among the *Yorùbá*.

According to Kofoworola (2015, p.29), the term "characteristics manifestation" is used to indicate the various categories or forms within the dimensions of the Yoruba naming system or pattern. In addition, it is meant to reveal that the names borne by every Yorùbá person contain some kind of concept or idea which is meant to unveil the true personality or the presumed character of the person so named. He further adds that, whereas in the western world, the personality of a person is valued in terms of financial worth; the opposite is the case among the Yoruba. Yoruba names are highly meaningful and they are given for various reasons. Idowu (1996, p.224) clarifies this when he writes:

> Every Yoruba name has a character and a significance of its own. No child is given a name without a cause, and that cause is not the bare, inevitable one that a child must be born before he can receive a name! Every one of the names is almost invariably a sentence, or clause, or an abbreviation of a sentence, which can be broken into component parts. Besides, the name must tell a clear story. Whether it be of the circumstances surrounding the child's birth, the state of the parents' or family affairs when it is born. Also, among the Yoruba, the name represents character and the essence of personality, as among the Hebrews.

Ilesanmi (1982, p.112) opines that Yoruba names do historicize, socialize, spiritualize, and influence people psychologically. The Yoruba often name their children after historic events such as war, draught, coronation, plague, death of a hero, establishment of a town, family quarrels, or agreements, visitation of a notable victory or success, etc. Some people are of the opinion that names psychologically influence the bearer. And that is why people act according to their names. For example, a man named "Ajanaku" (elephant) would want to behave mightily, while one called "Okin" (egret) would try to act gracefully. Also, the name Kofoworola means 'One whose prestige or honour is worth more than monetary values. Similarly, the name "Kòseemánìí" means "someone whose possession is invaluable." Johnson (2009, p.96), in his book titled, *The History of the Yorùbá*, gives only three categories of Yorùbá names were stated, namely:

i. Àmútọ̀runwá, i.e. the name the child is born with;
ii. The Àbísọ, i.e. the christening name,
iii. The Oríkì, i.e. the cognomen or attributive name.

According to Kofoworola (2015, pp.29-30), the following categories of characteristic manifestations are identifiable in the naming patterns of the Yoruba people:

i. the nominative reference name or general name;
ii. suffixes of manifestation names;
iii. prefixes of status names;
iv. appendages or appendixes of metaphysics praise names;
v. names which bear evidence of foreign religions; and
vi. names with evidence of divine phenomena.

However, we shall focus on these devising patterns in the Yorùbá naming process to gain insight into the Yorùbá naming patterns through that examination which will provide us with insight into the verbal or rather, oral patterns observable in the Yorùbá naming system in comparison with the Bible. First the nominative references or general names.

i. Nominative References or General Names

This is the kind of name which the Yorùbá refer to as: "Orúkọ àbísọ"; which means the nominal or general name given to a person at birth by which he is known and called by the generality of the public. This is the name which, by western cultural practice, could be referred to as the first name. The first name, people will say, is your pet name, which contains some kind of special value to your close associates, peer groups, lovers, parents, and siblings. The names in this category are made up of Yorùbá nominate references whose meanings could be translated to reflect various kinds of sentiments, emotions, and psychology overruling the hearts of men. For instance, names such as Olúwakémi, meaning. "The Lord looks after me," is a sentimental expression in the relationship between the child's parents and God. Thus, we may observe the arrays of many such names with the word 'kémi'-'takes care of me', as the key or rather care concept in the manifestation of the various names constructed thereof namely:

(a) Olúwakémi =The Lord has looked after me tenderly.
(b) Oyèkémi=The ancestors of our chieftaincy family have given me tender care.
(c) Obákémi=God, also known as Ọbaòkè, has given me tender care.
(d) Adékémi=The crown (royal-lineage family) takes loving care of me.
(e) Ọlákémi=Ancestors of our noble family have given me cares.
(f) Ọ̀sunkẹ́mi=The Ọsun river goddess has given me tender care.
(g) Ifákẹ́mi= The Oracle god has given me tender care (Babalolá, & Àlàbá, 2008, p.649).

What we described above as the nominative reference or general name could be regarded as names which Johnson described as the Àbísọ or referred to as christening names for convenience (Johnson 2009, p.25).

ii. Suffixes of Manifestation

The suffix name of manifestation is the name of the revelation of the person. It is the name which reveals the real personality of the person. A case study is Jesus Christ when he asked His disciples, "Who do you think I am?" The response from Peter as observed reveals the true person of Jesus Christ. Peter, in his response, states. "Thou art Christ, the son of the living God." (Matt.16:15-16). Likewise, Babalolá (1967) opines that, the suffix names of manifestation among the Yoruba are names given to people as marks of revelation of the real personality of the person. This is meant to reveal or express what is regarded as the character of the person; some kind of stock value.

For female people:

(a) Àdùkẹ́ Ògún= Child whom many shall scramble to pet and of Ògún..
(b) Àdùnní àró= Child who is delightful to have and of Àró.
(c) Àdùfẹ́ ìkọ́= Child to be competitively loved of Ikọ-lineage.
(d) Àmọ̀rí odù= Child previously known by us and of Odù lineage.
(e) Àjàní-Ẹ̀ṣọ́= Child whom we struggled to have of Ẹsọ lineage
(f) Àdùkẹ́ Ọ̀kín- Child who is delightful to be cared for and of Ọkin lineage**.**

For males only:

(a) Àlàdé Ògún= Child born very speedily of the ogun lineage
(b) Àdìgún Àró= Child whose affairs shall be well planned and consequently successful of the Aro lineage.
(c) Àmọ̀lé ìkọ́= Child known as a supernumerary member of the family of the ikọ lineage
(d) Àlàbí odù= One born with a mark of difference from the odu lineage.
(e) Àkàndé àyàn= Child who has arrived in his turn of the àyàn lineage (drummer).
(f) Àjàní ẹ̀sọ́= Child whom we struggled to have by the ẹsọ lineage
(g) Àlàmú ọ̀kín=Child who shall speedily throw his opponent in a wrestling match and win the prize of the ọ̀kín lineage.

You will observe that the praise interpretation or translation of each set of names is followed by a reference to the lineage the person belongs to. With the above information, we can now examine the third category in the next sub-title.

iii. Prefixes of Status Names

The Yoruba naming system is often guided by what could be described as the prefixes of status. By prefixes of status, it means the recognition of the social structural background of the nominees' family, extended family, kinship, lineage, occupation, etc. The recognition of such fathers can be observed as crucial in the Yoruba naming pattern. For that reason, it can be asserted that the prefixes serve as linguistic instruments of identification. This is because the prefix fixes the nominees' identity within the various guiding factors of influence.

Consequently, the nominee's background in terms of social status, family lineage, kinship, ethnic, occupation, etc. are revealed at the first instance of the names being mentioned. Thus, the prefixes serve as linguistic instruments of composite factors of identity in the recognition of the personality of the nominee. Fákúàdé et. al., (2019, pp.264-65) opines that these are names by parents' profession, family belief or objects of worship. For example, a person who comes from or belongs to the kinship of warriors usually has the word AKIN, which means, "one with valour", as a prefix to their name, e.g.,

Akíndélé= A male child has arrived at home-
Akinlolú= A male child is a principal child.
Akíntúndé- A male child has again arrived, etc.

Oyè-Oyè is a reference to chieftaincy status. People who belong to the family lineage of chieftaincy rulership usually have names with prefix-oyè to signify the social status of the nominees, thus:
Oyètádé= My belonging to this chieftaincy family is as valuable as having a crown.
Oyètọ́lá=Our chieftaincy family is as great as a noble family
Oyèdòkun=Our chieftaincy family has become a veritable ocean, great and powerful, etc.

Adé- Adé in the Yoruba language means crown. People from the ruling class or family lineage of the kingship usually have names with Ade, crown as the prefix, reflecting the sentiments attached to the nominees, e.g.,

Adétòrò=Our royal-lineage family is tranquil / free of agitation or disturbances.
Adéjùmọ̀=Child whom our royal lineage family together gave birth to.
Adéṣọjí= Our royal-lineage family has sprung forth, etc.

Ògún---Ògún is known as the god of iron and warfare among the Yoruba. Those whose family lineage background is connected with the worship of Ògún, the god of iron, are usually given names with a prefix reflecting that background before the expressed sentiment of the nominees' personality. E.g.,

Ògúnjìmí=Child whom the god of iron and warfare has given me as a gift
Ògúndáre=The god of iron and warfare has passed a judgment in my favour.
Ògúnsolá=This family-head, an Ògún-devotee, has performed a feat, etc.

Ifá--Ifá is the god of divination among the Yoruba. People whose family background is connected to the Ifa religion sect usually bear names reflecting that background with the nominative prefix reflecting that connection, thus:

Ifábùnmi=Child whom the oracle god has given me as a precious gift
Ifáyẹmí=The worship of the oracle god is beneficial to me /suit me.
Ifádìmúlà=The oracle god has become my deliverance refuge, etc.

Awo---Awo is the Yoruba term of reference to a diviner / priest of the oracle god/ member of the diviners' cult. The word 'Awo' becomes the prefix of manifestation in the name given to a nominee who belongs to the family lineage of Diviners. E.g.,

Awólọ́wọ̀=Awo is full of respect.

Awódoyè=The worship of the oracle god has become (for me) a veritable chieftaincy title.

Awóníyì=The diviner sire has gained honour / high merit, etc

Odù---Odù, as a prefix in Yoruba names, refers to the traditional formula names for a newborn child who has six fingers on each hand. E.g.,

Odùkọ̀yà=The oracle god has warded off sufferings (from me).

Odùtọ́lá=The support of the oracle god is (for me) as valuable as a distinction / an honour.

Odùsọ̀tẹ̀=The oracle god is involved in rebellion, etc.

Ọya- People who are connected with Ọya, the River Niger god, are sometimes given names with the prefix "Ọya," thus:

Ọyatóògùn=The Niger river goddess is as powerful as medicinal charm.

Abọ́yadé=Child whose arrival coincided with the annual (Niger) Ọya river goddess festival.

Ọyátérù= The Niger river goddess is fearful, etc.

Ọ̀jẹ̀----The prefix, Ọ̀jẹ̀, is a common prefix to the names of people whose family lineage belongs to the Masqueraders' cult. E.g.,

Ọ̀jẹ́wùmí.=I like the masqueraders' cult.

Ọlọ́jẹ̀dé=Here comes a new member of the masqueraders' cult.

Ọ̀jẹ́níyì=The head of this family of masqueraders has attained respectability / honour / dignity.

Ọ̀pá---- Ọ̀pá as a prefix in Yoruba names refers to the names of those who come from the family lineage of the Yoruba wise-men cult, as in:

Ọ̀pálékè=The head of this family of farm-goddess devotees has gained the upper hand over his enemies.

Ọ̀pátólá=The support of the farm goddess is as valuable as honour or nobility.

Ọ̀pádìran=The worship of the fertility goddess has become our tradition from generation to generation, etc.

Ọ̀sun---The prefix – Ọ̀sun is usually employed at the commencement of the names of the adherents of the Ọsun River god or the offspring of those whose family lineage are worshippers of the Ọsun god. E.g.,

Ọ̀suntókun=Ọsun is equal to the sea or ocean

Ọ̀sundáre=The Ọsun-river goddess has done well

Ọ̀sungbèmí= Child whom the Ọ̀sun-river goddess has sided with etc.

Àyàn---- Àyàn is a Yorùbá word of reference to people whose family lineage are traditionally drummers.

The prefix word--- Àyàn is usually employed to commence the names representing various sentiments attached to the nominee, thus:

Aláyàndé=A drummer has come
Àyàntóyìnbó=The drum-music god is as great as the white men.
Àyàngbèmí=The god of drum music has supported me, etc.

Osó-----Osó is a Yoruba word in reference to wizardry. In ancient Yoruba societies, wizards were feared, referred to, and respected. In the history of the Yoruba, the word Osó is defined in reference to the family that worshipped Òrìsà-Oko, which is the god of the fields (Johnson 2009, p.100). The Yoruba from the family lineage of that social group may bear the name with the prefix Oso, thus:

Osódípẹ̀=The fertility goddess has put an end to my pleading by granting my request.
Osólàúkẹ́=We cherish the fertility goddess.
Osódọlámú =The fertility goddess has upheld our noble family, etc.

Ọmọ------Ọmọ, is a Yorùbá word meaning "child'. Yoruba invaluable worth of a child-omo is expressed in many sentiments of the names given to a child with the prefix-Ọmọ, thus:

Ọmọlará.=This child constitutes my relations.
Ọmọtọ́lá=This child is as valuable as honour or nobility.
Ọmọtúndé=This child has come again, etc.

Ìbí----- Ìbí is the Yorùbá 'word' derived from the Yoruba concept of birth. Connected with that concept is the notion of fertility, which is derived from the idea of procreation. Ìbí is also utilized as the prefix for the expression of several sentiments connected with the experience of birth giving or procreation, thus:

Ìbídùúnní=This family is delightful / gratifying / sweet.
Ìbíyemí= Being born into this family becomes me / suit me/ is gratifying to me.
Ìbídàpọ̀=Two families have become united through marriage and the birth of this child, etc.

The Ọdẹ----Ọdẹ in Yoruba means "Hunter". Ode is the prefix of the names given to people who belong to the family lineage of those whose occupation is hunting. The prefixes attached to the names given to candidates of the hunter's family lineage include:

Ọdẹ́bùnmi=Child whom the hunter god has given me as a gift.
Ọdẹ́dínà= The hunter god has blocked the way against this child
Ọdẹ́dìran=The worship of the hunter god has become our tradition from generation to generation, etc.

Ọ̀nà----------Ọ̀nà means "embellishment" in the Yoruba language. It is a reference to the Yoruba concept of perception, which is derived from the human ability to employ the sixth sense in creative engagements. The prefix of the word 'Ọ̀nà' is therefore employed in the various sentiments expressed, thus:

Ọnànúgà=The head of this arts and crafts family now has a palatial mansion.

Ọnàgorúwà= The artist's work is the cream of human life / is on top of human existence.

Ọnàyọdé=The head of this family of craftsmen has come forth, etc.

iv. Appendage/Appendixes of Metaphoric Praised Names

In the case of the Appendage/Appendixes of Metaphoric Praised Names, we are confronted with a dramatic consolidation of the revealed person through the use of praise chants. The praise-chants are usually linked with the past achievements of the progenitor of the nominee. Appendixes of Metaphorical Praises are not just instruments of inspiration for the subject of praise, but are evocative in their metaphysical content. Thus, they are capable of provoking the subject of praise into certain actions of extraordinary spectacle. The appendix of praise of the nomine-----Àjàó-so revealed as the manifestation of a warrior goes thus: For example, a person with the suffix name of revelation known as' 'Àjàó ' is connected with the Yoruba clan of warriors. 'Àjàó' as a praise name 'Oríkì', refers to a warrior who can fight and fight the enemies unabated. One who fights and never gets tired of fighting until his enemies surrender themselves to him. According to Oduyoye (1972, p.67), "Oríkì" is an attribute name, expressing what the child is or what he or she hopes to become. He stresses further that the user of the attribute name is so common that many children are better known by it than by their real names. He notes that as a rule, only the elders address the children with their "Oríkì".

Ọmọ-Ẹkùn- The offering of powerful people.

Ọmọ jùà jùà Ìlẹ̀kẹ̀-- The offering of one (king) with decorative beads, etc.

v. Names that Bear Traces of Foreign Religions

It is interesting to observe the Moslem names that have been transformed into what could be described as the Yoruba version. That is brought about by the absorbing power of culture. As a result of centuries of practice of the religion by the Yoruba people, the acculturation process had transformed the Muslim names carried by Yoruba adherents of such Yorubanized Moslem names bore by Yoruba adherents, male and female, are as follows:

Male: Yekini, Braima, Yesufu, etc. Females include Ganiya, Ramatu, Suliatu, and others. Here, the Muslim names were Yorubanized—that is, their names were subjected to the Yorùbá linguistic phonology. Similarly, we can record the Yorubanized version of the Hebrew names adopted by Yorùbá convertees of the old dispensation. Examples of such names for male and female Yorùbá convertees are as follows:

Male: Abrahamu, Jeremaya, Dafidi, etc. Female: Dokasi, Debora, Maria, Elisabeti, etc.

vi. Names that Contain Evidence of Divine Phenomena

These are àmútọ̀runwạ́ names,' 'names from heaven'. These names are given to children born in unusual circumstances. They are unary or one-word names whose meanings cannot be inferred through morphological concatenation. Their meanings are rooted in Yoruba culture and tradition. Such children usually display certain peculiar features, signs, postures, attitudes or mannerisms at birth or immediately after birth for which the Yoruba tradition and culture have already prescribed specific names. Names brought from heaven (Orúkọ Àmútọ̀runwá):

(a) Òjó= A male child that has his umbilical cord tied around his neck at birth.
(b) àìná,= the feminine form of òjó: àìná is used for both males and females by the Ijebu.
(c) Àjàyí,= A child is born face down.
(d) Dàda =child born with curly hair
(e) Òní= A name given to a baby who is very small in stature at birth and cries incessantly.
(f) Táíwò= the first twin to be delivered.
(g) Ètaókó= the third child of a triplet.
(h) Ìgè=A child born with legs presented first rather than head at birth
(i) Ọ̀kẹ́,= A child born inside an unbroken membrane.

A Comparison of the Significance of Names in the OT and in Contemporary Yoruba Christian Society

Areas of Common Interest

It is worth noting that Jewish families have the common practice of naming their babies after their deceased family members, whose names are traditionally taken from the Bible. To the Hebrews, a name was not a label, or a tool to distinguish one person from another; a person's name was viewed as equivalent to the person himself. A person's name signified their person, worth, character, reputation, authority, will, and ownership. This is also true of the Yorùbá. What is more, personal names given by Jewish parents in Israel are carriers of the cultural values derived from their social and national backgrounds. Names can tie us to our origins and traditions. The abbreviation *Theo* after a name indicates that it is a theophoric name, i.e., one which invokes the name of God. Those names beginning with EI as in Eliezer or Ye as in Yehoshua and those ending in el as in Shmuel or ya as in Batya are clearly theophoric. For Yoruba, names like Ògúnjìmí, Ifábùnmi, Awólọ́wọ̀, etc reveal the origin and cultural values of the bearers. Jewish name carries serious meaning, for examples: Ezra (help), Daniel (God is my judge), Raphael (God heals), Michael (who is like God?), among others. Yorùbá name also carries weight, for examples: Odùkọ̀yà=The oracle god has warded off sufferings (from me), Ọ̀pátọ́lá=The support of the farm goddess is as valuable as honour or nobility. Aláyàndé=A drummer has come, among others. Names connote diverse things: name signified authority (Exodus 5:23; I Kings 21:8); indicated one's ownership of a person/thing (Genesis 1:5, 8, 10; 2:19-20; II Samuel 12:28; Amos 9:12). So it is in the

Yoruba culture. For examples: Ọba (king), Olúọ̀dẹ (head of the hunters), Balógun (commander in chief of army force), Babaaláwo (Ifá priest), among others are individuals with special portfolios. Circumstantial name is seriously common between the two variables. For examples: Ichabod (glory has departed from Israel). The same vein Yorùbá pattern of naming has for example: Ige, a child who presents the legs first rather than the head at birth.

Point of Departure

Despite all the similarities between the two, one can still notice a point of divergence between them. It is crystal clear that the naming patterns of the Yorùbá people and the Hebrews in the Old Testament are not the same. For example, Yoruba has names which bear evidence of foreign religions, which include both Christian and Muslim names; OT categories of names do not accommodate that. Again, the praise-chants "Oríkì" are usually linked with the past achievements of the progenitor of the nominee. Appendixes of Metaphorical Praises are not just instruments of inspiration for the subject of praise, but are evocative in their metaphysical content. Thus, they are capable of provoking the subject of praise into certain actions of extraordinary spectacle. As good as this may sound, it has no bearing on the OT name patterns.

Significance of Names

In all cultures, the basic purpose of naming is to provide a symbolic system of individual identification. Like every aspect of culture, such a symbolic system is usually historically constructed, socially maintained, and based on shared assumptions and expectations of members of a particular community. This reveals the significance of names. Hence, the significance of names will be discussed here, starting first with the historical;

Historical Significance

Name defines one's historical lineage and signifies one's objectives, purposes and one's real identity. Name also signifies the tribe from which one comes from. It represents the language and dialect spoken. Jacob's name יַעֲקֹב yaʿăqôb heel catcher (that is, supplanter), illustrates that he is of Hebraic origin. His name creates an awareness of the region from which he came from, historically. Therefore, names effectively describe men in a manner that few men truly understand or choose to realize. Names carry customs and are part of every culture. There is a great difference from one culture to another in how names are given. Names are determined according to very definite and specific rules. In cultures with a keen sense of ancestry, children get names from the family trees of their parents. In some cultures, names are taken from events which occur during the pregnancy of the mother or shortly after the birth of the child, as was the case of Jacob and Esau, his twin.

Social Significance

Names today have an expanded and more imperative significance than they ever have before due to the increasing globalisation in the world. Due to the unprecedented growth of social networks, social media, and mobile technology, the context of the name has evolved beyond the physical individual. It is the quintessential component which makes the social world possible. It is easy to describe an individual through his social media profiles, opened in his name. The names of one another describe the societal influence, one has. On the 5th of May, 2010, during Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's victorious emergence as Nigeria's president shortly after the death of Late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, a pastor gave birth to a boy and christened him "Goodluck" after the then Nigerian president (Oladokun, 2010). Rich Nigerians like Alico Dangote have a net worth of US $14.4 billion. Mike Adenugam has a net worth of $9.9 billion dollars. Femi Otedola has a net worth of US $1.85 billion. Folorunsho Alakija, with a net worth of US $1.55 billion. Five of the richest men in Nigeria have a net worth of US $1.1 billion (Wealth of the Five Richest Men in Nigeria Could End Extreme Poverty in the Country, Yet 5 Million Face Hunger, 2017). They are all known for their wealth, so those names have created social relevance.

In addition to this, Jacob's name is identified socially as one of the Fathers of blessings in the Jewish faith. His name as Jacob is used when praying or describing Yahweh (Yhwh), the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The name, therefore, is identified with their ancestors, indicating the God who had been with their forefathers from ancient times.

The Significance of Identity

Fakuade, et.al (2020, p.254) argue that giving a name to a child in Africa hinges on the fact that the child has personal dignity right from the time of conception and needs to be respected and protected. This respect for the dignity of the newly born is symbolized through practices associated with the child's naming ceremony. Names contain meaning for people and define who people are. They are defining characteristics that everybody shares, which is profound and unique. Names are titles of virtual selves and hence become key-indicators of one's real self. They glorify, humanize and broaden the true identity of man. Jacob's identity was that of a supplanter; one who overthrows another to excel. This is seen in his lifestyle with his brother and father-in-law. Some names carry negative and down-turning impacts. They describe who one's true identity is, and more often than not, such an identity takes time to change, if it is going to change. The identity created by one's name carries great impact both on the bearer and the world at large. Thus, a name is one's personal reflection and communicates so much, establishing one's reputation (Dehnart, 2009). Names confirm the individual's existence and his responsibilities and differentiate the child from others. Thus, society will be able to treat and deal with the child as someone with needs and feelings different from other people (Feldman, 1959, pp. 237-250). Thus, the individual becomes part of the history of society. Accepting names implicitly implies accepting membership in the society and agreeing to follow its rules and customs (Deluzain, n.d.).

Spiritual Significance

God places a high value on the meaning of names, as evidenced by His choice of names for his beloved son: "Jesus" or "Yeshua" in Greek and Hebrew, respectively, which mean "Salvation" or "Saviour.""Sarah-Mother of many nations", "Israel-You have wrestled with God" (Dehnart, 2009). The fact is that if names were not important, God would not have single handedly changed the names of some people to better and more meaningful ones, e.g. Abram to Abraham, Sarai to Sarah, and Jacob to Israel. From the newly given names, new identities were gained and established. Proverbs in agreement states that a good name is better than silver and gold (Proverbs 22:1). Throughout biblical history, names have been of great importance. They establish the beginning of a reputation, and the whole of that reputation is recalled by the thought and the calling of the name.

Conclusion

The paper examined a comparative study of the significance of names in the Old Testament and contemporary Yoruba Christian society in Nigeria. Seven different categories of biblical names and six different categories of Yorùbá names were also discussed, with examples. The paper also discovered that despite a lot of similarities between the two variables: Yorùbá and Hebrew, there are also points of divergence. The paper concluded that the common denominator is that naming is a conscious communicative strategy for the dissemination of people's attitudes, social and religious ideology. The paper recommends that, Christians should do proper research before christening their children‘s names and take note of the spiritual implications attached to naming.

References

Ainiala, T., Saarelma, M., & Sjöblom. P. (2016). *Names in Focus: An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics.*

Ajileye, M.K. (2002). Communication and Yorùbá names: A socio-semantic approach. In S. T. Babatunde, & D. S. Adeyanju (eds) *Language, meaning & society*. (pp.294-311) Ilorin: Haytee Press & Publishing Co. Ltd.

Akinnaso, F.N. (2021). The sociolinguistic basis of Yorubá personal names. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22 (7), 275-304.

Alston, W.A. (1964). *Philosophy of language*. Englewood: Prentice Hall

Anderson, J. M. (2004). On the grammatical status of names *Language*, 80 (3), 435-474.

Babalola, A. (1967). *Àwon oríkì orílè.* Glasgow: Press of the Publisher.

Babalola, A., & Alaba, O. (2008). *A dictionary of Yoruba personal names*. Lagos: West African Book Publisher Limited.

Bailey, N.A. (2007). *Proper names in the Bible: Translation and transliteration issues*. [Database On-line]; available from https://www.researchgate.net accessed on February 20th, 2020.

Barnes, A. (1983). "Name", *Barnes notes on the Old and New Testaments,* 19th eds. Grand Rapid: Baker Books.

Chiluwa, I. (2010). Discourse of naming among Christian charismatic movements in Nigeria. In A. Ogunsiji, A. Kehinde & A. Odebunmi (eds.) *Language, literature, and discourse* (pp.233-248). A Festschrift in honour of Professor Lekan Oyeleye. Munich: Lincom GmbH.

Clarke, A. (2014). *Adam Clarke's commentary on the Bible*, 6 vols. New York: G. Lane and P.P. Sandford.

Dehnart, J. (2009). *Value in meaning: How important is the meaning and history of a name?* [Database On-line]; available from http://www.meaning.name accessed on 20th February, 2020.

Deluzain, E. (2020). *Names and personal identity* [Online Database]; available at www.behindthename.com accessed on February 17th.

Douglas, J. D., ed. (1992). Names. *The new Bible dictionary*, 2nd ed. Leicester: Intervarsity Press.

Dulle, J. (2020). *The biblical significance of names, particularly as it relates to prayer and baptism* [Database on-line]; available from https://www.onenesspentecostal.com accessed on 17th February.

Fakuade, G., Friday-Otun, J., & Adeosun, H. (2019). Yoruba personal naming system: Ttraditions, patterns, and practices. *Sociolinguistic Studies,* 13 (2-4), 251–271 Equinox Publishing https://doi.org

Harold, F. (1959). The problem of personal names as a universal element in culture. *American Imago*, 16, 237-250.

Hartropp, J. (2016). *Why names are so important in the Bible-and so is yours*. Online database]; available at https://www.christiantoday.com accessed February 17th, 2020.

Hornby, S. A. (2010). *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary.* Oxford: University Press.

Idowu, E. B. (1996). *Olodumare: God in Yoruba belief.* Ikeja: Longman Nigeria Plc.

Ilesanmi, T. M. (1982). Naming ceremony among the Yoruba. *ORITA, XIX* (2), 108-119.

Johson, S. (2001). *The history of the Yoruba*. Lagos: CSS Bookshop Ltd.

Kofoworola, Z. O. *(2015). Yoruba names cosmology, worldviews and dramatic exploration.* Unilorin, Nigeria: International Institute of Theater in Conjunction with DorcAmos Tops Publishers.

Motyer, J. A. (1992). *The revelation of the divine name, in the new Bible dictionary,* (2nd ed.) Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers.

Oduyoye, M. (1972). *Yorùbá names: Their structures and their meanings*. Ibadan: Daystar Press.

Oha, O. (1997). From quest to question. *Journal of Social & Cultural Studies*. 1(1), iii-xx.

O'Donovan, W. (1992). *Biblical christianity in African perspective*. Carlisle: Paternoster.

Osundare, N. (1993). *African literature and the crisis of post-structuralist theorising*. Ibadan: Options Book and Information Services.

Pottage (2020). [Database on-line]; available from www.dictionary.com accessed on 17th February, 2020.

The power and importance of your last name (2020) [Database on-line]; available at https://www.howcoolbrandsstayhot.com accessed on February 17, 2020.

Wealth of Five Richest Men in Nigeria could end extreme poverty in the country, yet 5 million face hunger. (2020). [Online database]; available at https://www.oxfam.org accessed on February 17th, 2020.

Webster, M. (2020). Name. In *Encyclopedia Britannica.* Edinburgh: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. [Database on-line]; available from https://www.merriam-webster.com accessed on 10th February, 2020.

Schwartz, S. H. (2012). *An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values*. *Online Readings in ';/Psychology and Culture*, 2(1) https://dx

An Interview with White, Raphael Oladokun (2010). *A Pastor at World Assembly Church*, *Sango*, 30th January.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POLITENESS IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS: ANALYSIS OF AHMED YERIMA'S *LITTLE DROPS* AND *IDEMILI*

Waheed Olanrewaju Salawdeen
&
Hamzah Abdurraheem
Department of Languages (English),
Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

One unique feature of human language is its complex system which allows for individuality in use of discourse. This individuality allows some measure of independence on users in communicating with others. This is hinged on performance. Performance, according to Chomsky, is the actual display of competence in language use by a speaker. Performance in the use of language provides the language user the ability to disseminate his/her message in a way that listeners or readers may sometimes find obscure. This independence of language use is sometimes taken to a higher level in literary discourse, which presents the real creative world of drama, poetry and prose.

Drama, as a literary genre, reflects the world of human interaction in the society often with the interface of disagreements, conflicts and their resolutions, which constitute the focus of playwrights' experiences from their societies. Sabhawal (2013) opines that conflict is the struggle between opposing forces and groups in the society. Conflict is synonymous with human society because no human society is devoid of conflict; it may just differ in nature from one social group to another. In plays, societal conflicts are mirrored by the playwrights for the society to see with a view to recreating the genesis of these conflicts and proffering solutions from the perspective and experience of the playwrights.

Playwrights' creation of dramatic texts is sometimes inlicit and, to make explicit any obscure element in language use of the characters as presented by the playwrights, may require extra-linguistic effort on the part of the reader or analyst. This process calls for a linguistic theory that can capture the dynamics of plays properly. This assertion is corroborated by Culpeper, Short and Verdonk (2002), when they submit that to be able to explain dynamics of plays properly, pragmatic and discourse analyses are useful concepts.

Pragmatics, as opined by Yule (1996), is a field of linguistic study which focuses on how meaning is communicated by speaker (writer) and interpreted by the listener (reader/analyst). Pragmatics, according to Levinson (1983), provides the opportunity to account for implicit purposes, hints, assumptions, social attitudes, etc. that are effectively communicated by the use of language. Mey (2001) is of the opinion that pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the condition of the society. From the spectrum of pragmatics, comes the politeness principle.

Politeness brings into play the feeling of communication in social interaction by minimising the expression of impolite acts and utterances for the polite ones. Leech (1983) opines that it is not just about being civil but providing the missing link between cooperative principle and problem emanating from how to relate sense to force. The discourse of analysis in the paper is the conflict situation in two plays of Ahmed Yerima: *Little Drops* and *Idemili*. The paper reports the investigation of the influence of conflicts on the observance of politeness principle and establishes the veracity of the claim that in conflict situations politeness is relegated to the background as asserted by Leech (1983). The analysis focused on the state of politeness principles in the two selected plays. Hence, this paper highlights the effect of the conflicts in the plays on the observance of politeness strategies using the six politeness maxims as classified by Leech (1983).

Synopses of the Selected Plays

Little Drops is one of the plays in the book titled *Three plays: Hard Ground, Little Drops and Ipomu.* It reenacts the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria from the point of view of the women. The setting of the entire play is a war situation. Memekize (Meme) is an old woman, who is forced by circumstance of the ongoing war to disguise as a militant in her compound as a form of protection and she uses a big wrapped spoon as a gun. Mukume, Azue and Bonuwo are other women that have found their way into her compound, all running away from the war. The women have different terrible experiences of the war and have to stick together under the guardian of Memekize, and sleep in turns to protect themselves. Kuru, a young militant and leader of one of the groups, who is suffering from gunshots wounds, barges into the women at gunpoint and threaten to kill all of them. However, he becomes unconscious from loss of blood as a result of the gunshots, but is revived and treated by Meme and now lives as a captive under the women. During the interaction with the women, Kuru, the militant, provides answers to their questions and some unknown facts are revealed to them. He goes on to give the reasons for their rebellion against the government, and some of their leaders and their preparedness to continue to fight and destroy. The women, in their own wisdom, offer what they believe can serve as panacea to the crisis and bring everlasting peace.

Idemili is the story of the family of a miner, who is trapped in the mine for days with his wife in distress and her daughter. Ngborie (Ngbo), the Miner's daughter, sends for the only son in the family, Reverend Father Paul, who has been away from home for fifteen years as a result of disagreement with his father. The disagreement in the family has to do with religion and Paul's decision to become a Reverend Father, an only child from an idol worshipping parents. His return brings relief to his mother and the Reverend Father uses the opportunity of the happy reunion to persuade her that Jesus can help to solve the problem of the family, if they all accept him to rescue her trapped husband and return him home safely. The interaction between Ngbeke and her child, Rev. Paul, makes her to accept to be converted to Christianity with the name Agnes. The news of the rescue of the trapped miners comes with great relief to all, but with Ngbeke, the new convert, not knowing who to accept as the saviour of her husband between Jesus that she has just accepted and Idemili, that she has worshiped all her life.

Construct of the Study

For a very long period of time, the study of language has focused more on the analysis of formal properties of language. However, with the advent of pragmatics, this position has changed. Pragmatics, as a branch of linguistics, brings the issues of context into the analysis of language. From the point of view of Watson and Hill (1993), pragmatics studies language form the viewpoint of the users, especially the choices he makes, the constraints he/she meets in using language and the effects of the use on the communicative situation. Mey (2001) is of the opinion that pragmatics relates more to what Chomsky referred to as performance as against competence, because performance relates to what we do when we actually speak, in which case, utterances need not necessarily conform to sentence structures. He states further that pragmatics studies the use of language as determined by the conditions of the society (p.6).

The broad perspective of pragmatics can be narrowed to various theories and concepts within it that constitute the various study areas. These theories constitute what Blackmore (1982) describes as the mental structure underlying the ability to interpret utterances in context. These theories particularly aimed at explaining how utterances convey meaning in context, how such meanings are decoded in context in particular situations, how context contribute to encoding and decoding of meaning, how speakers can say one thing and mean something else, etc. Some of the theories and concepts in pragmatics include Speech Acts Theory by J. L. Austin (1962), a pioneering theory which emphasises the linguistic act which speakers perform when they speak. This theory was further developed by his student, J. R. Searle (1965). Also, cooperative principle and implicature was introduced by linguistic philosopher H. P. Grice (1975), which has proved popular in conversational analysis. Politeness theory is another among the various theories of pragmatics propounded by Leech (1983), which is the preferred theory for application in this paper. However, in any form of pragmatic analysis, context is very crucial.

In formal linguistic description of grammar and semantics before the emergence of pragmatics, context has not been given much attention. However, with the advent of pragmatics this notion has changed. Pragmatics, being concerned with language use, pays particular attention to the role of context in language use. Context embodies all the relevant circumstances in which an utterance occurs. It covers all the features of setting of an utterance which makes the utterance to be understood, according to Mattews (2007). Verschueren (1999) opines that context consists of the physical world, social world and mental world. Context became popularised in the 1930s to the 1950s in the work of Firth, taking it from Anthropologist Malinowski (1923), according to Wales (2001). Lyons (1977, p.572) defines context as a theoretical construct in the postulation of which the linguist abstracts from the actual situation and establishes as contextual all the factors which, by virtue of their influence upon the participants in the language event, systematically determine the form and appropriateness of the meaning of utterances.

Context can, therefore, be seen as the relevant aspect of physical or social setting of an utterance which aids the understanding of the utterance. Scholars have classified context in various forms. Adegbija (1999) classifies context which can affect meaning into four. These are physical, socio-cultural, linguistic and psychological. Physical context relates to where an utterance takes place and the time of the utterance. Socio-cultural context has to do with the beliefs, habits, value systems and culture of those involved in interaction. Linguistic context refers to other words appearing in the environment of the word(s) used. Psychological context has to do with the state of mind of the interlocutors.

Politeness Theory

Politeness has to do with establishing the feeling of communal and social relationship. It is concerned with being civil and polite by minimising the expression of impolite beliefs. Leech (1983) opines that politeness provides the missing link between cooperative principle and the problem emanating from relating sense to force. He states further that politeness is asymmetrical, which implies that what constitutes politeness in one culture may not be the same in another and what is polite to some individuals may not be to others. Brown and Levinson (1987) provide a descriptive analysis of various politeness strategies that are used by interlocutors in discourse to maintain their faces in social interaction.

Leech (1983) classifies politeness based on illocutionary force into four in relation to the social goals they perform in context as competitive, convival, collaborative and conflictive. Politeness becomes competitive if the illocutionary goal competes with the social goal. It is convival when the illocutionary function coincides with the social goal. Politeness is said to be collaborative if it is indifferent to social goal and conflictive if it conflicts with social goal. In a conflictive situation, Leech (1983) asserts that politeness usually becomes relegated because conflictive illocutions are mostly offensive and impolite.

Based on the above classification, Leech (1983) proposes six politeness maxims which are tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy maxims. On another hand, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose four descriptive elements of politeness strategies used by interlocutors in social interaction. These are bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off record. Leech's politeness maxims are adopted for analysis in this study; they therefore, require further explanations.

Tact politeness maxim: According to Leech (1983), tact maxim states that a speaker should minimise the expression of beliefs which imply cost to others. Instead maximise the expression of beliefs that will be of benefits to others. The maxim says that one should not say what is impolite to others. If a speaker does, he has violated the tact politeness maxim. For instance:

The stupid old fool has stained my cloth.

The utterance above flouts the tact politeness maxim by expressing a belief that implies cost to the addressee (being rude and impolite).

The modesty maxim asserts that a speaker should minimise the praise of self and maximise the praise of others. This means that a speaker should minimise his/her own praise but instead praise others. For example:

A. What a fine and expensive car you have?
B. Not at all. It just looks nice but inexpensive.

Speaker B is showing modesty according to politeness principle.

The agreement maxim states that a speaker should minimise disagreement between self and others but should maximise agreement between self and others.

A. The football match was highly entertaining, wasn't it?
B1. It wasn't really entertaining.
B2. Definitely.

The response of B1 to A is impolite, while speaker B2 is polite.

The sympathy maxim states that a speaker should minimise antipathy between self and others and maximise sympathy. For instance:

- I am very pleased to inform you that this morning's flight has been cancelled.
- I am very sorry to inform you that his morning's flight has been cancelled.

While the second utterance is sympathetic to the plight of addressee, the first is distasteful.

The approbation maxim states that a speaker should minimise dispraise of others and maximise the praise of others. This maxim implies that a speaker should avoid saying unpleasant things about others but instead give compliments to others.

What a wonderful performance – polite
What an awful performance – impolite

The generosity maxim, according to Leech (1983), states that a speaker should minimise benefit to self and minimise cost to others. For instance:

You must share our meal with us. Instead of:
We must share your meal with you.

In the first sentence, the speaker is generously polite, while in the second sentence, the cost is placed on the addressee, which according to Leech is impolite.

The analysis reported in this paper deployed the six politeness maxims identified by Leech (1983) as earlier explained. The six maxims to be applied in the analysis are: tact, modesty, agreement, sympathy, approbation and generosity maxims. They were found to be more relevant to the analysis of the data in the study. Utterances from plays were indentified, extracted, explained and interpreted in relation to the politeness maxims. Based on the findings, conclusions were drawn with respect to the effect of the conflicts on the politeness strategies in the two plays.

Methodology

The approach to the analysis in this paper is qualitative. It is discursive as well as descriptive in orientation by describing the structures that reflect the identified politeness maxims as used by the characters in the texts. The data for analysis are utterances extracted from the interaction of the characters in the two plays: *Little Drops* and *Idemili.* All the identifiable structures that manifest the politeness principles were used in the analysis. In all, a total of 36 texts consisting of utterances were found to contain elements reflecting politeness principles, extracted and analysed. The extracted utterances are explained in view of the context of use in the play and then interpreted in relation to the politeness maxims of Leech (1983).

Analysis of Politeness Principles in the Selected Plays

The analysis begins with the extraction of utterances and situations that present manifestations of violation of or compliance with the politeness maxims, the circumstances are explained and interpretation given with reference to the politeness principles.

Tact Politeness Maxim

Little Drops

TEXT 1

MEME: I say shut up! Now slowly bring your hands to your back. Do as I say or I will send you to your death. Place your hands on your back, now! … Good. Now bend slowly. Bring down your head, and raise your dirty smelly buttocks up, slowly. Don't try any smart move or else you meet your maker.

MUKUME: … This is rape? No… I have been raped three times today already. Kill me instead. Shoot me and let me die! (pp. 67-68)

The scene here is the infiltration of Mukume into Meme's compound during the war. Meme, an old woman of seventy years, in an attempt to safeguard herself from unnecessary attacks from the militants, disguises like a militant with what looks like a gun to threaten any intruder into her compound and this is the situation in the above extract, when a young lady, Mukume, enters her compound.

Meme's utterances flout the tact politeness maxim by uttering expressions which not only constitute cost to Mukume but also life-threatening. Mukume, the addressee, who initially obeyed all the directives issued by Meme, later becomes disobedient to her orders, in spite of the 'gun' she carries, especially when the directives appear to her like a rape attempt, having experienced rape from three hefty militants earlier in the day. Speaking to a harmless young woman in such language, the utterances of Meme flouts the tact politeness maxim.

TEXT 2

MEME: Hmm, she smells of bruised flesh and wet blood, all mingled in one marshy paste of pain… The animals. They mashed her up into a paste. Like Hawks, they perched everywhere. May the gods forgive them. Animals… (pp. 69-70)

The physical context of the utterances is Meme's compound and the participants are Meme, the owner of the compound, and Mukume, who intrudes into her compound and later faints while interacting with Meme. Meme makes the statements while trying to resuscitate her and discovers, in the process that she has been raped and brutalized. She likens her assailants to animals (hawks) for the barbaric act meted to an innocent girl.

Meme's utterances above flout the tact politeness maxim by referring to the militants as animals. In spite of their barbaric act which evokes the remarks, the utterances still violate the tact maxim, which stipulates that a speaker should not utter what constitutes cost to others.

TEXT 3

MUKUME: … I was caught by the door by three hefty men, ugly mean men in black hoods and guns. My loose wrapper fell at the sight of death… (p.74)

The extract above is taken from Mukume's account of her rape and eventual escape from the bandits as she narrates her ordeal to Meme after her resuscitation by Meme. The expression "…ugly mean men in black hoods…" flouts the principle of tact politeness maxim by using expression that imply cost to others.

TEXT 4

MEME: … Silly man. He always had his eyes for young girls and their good shape. Shape! (*Chuckles.*) I am sure he has moved down the river by the lower banks where four young women live. Foolish old fool. (p. 76)

This text is from the narration by Meme of his experience of life with her husband and children before their death during the Biafra war. She explains the way her husband relates with other women, especially beautiful young girls and refers to her husband as "Foolish old fool…" even in death. This utterance violates the tact politeness maxim, which stresses that one should say what is of benefit to others and not what will imply cost to others. The expression amounts to insulting a dead man and, therefore, flouts the tact politeness maxim.

TEXT 5

MEME: We heard his new wife pushed him. Urged on by her evil mother. We even heard that he had taken her from the hand of a youth leader… (p. 80)

Meme, in the extract above, is addressing Mukume and Azue, the queen, about the plight of their King, unknown to her that she is speaking to the queen herself. Meme's utterances above in which she accuses Queen Azue's mother of being evil without any credible evidence is a violation of tact politeness maxim by saying that which is not of benefit to others. By referring to the queen's mother as evil amounts to violation of the tact maxim because the utterance is not of any benefit to the hearer, rather it generates anger and hatred from the queen.

TEXT 6

AZUE: Haa… so it is true. The night mother first, chose old men and women for dinner, and then when they thirst, they chose after children. This one belongs to the sacred gods… I thank my mothers. The prince is not hungry. He is well and alive.

MUKUME: (*Angry)* Mothers of the night? We? What a stupid thought. (p. 84)

In the scene above, after discovering the true identity of Azue as the queen of the Kingdom and having observed that the baby she is carrying is the young prince and having also observed that the baby needs help, Meme and Mukume offer to help the prince but the queen's reaction is contrary to their expectation. Azue's utterances in the extract above constitute a violation of the tact politeness maxim by referring to the two women, who offer to assist in caring for the prince, as "night mothers". By this act, she has not only embarrassed but also insulted them. The implicature the utterance generates is anger from the respondent, who also returns the insult, irrespective of the fact that she is addressing the queen, especially because they are trying to offer a helping hand to the prince, whose life they know to be in danger but the fact which is unknown to the queen.

TEXT 7

KURU: … Is this a women colony? Wake them up… Wake up the stupid fools!... Wake up, mothers, death has come. (p. 103)

This scene, where the utterances above are extracted, is the appearance of Kuru, a true militant, with guns and other ammunitions in Meme's compound and holds the women hostage. Here, the women see the difference between the old woman, Meme, camouflaging as a militant and a real militant. However, Kuru's utterances are impolite to harmless old women. The expressions of Kuru flout the tact politeness maxim by saying what implies cost to others and therefore, impolite.

TEXT 8

MEME: You trouble yourself. He died. What do we know? We are just foolish women, Remember? Are we God? If anybody will ask me, I will suggest we throw the rubbish into the river. (p. 105)

This extract is taken from the scene where Kuru, the militant, becomes unconscious having lost a lot of blood from gunshot wound. This happens after he has threatened to kill all the women and calls them all sorts of terrible names. Meme rebuffs the suggestion to treat Kuru and recalls the insulting utterances he has used on them earlier that they are 'foolish old women' as the basis of her refusal. This utterance violates the tact politeness maxim by saying what amounts to insult to the women, especially when the women are harmless and have not done anything to provoke such reaction. In fact, he intrudes into their privacy.

TEXT 9

MUKUME: A faceless bully of innocent women. See how he charged like a lion and fell like a twig. Honestly, for one minute I thought someone had charmed him.

MEME: Childish fool. (p. 107)

This text is sequel to text 8 in the same scene. Meme subsequently agrees and treats Kuru's wound. Azue suggests Kuru's hood should be removed and his true identity revealed, but this suggestion is opposed by Meme, who insists that he should remain faceless and unknown to them. However, the utterances of both Mukume and Meme flout the tact politeness maxim by saying what implies cost to Kuru.

TEXT 10

MEME: … He called us stupid fools, especially after seeing my grey hair, and recognizing the queen…

KURU: I am sorry… (p. 110)

In this scene, Kuru, the militant, barges in to the compound of Meme, where the women are hiding and threatens to kill all the women. Meme, the seventy year-old woman, who dares to raise her voice, is ordered to be tied by the seventeen-year-old militant. In Meme's utterance above, it is revealed that Kuru once referred to the women as stupid fools. This is very impolite coming from a young man to older women and this flouts the tact maxim of the politeness principles, because he expresses a belief which implies cost to the women, especially when an old woman, who is old enough to be his grandmother, is involved. What the violation of the tact maxim generates from the women towards him is hatred and anger. This flouting of the tact maxim in which a small boy refers to a woman old enough to be his grandmother as a stupid fool because he is carrying a gun is the fall out of the conflict in the play, which makes a small boy to suddenly develop to a crude militant.

Text 10 concludes the analysis of politeness principle in *Little Drops*. We shall go on to to examine politeness in *Idemili*.

TEXT 11

NGBO: You did not take time to understand these damned souls. You went head on, being your father's son. You charged at each other like bulls, until you both tore the family apart. (p. 18)

This text is extracted from the interaction between Ngbo and Father Paul in *Idemili*. There is a heated argument between the two on the position taken by the Rev. Father and his eventual stay away from home for fifteen years. Ngbo is trying to make his brother realise the needlessness of his continuous rift with his parents on account of their religion. All he needs is to understand them to be able to influence them. The reference Ngbo makes here to Paul's use of damned souls to describe his parents does not go down well with her and the expression constitutes a violation of the tact politeness maxim by saying what implies cost to others.

TEXT 12

NGBO: Yes we don't. How can we understand, when we are blind in our sins? You were arrogant, my brother, and so father resisted you, son or no son. (*Paul picks up his bag*) Where are you going?

PAUL: Back to my church. I think it was a bad idea that I came. I shall never step my foot here again… (p. 19)

The above extract is taken from the interaction between Rev. Father Paul, who just returned home after fifteen years of staying away in the church as a result of disagreement with his father and his sister, who is trying to make him see the reason for the disagreement with his father and possibly resolve the conflict. From Ngbo's utterances above, the violation of the tact maxim of politeness theory by Paul can be discerned. To refer to his family as "blind in their sins" is not only impolite but also saying what implies cost to the family, which is seen as an arrogant posture by his sister as reflected in her utterance and which she identifies as the main reason for his parent's refusal to accept his religion.

TEXT 13

PAUL: You see why this place chokes me? We are trapped by the blackness of the coal. All tied together by the wet smell of black earth. Oh God, I hate this place. (p. 23)

Extract 13 is taken from Father Paul's homecoming and his regret for coming back since his parents are still languishing in their ignorance and this makes him feel very uncomfortable in his father's house and the company of his family members. His utterances here are detrimental to the status of his parents and his entire family and, therefore, violate the tact politeness maxim.

Modesty Politeness Maxim

Little Drops

TEXT 14

MEME: I know they say I am an old witch.

MUKUME: No, Mama, kind words and good things. See how well you have patched my virtue. Sealed me up from shame! May the gods bless you… (p. 73)

This text is taken from the first scene in the play, when Mukume arrives in Meme's compound and is attended to and treated by Meme. In showing gratitude to her after knowing her identity, she recalls that she has heard so many things about the old woman. However, Meme retorts that Mukume must have been told that she is an old witch but Mukume responds that she heard good things about her, which she has shown to her by treating and taking care of her. Mukume's response here affirms the modesty politeness maxim by maximizing the praise of others.

TEXT 15

MUKUME: … Bring the child, woman. We talk too much. There is a blood stain from your back … Mother may still be able to save your prince.

AZUE: Save my prince? From what? He is a prince protected by the gods. He cannot die. He has not cried because princes and kings do not cry. I cannot give him to anyone. No! (p. 84)

In text 15, the queen of Gbaramatu Kingdom, running away from the destruction of the palace and the murder of the king, comes in to Memekize's compound to join the other women, who are also on the run. The women, having noticed the strange attitude of the baby (the prince) on her back offer to help to treat the young prince. The queen, however, misinterprets their intention because of her experience and refuses to give in to their request. The response of queen Azue flouts the modesty politeness maxim.

TEXT 16

(*BONUWO rises to her knees as she sings the praise chant of the queen. The other women kneel.)*

AZUE: Rise … Mother, please rise. Rise all of you. This is not the time for this. I owe my life to you both. Please rise, women. (p. 94)

This text is from the scene where Bonuwo, the teacher, who is on the run from the parents of her pupils who were all eliminated in a blast, appears. She had persuaded the parents to allow the children come to school in spite of the obvious war around them but escapes the onslaught because she went to the toilet at the time of the blast making her the only survivor in the class. On sighting the queen, she starts to sing her praise but the response of the queen conforms to the modesty maxim by praising them instead of agreeing to be praised.

Idemili

TEXT 17

NGBEKE: … We wanted you to become a big man, with money, a beautiful wife, and grandchildren for me, not a church man … Your father thought your failure to realize his dream was his, so he carried the anger and the shame in his soul… That was the root of the quarrel… (p. 23)

This text is taken from the interaction between Ngbeke and her son, Father Paul, who returns home after fifteen years of absence. Ngbeke, in this scene recalls the position of her husband who feels responsible for the failure of his son to become a medical doctor but instead a Reverend Father. The position of Paul's father is in conformity with modesty politeness maxim by blaming himself for his son's failure and not blaming his son.

TEXT 18

NGBEKE: … I am to blame. I have asked the gods to kill my husband because of my jealousy … I am a woman. I swear, I did not mean to kill your father. I want my husband to live. *(Crying)* See how pathetic I am. I pushed the hands of the goddess to destroy my own family. (pp. 28-29)

In this extract, Ngbeke blames herself for the plight of her husband, who is trapped in the mine for days. She feels her plea with the goddess to stand with her when her husband plans to take a new wife is the reason for his present ordeal. In her utterances here, she complies with the modesty politeness maxim by blaming herself and not anyone else for her husband's plight.

TEXT 19

PAUL: … In your blood I seek salvation, it is my fault. Father all mine. See how your children wallow in their old bad ways. I should never have stayed away for so long. My sister, I am sorry … so … very sorry. (p. 34)

Text 19 is another instance of compliance with the modesty politeness maxim by Father Paul, who blames himself for staying away from home for as long as fifteen years which he believes is responsible for his family members still wallowing in their paganism. Perhaps, if he had not been away for so long, he may have been able to make them see the light and accept Christianity before now.

TEXT 20

PAUL: When I left, I did not know why I did. I blamed it on my father's slap. But it was more than that. It was my pride. I felt I was too good, too blessed… too superior to be slapped by my own father… (p. 38)

This text is Paul's reaction after his sister's influence on him to make him see the need to reconcile his differences with their parents, so that he can achieve his aim of converting them to Christianity. The utterances of Paul above conform to the maxim of modesty in politeness theory. Reverend Paul feels sober for allowing his pride to lead him to a disagreement with his own father. He now realises that he made a mistake by disagreeing with his father and leaving home for fifteen years. His feeling now shows that of a Reverend Father, who is willing to make amends and correct the past misdeeds.

Agreement Maxim

Little Drops

TEXT 21

AZUE: … I swear! By the gods I did not push him!

MEME: I am sorry… I did not know. Forgive me. (p. 81)

This text is from the scene where the queen appears in Meme's compound. Her true identity was not known to Meme and when she recalls the circumstances surrounding the death of the king, Meme blames the queen for pushing their king to his early grave, unknown to her that the queen is the narrator of the events. When she eventually identifies herself and swears that she did not push the king to betray his people, Meme instantly agrees with her. Meme's utterances here conform to the agreement maxim. In spite of earlier conviction that the queen pushed the king to his death, she agrees with the queen when she denies influencing the king.

TEXT 22

MEME: (*On one knee*.) My queen… the night air remains stale. A baby would catch a cold if we do not give him a hot bath… Let me have him… my queen. (*Stretches her hands*.)

AZUE: Ha… you must take me for a fool. Release the prince to total strangers? I may be dressed like a village fool, but I am not one … I am a queen! (p. 83)

In the discourse here, Meme and Mukume observe that the prince carried by the princess has not shown any sign of living since the queen arrived. They decide to offer a helping hand to treat the prince whose life may be in danger but the queen disagrees with them and refuses to release the prince to the women to be attended to. This attitude, reflected in the queen's utterances, violate the agreement maxim of the politeness principle. The attitude of the queen may not be unconnected with her experience, especially because her husband (the king) was killed and his palace destroyed by his subjects. Therefore, trusting women from the same community becomes difficult for her, hence, the flouting of the agreement maxim.

TEXT 23

BONUWO: I beg you, son … she is old.

KURU: She is ungrateful to the cause. So she deserves to die… Tie the old fool up now, and tie her rotten old mouth too. (p. 104)

In this text, Kuru enters Meme's compound and threatens to kill all the women and when Meme raises her voice, he orders her mouth and hands to be tied while threatening to make her the first to be killed. Bonuwo pleads with him on behalf of Meme, the seventy-year-old woman but her plea falls on deaf ear. Kuru's refusal amounts to violation of the agreement maxim, which states that a speaker should minimise disagreement with others and maximise agreement. Kuru has no basis to disagree here because the woman he orders to be tied is old and harmless but the conflict has eroded trust.

TEXT 24

KURU: I am sorry, mothers. Forgive me.

MUKUME: Haa! He calls us mothers at last. I say let's kill him. (p. 109)

Kuru, after being treated and regaining consciousness, apologises to the women for all he has done to them but his plea for forgiveness is rebuffed by the women as some insists he must be killed. Mukume's insistence that Kuru should be killed violates the agreement maxim, particularly when some of the women are already on the side of forgiving him.

TEXT 25

KURU: … We shall destroy everything … everything … everything. Total break up!

MEME: Ha, Ayiba! That is not the answer … it will never stop. The stupid women and the innocent children will always lose their lives. Faith and commitment that is what you need… (p. 113)

This text is taken from the point of reconciliation between the militant and the women, which marks the climax in the play. The women request to know the direction of the conflict and the expectation of the militants, which Kuru represents. His response is a big surprise to the women. In the dialogic exchange above, Meme disagrees with the position of the militant to destroy everything because this will not solve the problem. This disagreement, however, has a positive connotation. It marks the resolution of the crisis as the women offer what can bring lasting peace to the estranged region.

TEXT 26

AZUE:	This is the knife that slit my husband's throat. Swear that this is the last neck this knife would cut. Swear! ... Swear I say!
KURU:	I swear! With my blood I swear to bring peace here again. I swear. (p. 114)

In text 26, the queen, on behalf of the other women makes Kuru to swear to uphold the women's suggestion that can bring lasting peace to the region. Kuru swears to do all within his power to bring lasting peace. Kuru' utterances concur with the agreement maxim of the politeness principle, which stipulates that a speaker should maximise agreement with others.

Idemili

TEXT 27

NGBO:	… I have bought the medicine to help you rest. Did you eat the boiled yams?
NGBEKE:	Nothing goes down my throat. My mouth is bitter…
NGBO:	You must eat, Mama. The doctor at the clinic said you must come and see him.
NGBEKE:	I shall go nowhere. I am sick, but not for food…
NGBO:	… Papa will return home. Idemili will bring him back, you will see Mama.
NGBKE:	Idemili you have heard… Where is the medicine? I feel hot in the head again…

Ngbeke, whose husband has been trapped in the mine for days, has refused to eat or take her drugs, in spite of her fragile health situation and every attempt by her daughter has been rebuffed. However, when Ngbo uses the goddess Idemili to assure her mother of her husband's safe return home, she suddenly agrees to eat and take her drugs. In this context, Ngbeke's decision conforms to the agreement maxim of politeness principle.

TEXT 28

PAUL:	… Open your mouth, Mama.
NGBEKE:	(*Shakes her head in rejection.*) I am not hungry.
PAUL:	Then I shall return to Enugu for another fifteen years…
NGBEKE:	Okay. Just one morsel.
PAUL:	Two or I am out of here.
NGBEKE:	Okay Two… (p. 24)

The interaction here is between Ngbeke and her two children (Paul and Ngbo). The children were trying to make her eat to be able to take her drug after staying without food for some time due to the absence of her husband, who is trapped in the mine. In this interaction, Ngbeke complies with the agreement maxim of the politeness theory, by agreeing with the position of her son to eat her food in order to avoid her son going away again. Because she believes her husband's situation appears to be hopeless, she loses her appetite and is not willing to eat but she has to agree with her son, Paul, to eat to avoid disagreement with the son that has been away from home for fifteen years on account of a disagreement with his father. She therefore, conforms to the agreement maxim.

TEXT 29

PAUL: Your life, Mama. Change and give your life not to Idemili but to Jesus. Give up your old ways, and follow the true God. Can you do it?

NGBEKE: I will if you promise me that no child of mine will die. Not even my husband who is at the jaws of death will die.

PAUL: I cannot, Mama. Only God can guarantee that. I do not have the power…

NGBEKE: … You are a good priest. Take me to your God… (p. 48)

The extract here is from the same scene as text 28 above. The utterances of Ngbeke in this text in response to Paul's request for her to give her life to Jesus conforms with the agreement maxim of the politeness theory because Ngbeke agrees with her son, Father Paul, to be converted, if her prayers will be answered. This agreement to be converted to Christianity from paganism, in spite of the differences of opinion about religion that has existed between them for years and which has threatened to tear the family apart, is the peak of conformity with agreement maxim and the resolution of the religious dispute which constitutes the theme of the play.

Sympathy Maxim

Little Drops

TEXT 30

MEME: … She breathes. Hallelujah … Holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on this poor soul. Have mercy on me. And save us from this war, Amen. Hmm, she smells of bruised flesh and wet blood, all mingled in one marshy paste of pain. (p. 69)

The scene is at the beginning of the play when Mukume enters Meme's compound and is accosted by Meme, who dresses like a militant. In the process of the interaction, Mukume faints. In spite of not knowing anything about the stranger and the reason for her intrusion into her compound, Meme still sympathises with her and decides to treat her having discovered that she has been raped mercilessly. Meme's utterances above agree with the sympathy maxim of the politeness principle, which states that one should minimise antipathy between self and others and maximise sympathy. This, Meme does by taking pity on a total stranger, who intrudes her compound.

TEXT 31

MEME: All my blood. My husband and two sons. They all perished the same day. That year had started well. It was a good season for lobsters and prawns… Unknown to us there was war. How were we to know in this swampy bush… A shell. It tore them to pieces. I never picked one complete… And what could have turned into the best ever season of my life became my nightmare for life.

AZUE: I am sorry. Hmm… I thought I had a deep scar, but your wound isdeeper. I am sorry, mother. (pp. 88-89)

The extract above from *Little Drops* reflects the experience of Meme about the previous war (Biafra war), when she lost her entire family. In the interaction, Azue sympathises with Meme for the loss of her husband and children in a day. The utterances agree with the sympathy maxim of the politeness theory, which advocates that a speaker should maximize sympathy between self and others. In spite of the death of Azue's only son, the prince, just some few minutes before the utterances, she agrees that Meme's wound is deeper than hers and feels sorry for her.

TEXT 32

MEME: He is not my child. Mine are buried behind the shed.
KURU: Save me… I don't want to die.
AZUE: (*Kneels before Memekize.)* Please, Mother.
BONUWO: Mother, it is enough. I cannot watch another child die. My heart reaches out to him, please. (p. 105)

The text above is from the interaction between the women and Kuru, the militant, after he has been captured by the women and he now feels sober in the hands of the women he once threatened to kill. Meme's utterance in this extract violates the sympathy maxim of politeness theory, which states that a speaker should minimise antipathy between self and others, by initially refusing to assist a dying man, Kuru. On the other hand, the contributions of both Azue and Bonuwo agree with the maxim that a speaker should maximize sympathy between self and others because the duo sympathise with Kuru and plead with Meme to assist him. So, while Meme violates the maxim, Azue and Bonuwo conform with it.

Approbation Maxim

Little Drops

TEXT 33

AZUE: … I say the palace is gone, and you speak of the gods and the shrines. All had been reduced to rubble.
MEME: We have done it this time. As punishment, the gods shall turn their backs on us … To which gods do we turn now, when we have rubbed mud on the faces of those who should protect us? (p. 78)

In this scene, Queen Azue recalls the events that lead to the death of the king and the destruction of the palace. In Meme' reaction to the narration, she sees such brutality as an act committed by "we" (herself inclusive), which is capable of bringing destruction to the community. This inclusiveness by Meme agrees with the approbation maxim that a speaker should minimise the dispraise of others.

Idemili

TEXT 34

NGBEKE: … Your father thought your failure to realise his dreams was his, so he carried the anger and the shame in his soul… (p. 23)

This extract is from *Idemili*. The position of Paul's father, as seen in Ngbeke's utterances above, conforms to approbation maxim of the politeness theory, which stipulates that one should minimise the dispraise of others. Ugwuoja's acceptance of responsibility for Paul's failure to become what he, his father, wants is a sign of not placing the blame for Paul's decision on Paul himself and instead of being angry with him, he chooses to put the blame on himself, as the father and chooses to be angry with himself.

TEXT 35

PAUL: … In your blood, I seek salvation. It is my fault. Father all mine. See how your children wallow in their old bad ways. I should never have stayed away for so long. My sister, I am sorry…so… very sorry… (p. 34)

The utterances by Paul, in this text, are indication of adherence to the approbation maxim of politeness theory, which emphasises that a speaker should minimise the dispraise of others. Paul accepts responsibility for the activities of the members of his family, which are contrary to the teachings of his religion and their continuous living in their old ways. This is a way of not blaming others for the woes of the family but himself.

Maxim of Generosity

Little Drops

TEXT 36

MUKUME: It is still you then?

MEME: Yes, it is me. Eat your water yam. You talk too much for a woman who wants to go to heaven. (p. 71)

In this exchange, Mukume recovers from unconsciousness after being treated by Meme to discover that the same woman who threatens to kill her earlier has become her saviour. She is now being offered food by the same woman. This generous attitude of Meme to a total stranger agrees with the generosity maxim of the politeness maxim, which states that one should minimise benefit to self and minimise cost to others.

Discussion of Findings

Politeness Maxims	***Little Drops***	***Idemili***	
Tact	10	3	36.11%
Modesty	3	4	19.44%
Agreement	6	3	25%
Sympathy	3	Nil	8.33%
Approbation	1	2	8.33%
Generosity	1	Nil	2.78%
Total	**24(66.67%)**	**12(33.33%)**	**100%**

Table 1: Table showing the frequency of politeness maxims in the analysed plays

The table above is a representation of the analysis of utterances from the two texts. From the analysis of the utterances in the two plays, using Leech's (1983) politeness maxims, 36 texts extracted from the plays were analysed. 24, which is 66.67% were from *Little Drops*, while 12 constituting 33.33% were taken from *Idemili*.

Tact politeness maxim has the highest number of data analysed (13). Ten were from *Little Drops* and three from *Idemili*. All the tact maxims were outright violation of the maxim. This could be ascribed to the conflicts in the plays. However, the rate of violation of tact politeness maxim in *Little Drops* is higher because the conflict in the play has degenerated into war and in war situation, flouting of tact maxim in the utterances of the characters is prevalent. On the other hand, the violation of tact maxim in *Idemili* is minimal. This is largely due to the fact that the characters are mainly members of the same nuclear family. This, the conflict notwithstanding, makes the violation of tact maxim to be less.

From the two texts, seven instances of modesty politeness maxims were extracted for analysis. Three were taken from *Little Drops* and four from *Idemili*. The four from *Idemili* are all compliance with the modesty politeness. This implies that characters were still modest in their utterances in spite of the conflict. The analysis revealed that nearly all the instances of the agreement politeness maxim in *Little Drops* are violation of agreement maxim, while all the instances in *Idemili* are compliance with the maxim of agreement. Again, this result can be attributed to the nature of the conflict in *Little Drops* and the characters involved in *Idemili*.

It was also discovered from the analysis that all the three instances of sympathy maxim identified and analysed in the play were from *Little Drops* and all were compliance with the maxims. This indicated that in spite of the conflict, the characters were still sympathetic towards the plight of others, especially because most of the characters are women.

Finally, all instances of approbation and generosity maxims extracted and analysed are all cases of compliance with the maxims except one from *Idemili*. This finding indicated that the play *Idemili* generally presented more cases of conformity with the politeness maxims rather than violation, which is prevalent in the other play *Little Drops*.

The submission on finding made in this paper is that the interactive platform of dramatic discourse usually provided characters with the opportunity of maintaining politeness principle and being civil. However, the religious, political and economic conflicts in the analysed plays provided ample instances of violations and flouting of the politeness maxims.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis, this study concluded that conflicts generally provide avenue for the violation of politeness maxims. The illocutionary force behind characters' utterances was generally provocative in *Little Drops* because the conflict had degenerated into full scale war and this may apply in any such conflict situation. On another hand, the situation represented in *Idemili* presented less provocative utterances. The type of conflict and the nature of the characters (parents and their children) did not generally present infuriating utterances. This made characters conform more to the politeness principles than flouting; in which case, the utterances of characters were generally less provocative.

References

Adegbija, E. E. (1999). Titbits on discourage analysis and pragmatics. In E. E. Adegbija (Ed.) *The English language and literature in English: An introductory handbook* (pp.185-205). Dept. of M.E.L., University of Ilorin.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words.* Oxford University Press.

Blackmore, D. (1982). *Understanding utterances.* Blackwell.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Vol. 4). Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of English language.* Cambridge Universty Press.

Culpeper, J., Short, M., & Verdonk, P. (Eds.) (2002). *Explaining the language of drama: From the text to context.* Routledge.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In C. Morgan (Ed.) *Syntax and semantics* Vol. 3 (pp. 41-58). Academic Press.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics.* Longman Inc.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics*. Cambridge University Press.

Mattews, P. H. (2007). *Oxford concise dictionary of linguistics.* Oxford University Press.

Mey, J. L. (2001). *Pragmatics: An introduction.* Blackwell.

Sabharwal, *A. (2013). A glossary of literary terms.* Randorm Publications.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language.* Cambridge University Press.

Verschueren, J. (1999). *Understanding pragmatics.* Routledge.

Watson, J., & Hill, A. (1993). *A dictionary of communication and media studies* (3rd Edition). Edward Arnold.

Yerima, A. (2006). *Idemili.* Kraft Books.

Yerima, A. (2011). "Little Drops" in *Three Plays.* Kraft Books.

Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics.* Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LANGUAGE, SONGS AND MORALITY IN YORUBA TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS

Lydia Bosede Akande
Department of Religions,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

Yoruba people form the largest African ethnic groups found in South-Western part of Nigeria, comprising Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Osun, Ekiti, Lagos and Kwara States. They can also be found in some parts of the Republic of Benin and Togo. The Yoruba have many dialects, but they evolve the cultural heritage and ideological belief which serve as the basis of their religious beliefs and practices.

The context and significance of Yoruba traditional songs are reflected in different categories to depict the functional relevance for particular purposes as occasions demand. It will be apposite to explore two categories in this paper. First is ‘language’ paradigms as sources of knowledge about Yoruba traditional religious worldview and second, as expression and enforcement of moral precepts and expectations in Yoruba communities. The multi-dimensional context and significance of songs in African everyday life is supported by George (2013, p.45), when he states that Africans employ it for every occasion, be it for joy or sorrow. They are used in praising rulers, comforting the bereaved and rejoicing with merry-makers.

Traditional Songs as Language of Information in Yoruba Worldviews on Religious Beliefs and Practices

Traditional songs have generally become part of oral sources of information on different aspects of Yoruba worldview both in the traditional and the contemporary settings. This position has been vividly demonstrated in aspects such as religious beliefs and practices as well as other social issues like education. Yoruba Indigenous Religion as part of African Traditional Religion is the indigenous religion of Africans. It is associated with every aspect of African life. This is why Idowu (1996, p.23) comments that “Africans are in all things religious.” Besides, Africans are born into it. It is not a religion of the book like Islam and Christianity. It has neither sacred scripture nor propaganda machinery. Awolalu (1979, p.42) describes African Religion as:

> The religion that has been handed down from generation to generation by the forebears of the present generation of Africans. It is not a fossil religion (a thing of the past) but a religion that Africans today have made theirs by living it and practicing it. This is a religion that has no written literature, yet it is written everywhere for those who care to see and read. It is largely written in the people’s myths and folktales, in their songs and dances, in their liturgies and shrines and in their proverbs and pithy sayings. Yet it offers persistent fascination for Africans, young and old.

Since African Religion is not a religion of the book, it has no sacred writings like Islam which has the Qur'an, and Christianity that has the Bible. In the face of this limitation, the two main sources of information for the religion have been oral and non-oral.

Oral sources are verbal means of passing information from one generation to another or a way of transmitting information and knowledge through words of mouth. Examples of oral sources include: songs, proverbs, names, stories, myths, prayers. Non-oral sources are artistic expressions on the beliefs of Africans about the divine and mundane world through religious spectrum. Examples include masks used by masquerades, dance staff, instrument of divination, and certain archaeological excavations.

It is within this context that traditional songs have become formidable and dependable oral sources of obtaining information about different aspects of the Yoruba religious beliefs and practices. Such beliefs and practices include but are not limited to beliefs about the Supreme Being and divinities and the circle of life. Information can also be obtained about values cherished by the society in shaping the development of the individual to become a responsible member of the community. On the whole, the Yoruba religious belief system as part of African Traditional Religion employs songs/music as an important part in the lives of the people. We examine the context and significance of some of the traditional songs employed for these purposes here.

Expressions of Belief in and Worship of the Supreme Being through Songs

Songs, both traditional and contemporary have become important sources of information on Yoruba belief and worship of the Supreme Being. Through songs, the meaning of God's names and various attributes are expressed. Such names and attributes include for example: *Oyigiyigi Oba Aiku* meaning "The Mighty, durable, immovable rock that never dies*";* *Olorun,* meaning"The Owner of Heaven"; and *Olofin Orun* meaning "The King of Heaven". This is particularly demonstrated during worship at which spirit possession may take place. Such a situation is aptly described by Awolalu and Dopamu (2005, p.23), when they opine that "during worship when the singing and dancing penetrate wholly into every being of the worshipper, spirit possession may follow and the possessed devotee may give message from the divinity." An example of such songs in words or phrases that depict the uniqueness, transcendence, omnipotence, the immovable rock that never dies, the Mighty and the owner of heaven is:

Oyigiyigi ooooo
Alagbawi Eda aaa
Alakoso Orun un un un
Eyin ma lologo julo

This is a song of Traditional Religion that found its way into the church.

Meaning:

Oyigiyigi o (Eulogizing God)
Advocate of the Creatures
Controller of Heaven
You are the Most Glorious

As George (2013, p.31) succinctly points out, this song clearly indicates that: "all over Africa, people consider Him (The Supreme Being) to be benevolent, morally good and care about humans. He is responsible for the creation and maintenance of the world."

Expressions of Belief in and Veneration of Divinities

Belief in divinities called *Orisa,* constitutes the second hierarchical level of belief in Yoruba indigenous religion. The divinities are regarded as representatives of the Supreme Being, deployed to oversee different aspects of nature and human relationships with the Supreme Being in His theocratic governance of the world. Consequently as intermediaries between humans and the Supreme Beings, the divinities, for practical purposes, are held in high esteem and offered extensive venerations. This functional disposition has sometimes led the casual observer of African Indigenous Religion in general and Yoruba Indigenous Religion in particular to the mistaking conclusion that the religion is polytheistic.

However, a deeper investigation and understanding of the people's religious motivation and practice with regard to their relationship with the divinities clearly reveal that as intermediaries, the divinities are never regarded as ends in themselves; rather they are viewed as means to an end – albeit messengers – who must be reverently treated and accorded the highest form of respect so as to properly and diligently deliver petitions to the Supreme Being.

Venerations of the divinities are conducted in different forms. Sometimes the veneration is informal and at other times it is formal. The formal form of veneration usually involves the whole community coming together at particular times of the year to celebrate divinities as societal 'icons.' Such celebrations, usually referred to as festivals, are marked with singing, dancing and eating. The content and significance of songs rendered at such occasions are succinctly portrayed by Akinfenwa (2015: https://www.unilorin.edu.ng//music), when she states that "certain songs dedicated to the divinities are sung in their honour as occasion demands. The characteristics of the divinity are also revealed through songs rendered during worship." However, it is important to add that, the numbers of songs at each veneration vary and they must be rendered appropriately for sacrifice to divinities to be accepted. This is because, according to Akin (2013, p.9), each of the divinities is unique not only in nature but also in functionality and expectations from devotees. The following are examples of such songs in praise of the divinities in Ijebu-Igbo. As worshippers proceed to the riverside to perform sacrifice, they continue to chant invocation and sing the following songs:

a. In salutation of the goddess:

i. *Ona o, t'orisa*
Ore ilee O, ye mi
Ore ileeo, o maye, yeye boo do, mo wa ri,
Ore yeye o
Ore yeye o

Meaning:

The path belongs to the deity
All hail my mother,

All hail my mother, my mother
All hail our mother,
All hail our mother.

b. Song of adoration in praise of Orisa-Nla:

Eni soju se'mu,
Orisa ni maa sin.
A dani bo ti ri,
Orisa ni maa sin.
Eni ran ni waye,
Orisa ni maa sin.

Meaning:

He who makes the eyes, makes the nose,
It is Orisa I will venerate.
He who makes one as he chooses,
It is Orisa I will worship.
He who sent one to the world.
It is Orisa I will worship.

c. In praise committing the worshippers to the care of some divinities when a child is sick:

Baba omo,
Sogungun fomo o.

Meaning:

Father of the child,
Prepare medicine for the child.

d. A parting song at the close of annual worship (Idowu, 1996, p.112):

A si maa rira leeminrin,
Odoodun laa ri yemeti.

Meaning:

We shall meet again next season,
Annually habitually appears Yemeti.

e. In honour of Ifa:

a. *Ifa gba mi,*
mi o lenikan,
yeye omo nii gbomo.

Meaning:

Ifa protect me,
I have nobody
Mothers protect their children.

f. Songs during Egungun festival (Akinfemwa, 2015):

a. *Kolomo kilo fomo re,*
Oni a ro.

Meaning:
Let every parent warn his child,
Today will be tough.

The need for contextualization of songs as demonstration of their importance in the thought process and representation of experiential realities of the Yoruba people has evidently survived the advents and influences of foreign religions, such as Christianity and Islam. In the effort to clearly assert the need to sustain their traditions in the face of sometimes intimidating conversions that seek to erase the Yoruba cultural practices, different songs have been rendered during festivals and other traditional events to indicate that accepting and practicing the foreign religions do not translate to abandoning the old cultural beliefs and practices. Indeed, it is very common for Christians and Muslims to accept traditional titles and actively participate in celebrating different communal festivals in their localities. For such Yoruba people, the celebration of annual festivals are inevitable as long as life continues. Supporting this view, Akintan (2013, p.9) clearly states:

> They (Yoruba Christians and Muslims) could not be dissociated from the traditional festivals and it's ritual practices into which they were born or make them to revert or backslide from it. They would continue to revive, resuscitate and revitalize it from time to time.

Two of such songs come to mind here:

a. *Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O,*
Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O
Ìgbâgbó kò pè, é o
Ìgbâgbó kò pè
Ka wa ma soro O
Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O

Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O
Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O
Imale ko pe, e o
Imale ko pe
Ka wa ma soro
Áwa ó sorò ilè wâ O

Meaning:
We shall perform our traditional rites
We shall perform our traditional rites
Christianity cannot prevent us

Christianity cannot hinder us from performing our traditional rites
We shall perform our traditional rites

We shall perform our traditional rites
We shall perform our traditional rites
Islam cannot prevent us,
Islam cannot hinder us from performing our traditional rites
We shall perform our traditional rites

b. *Igbago ooni a ma sode*
Igbagbo ooni a ma sode
Ta ba ti sosi de a gbe bon wa
Igbabgo ooni a ma sode

Meaning

Christianity does not forbid hunting
Christianity does not forbid hunting
When we close from church service, I carry my gun.
Christianity does not forbid hunting

Comments:

The above songs depict veneration of divinities and the fact that Christianity does not violate some cultural activities such as hunting.

Expression of Belief in the Passage of Life

The belief in human life circle is a fundamental aspect of the overall Yoruba world view on the different stages of human existence, made up of both the earthly and divine spheres. The circular nature of the Yoruba human life, as part of the African concept contrasts with the western horizontal concept. For the Yoruba, life is circular in the sense that it moves from birth through puberty, marriage and death and a return to birth again and the process goes on and on. This is why death is not regarded as the end of life but a transition to the next stage and the beginning/preparation of a return to the 'birth' stage.

Different kinds of songs have been employed among the Yoruba to vividly demonstrate the context, importance and relevance of their concept on human life circle and various activities at different stages of the circle. Awolalu and Dopamu (2005, p.14), stressed this position by expressing that:

> Songs are employed in almost every sphere of their lives, in worship, in naming ceremonies, in wedding, in funeral, in wrestling, in cultivating the farm, in working, in going to war, in praising the ruler, in rocking babies to sleep and in many other activities.

Here are some of such Yoruba songs:

Birth Songs

The birth of a child is always a very joyous occasion among the Yoruba, regardless of whether the child is a boy, girl or the children are twins. Songs at the birth of a child, express appreciation of the Supreme Being as they acknowledge Him as the Giver of children. The following Yoruba birth songs will suffice:

a. *Maa bolomo yo*
Kemi naa lebi
Ki won le bami yo
Maa bolomo yo

Meaning:

I will rejoice with the one who has given birth.
So that I can give birth to mine.
So others can rejoice with me
I will rejoice with those who give birth

b. During a naming ceremony:

Ejek'omode ko wa o
Ejek'omode ko wa,
Ejek'omode ko wa o
Ejek'omode ko wa,
Ejek'omode ko wa
Jojoloooo!
Omo kekere jojolo, awon l'ore Eledumare
Ejek'omode ko wa

Meaning:

Let the children come,
Let the children come
Let the children come,
Let the children come
Little children, are the friends of the Supreme Being
Let the children come.

c. Rocking a baby to sleep:

Bebi nko o?
Kilo nse o?
On kole lowo
On ra le lowo
Ile oloke melo?
Ile oloke mejila

O ko kan fun dadi
O ko ikan fun momi
Ohun na ko kan
Redio wa nbe ,
Telefisan wa nbe
Gbogbo e wa nbe
O ko agirikoshooooooooo .

Meaning:

Where is baby?
What is she doing?
She is building a house
She is buying a plot of land
What kind of building?
She is building a twelve storey house
She built one for daddy
She built one for mummy
She built one for herself.
Radio is there,
Television is there
Everything is there
She is into modern farming.

Comments:

The aforementioned songs appear to be of a later period among the Yoruba show casing evidences of literacy and urban migration.

Engagement/Marriage Songs

Traditional engagement ceremony is usually observed before the marriage ceremony that takes place either in the Church, Mosque or Registry. During the engagement, list of items ranging from tubers of yam, kolanut, honey, salt, she goat, and other traditional items are presented from the husband's family to the wife's family. Examples of songs during engagement are:

a. *Nitori omo lase wa/2x o*
Omo dara, omo dara lehin obinrin
Nitori omo lase wa

Meaning:

We have come because of our child;
Children are precious gift to see on the back of a woman
We have come because of our child.

b. *Omo mi ni gilasi mi o /2x*
Omo mo ni gilasi ti mo fi nwoju

Omo mi ni gilasi timo fi n reran
Kaye ma fo gilasi mi o

Meaning:

My child is my mirror /2x
My child is the mirror I am using to observe myself
May the wicked ones not break my mirror.

Funeral Songs

In Yoruba traditional society, dirges are sung for men and women who died at a ripe, old age. Words coming from such songs usually portray some levels of grief, pain and at times joy that the old man or woman died at a good age and is survived by children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. On the other hand, according to George (2013, p.34), such songs "may dwell on the irreversibility of death; the helplessness of man in the hands of death; the transitory nature of man on earth, and most importantly, the abode of the dead." An example of song in this category is:

a. *Oku otosi osu meta*
Oku olowo osu mefa, Oku olomo ase' se tan

Meaning:

The funeral of a poor folk lasts three months
That of a rich man lasts six months
The funeral of a person with children goes on forever

Songs as 'Language' of Expression and Enforcement of Societal Values and Moral Precepts

The Yoruba communities both in the traditional and contemporary settings take the elevation of societal values and the condemnation of various moral decadences very important. Consequently, there are quite a number of Yoruba songs that vividly express the perspectives of the people on either praising or condemning these virtues or vices in various circumstances.

On Education

There are various Yoruba songs that place premium on values of education and the commitment of attaining them or otherwise. For example the contributions of historical and literary ideas are celebrated in regarding poets, historians and philosophers as fountains of knowledge available for both children and adults to draw from. An example of such song is;

La'aye Olugbon
Mo ro 'borun meje
E o ma fiwe lorin
La'aye Aresa,
Mo ro 'borun mefa
E o ma fiwe lorin
La'aye Asabi

Mora koko mo ra'ran
Mora sanyan Baba aso.

Meaning:

During the reign of Olugbon, (Olugbon is the title of the ruler of the town Igbon)
I wrapped myself with seven shawls
This should be sung in jubilant lyrics
During the reign of Aresa, (Aresa, is a paramount chief of Aresa)
I made myself wrapped in six shawls
During the reign of Asabi
I bought Koko (a type of green cloth)
I bought Velveteen, I bought Sanyan, (the exotic of all fabrics),
It is only the lazybones who can say that
This land is not flowing with abundance.

It should be noted here that, the above song was sung by people (typically women) of Gbongan, after the demise of Olufi Adewale Asabi in 1948.

There are also songs highlighting the attitudes of the child that could lead to success or failure in his or her educational endeavor and the envisaged consequences. Here are some of them:

a. *Omo ti ko gbeko, Odami loju pe yo jiya] 2x*
Ise buruku ni won nse,
Ti won ba jale
Won atun lo fole
Edakun ye eyin obi wa, Te ba lowo ,kefi seto wa]2x

Meaning:

A child that refuses to learn will suffer in life
Such a child will be involved in misconducts, such as armed robbery and stealing
Please, our parents, endeavor to send us to school.

b. *Bata mi adun kokoka [2x*
Ti nba mowe mi *All] Bata mi adun kokoka*
To bamowe re *All] Bata re adun kokoka*

Meaning:

My shoe will make great sound]2x
If I am doing well in my studies, my shoe will make great sound.

c. *Omo ti ko ba foju si eko re, yio gbofo lojo idanwo/2x*
Emi ko ni gbofo /2x
Omo ti ko ba foju si eko re, yio gbofo lojo idanwo.

Meaning:

A child that refuses to face his/her studies will fail on the day of examination woefully

I will not fail the examination.

On Condemnation of Moral Vices

The Yoruba people expect high moral standards from various segments and individuals in the society in whatever areas they are located and function. Such expectations are in tandem with the desire for order and stability in the society where the interests of the community take precedence over that of the individual. When such standards are not met, different lyrics composed in songs become the 'language' of admonitions not only to condemn such acts or behaviours by the perpetrators but also and more importantly to serve as deterrent to others contemplating such acts or behaviors. Some of such songs are 'satirical' while at other times they directly address the moral laxity at hand. In whatever forms they are rendered, they cover different societal activities and moral expectations. Also the singers can be individuals or groups of people. Sometimes the songs are accompanied with dancing performances. Such performances take place at different locations including in front of the homes of the perpetrator(s) of the moral vice(s).

For example in Ijebuland, particularly in Ijebu-Ode, Ogunba (2003, p.809) reports that:

> The performers can be as many twenty thousand! These people position themselves in front of the house of their target with clappers (apepe) and there the "owner(s)" of a particular song teaches the song to the rest. They sing the song for some time before leaving.

One other feature of such songs is that they are usually short and fit into the rhythm of the local community. This is because the songs are composed into a particular traditional form as dictated by the need to convey the will not only to prick the conscience of the evil doer but also to ensure that the event is remembered by the community for a long time. In fulfilling these objectives, the song according to Bowra (1968, p.45) has to be "shaped ultimately by the economic and social conditions in which it is born and by the needs which these create in men."

Here are examples of such songs and the moral vice(s) that are targeted. The songs are predominantly from the Ijebu ethnic extraction and consequently reflect that dialect as compiled by Azeez (2006, p.67).

Against an Armed Robbery

This particular song was targeted at Atanda who, though was an armed robber in Lagos, lived an ostentatious life when he came home to Ijebu-Ode.

Olode oru o!
Atanda nbo o!
Olode oru o!
Atanda nbo o!
Atanda wa nule
Jagun oloru
Atanda wa nule

Jagun olosa
Toba jade naruko
Emu o, emu o
Olode oru o!
Atanda n bo!

Meaning:

Lord of the night!
Atanda approaches!
Lord of the night!
Atanda is at home!
Terror of the night
Atanda is at home
Terrible robber
If he appears at dawn
Accost him, accost him
Lord of the night!
Atanda approaches!

Against Corrupt Public Officials

Yoruba communities require that persons entrusted with public offices in whatever form should be held accountable in honesty and hard work. If it is perceived that their claims to these standards are false, like the Igbos according to Nnamani (2014, p.4), they are chastised through different songs. For example such a song was rendered against a young man who was employed as a cashier and began to live above what would ordinarily have been his social and economic status.

a. *Oba gba mi sise o eh eh!*
Oba dakun gba mi sise o eh eh!
Kemi ma yoju ni panu o
bi tawon Owolabi
Awon to nyoju ni patako
Awon yen ti ri ja je
Ko pose, ko posu o
So un yokun gbedemuke
Oba ko ye gbami sise
bi tawon Owolabi.

Meaning:

Oh king (Government) please employ me!
Oh king (Government) I beg employ me!
So that I will not be peeping out of a house made with iron sheet.
As the Owolabis do.
Those who look out of the window made of wood.
Within weeks, within months

They develop bulging stomachs
Oh king (government) please employ me
As you employed them.

There are also songs against fraudulent local government officials who embezzled government funds. Ogunba (2003, p.878) gives an instance that deplores such an act.

b. *Ogun ke mi ri o (2x)*
Ogun ke mi ri
Koran ma dun eniyan.
Ogun ke mi ri o
Won fogun apo sule (twice)
Kai mo
Owo ru won fi ko kiti gogoro Sule Oba
Won owo titan nule
Oyo ni won gbe orule bare (twice)
Ireke sanjo, idigbon pepe.

Meaning:

Strange things happen these days (twice)
Just because we decided
Not to complain too much
Strange things happen these days (twice)
Before we knew it
They spent twenty bags of money
on that lean structure
Money spent to build a monstrous structure in front of the palace
They now say, there is no money in the kitty
Yet they now have succulent cheeks (twice).
And trembling buttocks.

Against Wayward Women and Men

Wives or women, who live wayward lives of infidelity, particularly when they are caught in extramarital affairs, are not spared. The following songs of derision exemplifies this category.

a. *Olule ibe kilo ilo, kilo ilo, kilo ilo (twice)*
We kilo raya re, kilo ilo,
Sidi wereke kilo ilo (twice)
We de wa gbobisu meji
Ko mu raya re
Sidi wereke (twice)
Kilo, ilo kilo ilo kilo ilo.

Meaning:

Owner of this house warn your wife (twice)
Warn your wife
She's a bottom twister, warn her.
Come take two water yams
And give to your wife
She's a bottom twister
Warn her, warn her.

Wayward men are not spared. The consequences of their lecherous escapades may lead to contracting diseases or becoming the victim of "Magun". The song below according to Mercedo (2009), is about a man on pilgrimage to Mecca where he became a victim of Magun. (Magun is a Yoruba charm employed to punish promiscuity in a marital relationship). The song depicts not only the waywardness of the man but also the potency of Magun that was able to be effective in faraway Mecca. It is a deterrent to lecherous men who think distance could save them from immoral sexual escapades.

b. *Oyi o, Oooyi oo (twice)*
Tabo tiyi o,
Me mo me ra mo o,
Eyin gbo doyawore oyi wereke
Ebute ijidah lo ti lo ro wale (twice)
0 feja loru we
Sigbon warwa (twice)
Bi won su bara lohun o
Bi won to bara lohun o
Ijalugbo agabalagba
Njo langbalangba
Oyi o, Oooyi oo (twice)
Tabo tiyi o,
me mo me ra mo o,
Eyin gbo doyawore oyi wereke

Meaning

He turns, he tumbles
Has he been twisted?
Don't you know?
After copulating with X's wife
He was twisted into a monstrous shape
All the way from Jeddah Airport
He howled home (twice)
His scrotum is falling off
His cheeks swelled up
There was great commotion, pandemonium
An old man involuntarily dancing tango.

Against Exploitative Tendencies

Exploitation of any kind is frowned upon and those who engage in it are negatively perceived. In consequence, there are songs to highlight and decry such acts as unacceptable moral vices. No person no matter his or her status or profession in the community is spared once identified as indulging in such acts. There was an example of such exploitative acts in Okeho, a community in Oke-Ogun area of Oyo State in the early part of 1970. During the said period, there was an outbreak of cholera epidemic that killed many people. People resulted to seeking divine protection from the disease by consulting traditional healers. These healers demanded exorbitant items to be used as sacrifices for protection. It soon became clear that the healers were clearly taking advantage of the situation and became unduly exploitative. As a form of protest and condemnation of the exploitation, Gbadegesin (1998, p.74) composed the following song thus:

Ambo Kan mole
Okan tun nso ju wiri
Abi gbogbo yin le ku tan ni?
Ani e ta ape si kini oun
Kee je a moti
Ani baba onisegun ni nmu egbaafa wa
O ni ntun mede funfun wa Mo leyaan ni o je ji Ifa ki o je e

Meaning:

We're committing one to dust
Another is fainting
Do you all want to die?
People; let's pour sand on this thing
and let's drink our beer.
I consulted a diviner
who asks for 120 pounds
And luscious shrimps
I replied
You're the one who needs theses not Ifa.

Against Overzealousness

The Yoruba believe in adhering to checks and balances in the evaluation, judgment, or execution of public authority. Criticisms must be seen to be fair. Overzealousness in critical appraisal of authorities and their powers are frowned at. Azeez (2006) provides us with a case of such scenario among the people of Ilara-Mokin, a town not too far away from Akure, the capital of Ondo State in Nigeria. This song was rendered in protest round the town and in front of the compound of the family whose responsibility was to criticize the King of the town whenever he indulged in excessive use of his power. It happened in 1994, at the town's yam festival when a regent (a lady who was a student of the Federal Polytechnic, Offa), was actually on the throne. After the festival, the chiefs, priests and other citizens of the town responsible for maintaining checks and balances, rendered this song thus:

Omo oba re e, Olowuro (twice)
Eni ba o ja,
O jebi Olorun Oba

Meaning:

This is the king's daughter (twice)
Owner of the morning
Whoever quarrels with you
Has offended God

Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted primarily to discuss songs in a Yoruba traditional religious context as instruments of communication enriched and "powered" by sociocultural processes. A variety of functional tools are employed in communicating and addressing important moral issues in the society. Despite the changing world and the influence of technology, the songs have continued to play vital roles in exhibiting the religious as well as the moral beliefs and practices of the Yoruba people. There is no doubt that through them one can learn the rich philosophical and religious traditions of the Yoruba people of Nigeria. It is also noteworthy that the songs have remained relevant and reliable means of sustaining and expressing the Yoruba religious and sociocultural world views among Africans, and Africans in Diaspora, particularly those of Yoruba ancestral heritage.

The songs, as a set of words arranged into 'music,' can be regarded as the 'language' of contents and expressions indicating the holistic Yoruba cultural world views philosophical, theological, moral and social. As worldview indicators, Yoruba traditional songs provide the most effective paradigms as both sources of knowledge and expressions of moral dictates. These paradigms are relevant not only for the new and young members of the society being tutored on different aspects of the culture but also for the adult to live as a responsible and morally upright member of the society.

References

Akinfenwa, O. B. (2015). Music and dance as elements of worship in Yoruba Religion. Retrieved April 24,2022, from *http://www.unilorin.edu.ng/misic*

Akin, O. A. (2013). Traditional religious festivals and modernity: A case study of female-oriented cults annual festivals in Ijebu land of South Western Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 3 (9).

Awolalu, J. O., & Dopamu, P. A. (2005). *West African Traditional Religion*. Ibadan: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Limited.

Awolalu, O. (1979). *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. Lagos: Longman, Nigeria PLC.

Azeez, T. (2006). Crisis and the restoration of older value. In T. Falola & A. Geneva (eds.) *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values and Modernity*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Bowra, C. M. (1968). *Primitive song.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Gbadegesin, S. (1998). Individuality, community and the moral order. In P. H. Coetzee & P. J. Roux (eds). *The African Philosophy Reader*. London: Routledge.

George, I. K. T. (2013). The heritage of the mouth: Oral Sources and the Study of African Traditional Religion. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2 (31).

Idowu, E. B. (1973). *African Traditional Religion: A Definition*. London: SCM Press Ltd.

Mercado, J. (2009). *The African Yoruba Religion and its Influence on the New World*. Retrieved 5th May, 2022 from http://judithmercadoshortstories.blogspot.com/2009/10/african-yoruba-

Nnamani, S. N. (2014). The role of folk music in traditional African society: The Igbo experience. *Journal of Modern Education Review*, 4 (4).

Ogunba, O. (2003). The performance of Yoruba oral poetry. In *Yoruba Oral Tradition.* Selections from the Papers presented at the seminar on Yoruba oral tradition: poetry in music, dance and drama. (pp.807-876).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

INTERCULTURAL STUDY OF KINSHIP VOCABULARY: THE YORUBA CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Mary Dickson-Amagada
University of Missouri,
Columbia-United States of America

Introduction

Kinship terms exist universally. In many societies they are used in recognition of a system of relationship binding people together. In these relationships there are anticipated reciprocal obligations, but they vary from society to society. Culture, norms and religion play a vital role in establishing these obligations. There are also taboos arising from these relationships. Some societies have clear kinship charts or diagrams based on lineal and collateral bonds. Lineal refers to blood relations or consanguinity while collateral lays claim to a common ancestry without a direct line. There is also an affinal relationship which is based on marriage links. All these terms exist in ways that are not common to speakers of English in Nigeria and America. According to Galvin et al., (2015, p.3)

> Discussing comparative kinship terms in American and Nigerian societies or contexts pose interesting problems. The American society is changing at a very fast pace – a situation that is leading to "normative instability and definitional crisis"… The result is that there are also an equally increasing number of kinship terms that are well established in America but practically unknown in Nigerian societies. A good example is the role played by gay-parenting and gay-related kinship terms which are non-existent in Nigeria. Such concepts can only be understood with explanations. The Nigerian society has stronger family ties (as in most traditional societies) than the U.S. where kinship terms are experiencing "familial redefinition due to multiplicity of changing kinship patterns".

However, the use of these terms may appear to explicitly mean the same, but still differ at some point. In other words, shared meanings are not always understood the same way by two or more people of different backgrounds. The differences can be accounted for in a variety of ways. One of such ways is cultural. Dougherty et al. (2009) explicated this notion by formulating a theory: Language convergence and meaning divergence (LCMD). Writing specifically on cultural divergence, Dougherty et al explains the crucial role of programming in meaning acquisition. Ideas and words are programmed into one over the years through constant use. Writing in a similar vein, Hall (in Bariki, 2007, p.115) says:

> « L'homme lui-même est programmé par la culture de façon très fortement redondante. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, il ne pourrait ni parler, ni

> agir; ces activités exigeraient trop de temps. Chaque fois qu'il parle, en effet, il n'énonce qu'une partie du message. Le reste est complété par l'auditeur ».
>
> Man himself is programmed by culture in a very strongly redundant fashion. If this were not so, he could neither speak nor act; these activities would take too much time. Every time he speaks, in effect, he is uttering only part of the message. The rest is completed by the auditor (my translation).

So important is programming that it also goes to elucidate cultural implied but not expressly stated messages (Leech, 1976 ; Setlock et. al., 2004). The social and cultural factors have led to habitus. However, given the differences in programming in different societies, words may attain divergent meanings despite certain basic similarities. This affirms that while in communication, people agree on common words as some sort of conversational shorthand in a bid to speed up conversational process, there are obscured meaning clusters that can lead to the escalation of conflict in the organizational setting. In 2010, Dougherty et al. went further to applying the LCMD theory to Intercultural Communication.

English kinship terms when transferred into Nigerian English do not possess the same semantic space. Such simple and apparently straightforward kinship terms as father, mother, brother, sister, child/children with clear dictionary meanings have wider semantic interpretations in Nigeria. For instance, in Nigeria, the word "sister/brother" is not limited to refer to a sibling but can also be used for close family relatives, distant relatives or even close friends that are not related by blood. Among the Yorubas of Nigeria, your "father" is not necessarily your biological father. He could be an uncle or a distant relation or an elderly person with whom you have close social and family ties. Thus, calling a biological uncle as "uncle" can in some instances be seen as an insult or rudeness. The question the uncle is likely to ask with a sense of anger is "Am I not old enough to father you?" Also, when in a foreign country, a common ethnic group, township identity or just the fact that they are from a common country, people could refer to themselves as sister or brother as could my colleague Blessing. Blessing and I are in the same class here at the University of Missouri even though we are from two different ethnic groups. This is a cultural trait that cuts across Africa generally. If Blessing were married to my kinsman or a Yoruba man or even another Nigerian, she would automatically earn the endearment kinship term "my wife" without any lesbian connotation. This is because my wife and my husband are used in associating with someone married to your family, be it nuclear or extended.

Nigeria being a vast country with multiple ethnic groups and cultures, it will be too large a space to study how the kinship terms are employed. This study specifically examines kinship terms in the Yoruba language. This is because the Yoruba culture is rich in the way it uses these terms compared to other tribes in the West African country.

Among the Yoruba, there is a long lineup of kinship terms which Fadipe (1970) discussed extensively. Today, these terms are employed beyond their primary use and the terms are not limited to biological relationships. This paper, therefore, aims to first, explore the power dynamics in Yoruba kinship terms using instances at the African immigrant church in Columbia MO, which has a vast majority of Yoruba members. These kinship terms are used daily in conversation amongst the members even when they are not related by blood.

While considering the collectivist nature of the Nigerian culture and the American individualistic culture, this paper will be drawing inspiration from LC/MD and discourse-dependent theories, for a comparative study of kinship terms in the Yoruba and American environments. These environments can provide a basis for better intercultural context analysis of kinship terms which can be expanded to other domains of culture and language. This paper further examines the extent to which these kinship terms can be sources of conflict in meaning making.

Literature Review

Discourse around Kinship

The family is the basic and very essential branch of human institutions. Floyd and Morman (2006) were explicitly clear on the role the family plays in governing all human relations. Until very recently, the general narrative about family centered on blood ties within the heterosexual marriage framework. But there now exists diverse realities about the current nature of families under the framework of single parenthood, adopted families, stepfamilies, etc. This is particularly prevalent in the Western societies of North America and Europe.

The evolving knowledge of the family has not escaped the lenses of scholars. This is particularly evident by the accepted view of family being a relationship function outside of blood ties or legal unions. For instance, Galvin, Braithwaite and Bylund (2015, p.8), define the family as "Networks of people who share their lives over long periods of time bound by marriage, blood, or commitment, legal or otherwise, who consider themselves as family and who share a significant history and add anticipated futures of functioning in a family relationship."

But other scholars have also added the fictive kin description to the definition of family. Examples include chosen kin (Johnson, 2000; Weston, 1991), self-ascribed kin (Galvin, 2006), urban tribes (Watters, 2003), friend-keepers (Gallagher & Gerstel, 1993; Leach & Braithwaite, 1996), or ritual kin (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000).

In recent times, communicators have also identified the theory of discourse-dependent families which states that kinship terms are not limited to biological or legal circumstances. Discourse-dependent family claims that family ties are a construct of discourse, and family ties cannot be established through traditional family titles. Instead, such relationships need to be named, explained, legitimized, and, occasionally, defended (Galvin, 2006). As much as we can agree with the concept of discourse dependent families, this definition may not be universally applicable. Therefore, we will use the LCMD theory to expand the concept of discourse dependency families.

Language Convergence / Meaning Divergence Theory (LC/MD)

LC/MD underscores circumstances where in communication, people agree on common words as some sort of conversational shorthand in a bid to speed up conversational process but leaving obscured meaning clusters. The concept of diverging meaning is not new to communication scholars (Dougherty et al, 2010) but communicators are focused many times on meaning fragments. The LC/MD theory however focuses on meaning fragments as well as meaning clusters, the latter referring to a collection of meaning fragments. Exploration of meaning clusters gives room to a holistic approach for a deep interpretive analysis. LC/MD as a meaning centered theory offers a distinctive critical/interpretive approach to the research process in order to achieve a deep understanding of meanings. For a comprehensive understanding of LCMD, we will dissect the main concepts in the theory.

Language convergence: Language Convergence, LC, is the use of common labels as shortcuts in meaning-making activities. Dougherty et al. (2010) emphasize that in language convergence, there is no attempt at deliberately creating ambiguity. Discourse in LC sometimes, aims at attaining a genuine understanding. LC often assumes that meaning assigned to a term is agreed upon for discourse to continue but, in the real sense, divergent meanings are only camouflaged. For instance, there is a raging cultural debate about the propriety of the word ‘negro’ or ‘negrito.’ In most Spanish-speaking South American countries, the term negrito could affectionately mean “***little black boy***” or referring to a “***male with black hair***.” But in the anglo-speaking world, ‘negro’ or ‘nigger’ is seen as derogatory or simply racist. The challenge here is when a South American uses the term ‘negrito ‘in the Anglo world, he is seen as being racist. On the other hand, if an English speaker were to use the same term negro or negrito in South America, the reaction would be different. On November, 2020, Edison Cavani - a soccer player from Uruguay - replied to a fan on his instagram “***Gracias negrito***” (Thank you little black man) after scoring in a match for his English clubside Manchester United. Unfortunately, Cavani has been charged with an 'aggravated' breach of the English FA's race rules for his 'negrito' instagram post and it is likely to lead to his possible ban from some matches because the English Football Association sees his comment as having racist connotation. Cavani issued an immediate apology insisting that his use of the word negrito had no racial intent behind it. Using the LCMD theory, the term negro or negrito is present in English and Spanish, but over time have different meanings.

Meaning divergence: Meaning divergence plays out in two different ways. The first instance and most common is when different labels are used to express different meanings. The second, happens when the same label is used to express different meanings. For the purpose of the LC/MD theory, the second instance is what is important.

The illusion of shared meaning: This is the outcome of analysis of language convergence and meaning divergence. This analysis reveals instances where a symbol creates an impression of agreement whereas, this agreement does not exist. Dougherty et al, (2010). It is important to note that “the illusion of shared meaning is never fully complete." but, instead of negotiating meaning, "people develop a number of communication strategies" (Dougherty et al. 2010, p.175).

The LC/MD theory also propounds othering as a consequence of the illusion of a shared meaning of the term family.

Intercultural Communication

Intercultural Communication deals with interactions within a given cultural setting or perspective. It is the totality of how people from different cultures relate and the prevailing or long-held cultural norms, nuances that govern relationships (Orvel, 2014). It is also the study of domestic cultural differences such as ethnicity and gender and international differences such as those associated with nationality or world region. It also involves how people share ideas, information or feelings. In other words, intercultural communication seeks the goal of mutual adaptation leading to biculturalism (Bennet, 1998; Bennet, 2017), rather than simple assimilation and supports the development of intercultural sensitivity on the part of individuals and organisations to enable empathic understanding and competent coordination of action across cultural differences (Bennet, 2004; Evanoff, 2006).

Culture is a generalisation about how a group of people coordinate meaning and action among themselves, (Levinson, 2000). One way they do that is through institutions such as religious, political, and economic systems, and family and other social structures. But underlying these institutions is a habitual organisation of how the world is perceived, and thus how it is experienced. These habits are often referred to as cultural assumptions and values, and they occur in all groups, not just national societies. In general, intercultural communication focuses on this worldview aspect of culture and not so much on the institutions of culture. Human communication is conducted by people, not institutions.

The way that human beings organise meaning is therefore a concern in communication studies. We are all influenced by the institutional structures that we internalise as part of socialisation, and understanding those institutions may give insight into how we habitually organise our perception; but in the end it is our human worldview that generates meaning, not institutional structure. Many scholars of communication theories have different perspectives to intercultural communication, but they all tend to agree that the key driver is human interaction. According to Porter and Samovar (1997 p.35), this is vital because human interaction helps us to know "something about what happens when people interact, why it happens, the effect of what happens, and what we can do to influence and maximise the results of a particular communication event." They insist that intercultural communication involves three sources. First is the "behavioral source" which is the desire to communicate. This desire indicates the connecting of individuals and the sharing of internal states with differing degrees of intention to influence the information, attitudes, and behaviours of others. The second ingredient is "encoding" where "an internal activity in which verbal and non-verbal behaviors are selected and arranged to create a message in accordance with the contextual clues that govern the interaction and the rules of grammar and syntax applicable to the language being used" (Porter & Samovar 1997, p.10). The third ingredient results in the expressive behaviour, which serves as a "message." A message is a "set of verbal and non-verbal symbols that represent a person's particular state of being at a particular moment in time and space" (Porter & Samovar, 1997, p.10). Next, as the message is expressed, a connection between the source and the responder becomes necessary. Thus, the fourth ingredient is this connection or a "channel" which serves as a means of moving messages between people. The fifth ingredient concerns the "responder" in which the message is anticipated. The next stage engages "decoding" or the internal processing of converting the message into something meaningful. As the message translates into a meaningful experience, the seventh ingredient, "response" is chosen. Response is what a responder decides to do about the message. Finally, the eighth ingredient of communication is "feedback" where the source of communication has the chance to make assessments about the efficiency of the communication.

Intercultural communication occurs when "a message that must be under- stood is produced by a member of one culture for consumption by a member of another culture. The ways of communicating reflect one's culture in terms of the language, the style of language, and the non-verbal behaviors. Thus, as the cultures differ, communication practices will vary from one another (Jones & Quach, 2007). Moreover, minor communication problems are often exaggerated, without trying to understand other's culture and how things are perceived differently. One of such issues of culture is the topic of kinship. With the use of the LCMD theory, this work will be evaluating the factors that encourage the escalation of these communication problems especially as it pertains to kinship terms.

Discussion

Nigerians and Americans are different in many ways, one of which is in their various languages and cultures. Nigeria has several indigenous languages, and each of these differs from English in its own peculiar ways. For instance, Southern Nigeria, where I am from, has a multiplicity of distinct languages and many more dialects. Each of these languages and dialects would relate to the English language in its own unique ways in the aspects of syntax, phonology, lexis and semantics, not to talk of the over 500 or so languages said to exist in Nigeria. For this reason, our discussion here will draw heavily on the resources of the Yoruba language, a Western Nigerian language which I am most conversant with, for examples and illustrations.

Trudgill (1983, p. 27) notes:

> ...the social environment can also be reflected in a language and can often have an effect on the structure of the vocabulary. For example, a society's kinship system is generally reflected in its kinship vocabulary, for example, that the important kin relationships in English-speaking societies are those that are signaled by single vocabulary items; son, daughter, grandson, grandfather, brother, sister, father, mother, husband, wife, granddaughter, grandmother, uncle, aunt, cousin.

Akindele and Adegbite (1999) indicate that kinship relationship is presented by the following labels – father, mother, grandfather, brother, grandmother, sister, while noting that aunt and uncle, nephew and niece, and cousin are not reflected in the Yoruba lexicon. This is one difference between English and Yoruba. The use of kinship terms is also undergoing innovations. Certain kinship labels like daddy, mummy, sister, brother, uncle, and aunty, as a result of intercultural contact, have been borrowed from English into Yoruba, but with altered usages.

For the purpose of this study as indicated earlier, we will be investigating how LCMD can be used in the analysis of kinship terms. Because of time constraint, this study will limit its analysis to the following kinship consanguine terms, daddy/dad, mummy/mom, aunty, and one affinal term, wife and husband.

Daddy/Dad:

The *Cambridge Dictionary* (n.d.), defines Daddy as a “child’s word for father” and dad as it’s synonym. The dictionary goes on to define the word “father” as a male parent. On a language convergence level, this definition of father will be appropriate but, from the discourse-dependent point of view, this can be an illusion of shared meaning.

In American English Language, the word “dad” (most popular expression for addressing father in the US), could give the initial idea of a biological male parent. Whereas today, with the multiplicity of changing kinship patterns which has led to kinship labels becoming discourse dependent, dad will accommodate a wider definition. In the American context, it could refer to a stepdad, to an adoptive dad, or to a male figure who has been supportive after a biological father’s death (Galvin 2006). In the Yoruba context, the American definitions of father would work but the Yoruba use of the term goes way beyond this.

In the Yoruba context, the kinship label 'daddy/dad' is usually used to address an elderly man, who is approximately of the same age or older than one's parents. A father’s brother or mother’s brother should never be addressed as “uncle” but, as “daddy” Failure to use the latter term will be considered a rude act and can lead to friction between the father of the rude child and the “uncle”.

It is also common for elderly women to address younger males as “my father”, whether they have a definite relationship with them or not. This is just an attempt at flattery with the intent of evoking a sense of solidarity from the person being addressed.

In Nigeria, it is common for porters at workplaces to address their more educated colleagues and superiors as daddy, without taking into cognizance the latter’s age. In this case, the label daddy does not necessarily mean the addressee is old enough to be the father of the speaker, but it is only an acknowledgement of the addressee's superior class or social status. Social status is highly respected in Yoruba culture and is often highlighted in discussion. Another example will be the use of daddy in religious organisations especially in churches. It is very common for church members to refer to the pastor as daddy. This stems from his social status as spiritual leader of the church. Age in this case is not a factor as the pastor can be many years younger than the speaker but the former is considered a mentor and possesses the status of a spiritual father which means instructions from him will be highly regarded and respected.

Mummy/mum:

Like the male label, daddy, mummy is used for persons with whom there is no definite relationship as long as they are approximately as old as one's parents. All the examples in the "daddy" label will appear here and we would like to highlight two instances. A mother's or father's sister cannot be addressed as aunt or aunty. This will be considered disrespectful and when such an instance occurs, the addressee will feel insulted.

Also, in the church setting, the pastor's wife is addressed as "mummy". Her position accords her a status that puts her as the head of the women in church thereby making her mother to all.

Aunty:

Using LCMD to analyze the word "aunty" will really help to break down and understand some ambiguity between the use of the word in English and Yoruba. In a conversation between a Yoruba person speaking to an American using the label "aunty", the illusion of a shared meaning where it would seem like the speaker is referring to a parent's sibling and the conversation and this can cause a miscommunication. Using the Meaning Divergence to analyze this label reveals that "aunty" is understood in the Yoruba setting as a parent's female sibling but, it is rarely used for this purpose. In Yoruba language, the term can be used in addressing a biological sister or any other older person in the extended family but, who is not close in age to one's parents. Even being a year or a few months older can earn the addressee the title. Female pre-primary and primary school teachers are also referred to as aunty by the pupils and their parents. This implies that although they do not have the status of parents, teachers have some type of authority over the kids.

Wife:

In English the label "wife" will be interpreted – female, woman, married. This is also true for Yoruba language and so on this score, both languages converge on the meaning. But, if discourse were to go further and meaning was negotiated, in many instances, the Yoruba expression of the word will have several other meanings.

In Yoruba culture, a man can address his friend's wife as his wife, or a female can address a lady that is married to her relative as her wife. Also, in a situation where the husband and wife belong to different ethnic groups or different countries, all members of the husband's ethnic group or country can refer to the lady as "our wife" making it seem like they are all married to the lady. A husband's parents and siblings as well as other members of the extended family can also use the label "our wife" or "my wife" when addressing a lady married to their family member.

Limitations of the Study

The time used in exploring and analysing the topic was not adequate. The time constraint therefore limited the kinship labels used. There are many more kinship labels to be explored. Also, the paucity of literature available on LCMD as it applies to intercultural communication made it difficult to fully have a broader perspective to it.

More work needs to be done on the expansion of the theory especially in the area of intercultural communication.

Implication and Conclusion

The above examples already show that in Yoruba language, English kinship labels are used for people with whom one may not have any kinship ties or prior relationship with. Therefore, the theory of discourse dependent families should be extended to include people with whom there is no known biological or legal connection and you do not need to share "a significant history" with them as indicated by Galvin et al (2015).

However, their use carries with it an implicit recognition of superiority of the addressee as we can see that in Yoruba language, the process of kinship labelling is mostly influenced by power dynamics which are fostered by factors like age, social class, social status, citizenship, etc. Every instance where there is power play, the existence of meaning divergence in communication can result in conflicts.

This research points out the need for organisations to create awareness about nuances and value systems of other cultures in order to prevent misunderstandings that can generate into conflicts. This will help in improving intercultural communication on a global scale.

References

Akindele, F., & Adegbite, W. (1999). The Sociology and Politics of English in Nigeria: An Introduction. Ile- Ife. Obafemi Awolowo University Press Ltd.

Bariki, O. (2007). L'implicite culturel dans la traduction. *Babel*, *53*(2), 112-122.

Bennett, M. J. (1998). Intercultural communication: A current perspective. *Basic concepts of intercultural communication: Selected readings*, (1), 1-34.

Bennett, J. M., & Bennett, M. J. (2004). *Developing intercultural sensitivity: An integrative approach to global and domestic diversity* (pp. 147-165).

Bennett, M. J. (2017). Developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. *The international encyclopedia of intercultural communication*, 1-10.

Dixon, J., & Dougherty, D. S. (2014). A language convergence/meaning divergence analysis exploring how LGBTQ and single employees manage traditional family expectations in the workplace. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *42*(1), 1-19.

Dougherty, D. S., Kramer, M. W., Klatzke, S. R., & Rogers, T. K. (2009). Language convergence and meaning divergence: A meaning centered communication theory. *Communication Monographs*, *76*(1), 20-46.

Dougherty, D. S., Mobley, S. K., & Smith, S. E. (2010). Language convergence and meaning divergence: A theory of intercultural communication. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, *3*(2), 164-186.

Ebaugh, H. R., & Curry, M. (2000). Fictive kin as social capital in new immigrant communities. *Sociological Perspectives*, *43*(2), 189-209

Evanoff, R. (2006). Integration in intercultural ethics. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*(4), 421-437.

Fadipe, N. A. (1970). *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, (ed. F. O. Okediji & O. O. Okediji). Ibadan. University Press.

Gallagher, S. K., & Gerstel, N. (1993). Kinkeeping and friend keeping among older women: The effect of marriage. *The Gerontologist*, *33*(5), 675-681.

Galvin, K. M. (2006). Diversity's impact on defining the family. *The family communiction sourcebook*, *16*, 3-19.

Galvin, K. M., Braithwaite, D. O., & Bylund, C. L. (2015). *Family communication: Cohesion and change*. Routledge.

Johnson, C. L. (2000). Kinship and gender. *Handbook of family diversity*, 128-148.

Jones, A., & Quach, X. (2007). *Intercultural communication*. *The University of Melbourn.*

Leach, E. (1976). *Culture and communication: The logic by which symbols are connected. An introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.

Leach, M. S., & Braithwaite, D. O. (1996). *A binding tie: Supportive communication of family kinkeepers*.

Levinson, S. C., Stephen, C., & Levinson, S. C. (2000). *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. MIT Press.

Morman, M. T., & Floyd, K. (2006). Good fathering: Father and son perceptions of what it means to be a good father. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research & Practice about Men as Fathers*, *4*(2).

Orvell, M. (2014). *The real thing: Imitation and authenticity in American culture, 1880-1940*. UNC Press Books.

Porter, R., & Samovar, L. (1997). *Intercultural communication*. Boston: A Reader.

Setlock, L. D., Fussell, S. R., & Neuwirth, C. (2004). Taking it out of context: collaborating within and across cultures in face-to-face settings and via instant messaging. In *Proceedings of the 2004 ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work* (pp. 604-613).

Trudgill, P. (1983). *On dialect: Social and geographical perspectives*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Watters, E. (2004). *Urban tribes: Are friends the new family?* Bloomsbury Publishing UK.

Weston, K., & Choose, F. W. (1991). *Lesbians, gays, kinship*. New York, Columbia University Press.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

RELIGION AND HUMAN SECURITY: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

Olasupo Jacob Osaji
Department of Religions,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria

Introduction

E.B. Taylor (2013, p.2) conceptualises religion as a belief in spiritual beings. He excludes rituals and ceremonies which characterise most religions like Judaism and Buddhism. To James Frazer (2015, p.5), religion is the propitiation or conciliation of power superior to man, which is believed to direct and control the cause of nature and of human life. Karl Marx (1989, p.98), on his part, defines religion as the opium of the masses. Marx sees religion as a sign of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of a soulless condition. Marxists, particularly Osazee, (1997, p.59) describes religion as "one of the forms of spiritual oppression which weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, overburdened by their perpetual work for others by want and isolation."

Religion, which is as old as society, is the product of man's effort to come to terms with a harsh and uncertain world. It is the last resort of all those in distress, in that, almost all religions known to mankind started in conditions of social and economic dislocation, and were originally movements composed and led largely by the poor and oppressed in the society (1999, p.10). In other words, religion brings people of the same faith together in a social and spiritual sense, and is believed to provide some kind of physical and spiritual security both here and hereafter. In Christian religion, the faith perspective is centered on Jesus Christ and the Holy Bible (2013, p.46). In Islam, the root is traced to Muhammad (PBUH). Islam is based on the Qur'an, one of the holy books of the Moslems. In Africa, before the arrival of Islam and Christianity, the African traditional religions such as the Ogun religion existed. These among other new religious movements in Nigeria offer promises of some kinds of social and spiritual security to their adherents. The adherents are assured of holistic divine security covering what they consider to be the tripartite being of man (spirit, soul and body) through faith which they emphasise as the indispensable means of divine security in life. The Christian faith also gives assurance of life after death through its teachings and ethical biblical values.

The present state of security in Nigeria is very worrisome. By its very composition and nature, the Nigerian nation-state seems to be prone to some forms of insecurity like assassination, ritual killings, armed robbery, pen robbery, kidnapping, ethno-religious violence, suicide bombings, arsons, floods, food shortage, unemployment, corruption, police and military brutality, impunity, lawlessness and a host of others. Generally, the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria are poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, poor or bad leadership/governance. Family disintegration, social and economic threats, political and other aspects of insecurity are sources of worry to any country, and Nigeria cannot be an exception.

Religion can be a vital instrument for national security. Religion which does not have the enhancement of national security and harmonious co-existence of divergent groups of nationalities as one of its ultimate ends is not worth the name. Generally, religions are categorised into universal and ethnic religions. The study of religion in the academia refers generally to transcultural international faith, indigenous religion (i.e, smaller, culture-specific or nation specific religious groups) and new religions movements (which refer to recently developed faiths) (Animoshe, 2006, p22). There are about 4,200 religions in the world. A global 2012 and 2013 poll reports that 59% of the world's population is religious, 23% are not religious and 13% are atheists" (Animoshe, 2006, p.31).

Many countries in the world are bedeviled by serious national security issues that are traceable to religious ideologies in spite of the avowed objectives of most religions to the relevance of peaceful co-existence. Yet there can be a vital and truthful synergy between religion and national security. Given this background, this paper attempts to see how religions, particularly Christianity, can be used as an instrument for the enhancement of national security and cohesion in Nigeria. Using the library and oral sources to access relevant data, qualitative and thematic approaches would be deployed for analysis. In sum, the paper aims at adding to the existing literature and motivating evidences with three theories of Religion: Evolutionary theory, Marxist theory and Functional theory. Towards this end, the article attempts to answer the following questions. What is the role of Christianity in search of peace in Nigeria? What should the church do to ensure peaceful-co-existence among different ethnic groups and religions? And finally, how can the church/Christianity manage and control the national security threats in Nigeria?

Theories of Religion and Human Security

The link between religion and national security is that of mutual transmissibility of impacts and repercussions.Abolarinwa's (2007, p.20) three types of dominant theories of religion will be helpful to our study. They are the Evolutionary theory, Marxist theory and Functional theory. Each of these deserves a brief explanation. Evolutionary theory states that religion originated from fear, dread and fascination infused in animisim. Animism (belief in spirits based on experiential fear of them) or animalism (belief in impersonal forces based on their expressive function) is the earliest form of religion. Marxist theory states that religion is from man's imagination and, therefore, a mere invention of man or society. It sees religion more or less as the oppression of the proletariats (poor or the working class) by the bourgeoisies (rich or owners of means of production). In this case, religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the sentiments of a heartless world and the soulless conditions, the opium of the people (Abolarinwa, 2007, p.20). In other words, religion is used by the ruling class to justify its tyranisation and oppression of the subject class. Functional theory of religion states that religion is a sociological tool which develops from the need to foster a sense of belonging in human society and thus plays the role of community binding or social integration. In other words, functional theory sees religion as performing the functional role of reinforcing the collective conscience of the society (requites) for social order, stability, harmonious co-existence and in all human security (Cyril, 2005).

The Synergy between Religion and National Security

It can be deduced in line with evolutionary theory that whatever people fear or dread constitutes a security threat to them. Man invented religion in order to cope with his own fear of the supernatural which he instinctively acknowledges as real. In this regard, freedom from fear is the link between religion and security. Marxist theory (which is an economy theory) shows that economic security is the reason for religion. It contends that freedom from want is behind mans ingenious invention of religion, though the rich use it as an oppressive tool over the poor. Functional theory (also called meaning/comfort theory) shows that religion provides meaning to/comfort in life in the face of frustrations, pains, loss, etc. Religion therefore provides security against the mystery and vicissitudes of life. It reveals that freedom from pain constitutes the security function of religion. These theories, therefore, provide a strong link between religion and security, be it national or international. Hence, religion serves a security purpose in all human society. Based on these theories, it is very certain that religion, contrary to the prediction and expectation of scientific positivism, will not cease to exist in the world, Nigeria inclusive.

Nigeria's perception of security is a reflection of a realist paradigm of prospecting its power within a state-centric system. This perception is increasingly becoming problematic. This is because a state-centric perception in democratic role is an anachronism, along with growing internal opposition to the hegemonic statist perspective of national security. Olukoshi et al. in Nimandi (2019, p.32) argue that state and dominant class interest eclipse national security in Nigeria. Olukoshi et al. for instance posit that the security thrust is directed toward the interest of the governing classes and their propertied allies, while most Nigerians are alienated from the security processes that ironically turn on them from time to time. The consequence of this is that national security planners tend to strengthen the coercive apparatus of any government any time the nation is faced with internal security challenges; thus neglecting non-coercive and social welfare approaches. Official paradigm of national security in Nigeria especially under President Obasanjo's and Goodluck Jonathan's democratic rules was statist, and a reflection of the skewed power relations in the country. The situation is even worse in the civilian administration led by President Muhammadu Buhari. This is more in the face of economic and social crises arising from the backward economic reforms of these administrations. Particularly the core or human security essence of the state remains largely unchanged, in spite of its takeover by the dominant elite. For instance, the Nigerian state between 1999-2022 seemed to consent to this military conception of national security. This is obvious from the super-ordinations of the military and consequent subordination of other vital aspects of the economy such as public health, education, agriculture, employment, youth and women empowerment, and provision of essential services. When you compare the budget allocation to national security and defence with other vital sectors mentioned above, the difference reveals where government priority lies. However, the real security threat in Nigeria is the problem of underdevelopment, poverty, political instability, demonic governance and social injustice. These threats cannot be reasonably confronted by military preparedness without adequate support of moral teaching and ethical values. Biblical teaching can be of great impact if taught and adhered to.

Security

The word "security" according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (1981) is the activities involved in protecting a country, building or person against attack, danger and the likes. It could also be referred to as freedom from danger, fear or anxiety. Security in the context of state relation connotes the immunity of a state from threats outside territorial boundaries, or the preservation of minimum core values of a state, namely; political independence and territorial integrity.

Jaiye and Alaga (2005, p.3) define security as a public good that is necessary for causing individual and collective safety, stability and development. It is the primary function and responsibility of the state to deliver this public good, 'security' to its people and communities in an appropriate and accountable manner.

In Nigeria, sectarian violence and insecurity have rendered the government and security agencies prostrate and impotent in the face of incessant attacks against the civilian population. In these spirals of violence, civilians have been the victims of attack most especially Christians being at the receiving end of all hazards. The security situation is worsened by the spate of bombings by the Jama'atuAhlis-SunnahLiddaAwatiWal Jihad otherwise called Boko Haram which means in Hausa "Western education is sinful". This group and some other groups have caused disharmony and disrupted the peaceful co-existence among Nigerians.

However, it is noted that the existence of such groups is an indication of the failure of the government to lead the country on the path of progress, justice, equality and rights. Hence, it could be said that the inability of government to address these challenges has created a culture of self-help on the part of the citizens. More importantly, it can be said that the rise of insecurity attributed to religious groups is an indication that the obvious synergy between religion and security has not been adequately exploited; hence, the relevance of this paper. To understand the issues at stake, it behoves us to explain what national security entails.

National Security

The concept of security of a nation goes back to the cradle of nation-states themselves. Armies for domestic peace-keeping and maintaining national sovereignty have existed since the dawn of recorded history. Civil and national police forces have also existed for millennia (Animoshe, 2006). Intelligence agencies, secret services and governments stretch back to antiquity such as the Roman Empire, Benin Kingdom, Bornu Empire among others. While the general concepts of keeping a nation secure are not new, the specific English term "national security" itself came into common parlance in the 20th century. Methodologies and strategies to achieve and maintain the highest possible desired state of national security have been consistently developed over the modern period to this day. However, the concept of national security is very difficult to define because the root term, security, has remained a contested concept. In other words, it has no universally accepted definition due to its many-sidedness arising from ideology and time-frame being addressed, as well as the focus of analysis.

Moreso, the issue of national security is so critical to a nation's national interest and leaders that they are prepared to stake anything in defence of the nation, or to maintain its security. Hence, Walter Lippmann observes that a nation is secured to the extent that it is not in a question to lose core values, life, property and liberty (Animoshe, 2006). National security also refers to the requirement to maintain the survival of the nation state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy. President Olusegun Obasanjo, while presenting his grand strategy on security, declared that the primary objective of national security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, advance her interest and objectives; to contain instability; control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development progress and growth and improve the welfare and wellbeing and quality of life of the citizenry (Gwarzo, 1998).

The religious components of the strategy are indispensable, given the numerous attempts by certain religious groups to destabilize the country and cause insecurity hitherto unknown in the country.

In this work, we shall, be adopting Gwarlox's definition which sees national security as freedom from hunger, or from threat to a nation's ability to protect and defend itself, promote its cherished values and interests, and enhance the well-being of its people. From the definition, it can be observed that national security is not restricted only to weapons and military preparedness but encompasses political, social and economic wellbeing of the people. As such, any threat to any of these constitutes a threat to national security which can create absence of peace.

Integrating Religion into Security Strategy

Nigeria has a lot of security experts who express their views almost daily in the electronic and print media. These discussions hardly incorporate the role of religion in national security interests. A broad look at ex-President Obama Fifty-Five page plan on security can be useful. Drawing inspiration from a variety of security strategies, Obama linked security to four basic instruments of national power: information, diplomacy, intimacy and economy. The four fundamental points are in turn linked to religion and its use.

Their views are in tandem with Jonathan Shaw's that sees religion not as a standard of belief, but as a power that draws human behaviour and must be at the table if national security policy is to embrace the fullness of the human situation, formulate effective concepts and yield enduring result (2011, p.43).

Strategy implies imagination and creativity. The current hackneyed press releases of government following instances of attack by bandits and terrorists demonstrate government's lack of strategy. The various non-state actors of terrorism and their style of operation must be identified. Counter actions should be drawn and applied swiftly and decisively as the need arises through informed strategy. Government should be able to develop capacity to prevent, detect and rapidly respond to threats.

The Role of Christianity in the Search for Peace

For peace to exist anywhere, the citizens must eschew all forms of violence, be it political, economic, social, or religion. Gaiya (2011, p.19), is of the opinion that religion infuses every aspect of Nigerian life, from fundamental greetings (we thank God) to names of businesses (God's Favour Restaurant, etc.). Christian teachings can provide values, norms, and motivations that support non-violent approaches to tolerating and confronting differences. It can also provide empathy and compassion that can sustain reconciliation and problem solving across divisions. One of the ways Christianity has helped in securing peace in Nigeria is by appealing to the conscience of the people through ethical teachings. Conscience is a judge or guide. According to Abogunrin, it is seen as "the science of moral conduct". The Church in the course of her humanitarian activities has brought relief to the oppressed by improving their living standards. In many places, the church has been in the vanguard against crises and injustice.

Using Nigeria as a case study, the church's peace and humanitarian initiatives has been demonstrated in diverse ways. Since the time of the Nigerian Civil War which lasted from 1967 to 1970, apart from public declaration in condemnation of the Civil War, the church made several efforts to bring assistance to the Biafran people. The church embarked upon campaigns making several trips abroad to appeal to international humanitarian agencies to come to the rescue of starving people of Biafra. Thus, food, clothing and drugs were donated in large quantity by such humanitarian bodies as UNICEF, WHO, UNESCO, WCC and the Red Cross Society. Long before the outbreak of the War, Christian leaders campaigned vigorously to stop the war hostilities. On March 21, 1967, according to Okwueze (2014, p.23), a delegation of church leaders made up of representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Communion, the Methodist, the Presbyterian Church and the Salvation Army called on the then Military Head of State, Col. Yakubu Gowon (as he then was). The aim of the visit was to appeal to the head of the military government to see reason and vote for peace.

To alleviate the sufferings of the helpless civilians on the Biafran side, the church secured the intervention of Caritas International, a humanitarian organization, which supplied food and medication in abundance. Among the Biafrans, the name Caritas became synonymous with charity. While the War was on, the church was helping to fight hunger and diseases and this was made possible by the assistance which they got from the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Vatican. Religious organizations did not keep quiet in all these crises. The Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) issued a statement aimed at achieving peace. The PFN has not relented in its efforts to ensure and promote national security. This was attested by Dr Mike Okonkwo's words in relation to the travails brought about by Boko Haram:

> The spate of ethnic and religious violence and the kid gloves with which the federal government is handling the matter is fast sending dangerous signals to this nascent democracy. PFN noted that the federal government is quick to take very hard decisions on helpless civilians whenever there is social unrest in areas that are predominantly inhabited by Christians (Okonwo, 2014, p.45).

He went further to call on the federal government to do everything possible to call these Jihadists to order, so as to avoid a looming crisis. The Christian Association of Nigerian (CAN) has risen in condemnation of the crises. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) made headlines statements about Boko Haram. Oritsejafor (*Vanguard* Newspaper, 06/06/22) states "I will now make a final call to the Nigerian government to use all resources available to it to clearly define and neutralize the problem as other nations have done", Ayo Oritsejafor's head of the Christian Association of Nigeria. He further states that "the church leadership has hitherto put great restraint on the restive and aggrieved millions of Nigerians, but can no longer guarantee such cooperation if the trend of terror is not halted immediately".

The Kaduna State Chapter of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) condemned continued attacks of the Boko Haram sect on Christians and churches across the Northern States, and sought peaceful ways of ensuring an end to violence and insecurity. An exemplification is seen in the North Central CAN Chairman, Yakubu Pam, according to *Vanguard* (2002, p.11), who led other Christian leaders to visit the state Police Commissioner, in pursuance of peace. There were frequent calls for prayer and fasting to ensure national security. A former head of state, Dr Yakubu Gowon is actively involved in wide prayers for peaceful co-existence among Nigerian. Over the years in Nigeria, Christian and Muslim leaders have been working to promote peace and national security. Such efforts can be intensified, for instance, Muslim political leaders and traditional rulers should come together and use their doctrines in *Wahhabi* and *Salafi* to engage the deviant Boko Haram. This may help in discouraging them from their evil activities, get them reformed and make them mentally healthy again. These same religious clerics could help go to the grassroots to convince the average person on the streets or in the Mosques that Boko Haram is not fighting for them or for their good. Someone of the status of Shelk Gumi could be contacted for an ideologically mapped out strategy that could "liberate" Boko Haram from their penchant for violence.

Furthermore, the Ecumenical Centre in Abuja is not left out. It is a centre established for deliberations to bring about peace in a crisis-torn areas. Recently, the Lagos Diocese of the Catholic Church organized a get-together for Christians and Non-Christians alike. This type of coming together could help to bring about peace. The inter religions conflicts that are ravaging different parts of the country, Nigeria, can be stemmed through dialogue and interfaith worships and conferences. During the General Sani Abacha years, the different religions in Nigeria, namely Christianity and Islam, held series of meetings together aimed at bringing sanity, stability and peace to Nigeria. In one of such meetings, Emmanuel Gbonigi, Anglican Bishop of Ekiti Diocese insisted that the military must go to pave way for peace. Revd. Father Mathew Kukah of the Catholic Secretariat, Lagos asked for the release of all the detainees and a restructuring of the military in order to achieve the much desired peace. Lateef Adegbite, Secretary of the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (SCIA) was among those who called for a government of National unity to ensure that peace reigns. Christians always pray for peace in the country, Nigeria, whenever adherents gather to worship.

In November, 1999, according to Uzuegbunam (2002, p.10) a five-day conference of all religions of the world held in Jordan (2003, p10). The theme of the conference was "Religion for Peace". Representatives from all the major religious denominations were there. Representatives from the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, in addition to delegates of Islam, Hindu and Sikh religions. Abdullah, King of Jordan remarked that the time has come for the religions of the world to forge a united cooperative front towards the promotion of peace in the world. He further explained that it is only in a congenial atmosphere can genuine progress be made in a world of increasing complicated temperament.

The world conference on Religion and Peace is a non-governmental organization constitute in 1970 by Christians, Buddhists, Muslims and others to promote peace. It has helped to promote peace and harmony in the Balkans, in Sierra Leone and in the Middle East.

This is an attempt at taking a critical look at the efforts made so far by many Christian bodies in Nigeria so that peace reigns in spite of the hostile tendencies of man. However, some scholars have raised many criticisms within the processes of religious peace building, that the greatest challenge to religious peace building is the ambivalence of religion. Appleby (2008, p.3) states that "some religious peace building situations require additional skills and knowledge of contemporary peace building theory and practice. In some locations, religious actors may join the field without the benefit of professional training and experience". According to Shenk (1993), some individuals and groups will be against working with actors of a different religion or categorically opposed to intersection of religion and peace building. However, sometimes religious actors find it difficult to work with their co-religionists. Despite this opposition or criticisms of using religion for peaceful co-existence of the various tribes and religious groups in Nigeria, there are practical contributions that the church has made towards peaceful co-existence in Nigeria apart from praying and preaching. Some of those practical contributions are: establishing schools and colleges, clinics and hospitals, and supporting advanced farming methods, native languages writing and translation of the Bible. The church has set up indigenous churches everywhere in Nigeria. In the 20th century, different mission bodies seriously evangelized and founded schools and colleges and opened clinics and hospitals, introduced more advanced methods of farming, reduced the native language to writing and began translating the Bible.

Going through the country, one can see these institutions all over Nigeria. In the opinion of McCain (1966, p.326), there equally seems to be increasing numbers of Junior and Higher Islamic schools and colleges in Nigeria. There are over 400 Seminaries/Bible Colleges, and Christian Universities established by the Catholic, Protestant and the Pentecostals in the present Nigeria. There are also numerous shrines, covens and prayer houses where apprentices are being taught the traditions of the Africans. These institutions have produced more clerics, Priests, Bishops, priest healers, Imams and the likes. More Nigerians are becoming lecturers in colleges and universities. The church has greatly assisted in wiping out illiteracy. Religion bodies have played significant roles in the evolvement of peace culture in Nigeria. This has been done through the establishment of various missionary and Quranic schools in Nigeria.

Christianity according to Mbachirin (2011, p.25) has made great achievements in the areas of healthcare and rural development since its inception in Nigeria. The church encourages people to live morally by providing them with the virtue of humility. Omoregbe (1996, p.25) states that one of the virtues taught by the church is the virtue of humility. This provides man with a new dimension to the concept of leadership and greatness. The church has over the years produced great individuals in Nigeria who have championed the cause of leadership. Beginning from the 18th century, Nigeria started witnessing the emergence of nationalities with seasoned leaders like Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, General Muhammadu Buhari, among others. Though some of them perceived leadership not as a responsibility, but as a revenue to amass wealth for themselves, some of them have done creditably and improved the lot of the people tremendously. Therefore, the church has fostered national growth and development by enhancing peaceful co-existence. The church has achieved some measures of tolerance in Nigeria by borrowing some cultural elements, by adopting local drums, singing in local languages, hand clapping and dancing with African rhyme and the likes. These are obviously signs of recovery of Nigerian cultural values which further aided more development of Nigerian indigenous languages and the peaceful co-existence.

Another area of contribution of the church towards peaceful co-existence in Nigeria is in the ordinations of women clerics in the Presbyterian (Church ordained Bishops in 1900s and 2000s). The ordination of Mrs Marguret Idahosa of the Church of God Mission, Benin, is a case in point. The Roman Catholic Church resists ordination of women as Priests, nonetheles, more and more Pentecostals are being elected into the leadership positions of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) at the local, state and national levels which had not been the case before. From all these indications, Nigeria is a very fertile soil for religion and peacemaking as more people are given the opportunity to preach peace.

Roles of the Church in Ensuring Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria

Despite the contributions of the church towards nation building and national security, cases of insecurity is still on the rise. Therefore there is need for more concerted efforts by the church to work in harmony to ensure peace at this crucial time of crises and insecurity in our nation.

The church leaders should together with schools encourage students to engage in meaningful activities such as dramatization, miming, poetry, singing and embarking on practical peace projects. According to Adejobi (2009, p.39) “the more children are exposed to reading materials that promote images of other people’s culture, religion, uniqueness, social identity, among others, the less likely they are to find faults with one another and the more they are able to live among and work together for the benefit of mankind and for the good of the society”. The church leaders should re-orientate the members of the society towards peace and tolerance rather than towards violence. Adams (2000, p.27) affirms tat the church leaders should liaise with curriculum planners, to ensure that the tenets of promoting peaceful co-existence such as kindness, loyalty, honesty, love, optimism, compassion, etc. are included in reading comprehension passages of the English language curriculum.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should redouble their efforts as facilitators of dialogues and mediators of conflicts between conflicting parties. In addition, they should setup their advocacy by sensitizing and conscientizing the people about their rights and the rights of others especially on peaceful co-existence, civic and religious rights, among others.

Church leaders should approach politicians and teach them the importance of good governance and encourage them to avoid discrimination and marginalization of the people when dealing with developmental projects and religious matters in the country. Politicians should not mingle religion with politics.

Church leaders should preach and promote ethno-religious tolerance and accommodation of opposing views with greater vigour as part of deepening peaceful co-existence and harmony in the country. In Nigeria, intolerance of opposing views by adherents of the major religions has heated the polity and caused tension.

Church leaders should monitor Christian politicians to sponsor bills of peaceful co-existence. Inter-faith training of the youths should be encouraged by the church leaders so as to enlighten them about the faith of others.

Church leaders should ensure the protection of religious freedom of the citizens. This is necessary as one observes that the constitutional provisions for freedom of worship, religious expression and obligation as entrenched in section 38(1) and (2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are weak. There is the need to promote a human rights based approach to the protection of religious freedom in Nigeria (US Department of State Report). Most of the tensions and conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria can be traced to flagrant abuse of the fundamental individual and group rights in the country. This is a situation that can be avoided.

Management of National Security Threats through Christianity in Contemporary Nigeria

Provision of Basic Needs

There is starvation amid plenty in Nigeria. However people's access to food, shelter and clothing depends on their purchasing power. Many are denied access to basic food simply because they cannot afford it. Thus, food security is closely related to economic security and national security. Christian bodies can make free food available to the hungry and highly deprived people of this country. Some churches in Nigeria are rich and could be encouraged to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, house the homeless, etc. as a humanitarian approach to the ministry. Religion should not only be an instrument of collecting money (tithes/offerings) from people but also a tool for meeting the basic needs of members for food, clothing and shelter (Matthew 25:35-40).

If done faithfully, ethically and Biblically, national security threats will be reduced. Better still attempts should be made by the church to provide skills to their members and others who are willing to benefit from them in line with the Chinese saying that, it is better to teach someone to fish than to give him pittance of fish.

Provision for Personal Security

Christian doctrine if properly harnessed, can be a vital and powerful tool for combating threats of insecurity emanating from non-state actors. The Bible teaches its adherents to watch and pray (Matt. 24:46). Nigerian Christians and non Christians pray a lot. It is time to stress the need for watchfulness. Individuals should be taught to be sensitive to security needs at all levels of the society. Watchfulness plays an important role in all societies. Even in advanced countries like the United States of America, citizens are encouraged to watch movements of people around their environments and make calls to relevant authorities when the need arises. What Christians will be called upon to do will be akin to what the intelligent and security community does as is reported by the Leah Weel (2019, p.12) in "Watchful Eyes: National Security Reviews and Oversight in Canada". While real intelligence is left for security agents, Christians and others can be taught fundamental issues of security with reminder that security is the business of all.

A National Approach

Christians and other religious groups can contribute to the fundamental discourse of security. Governments role is still very crucial. The American example can be very helpful. Ex-Presidents Obama and George W. Bush, an avowed Christian, understand that religion "shapes and motivates behaviour". What is urgently required is a grand strategy to integrate religion into the security architecture.

George W. Bush in 2012 referred to intersection between national security and other aspects of human life when he said political religious, and economic liberty advance together and reinforce each other. On his part, Obama noted the importance of reorganizing common values and shared interest as well as the need to avoid over action in the area of regional and faith difference. This, if stressed and built into the national goals, would mean that security would be viewed through the lens of relational paradigm that can enhance understanding, tolerance and unity.

Strategy implies getting goals and defining ways to achieve these goals. In setting goals the ideologies of various religions, the cultural components embedded in the values of the society among others are taken into consideration.

Conclusion

Relevant studies have shown that Nigeria has been tagged a "security risk nation", because of the incessant crises, social vices, and lack of cordial relationship among its ethnic and religious groups. These challenges could be addressed in part using Christian values as a link between Christianity and peace.

Christian values such as forgiveness and reconciliation can inspire communities to change attitudes and actions and transform their worldviews so as to understand others. These values are entrenched in the Bible which can be of great use in conflict situations. Given the multi-religious status of Nigeria, these values which are upheld in other religions too should be seen in a wider perspective as universal values.

References

Abolarinwa, J.O. (2007). *Clash of Cultures: Muslim Christian Violence in Nigeria and its Implications for Political Stability*. In I. O. Albert, O. N. Olarinde (eds.) *Trends and Tensions in Managing Conflicts,* (pp.3-73) Abuja: Society for Peace Studies and Practice.

Adams, R. (2000). *The Challenges of Roger Williams: Religious Liberty, Violent, and the Bible*. Mercy University Press.

Adejobi, A. (2009). *Ethno-cultural Conflicts in the Nigeria Policy*. A Colonial Legacy. *Journal of Arts.*

Albert, O. A. (1999). *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano* Ibadan: Spectrum.

Animoshe, D. (2006). Introduction to Security and Insecurity Threats in Nigeria. *New Nigeria,* Monday September 9, p.8.

Anyandele, E. A. (1966). *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914.* London : Longman Group.

Appleby, S. (2008). *Religion and Peace Building*." Volume 1, Issue 2, pp.272-273.

Audu, J. (2010). An Assessment of National Security in the Fourth Republic 1999- 2007 in Law and National Security in the 4th Republic. In T. N. Sunday & R. B. Ziri (eds.) *Lapai Democracy Series*.

Available at https://doi.org/10.1093/ics/css050 accessed on the 14/10/22

Available at https://doi.org/10.1093/ics/css050 accessed on the 14/10/22

Bostman, N. (2006). *The Historical Background of National Security and Interest in Ancient Europe.* New Jessey: NEWTON Corporation.

Cyril, A.U. (2005). *Rethinking Strategy for National Security in Democratic Nigeria.* New York: Harper and Row.

Dike, K.O. (1957). *Origin of the Niger Mission 1841-1891*. Accessed on 8/6/2013, *Angelicanhistory.org/Africa/ng/dike_origin,* p29.

Egbefo, D. O. (2006). *Religion: An Instrument for Enhancing National Security and Harmonious Existence in Nigeria*. ISSN 2422-8442. Retrieved on 10th March, 2022.

Enukora, L. O. (2005). Managing Ethno-religious Conflicts and Violence and Area Differentiation in Kaduna Metropolis. In A.M Yakubu et al. (eds.) *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980. Vol 2.* p.633.

Gaiya, M. A. B. (2011). *Religion after 9/11*: *Implications for the Study of Religion in Nigerian Universities.* University of Jos. Inaugural Lecture Series (No. 50). Jos, Nigeria.

Gwarzo, I. (1998). *Meeting the Current Challenges of National Security.* National War College.

Keenan, T. J. (2007). The Origin and Current Meanings of Religious Activism *California Religion Review,* Inc.<htt://www.social.org.irev/Religious-activism.htm>, p36.

Leah, W. (2019). *Watchful Eyes.* National Security Review and Oversight in Canada

Lemu, A. (2002). Religious Education in Nigeria: A Case Study. A report from the Preporatory Seminar in OSLO. December 2013, http://folk.uio.no/leitvik/OSLOcoalition/aishalemu.

Marx, K. (1989). *Religion as an Instrument of Oppression*" In Muinute Nathias (Ed). *New Perspectives of Modern Religions*, (pp.114-121). New Orleans: Arkand Oak Corporation.

Mbachirin, A.T. (2011). *The Responses of the Church in Nigeria to Socio-economic, Political and Religious Problems in Nigeria*: *A Case Study of the Christians Association of Nigeria (CAN)*. Viewed 26th October, 2013, from: *http://beardocs.baylor.edu/xmlui/handle/2104/4874.*

Mccain, R. (1966). *The Essence of Security: Reflection in Office.* Sweden: Hodder and Stoughton.

Nimandi, B. (2019). Nigeria and Problem of Insecurity: Time for a Better Approach. *The Sunday Vanguard*, May 28, p36.

Okonkwo, A. (2014). *Religions Group Laments Increased Killings by Boko Haram*. *Vanguard*, November 16.

Okwueze, M. I. (2014). *Ethics, Religion and Society*. Nsukka, Nigeria.

Olayemi, N. C. (2009). *Religion, Source of Conflict and Resource for Peace*. Lagos: New Idea Publication Co.

Oluwawunsi, O.A. (2013). Religion as an Instrument for Enhancing Human Security in Nigeria. *Postgraduate Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 11(1), 182.

Omoregbe, J. I. (1996). *A Philosophical Look at Religion*. Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers Ltd.

Shenk, G. (1993). *God with us? The Role of Religion in Conflicts in the former Yugoslavia*. Research Report No.15. Sweden: Life on Peace Institute.

Taylor, E. B. (1986). *Religion and Ethics in Nigeria*. Ibadan. Daystar Press.

Thomas, I. (2002). Threat Assessment. Lecture Delivered at National War College Jaji Nigeria.

US Department of State Report.

Uzuegbunam, E. (2002). *A Renewed Effort towards a Peaceful Coalition of the Religions of the World*. Enugu: Rabboni Press.

Vanguard Newspaper http://www. Sunnewsonline.com/northern-clerics-pick-yakubu-pam-as-tinubus-running-mate/06/06/2022