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EDITORIAL TEAM

Editor-in-Chief and Chairman, Editorial Board, UUJH Willie U. Willie Ph.D.

University of Uyo, Uyo Akwa
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Email: williewillie@uniuyo.edu.ng

Phone: +234-816-348-1476

Editorial Board Members

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All enquiries should be directed to the current editor:

Willie U. Willie Ph.D.

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Phone: +234-816-348-1476

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

1. Rebecca Uduakobong Adesiyen is a lecturer at the Department of English, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria. Email address is: adesiyenrebecca@gmail.com.
2. Emmanuel Jolaolu Adegbenro lectures at the Department of English, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria. Email address is: adegbenro.emmanuel@oouagoiwoye.edu.ng
3. JIMOH, Yusuf O lectures at the Department of Nigeria languages, Lagos State University of Education. Email address is: jimohyo@lasued.edu.ng
4. Roselyn Oludewa Osewa is a lecturer at the Department of Linguistics Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin. Email address is oludewa.osewa@uniben.edu
5. Florence Etuwe Oghiator is a lecturer at the Department of Languages, University of Delta, Agbor, Delta State. Email address is fetuwe@gmail.com
6. Gegeri, Dike Gegeri is a lecturer at the Department of Languages, University of Delta, Agbor, Delta State. Email address is fetuwe@gmail.com
7. Professor Raufu Adebisi lectures at the Department of French Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria . Email address is: raufadebisi@gmail.com
8. Mamadou Malal SY is Assistant Lecturer in American Civilization in Iba Der Thiam University of Thies, Senegal . Email address is: Mamadoulmalal.sy@univ-thies.sn
9. Timothy Zakimayu Barje lectures at the Department of History and International Studies, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil Kano State. Email address: timzaks@gmail.com
10. Bulus Nom Audu lectures at the Department of History and International Studies, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil Kano State. Email address: budu2010@yahoo.com
11. Kolawole A. Adesuyi lectures at the Department of History and International Studies, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria. Email is kolawole.adesuyi@lasu.edu.ng
12. Oladipo O. Olubobehin lectures at the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.. Email address is olubomehind@gmail.com
13. Adewale Adeyemi-Suenu lectures at the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.. Email address is Ololadeololade70@gmail.com
14. Idorenyin Francis Esikot is a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy, University of Uyo. Email address is: idorenyinesikot@uniuyo.edu.ng
15. Emem Fabian Etukudoh is a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy, University of Uyo. Email address is: ememfaby@gmail.com
16. Glory Ekan Akpan lectures at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State. Email Address is gloweekan25@gmail.com
18. Nsikanabasi Wilson, Emem Umoh Umoh and Queen Idopese Enyina all lecture in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State
19. Edidiong Udofia works at Center for Translation and Implementation Research University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Enugu State

20. Idongesit Imohowo Eyakndue and Aaron Nwogu are lecturers at the Department of Linguistics and Communication Studies, University of Calabar. Email: eyakndueidongesit@unical.edu.ng

21. Larry Wada lectures at the Department of General Studies, Bayelsa State College of Health Technology. Email: wadalarry@gmail.com

22. Willie U. Willie lectures at Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Uyo, Uyo, Nigeria. Email: williewillie@uniuyo.edu.ng

EDITORIAL



The Editorial Board of the Uniuyo Journal of Humanities (UUJH) is so excited to release its volume 28 Number 2, October 2024 edition of the Journal. This issue of the Journal emanated from the February 2024 call for papers approved and released by the Editorial Board. The call for papers yielded more than 74 papers. The online platform of the Journal is working. This has occasioned the unprecedented improvement in the submission rate to the Journal which in turn shows that the Journal has gained wider readership and acceptance. This is evidenced in the fact that we now have submission from foreign contributors. Sequel to the foregoing, we therefore, thank our contributors who continue to trust the Journal as a credible medium and a reliable outlet to project the output of their research work to the outside world. We also want to thank our wonderful Dean of Faculty of Arts, Professor Joseph A. Ushie for the confidence reposed in us and for all his support and encouragement toward me and all the other members of the Editorial Board. I must sincerely thank all the members of the Editorial Board for their hard work, commitment and cooperation. I also wish to appreciate our peer reviewers who worked behind the scene to see that the quality of the Journal is not compromised. It is a part of their duty to help determine the relevance of the papers submitted in their areas of research expertise for assessment and publication, a duty they have performed excellently well.

This Edition will also be uploaded on the Journal website at (www.uujh.org) to continue to give the articles published in the Journal, the contributors, the Faculty of Arts, and the entire University of Uyo, the global visibility and citation they deserve. The intention is to also make the published articles easily accessible to students, teachers, and the global academic community who can easily download and use the published papers with just a click of the button. Also, it is worthy to mention that in pursuing global and wider visibility for all articles published on our Journal, we achieved a dynamic linkage of our online platform with the Google Scholar academic platform so that authors on UUJH will have their articles automatically show up on their respective google scholar account dashboard. This vision was nurtured and implemented by the current Editor-in-Chief and the result has been fantastic for all our authors.

This issue of the Journal is organized into four sections. Section A contains seven papers which are focused on Language, Linguistics, English, and Literature while Section B is focused on History and International studies and contains three papers. Section C contains one papers on Philosophy and Section D contains three papers on Miscellaneous subjects relating to the humanities

All the papers published in this Edition of our Journal have been peer reviewed, proof- read and carefully edited with the intention to reduce errors to the barest minimum even though it may not be possible to completely eliminate errors. We know that we cannot claim to be too careful as we only strive for perfection, I therefore, take responsibility, on behalf of the Editorial Board, for any offending error(s), no matter how little that may have crept in here or missed my editorial attention. Kindly forgive my imperfection knowing that we would never intentionally allow errors in here. Enjoy the volume and see you again in May, 2025 for volume 29, number 1!



Dr. Willie U. Willie

Editor-in-Chief and Chairman, UUJH Editorial Board
williewillie@uniuyo.edu.ng

Section A
LANGUAGE/LINGUISTICS
ENGLISH/LITERATURE

**A Study of Single Motherhood in
*Without Mercy, The Mirror of My Life, and Night Dancers.***

By

Rebecca Uduakobong Adesiyon

Department of English

Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria

adesiyonrebecca@gmail.com; 08062505420

&

Emmanuel Jolaolu Adegbenro (Ph.D.)

Department of English

Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria

adegbenro.emmanuel@oouagoiwoye.edu.ng; 08067383440

Abstract

Single motherhood is becoming ubiquitous today, unlike in the past, when it was almost a sacrilege. This portends serious implications for society. This paper examines the tragic conditions that a single mother and her child find themselves in while trying to navigate the difficulties imposed on them by society. Three novels on the theme of single motherhood were purposively selected from Nigeria; Abubakar's *Without Mercy*, Asogwa's *The Mirror of My Life*, and Unigwe's *Night Dancers*. The study adopted the content analytical method in interrogating the selected novels. A purposive sampling technique was used to select three novels a total of twelve films comprising six Nollywood and six Hollywood films. The novels were subjected to content and qualitative analysis to explore the issues of single motherhood. The study adopted Attachment Theory as the framework for analysis. Findings revealed that children raised by both parents exhibit a wholesome attitude towards life and suffer little or no rejection from people. Whereas, a child brought up by a single parent faces social rejection, and psychological depression, and becomes behaviorally dysfunctional. Every inherent character defect or otherwise displayed by a child raised by a single mother is a factor of societal attitude towards the peculiar challenge of the parent. Moreover, the tragic conditions experienced by single mothers/their children are compounded by stigmatisation, psychological pressure, victimisation, rejection, taunting, and mockery. The paper recommends that the society should reappraise its value system by accepting single motherhood as a socio-reality to save the society from violence and suicide.

Keywords: Attachment theory, contemporary Nigerian novels, parenthood, single motherhood, sensitive parenting.

Introduction

The subject of single motherhood has always been a part of man and has existed as far as man is concerned. In time past, single motherhood was not as pronounced or common as it is today. It was more of a taboo, a thing unheard of. Hence women did everything possible to stay married not only because they understood the negative implications of single parenting but because of fear of stigmatisation of not just the individual involved, but the family as a whole. A family would not want to be separated from her kinsman and the society at large because a woman inadvertently brings a child to the world outside wedlock.

There were strong moral values in African societies, particularly in Nigeria, which prohibit such amoral lifestyle. Consequently, strict moral upbringing was instilled; premarital sex which could lead to single motherhood was abhorred. Traditionally, marriage was also seen as a form of cult, which young women yearned to belong. Parents too were proud to give out their daughters in marriage or see their sons take wives in different cultures or tribes because of the honour it bestows on families.

Single motherhood according to Zabel and Hübgen (2018:171) is “the result of such different events as divorce of a married couple, separation of cohabiting parents, the death of a partner, an adult child moving back in to the single parent's house or the birth of a child to a single woman”. Ambrosini and Stanghellini (2012:277) state that “motherhood is the individual experience of a woman facing the birth of her baby or a social role one has to play in compliance with norms set by one's own culture or social group”. Mainthia, Reppart, Reppart, Pearce, Cohen, and Netterville (2013:15) averse that “a single mother family is one that lacks the presence of the father within the family. Such families exist when there is a divorce in which the husband and wife separate, when the husband dies, or when there is childbearing outside marriage due to unwanted pregnancies”.

Single motherhood has become the order of the day globally, even in our nation, Nigeria. In our contemporary society, it is so rampant and publicly showcased that women pride themselves as single mothers. Meier, Musick, Flood and Dunifon (2017:4) opine that “the prevalence of single-parent families rose substantially through the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, and remains high today—about 30 percent of children today live with just one parent”. Traditionally, it was the responsibility of parents, father, and mother to care for and provide the basic needs children require to grow up to fit into the environment in which they found themselves and society at large.

Rose Hacker (1960:62) states that “families form the bricks with which a society is built, and the value of that society depends on each brick. The quality of the personal relationships in each family determines the health, character, and influence of all its members, while, the family group engenders stability or disintegration throughout the community of which it is a part”. Although, it has been commonly observed that men/women would prefer to stay in marriage 'for their children' rather than opt out of it

because they understood, not just the importance of their roles, but the impacts of two parents or family in the life of a child. Hence, "it is commonly known that what is thought to be the "traditional" two-parent family has steadily declined in the last couple of decades" (Halie Olszowy 2012: 60).

According to Stephen and Udisi (2016:1), many of the old customs and traditions that were taught and practiced for several years are becoming obsolete today. The modern culture has changed and outgrown values and benefits that were thought to be the core believes and values of our society. What was unacceptable in the olden days is now becoming a fast and rapidly rising trend. Marc Bornstein (2002:110) also says, "increasingly, signs have emerged that perceptions and acceptance of single-parent families are changing. More and more single-parent families are emerging very visibly on the national scene, and the public has become more accustomed to seeing them".

Looking at our societies today all over the world, for instance, and especially in the world of entertainment, both married and unmarried women take to social media to show their baby bumps. There were many single parents in our societies not known before because of the shame of being a single parent, but because it has become the norm, some parade themselves on social media, and the world celebrates them. Bornstein (2002: 110) asserts that

When Ingrid Bergman conceived a child out of wedlock in 1950, writers of the movie star columns were aghast, and Ingrid Bergman was effectively blackballed for nearly a decade from the American screen. In the 1990s, derision and concern greeted the television character Murphy Brown's birth of her out-of-wedlock child. However, in the year 2000, Madonna, a real-life rock star, birthed a baby son, Rocco, and the event was greeted with as much joy and interest as the birth of any baby to a prominent rock star.

Single mother and single parent would be used in this study interchangeably. Single parenthood on the other hand is the act of raising a child or children with only one parent. Men are also single parents, but the percentage is more in women than men as stated by Meier et al., (2017:2), "Mothers are much more often single parents than fathers...". Barajas (2011:13) also added that the vast majority of these single-parent homes are headed by women. A single parent is one who lives alone with his/her children and bears their responsibilities without the domestic and sometimes financial help of a spouse. According to Lawrence Balter (2000:570), a single parent is a parent who is not legally married to a partner living with her or him at home. Knapp and Jongsma (2005:232) define a single parent as one raising children alone or in partnership with a co-parent living in a separate residence. Halie Olszowy (2012:61) states that a single-parent family consists of only one biological parent present in the child's life.

Stephen and Udisi (2016:1) aver that a single parent is a parent, not living with a spouse or partner, who has most of the day-to-day responsibilities in raising the child or

children. According to Nieuwenhuis and Maldonado (2018: 291), a single-parent is defined as a one-parent household with at least one child under age 18 living in the household. On the one hand, a single person can become a parent, while a parent can become single. Hence, many factors such as death, separation, unmarried adolescent mothers, sexual recklessness, and untrained children among others lead to single parenting. According to Balter (2000:570), the parenting experiences associated with each of these subgroups are very different, as are the circumstances in which a person becomes a single parent.

Aim of the Study

This study is an examination of the tragic conditions that a single mother/single parent as well as the child, finds herself and her efforts at overcoming the difficulties put on her way by her immediate family on the one hand and the larger society on the other. The paper interrogates Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar's *Without Mercy* (1999), Fidelia Asogwa's *The Mirror of my Life* (2005), and Chika Unigwe's *Night Dancer* (2013). The specific objectives are:

- to interrogate the tragic conditions experience in single parent homes;
- to consider the role society plays in this social tragedy;
- to examine how single mothers are able to survive the hopeless situations they find themselves;
- to investigate how the novelists have succeeded in communicating these tragic experiences.

Therefore, the study adopted the content analytical method in interrogating the selected novels. The data were collected from the three selected contemporary Nigerian novels. The novels were selected from different cultural background in Nigeria. A purposive sampling method that relates to the subject matter informed the choice of the three novels and they were subjected to content and qualitative analysis to explore issues on single motherhood.

Theoretical Framework

The theory used in this study is the Attachment Theory by George W. Holden. Holden (2021:34-5) avers that attachment theory focuses on understanding how love between a parent and child develops and affects development. Attachment Theory addresses the establishment, maintenance, and consequences of affectionate bonds between parents and children. The core premise of attachment theory is that the relationship between parent and infant reflects a behavioural system that has adapted to promote survival and competent functioning of the offspring. Infants who received sensitive parenting over their first year of life developed secure attachments.

According to attachment theory, the implications of attachment classifications are

profound because individuals base their interpersonal behavior on their internal working models, even into adulthood. Insecurely attached individuals are expected to behave differently from securely attached ones, whether interacting with their parents or others such as peers and teachers. Parents who fail to respond sensitively are likely to have children who develop insecure attachment relations. If the parent does not attend regularly to the infant's needs, the child will develop an anxious-avoidant relationship pattern.

Sensitive parenting means that, at a minimum, the parent responds promptly and appropriately as well as is available to help calm a distressed infant and help him or her to self-regulate. Some mothers and fathers do not respond sensitively to their infants. It could be because the parent is depressed, angry, or stressed. These children do not have an organized behavioural strategy to deal with stresses and therefore are labeled disorganized. The disorganized children are believed to be survivors of abuse or some trauma and thus show peculiar and incoherent response pattern. The key implication of attachment in infancy for older children and adults is that it informs individuals how valued they are as well as how reliable and trustworthy other people are. Internal working models are views that children build an understanding of the world that contains ideas and expectations about how people will behave toward them. As their social world expands, children carry these views of others with them into their new relationships.

Attachment theory was developed to account for the development and significance of parent-child love. Interpersonal acceptance-rejection according to Holden was formed around the idea that parental love results in positive outcomes, but rejection negatively affects child's psychological adjustment and behavioural functioning. The focus of the theory is on understanding the effects, causes and correlates of children's perceptions of parental acceptance-rejection. Rejected children are likely to be fearful, insecure, attention seeking, jealous, hostile and lonely (George W. Holden, 2021:34-5).

Chika Unigwe's *Night Dancers* interrogates women's status in marriage. The novel investigates gender issues from a fresh perspective with a focus on intra-gender and inter-gender conflicts. It examines the patriarchal socio-cultural structure which places limitation on women and the exercise of their natural rights. Fidelia Asogwa's *The Mirror of My Life* examines the youthful exorbitant and sexual recklessness amongst youths. The novel also explores the importance of good moral upbringing in families and Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar's *Without Mercy* interrogates the role parents play in their children's choice of a life partner, the impact, and the implications. The novel also examines that a child raised by two parents exhibits positive outcomes and rejection negatively affects a child's psychological development or adjustment.

The Content Analysis

Chika Unigwe, Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar, Fidelia Asogwa, and others have depicted the

ugly and bizarre experiences of single motherhood in the society through their works. The dominant themes in these three novels are poverty, love, stigmatisation, and over-ambition.

The stigmatisation Chika Unigwe's protagonist, Ezi, experiences are as a result of her separation from her husband, when she discovers that he impregnates her housemaid and chooses the maid and her male child over her (Ezi) and her female child, Adamma. The impact of this separation between Ezi and her husband is the interpersonal acceptance-rejection Ezi's daughter, Mma, battles with throughout the novel. Mma does not receive sensitive parenting from her father during the early stage of her life and therefore develops insecure attachment. Ezi fights the patriarchal society that privileges a man over a woman on the one hand and her family who insists she remains in the marriage and accepts the second wife as the norm on the other. The taunting Ezi and her daughter get is also a result of her breaking free from and saying no to the tradition of a man dominating society. "It was her way of challenging tradition. It was one woman taking on her world" (Unigwe, 2013:110).

Ezi experiences the tragic condition of being betrayed by her husband, it makes her not able to respond sensitively to her daughter, Mma. The effects of single parent are more on children than parent, Stephen and Udisi (2016:2) affirm that "the effects are more devastating on the part of the children because single parenthood leaves them with deep scars". Mma is equally stigmatised, she lacks attachment with a father from infant. Mma knows the neighbours' views about her and her mother, she knows the neighbours stigmatise them but because of the fear of a landlady, they allow their children to play with her within the watch and with several questions of 'what did she do, say or where did she touch you as their internal working models

The girls who had happily eaten her sweets and biscuits? What did they think of her? Probably while they were her mother's tenants, they were obliged to be nice to her. They deferred to her authority as the landlady's daughter. She remembered words, said, glances exchanged between her friends and their parents which had seemed innocuous enough but which now were weighted with meaning. Their parents cooed them out to play with Mma while keeping a close eye on them from behind their doors to make sure they did not pick up any undesirable behaviour from her. Who knew what lurked in the heart of a wayward woman's daughter. They quizzed their child after each play session, wanting to know what Mma said, how she played. Did she touch them (2013:65)?

Unigwe challenges gender roles through her protagonist to reverse gender stereotyping in favour of a woman, which is not the norm. Unigwe depicts the doggedness and resoluteness through her main character Ezi, who refuses to give in to pressure to go back to the husband who betrayed her. In the course of that Ezi experiences the tragic condition of rejection from her family at the time she needed them the most. "Her principal had wanted her to go into nursing or teaching, a respectable profession for women. But your mother refused. She had her plans. She was bent on going to the university, succeeding in a

man's world" (2013:103). Ezi's parents disown her for leaving her marriage and expect her to come and apologise to them for stigmatizing the whole family.

Your mother was stubborn. But maybe we shouldn't have pushed her out the way we did.... But we were not allowed to make amends. Once I had told Ezi she was no longer mine, I couldn't take her back.... A parent never apologises, even if he regrets his actions. It is the child who should apologise. Ezi knew that...it is still her duty to apologies for getting the parent upset in the first place. Such is the nature of our world.... A every day we waited and hoped. That she would go back to your father or that she would give us the chance to forgive her. But she never did either (2013:105-6).

From the foregoing discussion, Ezi sticks to her decision and exhibits the willpower to live her life without any help from members of her family. In her letter to her daughter, she states:

"...but my parent left me no choice. It was maybe a good thing they did what they did, forcing me to stick to my decision; once they sent me out of their home, there was no way I could go back, tail between my legs...I don't suppose they expected me to carry out my threat to live alone...Sometimes in life, we have to take a stand. It does not help to sit on the fence, even if we have to hurt the people we love" (2013:50-1).

Unigwe transfers patriarchal attitudes to her protagonist and states that economic dependence is the main platform for oppression in gender relations. The novel depicts that, if a woman is economically independence as a man she will also be as resourceful, intelligent, smart, and hardworking. Ezi understands that it is because Mike is economically empowered that he impregnates her maid and offers to keep both women. It is this attitude that makes her succeed in business and gives her daughter, Mma, an inheritance even though she feels her mother fails to respond sensitively to her and she develops insecure attachment relations. Ezi is over-ambitious, and an entrepreneur, she succeeds in life because of her ideological disposition to life. Her success and wealth infuriate her neighbours and tenants, men and women. She says, "I wanted a good life for myself and my baby, not someone else's husband who was struggling himself to make ends meet. Someone dragging-dragging me down" (2013:80).

Unigwe's novel depicts a character who is industrious and intelligent, who wants her happiness and settles for it instead of staying in a marriage with a maid as the second wife to please society if that happiness means being a single mother. When she did not succeed in the snacks business, she decides to settle with a man who promises to take care of her and her child and even bequeath a house to her, "Neni Street was a gift from a married man who always swore that had he been a Muslim he would have married Ezi and raised Mma as his very own...He had given the house to her..." (Unigwe, 2013, p. 86). Ezi was wealthy till her death, "Ezi could rent the two flats under theirs and she did. With the money she saves, she

buys other properties in the city; one in New Haven and two duplexes in Trans Ekulu, where rents were high and rising, attracting bank workers and expatriate workers from Emenite who were never behind on their rent and who treated the properties with respect” (Unigwe, 2013:89). It is her over ambitiousness that makes Mma feel her mother fail to respond sensitively to her.

Ezi does not allow the stigma of being called a prostitute to affect her thinking. Her tenacity to continue the good life she had had with Mike, makes her think ahead; she secures her future and that of her child. She goes ahead to move into an apartment with a married man who gives her the two flats she rents, from where she makes more money to buy other properties in strategic locations.

Fidelia Asogwa's novel depicts poverty, rejection, and over-ambition as the dominant theme in her novel. Asogwa introduces her protagonist, Ezinne, who experiences rejection when she discovers that a few minutes pleasure of sexual recklessness she enjoys with her secondary school boyfriend, Emeka, has culminated into a foetus. Single motherhood starts for Ezinne the moment she discovers that she has to take sole responsibility for the child as Emeka, her secondary lover, denies her and her unborn child.

“Emeka denied knowing Ezinne because his mother had already told him that somebody said he impregnated her... But Emeka insisted that he had never seen Ezinne before and that he did not know her. Ezinne was surprised and she thought Emeka was joking. But Emeka stood up and told them to leave their house. Ezinne thought it was a dream, but she realized it was real. In her confusion, she burst into tears” (Asogwa, 2005:51).

The rejection Ezinne experiences is due to a lack of attachment from her father. She lost her father and the mother fails to respond sensitively to her in her time of need and pushes her out of the house because of poverty in the family. The depiction here shows how families in time past did not want to be stigmatized with the individual involved in sexual recklessness. Emeka's denial of paternity of Ezinne's unborn child and Ezinne's friend's mother's rejection of her stay in their house also depict that those families did not want their names tarnished. Ezinne is disorganised when faced rejection from family and friends. Holden (2021) states that, insecurely attached individuals are expected to behave differently from securely attached ones. Ezinne is insecure, she starts to living in the street where she sleeps and begs for money to survive. “Ezinne moved far away and started sleeping under the bridge begging for money and food” (Asogwa, 2005:62).

It is in this disorganised state that she accepts the terms and conditions Mr. and Mrs. Linus Okeke give concerning her unborn child. “Ego told her that after the delivery of the baby, she would quit the house leaving the baby with them as their own child.... The next day Ego took her to a Lawyer where the agreement was documented” (2005:63). Emeka denies paternity of Ezinne's unborn child in order to pursue his dreams. He is afraid that if he

accepts the pregnancy he might be forced to drop out of school and marry Ezinne. He enjoys sensitive parenting from his parents which is why his mother informs him ahead of time that a girl said he impregnated her and he uses the opportunity to map out a plan...to deny Ezinne when she shows up with her mother. "Emeka denied knowing Ezinne because his mother had already told him that somebody said he impregnated her" (Asogwa, 2005:51). "Emeka said to himself that if he should accept the pregnancy that means going to ask for her hands in marriage, pay her dowry and marry her properly according to the custom of the land at this early stage of his life... This is future destruction if he agreed to that. No, I will never accept such a responsibility. ...Uzo rejected a pregnancy and nothing happened" (Asogwa, 2005:53).

Stephen and Udisi (2016:2) opine that the effects of single parenting are far-reaching because it affects not only the parents but also the children. Hacker (1960:31) adds that "a divided family is very hard on the children. When a father is unfaithful or deserts the family, the children may endeavor to cope with their conflicting emotions by taking the part of one of the parents and hating the other. If a mother abandons her child, that child may grow mistrustful". From the above quote, these effects are the interpersonal acceptance-rejection and poverty Abdullahi Tasiu Abubakar depicts in his novel. Though Maria receives sensitive parenting from her grandparents, she is disorganized for being called a bastard and a daughter of a whore. This is devastating for a child of Maria's age. Abubakar narrates this tragic condition through a fifteen-year-old child, Maria, who comes back from school every day with different complaints of embarrassment from her schoolmates. To worsen her situation, she is told she does not look like the people she claims to be her parents.

"The girl insisted that her mother told her that you and daddy were not my natural parents, and that was why I didn't even resemble any of you" (Abubakar, 1999:2). Maria senses the way the friends and schoolmates behave toward her and their views...their internal working models and decides to confront Mr. and Mrs. Adams for clarifications.

Maria enjoys attachment to Mr. and Mrs. Adams. She is comforted with what they tell her. Mr. Adams uses his position as a Senior employee of Nigeria's State Secret Service and his resources to ensure that their granddaughter does not experience constant molestation from her classmates. "Let's report the matter to the school's authority and see if that could end the taunting or not... the following morning before going to the office, Mr. Adams drove his wife and Maria to the school and lodged their complaint with the authority... The school principal, a stern-looking stubby man with pot-belly and grey hair, assured them that he would tackle the trouble once and for all..." (Abubakar, 1999:20-1).

Maria is bullied while she is preparing for her promotion examination, Mr. and Mrs. Adams report the matter again to the school authority and this time the suspects are suspended. "when she narrated her ordeal to the Adams, they wasted no time in reporting the matter to the school authority which in turn investigated it and suspended the erring students

indefinitely” (Abubakar, 1999:23-4), Maria experiences continuous taunting outside the school from the schoolmates. The disgrace affects her performance in school and she loses concentration. “She was deeply disturbed. She could not eat well and could not prepare well for the examinations. And when the results were released, although she managed to pass, it was the worst grade she had ever got” (Abubakar, 1999:24). The views of her classmates...their internal working models affect Maria so much that she goes in search of her biological father unknown to her grandparents. She has been saving money all the while from what her grandparents give her because she receives sensitive parenting from them. “She spent several hours thinking about how to find her unknown father. She then sighed with great relief when she eventually felt that she had mapped out a good strategy for doing it. She decided she would take all the money she had been saving from her pocket money, pack her belongings, and secretly leave home to search for her hiding father” (Abubakar, 1999:35).

Sarah, Madam Zara's daughter humiliates Maria every day at school, which makes Maria feel insecure. Sarah on the other hand is from a family of seven children without a father where everyone struggles for food and without proper care or attention from their single mother develops an anxious avoidant relationship pattern. “Madam Zara...and her seven children had been occupying the house since the death of her husband ...She was shouting intermittently at some of her quarrelling children...She didn't finish the sentence when a sharp shrill shout of her youngest daughter, emanating from the bedroom, interrupted her” (Abubakar, 1999:5). Sarah lacks attachment to a father, and she feels insecure. She stabs her mother in the belly because of insufficient food in the house. “Sarah got a four-year jail term for stabbing her big mother, Madam Zara, on her pot belly with a machete following a bitter brawl over food four months ago” (Abubakar, 1999:77).

It is because of the attachment Maria enjoys from Mr. and Mrs. Adams that they report her missing case to the police and advertise on Television. “...Mr. Adams endorsed the idea of using the national media in searching for their missing granddaughter. Soon, Maria's latest pictures and detailed description flooded the newspapers, televisions, and radio stations...” (Abubakar, 1999:44).

The Role of Society as Social Tragedy

Human beings cannot survive without society. Society not only satisfies man's physical desires and determines his social nature but also determines his personality and guides the path of development of his mind. Society subjects a child or children from a single-parent home to mental torture...interpersonal acceptance-rejection for a fault that is not theirs... because it is not in the power of anyone to decide to which family one is born. The role of society on man is huge and can be seen in the way the characters are tossed here and there in the three novels. Society is responsible for all the tragic conditions the characters experience

in the novels. The society not only rejects single parents and children, it also makes life unbearable for them. Pickhardt (1996:155) says "...single-parent mother, however, is given little sympathy in our society, and much less support. Thus, not only must she struggle for the survival of her family, but she is frequently censured for the dire economic circumstances in which she has been left. Society seems to forgive and forget the father, blame the mother, and begrudge helping the financially vulnerable family, thereby penalizing the innocent child". The society is responsible for the poverty in the land. Society is responsible for Ezinne's condition; she lacks love from her family and turns to a boy not much older than she is and gets impregnated. She faces rejection from her lover, her friends, and her mother. Her only weapon (education) which she would use to fight the society like Ezi is also cut short by poverty.

The society's, 'it is a man's world', or social stereotypes which it presents as inborn in men or women separates Ezi from Mike. It is the society that privileges Mike over Ezi, that makes Mike to believe he can marry more than one wife, there is nothing wrong in marrying a second wife, he is not the only one that would marry two wives. Society forgives and forgets Mike for the wrong he has done to his wife and forces Ezi to accept Mike for his wrong. Sarah stabs her mother because society does not provide or create a space for single-parent homes. Society generates hatred between Mma and her mother, her peers not wanting to play with her, the parents not allowing their girls to mingle with her, and so on. The society does not accept Maria as the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Adams. Hence, she is forced to embark or take the risk of searching for a father she does not know in a strange land because of the pressure of identity from society. Having found her father, Professor Amadi says she suffers from interpersonal acceptance-rejection "she had suffered from some forms of psychological disorder caused by depression which resulted from rejection and the feeling of worthlessness" (Abubakar, 1999:65). Zig Ziglar says "the only way to raise positive kids in a negative world is when parents themselves are positive" (1985: viii). Parents should teach their children moral values to curb the rate of single motherhood in our society.

Comparative Analysis of the Texts

The novels depict how African families reject single motherhood because of stigmatization through the characters. Ezi's parents reject and disown Ezi for leaving her marriage, Ezinne's mother rejects Ezinne for bringing home unwanted pregnancy and Maria is rejected by her classmates for being an illegitimate child. Both Ezi and Emeka are strong-willed characters—Emeka rejects Ezinne and sticks to his decision while Ezi separates from her husband and sticks to her decision not to return to her marriage. The novels depict hatred embedded in single-parent children towards one parent. When Maria can no longer stand being called a bastard persistently by Sarah and other class or schoolmates, she confronts Mr. and Mrs. Adams her grandparents. She learns that they are not her biological parents and

immediately develops a hatred for whoever her illegitimate father may be for putting her and her late mother through pain. "We're not your real parents. We 're your grandparents. Your natural mother...died while she was giving birth to you" (1999:26).

From this point, one can see the effects of interpersonal acceptance- rejection on the children. This shows that children raised with parental love (involving two parents) exhibit positive outcomes, while those in single-parent homes not only face rejection but it negatively affects children's psychological adjustment and behavioural functioning. Maria wants to know whose daughter she is and goes in search of her illegitimate father with a knife to kill him first and kill herself to end the misery of continuous contempt and rejection. "I'll find him and kill him before killing myself" (1999:35). Mma on the other hand looks forward to meeting and reuniting with her father to end her years of molestation and shame.

While Maria is an illegitimate child—born outside wedlock, "...she was an illegitimate child, or a bastard, born out of wedlock" (1999:34), Mma is a legitimate child—she lacks father figure all her life due to separation of her parents. "Mike's mother could not have been prouder than mine at our wedding later that year...in all the wedding photographs, my smile was natural and easy" (2013:98).

This interpersonal acceptance-rejection is a result of internal working models from society. Unlike Ezi who fails to respond sensitively to Mma because of the effect of separation from her husband, Ezinne's mother is due to her husband's death. The former is angry with the husband while the latter is angry with the daughter who knows their standard of living but allows herself to be impregnated. Her mother says, "after you knew the kind of sufferings and hardship we've been going through after your father's death" (Asogwa, 2005:66). The novelists also depict the importance of two parents or co-parenting and family in the lives of their characters. Maria thinks her grandparents are her biological parents while Mma thinks her mother's man friend is her biological father. While their fathers are still in love with their mothers, one father loses his lover through death and the other separation. While Mma gets her inheritance from her mother, Maria gets hers from her father.

Some characters can weave through or survive while others are submerged by the hopeless situations, they find themselves. For instance, Ezi weaves through the condition she finds herself in because of her ideological disposition to life. She weaves through because she is smart and hardworking. She survives the tragic conditions because of her economic independence. She survives the hopeless situation because she can afford it. Adamma also weaves through the tragic condition because of her mother's doggedness and zero tolerance for laziness. Unigwe's characters weave through the tragic conditions they find themselves through determination and zealously.

Ezi's landed properties become a source of investment which in turn serves as the inheritance she leaves for her child. Mma confesses that "she was not strapped for cash. She

had more money than she would ever need. (2013:91). Ezinne is submerged due to an anxious-avoidant relationship pattern. Ezinne is submerged in the hopeless situation she finds herself in because she cannot afford it. She did not go back to school and went back to live in her father's house. She disperses men and believes all men are like Emeka. She refuses to accept any proposal from men because of her first experience with Emeka. Ezi weaves through the tragic condition by breaking free from the norm not minding the effects of the society. Maria survives the hopeless situation she finds herself in because her father leaves an inheritance for her. Sarah is submerged by the tragic conditions because of her low-income background of a single mother.

Sarah and her mother are submerged in the tragic conditions they find themselves in because of the poverty level in the family. Madam Zara cannot handle her seven children without chaos at home. Unigwe narrates her story in the third-person point-of-view, while Abubakar and Asogwa use the first-person point-of-view to narrate their stories.

The Novelists' Perspectives on Single Motherhood

Single mothers and children are downtrodden in society. Society and even their families see them as plagues or some form of disease that should be prevented in order not to infect other people. The novelists depict different reasons a mother becomes a single parent and the tragic conditions such as stigma, psychological effects, and so on, she suffers from her family and society. Unigwe blames a patriarchal society that privileges a man over a woman, a society that believes a man is not wrong and can marry as many wives as possible. "...A man ...especially a man who had been as patient as your father was...I'm only saying that he did what any man in his position would have done man...would have looked elsewhere. It is only natural. They would have planted their seeds in many places, hoping that at least one would sprout" (Unigwe 2013:12).

Unigwe blames religion that determines a man's decision or even cages the man in society. "My father, Christian and superstitious, blamed it all on the day of my birth" (Unigwe, 2013:46). The author condemns the way Ezi's parents reject and disown her without first considering their bond as parents, and their traditional belief that it is only the child that must apologise to parents. "Your mother was stubborn. But maybe we shouldn't have pushed her out the way we did" (Unigwe, 2013:105). Interpersonal acceptance-rejection a child goes through all his or her growing up years in single-parent homes tends to generate hostility or hatred for one parent whom they think put them through the condition they find themselves. The novelists reveal the extent of hostility or hatred that is formed in the heart of single-parent children through Ezi's daughter, Adamma. Adamma hates her mother, she says "you were a stupid woman and I hate you! I hate you" (2013:84) she hates Ezi till death and buries her in the cemetery in Enugu that 'belongs to people without families and for the 'lost' (2013:105).Mma loathes her mother's laughter "with that laughter and that

loud voice of hers, no one could ignore her. Ah, in her next incarnation, may she be struck mute” (2013:35). As far as Mma is concerned her mother's spirit can roam the street forever. Mma hates her mother's spirit “and this act was sure to infuriate her mother's spirit. Let her have a taste of everything she had put Mma through” (2013:37) “and everything that has to do with her including reading the letter of a death woman”. “That she wanted so much to be rid of her mother that she had not wanted to read the letters?” (2013:21). She believes her mother is mean to her for denying her access to her father or grandparents. “No number of cupcakes, of picnics, of bottles of squash will ever make up for your meanness to me” (2013:77).

Mma believes anything her mother touches is defiled. “...Mma thought, that anything her mother touched would be defiled, destined to decay” (2013:38). She judges her mother wrongly all through till she learns that tradition makes a child to apologise to her parents for faults that are not hers. “You must meet your father and apologise to him... For?...For your mother. It's the way of our people, my daughter. 108) and right there, she regrets all the wrongs she has ever done to her mother and seeks to make amends.

“Mma did not miss the irony of it all. She had been so against honouring her mother's wishes, and now she was being drawn into making amends for her. Amends she was not convinced her mother had to make...How much of a different life her mother had tried to give her. She had tried to raise her daughter with the sort of values she had never taught. And it hit her, like a pebble thrown on her head, why her mother could never live with her husband, not after what he did” (2013:110).

Adamama develops an anxious-avoidant relationship pattern because she says her mother did not attend to her needs regularly. “She tried not to feel grateful to her mother for the inheritance. After everything her mother put her through, setting her up for life was the least she owed her. It was only fair” (2013:91).

The author frowns at the way tradition cages the mind from reasoning. Unigwe exonerates and sympathises with Ezi because of the hatred Mma has for her even at death. The author exonerates Ezi as her husband of several years sleeps with her maid and chooses the maid over her. The author sympathises with Ezi when her family turns their back on her with her infant child and refuses to see any wrong in Mike's action. Due to low income and insufficient food, madam Zara's children fight for one thing or the other. “She caught one of her sons slapping the crying daughter on the face...Madam Zara descended on him, lashing him repeatedly and indiscriminately all over his body (Abubakar, 1999:6).

Abubakar's depiction is that parental separation or death is related with lower wellbeing in both parents and children. If there has been an attachment with a father, Madam Zara's children would not be unruly. The depiction of low-income results to poverty level in this family; it causes Sarah to stab her mother on the belly because of food. “They all knew that Sarah got a four-year jail term for stabbing her big mother, Madam Zara, on her pot belly

with a machete following a bitter brawl over food four months ago” (Abubakar, 1999:77). Madam Zara's children develop an anxious-avoidant relationship pattern because a single parent cannot provide much care for the children. The author blames the government for not providing basic amenities for her citizens.

The author also blames the government for lack of policy on birth rate among her citizens. The author also blames Hamid's parents for not approving of their son's relationship with Maria's late mother. Fidelia Asogwa blames Ezinne's mother and the school for not teaching Ezinne sex education. The author blames the society for rejecting single mothers and their children. The author blames Ezinne for engaging in sexual recklessness. The novelists through the deployment of characters, the use of narrative techniques, and language, succeed in communicating these tragic conditions by sympathizing, blaming and exonerating their characters.

Conclusion

The family as the first agent of socialisation is the first to criticise the characters in the selected novels. Society is also responsible for the tragic conditions and the poverty a single mother partly experienced in the texts because of social construct. Hence, every woman needs to be economically empowered to set herself free from societal norms. The survival instinct in a single mother as well as children in lone families is premised on the economic capacity or viability of the single mother. Through the deployment of characters, the use of narrative techniques, and language, the novelists succeeded in communicating these tragic conditions by sympathising with, exonerating and blaming their characters. A single parent is caused by so many factors and the effect is more on the children than mothers. Society has a major role to play in reshaping the lives of single parents. Some characters weaved through or survived the hopeless situations they found themselves in while others were submerged by them. Single motherhood is not hereditary, as a matter fact, but society has largely contributed to the issues befalls women who today are regarded as single mothers or parent.

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**Motifs of Corrupt Political
Leadership in Léré Adéyemí's Àkùkọ Gàgàrà**

By

JIMOH, Yusuf O. (Ph. D)

Department of Nigeria languages
Lagos State University of Education (LASUED)
jimohyo@lasued.edu.ng; 08131176322

Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse the forms of corruption in political leadership governance as illustrated in Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, a Yorùbá novel. The study aims therefore to examine political consciousness, governance, thematic features of political events, characterisation and the challenges of political leadership in Nigeria. The paper employs Marxist Sociology of Literature to analyse Àkùkọ Gàgàrà through a critical analysis. This is because literature is not simply a matter of personal expression but also relates to the social and political conditions of a society at a particular time. The paper therefore views corrupt political leadership as a major hinderance to good governance and democratic stability in Nigeria. The corrupt political leadership motifs that were depicted in the text Àkùkọ Gàgàrà are violations of human rights, nepotism, mismanagement of public funds, negligence of the masses, non-implementation of policy, and exploitation. Therefore, collective effort is recommended in demanding for good governance as depicted in the selected novel. .

Keywords: Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, Corruption, Literature, Motifs, Political Leadership, Yorùbá novel.

Introduction

Literature examines human lives, as well as the cultural, social, economic and political activities in society. Human society experiences social, cultural and political conflicts, changes and challenges all the time. Life and the experiences of human beings in their environments are often represented in works of art because they are intricately linked to their environments. Literature, as a powerful instrument, has the capacity to impact, reshape and restructure society by depicting the happenings in the society.

The indispensable role of the arts in society is imperative as literature helps in shaping the context of society. Ngugi Wa Thiongo, (1972, p:15) avers that literature does not grow or develop in a vacuum, but it is given impetus, shape and direction by social, political, religious and economic forces in a particular society. Politics is an act of governance, while political leadership signifies governance, decision-making and management of resources and other affairs in a nation. Political leadership is attained

through election or selection of candidates through organised forms in a free and fair process to take charge of the nation's affairs.

Corruption which was planted by colonial masters is as old as African society. After the departure of the colonial masters, the colonised people continued in the same manner of the colonial masters by engaging in corrupt leadership practices. The Yorùbá novelists, aware of this changing culture of political leadership in Africa and the attendant corrupt practices, give vivid depictions of realities in their texts in line with the subscription of African literature to the concept of art for life's sake. These scenes of inept leadership and corrupt practices in the society are reflected in the selected Yorùbá novel.

Achebe, (1983, p:10) observes that the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to its responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership.

The experiences of man and his challenges in the society are well expressed in the works of art. Yorùbá novelists are conscious of the political situation in their society and therefore engage in artistic revolution through their works, using political satire. There is preponderant use of realism in contemporary Yorùbá novels as authors capture the political realities in their society the way they are. They represent Nigeria as an African nation that remains politically corrupt, and her affairs badly managed. This paper examines a Yoruba novelist's representation of inept leadership and corruption as threat to societal development. It is concerned with corrupt political leadership as depicted in the Yorùbá novel *Àkùkò Gàgàrà*.

Statement of the Problem

In recent times, leadership as a concept has become a subject of discussion in virtually all reported analyses more than ever before. Leadership question has always been an issue of global concern because it applies to all categories of human collectivities, such as groups, organisations and society, both in formal and informal settings. It is one of the essential elements for efficient and effective management and administration. Literary artists are consciously and unconsciously political in their writings and use art for restoration of some inevitable values, justice, freedom and human dignity in society. The relationship between literature and politics has preoccupied the attention of scholars in novels, poetry and plays over the years.

Remarkably, previous studies on leadership and literature are mostly directed at issues related to governance, leadership and political maneuvering as a major challenge to democratic stability and nation-building in Nigeria. This therefore creates a gap in knowledge and points to the need to link corruption to poor governance and how that

negatively impacts the development of the society. The aim of this study therefore is to examine the forms of corruption as encapsulated in Léré Adéyemí's *Àkùkò Gàgàrà*, while the specific objective is to identify the forms of corruption as depicted in the selected novel.

Theoretical Framework

Marxism is a prominent theory in philosophy which has contributed immensely to the modern world. The concern of Marxist sociology of literature is on the ideological foundations of the society. The Marxists believe that class antagonism exists, but can be wiped out through mass protest. Marxism postulates that the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another. The *exponents* of the theory believe that democracy is a state which recognises the subordination of the minority to the majority, an organisation for the systematic use of force by one class against another, or by one section of the population against another. The Marxist theory is used in the critical analysis of history, society, revolution and economics and later found applicable to literary theory. Marxism as a literary theory developed further by various Marxists like Lenin (1970), Mao (1962), Lukacs (1973), Goldmann (1974), and Brecht (1966), from the writings of Karl Marx (1918 – 1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895). Their views are collected from their scattered writings on literature, which they did not develop systematically. Marxist literary critics are built on early views of Marx and Engels. It advocates social, economic and political experience of man toward redefining human society. Ezijiaku (2014:31) avers that:

Marxist approach to literary artistry differs from other approaches by virtue of its claim... it is characterized by its opposition to social, political and economic injustice which according to it, are products of capitalism.

Marxist theory differs from other forms of criticism in the sense that it feels a radical discomfort with the way things are, and insists on a change for better.

Marxist are more concerned on the ideology of the society; they postulate its use in literary analysis. Lucaks cited in Bámidélé (2002:3), feels that literature as a discipline expresses a world view, or ideology, a whole system of values, as it offers richly human typical characters, concrete situation, and a multidimensional reality'. Literary writers being part of the society write about the events in their societies at different times to expose the forms of oppressive tactics of the political class on the masses in the society. Marxist aesthetics is primarily concerned with and centred on social commitment and political commitment. Brecht Lu Hsun, cited in Àjáyí (2008:106) that:

Marxist may have developed interest in debate on the political ideology of the artist because from the classical perspective, it holds the view that, before the proletariat can carry out the revolution, they must attain a level of class consciousness analysis of the nature of power and economic relations in the society and the necessity of a new socio- political order in which the proletariat as a class would rule and advance its class interests.

Marxist stipulates that ideology dictates the way men live and perform their roles in a class society. They constitute the ideas, values and images which tie men to their social functions. Marxism is concerned about class division and social/economic contradiction that provoke class struggle. Ideology certifies realisation of a higher, fuller, broader and purer state of affairs than what currently exists in the society. In other words, ideology endorses transformation of the society by identifying shortcomings in the current outlook, creed, programme, system or thought. According to Eagleton (1976: viii),

Marxist criticism is part of a larger body of theoretical analysis which aims to understand ideology, the idea, values and feelings by which men experience their society at certain times.

Engels, as cited in Adéyemí (2006:38), observes that “literature can criticise the ideology of a particular society and can also support it. It can equally suggest the possible way of transforming the society or making it irrelevant”. Leaders' ideology features prominently in literary works. It is of note that both the society and the author have their ideological stance. A literary artist may represent the interest and ideology of the leader in his work in order to bring about a kind of resolution. However, if the literary writer takes a critical stance against the leaders' ideology, the work of art becomes the voice of the people. Marxists believe that political power is committed to the hand of a certain group of bourgeoisies in the society. Marxists call for elimination of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat which will make it possible for total emancipation and freedom through masses' protest.

In Yorùbá society of Nigeria, the political power is entrusted into the hands of political leaders who in turn betray the trust through embezzling and looting of the state

funds for their selfish advantage, thereby resulting abject poverty, squalor, lack of infrastructure and underdevelopment. There is therefore need for the masses to be united in their struggle to get rid of all forms of oppression and intimidation in the society. However, the masses are not united, thereby empowering the political class to continue in their oppressive tactics. In *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà*, the youth protest and get rid of a dictatorship represented by the political class and provide a clear example of what is possible when the masses team up together to oppose bad leadership.

Although issues of sabotage and distrust manifest in the youth leader, the youth at the end achieve their aim of staging the protest and register their dissatisfaction with the system. Postcolonial literature emphatically enunciates that European colonialism exists and that the British Empire was in total control and dominated the affairs of the colonised, the effects of which are still being felt till today in the polity, Ake (1996).

Literature and Society

Literature focuses on human beings and the society. Many Yorùbá literary artists have engaged in writing on issues affecting societal advancement in order to proffer solutions to the problems to ensure a stable and better future. Ìṣọlá, (1995, p:311) opines that: “Literature often has the pleasant effect of jolting the consumer into a new awareness of hitherto remote similarities that may now promote a better understanding”. Ordinarily, a lot of changes occur around us daily that we do not seem to see because phenomena can become so familiar that we really do not see or notice them. In a typical Yorùbá setting, the efforts of artists are noticed through their praises and condemnation of the character of the rulers before the subjects, thereby creating room for assessment in the form of accountability and encouragement. This is normally noticed during the period of festivals or rituals when performances, through praise, satirical songs and dance, show the nuptial link between art and society.

Usman, (2018, p:41) submits that: “For the literary artists to remain relevant in their society, they must depict and interpret the realities of the cultural, political, historical, social, religious and economic issues prevalent in their societies”. Literary artists bring to the fore the happenings in their society, the exact realities for possibility of effecting needed corrections in society and to ensure overall development of their societies. Literary artists can act as the mouthpiece of the masses or advocate of the political leaders and their ideology through their literary works to foster a tranquil nation. Literature and politics are inseparable because if the literary artists' ideology corresponds to that of the political leaders, the artist acts as an advocate of political agenda. Clark (1982:107). Where there is contradiction of ideologies or differences of opinion, the art work takes a revolutionary stance and acts as the voice of the people (Egleton, 1976:17-19). Literature is a medium

through which the voice of the masses is heard because literary artists are the visionary power of society. Soyinka, (1966, p:7) avers that “When the writer in his society can no longer function as conscience, he must recognise that his choice lies between denying himself totally or withdrawing to the position of a chronicle and post-mortem surgeon.” It can be summed up that literature reflects and refracts the economic, social, political and religious activities in society, as well as moral issues and other social experiences. Literature and society thus influence each other. Society influences the contents and the forms of literature, while literature refracts and reflects the activities in society.

Literature and Ideology

Ideology is made up of concepts, ideals and imagery that connect individuals to their societal roles. It also determines how people live their lives and carry out their social obligations. Ideology aims to provide citizens of a certain polity with unity in their thoughts, interest, knowledge, judgement and behavior. Its main objective is to draw the attention of its followers to a shared objective.

According to Adeyemi (2003, p:130) ideology should lead to an unfolding or reality, a grasping of reality and understanding of reality. Ideology seeks to remove the veils of superstition, ignorance oddurentism and mystification. Isola (1981, p:404) submits that it is important to note that not all ideas in literary text are true. He further clarifies that literature is a creative work that uses element of history in its creativity. History is recreated many times to suit the literary artist's creative goal. Barber (1978, p:4) posits that all literature is ideological. He views literature as a productive labour that transforms raw material into finished products. Literature as an instrument of change could be used to defend or oppose an ideology. Ideology is a veritable weapon in a society with classes of divergent views. Actually, these classes will hold conflicting ideologies that will eventually result in class struggle. The conflicting ideologies of the oppressors and the oppressed in a class-based society will encourage class struggle between them.

Literature and Politics

The relationship between literature and politics has been a sensitive and controversial issue. Politics relates to the art of governance. Human beings are all enmeshed in politics because they are part of society which they represent through their voices, Dasylya (1995:82). Olive (2013:3) submits that literature is an art which brings about transformation; it brings about creativity that fashions something reasonable out of something. Artists cannot ignore politics in their writing because they cannot escape being shaped by political decisions. Literature is seen as the mirror of society with the purpose of representing and re-presenting and to hold the mirror in a manner that enables people to perceive reality, both reflected and refracted. Literary artists have engaged in writing on issues of 'political leadership,

ineptness and corruption, which is the use of illegal and abusive means to mislead (Adéyemí, 2003, p:11). The effort of political leaders to misrule and promote injustice within the human society can bring about social reaction from the masses and the use of force by the leaders to stop the protest can result in conflict between the political leaders and the followers.

Leadership is an important component of any society. It is associated with governance, politics and administration in any organisation or society. It also relates to qualities such as responsibility, accountability, transparency, responsiveness and standards to ensure good results. Yuki (2002, p:2) affirms that 'leadership is more or less a social influence process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person or group of persons over other people or groups to structure the activities and relationships in a group or organisation'. This shows that the success or failure of a political system or organisational setting depends largely on efficient and effective leadership. Ògúnmoṣo, (1978, p:32) states that a leader is a servant or steward of the people who understands the needs and aspirations of his followers and also serves as an advocate of good conduct. This is a welcome idea from Ògúnmoṣo because a leader is also a ladder to success. Burn, (1978, p:72) describes leadership as the reciprocal process of mobilising by persons with certain motives and values, as well as various economic, political and other resources in a context of competition and conflict in order to realise goals independently held by both leaders and followers. Leadership can be summarised as the act of implying a purposeful direction of the affairs of the group or people with mutual agreement to achieve defined and common goals, which will be to the benefit of the led and the leader.

Oyèbámíjì, (2012, p:16) submits that: "Leadership involves shared opinion, view and ideas." A good leader gets the best out of his followers, not by coercion but by voluntary submission. Leadership should involve and include followership. A good leader, therefore, is one who will always understand and take cognizance of the personalities, power, attitude, standards, and needs of the followers. A leader must always carry his/her followers along because of the love, and trust they have in him. He should be able to inspire others, be dedicated and have a proven ability to set an example to be followed.

Corruption

Corruption can be viewed as dishonest or immoral behaviour that is at variance with the acceptable norms in the society. It is also seen as improper activities and transactions aimed at changing the normal course of events, judgment and position of trust, Ilori EA (2021). It is Nigeria's biggest challenge; it is both endemic and epidemic in nature. As noted by Andrig and Fjedstad, (2001, p:4), corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects; it takes on various forms and functions in different contexts. The impact of corruption on socio-economic and political life of Nigeria and her people is

enormous. The impact of corruption in Nigeria is felt by every layer of the population. Nigeria has a long history of corruption which is as old as the country itself (Àlùkò s, 2009). This menace is the greatest form of human right violation. Lawal, (2006, p:2) submits that: "Prior to the colonial conquest and control of African polities, the traditional African societies, though not morally perfect, were not characterised by the evils of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism which became prevalent later. Corruption in the pre-colonial period was minimal and not well pronounced, but was in full force and ascribed to an inevitable result of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism. Governance and democratic instability in society, Nigeria in particular, is thus attributed to corruption.

Literary Criticism of Àkùkò Gágàrà Lere Adeyemi 2001

General Déndè is the military Head of State in Ètànłókùn. His tenure is characterised by misgovernance, corruption, oppression of the masses, abuse of power incarceration of the press men and alot of other anti-democratic tendencies. There were meetings and plans to overthrow him in order to bring sanity to the governance in the land. General Déndè abuses political power, and is involved in political murder and monumental corruption. He and his military governors are also corrupt and tyrannical. He is out of power when he notices that people are vehemently against his government, and his safety could not be guaranteed anymore.

General Aláásà is announced as the Head of the military government after the end of the tyrannical rule of General Déndè in Ètànłókùn. The level of atrocities and corruption noticed during General Aláásà's regime is more than that of General Déndè in Ètànłókùn. He embezzles state funds and abuses political power; his tenure is short lived as he was reported dead, not quite long he ascended the leadership of the state.

There was an election after this Chief Ìwàlẹ̀wà emerged as the democratically elected President of Ètànłókùn. As soon as he came on board, the masses started breathing a sigh of relief from the oppressive rule and undemocratic experiences of the two military regimes of General Déndè and General Aláásà in Ètànłókùn.

This study dwells on the portrayal of the implications of political leadership, corrupt practices and bad governance on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria in the selected Yorùbá novel.

Àkùkò Gágàrà depicts two military governments headed by two Generals in Ètànłókùn, General Dende and General Aláásà. The two military heads of state promoted corruption during their tenures. The tenures were characterised with irregularities, corruption, suspension of constitution, violation of human rights, nepotism, bribery, kickback, sit-tight syndrome and political assassination. The political situations during these periods are captured in the author's remarks thus:

*Şé iwà ìbàje ni àwùjọ́ ní pariwo láyé Ogágun Déńdè.
Idaamu ati ibaje wa kuku sole si awujo Etanloku laye
Alááşà.. Idaamu bara ile, o bara oko.
Adéyemí (Àkùkọ, 2001: 72)*

People were complaining of corruption during General Déńdè's tenure. Tribulation and corruption spread throughout Ètànlókùn during Alááşà's tenure. The general populace were suffering.

Military regime is an autocratic system and despotic in nature. It is characterised with violation of human rights, abuse of powers, victimisation of the press (Egi 1997:148-149, Tsoho 2004:82-92, Ugboajah 2013:39-81).

Adéyemí (2001) in Àkùkọ Gágàrà satirises another military regime in Nigeria. Adéyemí narrates the ill experience of military regime of General Déńdè that was characterised with corruption, victimisation, abuse of power, lack of press freedom, political assassination, violation of human right, embezzlement of public funds, nepotism, tribalism and insensitivity to the plight of the masses.

1. Ìlú bẹrẹ sí dàrú gudù lábẹ̀ ijọba Déńdè. Àwọn gómínà ní kówó jẹ́ fúnra wọn (Àkùkọ Gágàrà, 2001, p:29). There was a problem in the society during Dende's regime; The governors were siphoning public funds for their personal use.

Negligence of the Masses

Negligence is a state of failure to accord or give enough desired care or attention to those that need it. Negligence of the masses means failure of the government to accord enough or required attention to the masses on their fundamental needs as citizens of a nation. This as a political stigma, is noticed in the administration of both civilian and the military governments. It can be caused by mismanagement of policies, poor policies or lack of masses' driven visions, lack of goodwill and selfish interest of the leaders. Nigerian political leadership is characterised by negative features, such as lack of direction, neglect and drift, insensitivity to the plight of the masses which has resulted in negative effects on the part of the teeming poor citizens with the presence of abject poverty, hunger, disease, destitution and squalor.

It is a recurring feature of the government in Nigeria to neglect the masses in their policies and plannings In Àkùkọ Gágàrà, insincerity of political leaders to the plight of the masses is depicted. During the Council Meeting, General Déńdè presents his desires to the

Council for approval, which he gets on the premise of the selfishness of the leaders of Ètanlókún. He increases the salary of the military top officers and creates the office of the first lady with budget to maintain the office and women's programmes. The first lady is accorded the status of a political office holder with a reasonable salary of all that the state Council approves. Yet, nothing is mentioned to better the lot of the masses. This shows negligence on the part of the masses.

- (2) Gbogbo ìdààmú tó bá ará ìlú nípa iná, omi, títi ọlọdà, àìríse-še-tó, ìdààmú owó ìdàámú àwọn adigunjalè, wàhàlà ifipágbàjọba, kò sí lórí àjẹndà ìpàdé ìgbimọ (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:27).

All the problem facing people on epileptic power supply, water, lack of good roads, unemployment, lack of money in circulation, arm robbery attacks and the problem of coup d'etat were not on the agenda of the meeting of the council.

Nepotism

Nepotism is an unethical situation where one who occupies a position of authority gives an unfair advantage to his own family; it may be jobs, contracts or positions. It is a form of corruption highly noticed in Nigerian politics. It is an act whereby a person who occupies a position of power and authority uses that power to favour his own relations or friends, and himself to the detriment of others. Nepotism entails using unethical means against existing rules to suit one's favourites at the expense of others who may merit the job or appointment. Nigerian political leaders usually engage in the act of nepotism. In some instances, job opportunities, ministerial posts, commissioners and other political posts are given to friends, relatives and inlaws, party loyalists, wives and biological children. Contracts are awarded to family members at detriment of others in the society.

Yorùbá novelists project scenes of nepotism in their works to show its trend in the political system of Nigeria and its implications on actualising merits and standard in the governance. In Yorùbá culture, appointment into whatever post is always based on merit and not on favouritism. Appointment is carefully done to avoid, or at least, manage bias, including selection and appointment of traditional kings. Many things are considered before appointments are done. At times, consultations are made through the Ifá oracle to ascertain efficacy and standard. Yorùbá people believe that if appointment is done on favour, it will affect the whole system. Therefore, traditional chiefs and serving chiefs are appointed based on merits obtained from available facts. Yorùbá traditional culture frowns at the practice of nepotism in state affairs; this is made clear in a proverb which says,

'erin kì í fọn kọmọ rẹ nàà tún fọn'

When an elephant trumpets, the infant dare not do the same.

In Yorùbá traditional society, the issue of upholding standard and merit is given credence in

any appointment.

In Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, concerning ministerial appointment, the author equally satirises General Déndè's act of nepotism on how he favoured his relatives; this is reflected in the narrator's remark on the ministerial appointments during General Déndè's tenure in 'Etánlòku' nation. One of the ministerial nominees complained bitterly on how his hope was dashed on the appointment he had been targeting, which he considered to be juicy. He remarked that the ministerial post was given to General Déndè's younger brother. Below is the ministerial nominee's comments on his disgust about the post given to him:

- (3) He! Iwọ náa sáa ri bí ilú sẹ rí, ipò tí mò ń fẹ kọ ni wọ fun mi. Ibi epo rọbi orílẹ̀ èdè ni ọkan mi wà. Ibi ilé owó ni ẹmí mi ń wòréré rẹ Ọgágun Déndè gbọn púpọ̀ àbúrò rẹ ló fi síbẹ, ọmọ ọlọmọ ni gbàsáméegun, ẹdọ ẹran lọmọ ara ẹni ń gbà. (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:47).

Hey! You can see how the state is; it is not the post I wanted that was given to me. I desired petroleum ministry. It is where there is money that I want. General Déndè is intelligent; he gave it to his younger brother; other People's children can be given bones, and liver will be given to one's child

The Head of State technically allotted the juicy ministerial post to his own blood brother without considering merit or standard. This is an act of nepotism a form of corruption that is hindering the efficacy of good governance in the society. This is a replica of the situation in Nigeria politics where juicy ministerial posts are given to relatives and children, to the detriment of others who can serve better.

In Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, act of nepotism is satirises during General Déndè's regime. He portrays General Déndè as a military Head of State that promotes and encourages nepotism in his government at the detriment of others in the society. He abolished the office of the Vice- President and created the office of the First Lady with a lot of benefits attached to it, just to favour his wife to become a full-paid officer of the state.

The excerpt below indicates this:

- (4) Gbogbo wọn sì fọwọ sí pé kí wọn pa ipò ìgbákejì Ààrẹ rẹ, kí ìyàwó olórí ìjọba ó ni ọfíísì kí ó sì máa gba owó osù gẹgẹ bí ipò rẹ. Ìsúná yóò ma wà fún ọfíísì ìyàwó Ààrẹ. Yóò si ma ẹ àkóso ètò nípa àwọn obínrin orílẹ̀ èdè. (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:27).

All of them agreed that the post of Vice-President be cancelled, that the President's wife should have an office and should be collecting salary

based on her post. There will be budget allocation to the office of the President's wife. She will be incharge of all matters related to women in the nation.

It is evident that nepotism is a product and hybrid of disastrous, fraudulent and oppressive tactics inherited from colonial masters and practice during the neo-colonial period to subvert standards and merits and thereby promoting celebration of mediocrity which is causing set-back and underdevelopment in the Africa society in general and Nigeria, in particular. It is an existing manipulative and exploitative reality in postcolonial period. This is contrary to the pattern of appointment and selection of leaders in Yorùbá traditional setting which is based on standard and merit to ensure good governance in the society during the pre-colonial period. In the contemporary society, nepotism has become a menace that is working against smooth operations of governance because it derails standard and merit, but upholds mediocrity in governance. The authors capture this in their writings to show the effect of nepotism on governance. Nepotism affects good governance and democratic practices; it undermines democracy and hinders efficiency and competence.

Non-Implementation of Policies

Policy connotes a design plan of action or mapped plan of action agreed or chosen by a political party to influence the lives of the citizens positively and to ensure all round development. In administration, policy-making is very crucial to the pace of development of a nation. Government always makes policies on education, economic and social life, religion and a lot of other things. Both civilian and military regimes design policies for effective governance. Invariably, non-implimentation of policies is well noticed and pronounced in governance which is equivalent to political corruption and always retards the pace of progress of any nation and prolongs the suffering of the masses. For example, in Nigeria, change in government often comes with policy change without considering the valuable and workable policies of the past administrations. Nigeria as a nation has engaged elites and policy makers to formulate workable policies and the policy makers have formulated vision-driven policies for Nigeria as a nation, but these policies are turned down because of political corruption on the part of the leaders so that they will formulate their own policies that can pave the way for them to access public funds for their personal use.

In Àkùṣò Gàgàrà, General Déńdè directs political experts to formulate electoral and transitional policies to civilian rule which led to the establishment of two political parties. Déńdè is too crafty and politically corrupt; he is not ready to handover power to democratically elected government. However, because of incessant protesst from the masses and the world at large condemning military regime, he steps aside, and General Aláásà emerges as the new Head of State. Aláásà, having occupied the leadership position with his own political ambition, cancels the ongoing transitional policy of General Déńdè's

regime, and brought Etànlókùn back to square one. This spelt doom and prolonged suffering for the masses, who were already tired of military administration. Aláàsà formulates another political guidelines and transitional policy to suit his ambition to become a democratically elected president, to succeed himself.

This is reflected in his speech immediately he ascended the leadership seat.

(5) Ijọba ti fagilé gbogbo ẹgbẹ̀ isèlú tó wà tẹ̀lẹ̀. Kò sí àyè fún ẹgbẹ̀ kankan. Ọ̀rọ̀mí kò ní pọ̀. Orílẹ̀ èdè yìí ti gbogbo wa ni. È jẹ́ kí a fọ̀wọ̀ sowọ̀pọ̀, kí á gbé e lárugẹ. Ó dàbọ̀.... (Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:69).

Government has cancelled all political parties. There is no room for any political party. I will not talk too much. This country belongs to all of us. Let us join hand together to move it forward. Bye.

In Nigerian politics, government change means policy change, without considering the good policies of the previous government. The excerpt above shows that political leaders embark on policies that will suit their intention and interest. General Aláàsà cancelled the transitional policy of General Déndè to implement his own political plans of becoming a civilian president.

Sit-tight Syndrome

Another socio-political ill addressed in the selected novels is sit-tightsyndrome. This attitude of political leaders is satirised in Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà where the author describes the attitude of General Dende to political power.

(6) Ọ̀gágun Déndè bèrẹ̀ sí fí hàn àwùjọ̀ pé ikú nìkan ni gbasọ̀ lẹ̀rùn ìgbín, kò sẹ̀ni to lẹ̀ gba ipò òun mọ̀, òun náà yóò díje ibò sùgbọ̀n òun ò ní kúrò nípò. Ọ̀sán kì í pọ̀ ju ganrínganrín, oòrùn kìí wọ̀ ju pẹ̀pẹ̀rẹ̀, ó nì bọ̀ lóko, ó nì bọ̀ lẹ̀dọ̀ ibi kan kò lẹ̀ gbóna jojú ogun lọ, ọ̀tẹ̀ ibò kò lẹ̀ tó ọ̀tẹ̀ sojà. Ọ̀gágun Déndè kọ̀rùn bọ̀ ọ̀ṣẹ̀lú tán kò fẹ́ kúrò nípò àṣẹ. A kìí jẹ̀jì lóko ọ̀dọ̀bà èyí bí àwọn ará ilú nínú, wọ̀n gbanájẹ. (Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:63).

General Déndè started showing to the public that it is only death that could remove cloth from a snail's body; no one can take his position, he too will contest during election, but he will not leave the seat of power. That there is nothing that can be tougher than war; election crisis cannot be equated to a military coup. General Déndè entered into politics; he found it difficult to leave political power. This annoyed the masses; they protested.

In Nigeria politics, both the civilian and the military are portrayed as champions of sit-tight

syndrome through manifestation of their intention to stay beyond the constitutional approved tenure in office.

Mismanagement of Public Funds

The situation in Nigeria politics shows that both civilian and military leaders are involved in missappropriation of public fund. This is against the constitution of Nigeria.

In Akuko Gagara, head of state and the state military administrators are depicted as agents of mis-management and corrupt officers who were siphoning the state money for their selfish and personal use. General Déndè and his military administrators involved themselves in the evil act of corruption and cheating of the masses. This is a reflection of the Marxist view of political power in the hand of selected few being utilised to oppress and exploit the masses in society.

The excerpt below shows this:

- (7) Olóri ìjọba àti àwọn gómìnà rẹ bí ojú akátá bá n sepin, ẹnu adiyẹ kò gbà á láti sọ. Ní àwùjọ Ètànłókù wọn sọ, ọrọ ìjọba Dende di bójú rí ẹnu a dáké. Ọrọ ìjọba oloógun di àrùgbọdọwí, àmọsehùn, ìyálé ilé tó n su sójú ọlọ ata, baálé ilé tó n tọ sínú ìsaasùn ọbẹ! Ilú bẹrè síi dàrú gùdù lábẹ ìjọba Déndè. Àwọn gómìnà n kọrọ jọ fúnra wọn. (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, p: 28 – 29).
(Nobody dare challenge the activities of the Head of State and his governors. In Ètànłókún, Déndè's government became tyrannical. The military government became oppressive. There is problem in the state during General Déndè's regime. The governors were siphoning government money for their personal use).

Military government always claims to have seized power to correct corruption and bad governance of the civilians only to discover that they too are corrupt and are responsible for political instability.

This is what the author of the book, Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, point out, that military are also corrupt like civilian. The narrator of Àkùkọ Gàgàrà portrays General Déndè as a dishonest Head of State that misappropriates 'Ètànłoku's' fund for his personal use.

The excerpt below justifies this:

- (8) Ìgbà mìíràn tí owó bá fẹ fẹri lẹwọ Ọgágun Déndè, olóri ìjọba, á pàṣẹ fún gómìnà bànkì Orílẹ̀ -èdè kí ó rọ owó bí ẹgbẹrún mílìonù owó náíra fún òun nìkan. Bí owó bá dọwọ rẹ tán, á mọọ mọ dá rúgúdù ìjà ẹsìn sílẹ tàbí kí ó gbówó náíra fún àwọn adàlúrú kí wọn máa fàwọn tí ó rò pé ó jẹ ọtá rẹ ẹ bí ọṣẹ ẹ ní ẹ ojú. (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, P 32.)
(At times, if General Déndè is in need of money, the Head of State, he would

direct the governor of Central Bank to release several millions of naira for him alone. If this money gets to his hand, he would create a religious crisis or give money to thugs to start tormenting those he perceived as his political enemies).

Exploitation

Exploitation signifies a situation which is used by someone to treat a person or a situation as an opportunity to gain an advantage for oneself. It is a situation used in an unfair way in order to make money or get an advantage for oneself. It is against the principle of patriotism and moral standard in Yorùbá society. It is also referred to as the act of using resources or the act of treating people unfairly in order to benefit from their efforts or labour.

In Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, the author satirises the level of exploitation during the tenure of General Aláásà in Ètánlòkù. General Aláásà refers to national money as his own money and Resources. He exploits natural resources to his own advantage. The narrator reveals the thought of General Aláásà on the state money.

The excerpts below reveal the situation thus:

- (9) Ẹ̀wà ìbàjẹ̀ nì àwùjọ́ nì pàrìwò láyẹ̀ Ọ̀gágun Déndè, ìdàámú àti ìbàjẹ̀wá kúkú sọlẹ̀ sí àwùjọ́ Ètánlókù láyẹ̀ Aláásà. Ìdàámú bárá ilé, ó bárá oko. Àtọ̀mọ̀dẹ̀ àti àgbàlagbà, àtọ̀kúnrin àti obìnrin, ló nì rí ìyọnu, ifòyà, ẹ̀rù, àìrísẹ̀ àti ìpaya ojoojúmọ́ Ibi tí òun bá a dé yíí, àtìrandíran òun ò le tòsì mọ́. Owó kii wọn nílẹ̀ ajé lẹ́yọ̀ ti òun. Owó ilú, owó òun náà nì. Iyọ̀ kii wọn nílẹ̀ olókun lẹ́yọ̀ òun dà. (Àkùkọ Gàgàrà, 2001, p:72.)

(Is it corruption that the people were complaining of during General Déndè's tenure? Tribulation and corruption became the order of the day in Ètánlókù during the regime of Aláásà. People started experiencing hardship; both young and old, men and women, were facing challenges, tribulation and fear; unemployment and chaos were daily experiences. This stage he has reached, no member of his lineage will remain poor. Money never finish in ajé's house is his own believe. State money, is his money, salt never finish in Olókun's house is his own experience).

From this particular point his descendants cannot experience poverty in Ètánlòkù. There will be enough money for him. State money is his own money. He cannot lack anything again.

Contribution to knowledge

The study examined the earlier works on Yorùbá written novels, especially those that

centre on the political situation in Nigeria. References made to other literary works on related issues. It identifies corrupt political leadership as bane to development in Africa and Nigeria, in particular.

The study establishes the facts that corrupt political leadership is a major obstacle to the overall development of Nigeria as other factors revolve around it. The novelist represent Nigeria as a nation blessed with both natural and human resources, but unfortunate to be governed and led by coalition of bad and inept political leaders.

The study also discovers that the novelist are unique visionaries who through their creativity employ satirical tactics to represent the political scenes and situations in their society. They represent the socio-political realities of their society, especially the political events after the independence in Nigeria.

The study also finds out how to get rid of corrupt political leadership in the polity, collective efforts and joint struggles of the masses are required with a view to ending political leadership oppression and injustice in the society.

The study is a necessary addition to the existing literature on issues of political leadership, poor governance and corruption, and their effects on political, socio-economic and general developments of Nigeria, as a nation, as it investigates corrupt political leadership. It will serve as material in Yorùbá novels in the areas of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices.

Conclusion

Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà reveal that the indices of corruption are a hybrid of deceitful anti-social behaviours, which were inherited from the colonial masters and nurtured into indigenous Nigerian context. *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà* depicts the military regimes in Nigeria at a particular time. The two regimes were described as being anti-human rights governments. Corruption is highly apparent in public sectors; undue hardship is the experience of the masses without hope, absence of freedom of speech and political assassinations reign supreme. All forms of corruption are exhibited by political leaders during the period and emergence of civilian administration. The incidents during the period are well treated as there is a sign of relief on the part of the masses. The scenes are presented using General Déńdè, General Aláásà and Chief Íwàlẹ̀wà.

The study demonstrates that although Nigeria claims to be politically independent, the country is still dependent on the forces of the Europeans that colonised the land, because the political operations in Nigeria still nurture the colonial structure, institutions and apparatuses in her polity. Consequently, the hope and aspiration of the masses are dashed.

The study establishes that both democratic leadership and military leadership are corrupt and involve in corruption; '*kò sọmọ re Kankan nínú ìbọ̀n*' (there is no good one

among the guns). Both civilian and military oppress the masses, and the leaders in either administration are not patriotic in the discharge of their constitutional roles as political leaders. What the military identified as the reason for taking power from the civilians were the things which they themselves involved in when they got hold of power. Furthermore, it is revealed that the selected novel (*Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*) advance greed and selfishness of the political leaders as the major causes of struggling for political power and political leadership crisis in Nigeia. The dictatorial actions of the rulers during the regimes of General Déndè and General Aláásà are satirised and revolted against by the masses and the press in *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*.

However, from the study it is discovered that the masses and general populace in the world prefer the civilian rule, despite its shortcomings to the military rule because of its features of deprivation of freedom of expression, as well as corruption and dictatorship style of administration. There is need for reshaping and restructuring of electoral process in order to produce purposeful and committed leaders in the society. Issues of accountability, transparency and responsiveness on the part of political leadership and awareness on the part of the followership on their basic human rights should be well taken care of in the polity.

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A Featural Analysis of Tonological Operations In Iṣẹkírì

By

Roselyn Oludewa Osewa (PhD)

Department of Linguistics Studies,
Faculty of Arts, University of Benin,
Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria

oludewa.osewa@uniben.edu; +234 8161218175

Abstract

Extant studies on tone behaviour in Iṣẹkírì have largely been on changes in tonal structure determined by phonological factors. This paper examines the surface realization of underlying tones governed by syntactic contexts in Iṣẹkírì, a Yoruboid lect spoken in Delta State. Data were elicited from six native speakers. Data include phrases which are excerpts from stories and narratives. Digital recordings of elicited and natural conversation of speech were converted to .wav format for acoustic investigations. Syntactically conditioned tonological operations such as Leftward High Tone Spread (LHTS) and Rightward High Tone Spread (RHTS) in Iṣẹkírì are demonstrated using tonal features. A featural account of these tonological operations (LHTS and RHTS) aids in the analysis. The RHTS is sensitive to tone type and number of syllables with a tonal melody of LL or LLL. This paper demonstrates that the derived H tone on the last syllable of the noun phrase is as a result of LHTS by the regressive spread of the high register feature of [+Upper] [+Raised] of a following H tone. The derived H tone on the first syllable of the verb is caused by the progressive spread of the [+Upper] [+Raised] of a preceding H tone.

Keywords: Tone, Syntactic context, Iṣẹkírì, Tone spread, Tone features

1. Introduction

Changes in the surface realization of underlying tones as a result of the concatenation of words in context can be termed as tonological operations. A tonological operation refers to “a case where an input shows some change in tonal structure in the output” (Rolle 2018:17). These operations include tone deletion, spreading, replacement, alternations and so on affected by both phonological and morphological factors. Tonal changes that result from syntactic contexts rather than phonological are referred to as syntactically conditioned tonological operations (SCTO) in this study. SCTO are syntactically conditioned because they apply across syntactic constituents and have the surface effect of changing a lexically

specified tone (tone sequence); changing a lexical low tone to a surface high tone, for example, the name *Útièyìn* with a low tone on the final syllable is realized as a surface high tone in the syntactic context *Útièyìn kọ erin* 'Útièyìn sang'. The study considers two types of syntactically conditioned operations; Leftward high tone spread and Rightward high tone spread. The present study aims at investigating syntactic environments that condition the behaviour of tones in Işekiri.

The Işekiris are located in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria in the South of Delta State. The Işekiri people have a strong ancestral relation to the Yoruba and Edo ethnicities owing to their linguistic and cultural similarities. The language is spoken in areas around Warri, Sapele and the Benin River in the present day Delta state of Nigeria (Osewa 2016; Ogharaerumi, 2010). It shares boundary with the Ijaws in the South, the Edo speaking people in the North, the Urhobo people in the East, and the Yoruba (Ilaje) in the West (Sagay, 1981). It is a Yoruboid language lect of languages, and the language possesses no identifiable varieties as only a single form is spoken by all the language speakers (Osewa and Ikhimwin, 2017; Omamor, 1979). Işekiri, like most other Nigerian languages, is spoken and written and has a complete orthography, grammar and rules of its own. Prior to this study, some research work done on tone behaviour in Işekiri have largely been on changes in tonal structure determined by phonological factors. Nevertheless, surface realizations of underlying tones governed by syntactic contexts have been largely overlooked. It is pertinent to note that in lexical representations, the diacritics [] and [] mark a high tone and low tone respectively while the mid tone is not marked.

2. Previous studies

The earliest attempt at a description of the prosody of Işekiri can be found in Omamor, (1979), which identified three level tones; H, M and L derived from impressionistic tonemic analyses. Osewa, (2022) explored the acoustic values of the pitch properties that characterize given tone types and provides clearer descriptions to justify the tonemic characterizations and also provides empirical justification for the H, M and L tones. These studies further identify the LL, MM and MH tone patterns for disyllabic nouns and the H, M and L tones for monosyllabic verbs. Omamor (1979) further notes that of the three contrastive tones in the language, the most unstable tone is the L tone.

According to this study, in vowel elision situations, the L tone usually gets deleted when in contact with the H or M tone. This description of L tone behaviour contradicts the behaviour of Işekiri tones. Osewa and Evbuomwan, (2022) argue and demonstrate that the lack of participation of the mid tone in some phonological processes such as vowel deletion, glide formation and vowel assimilation reveals the unstable nature of this tone in Işekiri. Acoustic evidence shows that the M tone is in asymmetry to the H and L tones in the language. These studies do not however take the syntactic contexts under which surface

tones are realized into consideration. This paper examines the syntactic environments that condition the behaviour of tones in Iṣẹkírì.

3. Literature review

Tone languages utilize pitch differences to express lexical contrasts. Many languages are tonal but what varies is how pitch is systematically used in their phonological system (Yip, 2002; Hayes, 2009). In many of these tone languages, modifications occur when tones come in contact in certain contexts and the changes that occur include tone deletion, assimilation, replacement, spread, insertion, polarization and so on (Rolle, 2018; Yip, 2002). These operations could be licensed by phonological or grammatical factors. Yoruba exemplifies a language in which phonological operations are part of its phonological system. The H and L tone in Yoruba spreads rightward unto an adjacent L or H tone (Akinlabi, 2000; Laniran and Clements 2003; Rolle, 2018).

Other tonological operations that are licensed by grammatical conditions are exemplified in Izon where tone spreads rightward in a way that cannot be attributed to phonology. Here, underlying tones are neutralized because the tones of the noun are completely overwritten. Also, the spreading tone is different from the tone of the trigger (Rolle, 2018).

The occurrence of a V syllable bearing a high tone between the noun phrase and the predicate has been reported in Yoruba. This has been variously termed as the high tone syllable, a clitic, Subject-Predicate Junction marker, Subject Concord marker, Past/Present tense marker, Agreement Marker, a pronoun and validator of actualized predicates (Olumuyiwa, 2009; Oshodi, 2016) in the Yoruba literature. The occurrence of a V syllable bearing a high tone between the noun phrase and the predicate in Yoruba is shown below:

Dàda á mu omi →	Dàdà mu omi
Dàda HTS drink water	
‘Dàda drank water’	
 Ayò ó mu omi →	 Ayò mu omi
Ayò HTS drink water	
Ayò drank water’	

(Oshodi, 2016:48)

While much has been said on this in Yoruba, its occurrence has not been discussed in Iṣẹkírì. This study discusses the subject- predicate marker in Iṣẹkírì with interest on the tonal changes it produces on the final tone of the noun or noun phrase.

4. Methodology

The data for this work was got through elicitations from six respondents and this was

complemented by the researcher who is a competent speaker of the language. Data were drawn from the corpus for a larger study that contained natural speech, semi-spontaneous speech and controlled speech. The spontaneous speech is made up of narratives (stories, proverbs and history of the Işekiri people). Sentences were extracted from transcribed and translated narratives. Data were collected electronically with the aid of a digital audio recorder in the .wav format. The recordings were carried out in a soundproof room in the University of Benin Phonetics Laboratory. There were also recordings for two informants carried out in the field.

From the phrases and excerpts, collocating words were observed to identify possible morphophonemic occurrences and phonological/ tonal processes and from these, tonal behaviours were observed.

2. Theoretical approach

Tonal features are commonly proposed for the representation and analysis of tones (Clements, 1983; Pulleyblank, 1986; Snider, 1999; Yip, 2002; Hyman, 2011; McPherson, 2016). The use of features in tonal representation has attracted a lot of attention and several feature systems have been proposed for tones in the literature. Yip (2002) proposed a feature system based on two binary features, namely, Register and Pitch. The 'Register' feature divides the pitch range into two with the feature [+/- Upper] and the 'Tone' feature subdivides each register into two with the feature [+/- high]. The feature [high] is renamed as [\pm Raised] by Pulleyblank (1986) to differentiate it from the segmental feature [\pm High]. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

+ Upper	+ Raised	H
	- Raised	HM
- Upper	+ Raised	M
	- Raised	L

Fig.1: Tone features (Pulleyblank, 1986)

The use of unary features [h/l] for Register and [H/L] for Tone has also been proposed but "... the resulting systems function in largely the same way" (McPherson, 2016:6). The feature system proposed by Yip and modified by Pulleyblank is assumed in the examination

of the Işekiri tone system. This is particularly suitable in accounting for the tonological operations of tonal spread in the language. The feature system comprehensively accounts for this in a principled way. In the analysis of several tonal phenomena in Seenku, a Mande language of Burkina-Faso, the features [+/-upper] and [+/-raised] exemplified a featural analysis. Evidence of a [+upper] spreading in H-toned pronouns is shown below:

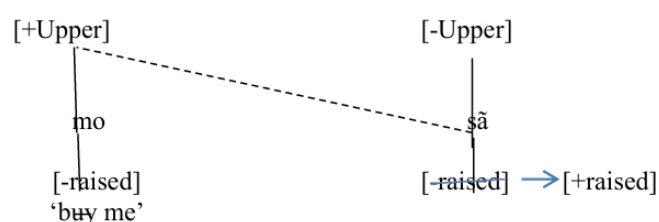


Fig.2). Rightward high tone spread of the [+Upper] feature (McPherson, 2016:16) This illustrates the spreading of the [+upper] feature from H (a high tone) to X (an extra low tone).

6. Data analysis and description

Tonal changes that result from syntactic contexts rather than phonological are referred to as syntactically conditioned tonological operations (SCTO) in this study. SCTO are syntactically conditioned because they apply across syntactic constituents and have the surface effect of changing a lexically specified tone (tone sequence); changing a lexical low tone to a surface high tone for example. The two types of syntactically conditioned operations identified in this study are the Leftward high tone spread and Rightward high tone spread.

6.1 Leftward high tone spread (LHTS)

This study discusses the subject- predicate marker in Işekiri with interest on the tonal changes it produces on the final tone of the noun or noun phrase and for the purpose of the study, the study refers to this as Leftward high tone spread and employ a featural analysis to account for the tonal change. The tone of the last syllable of the noun phrase changes to a high tone when the lexically specified tone is a low or mid tone. What this study proposes is that the tonal replacement of the tone of the last vowel of the noun phrase results from the processes of the assimilation of the high tone syllable *é* to the vowel of its immediate left, a leftward spread of the [+Upper] feature of a H tone to a preceding [-Upper] feature of a M tone and a [+Upper] and [+Raised] feature to a [-Upper, -Raised] feature of a L tone and then the deletion of the HTS. The data set in Example (1) shows this process.

Example (1)

- | | | |
|--|---|------------------------------|
| a) Èsànyẹ́ ẹ̀ lù ògùmẹ̀
Èsànyẹ́ HTS beat drum
'Èsànyẹ́ beat the drum' | → | Èsànyẹ́ lu ògùmẹ̀. |
| b) Èdòn ọn kpa ẹ̀guálẹ̀
Èdòn HTS kill snake
'Èdòn killed a snake' | → | Èd ón kpa ẹ̀guálẹ̀ |
| c) Ùtiẹ̀yìn ín kọ erin
Ùtiẹ̀yìn HTS sing song
'Ùtiẹ̀yìn sang.' | → | Ùtiẹ̀y ín kọ erin |
| d) Ìkpòtòr ọ́r guọ mi
Ìkpòtòr HTS pull PRON
'Ìkpòtòr pulled me' | → | Ìkpòtòr gu ọ mi |
| e) Tòrìşẹ́ ẹ̀ guẹ́ ẹ̀sètẹ̀
Tòrìşẹ́ HTS wash plate
'Tòrìşẹ́ washed plates' | → | Tòrìşẹ́ gu ẹ́ ẹ̀sètẹ̀ |
| f) Dede ẹ́ jẹ́ eran we ren
Dede HTS eat meat Det ASP
'Dede has eaten the meat' | → | Dedé jẹ́ eran we ren |
| g) Ọkọ́ mí í ya iwé wé ní ola
husband PRON HTS write book Det PREP yesterday
'My husband wrote the book yesterday' | → | Ọkọ́ mí ya iwé wé ní ola. |

The change on the final tone of the last vowel of the noun or noun phrase draws attention to the fact that the noun or noun phrase has a different tonal structure in isolation from when it occurs in a syntactic environment which does not impact on the syntax of the language. The name *Èsànyẹ́* in Example (1a) for instance, in isolation bears a LLL tonal formation. This changes to a LLH in the construction *Èsànyẹ́ lu ògùmẹ̀* 'Èsànyẹ́ beat the drum'. *Èsànyẹ́* in isolation cannot bear a LLH formation.

This tonal process is illustrated in Fig. 3a & b below.

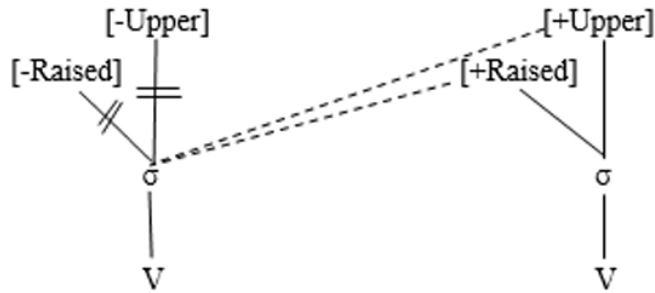


Fig.3a). Leftward high tone spread of the[+Upper], [+Raised] features

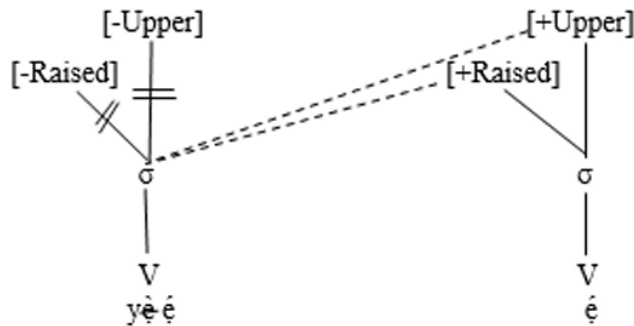


Fig.3b). Leftward high tone spread of the[+Upper], [+Raised] features in Işekiri

This operation can be readily captured or explained as a leftward spread of the features of the high tone as shown in Figures (3a) and (3b). Illustrating with example (1a), the low tone on *yè* which is the final syllable of the noun *Èsànyè* becomes *yé* through a leftward spread of the [+Upper] and [+Raised] features of the high tone on the HTS *é*

LHTS of the [+Raised] feature is shown in Figure (4a) and illustrated with example (1f) in Figure (4b) where the [+Raised] feature of *e* spreads to the vowel of the final syllable *de* of the noun *Dede* with MM tone to *Dede* MH.

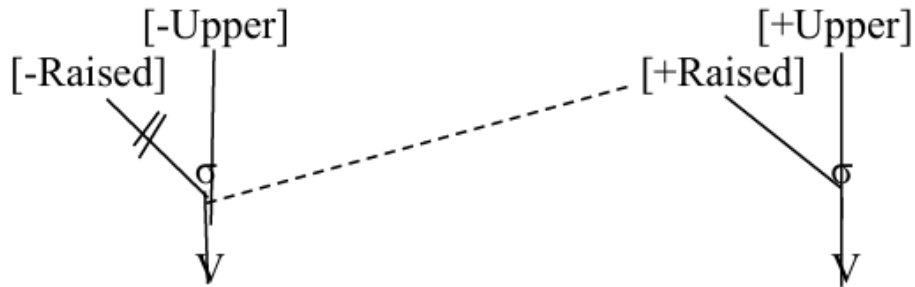


Fig. 4a). Leftward high tone spread of the [+Raised] feature

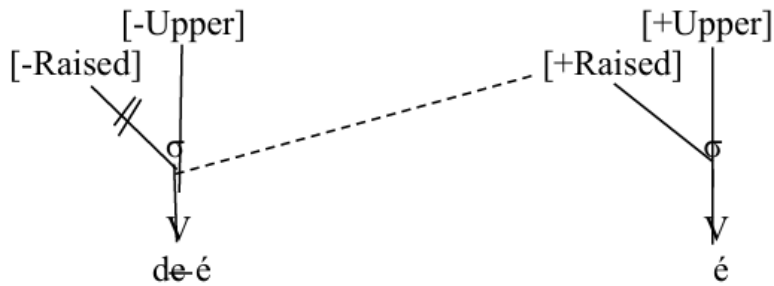


Fig. 4b). Leftward high tone spread of the [+Raised] in Isekiri

Fig. 4b). Leftward high tone spread of the [+Raised] in Isekiri

To confirm the change in tone from a low to a high tone, the pitch tracks of the final syllable in the noun *Èsànyè* when it occurs in isolation and when it is the noun phrase of the sentence *Èsànyè lu ògùmè* are shown in figures 5a&b. It is worth mentioning that the focus of this study is on the change in tone from a low to a high tone.

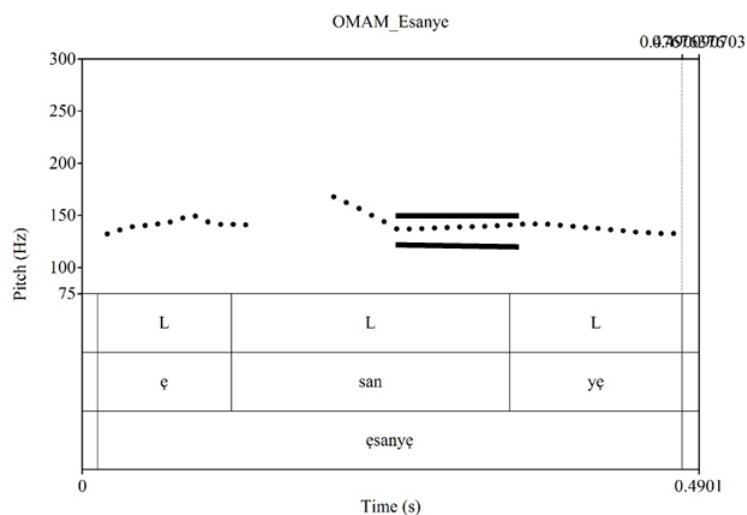


Fig. 5a). Pitch track of Èsànyè

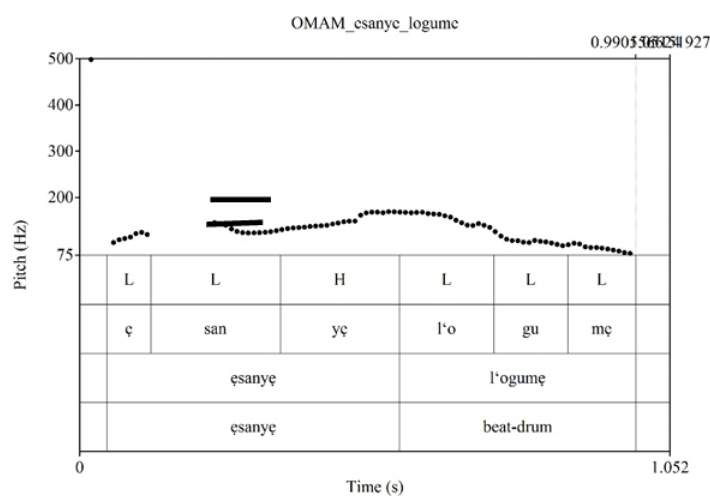


Fig. 5b). Pitch track of Èsànyè lu ògùmè

An inspection of the pitch tracks of Figures (5a & b) confirms the change in tone from a low to a high tone.

A variation of the tautomorphic tones preceding the final low or mid tone shows the same tonal output. This is exemplified below:

Example 2

- a) Ìjènékpò ó fò sì álè → Ìjèné**kpó** fò sálè
Tiger HTS jump PREP ground
'The tiger jumped down.'
- b) Agbákàrà á jẹ ímílá → Agbákà**rá** jẹ ímílá
Crocodile HTS eat cow
'The crocodile ate a cow'
- a) Bèsidónẹ ẹ kpe mi → Bèsidón**ẹ** kpe mi
Bèsidónẹ HTS Call PRON
'Bèsidónẹ called me'
- b) Òghòrìşẹwárami í kpa eso → Òghòrìşẹwáram**í** kpa eso
Òghòrìşẹwárami HTS kill seed
'Òghòrìşẹwárami cracked the kernel'
- e) Ipòsì í je eja → Ipòs**í** je eja
cat HTS eat fish
'The cat ate a fish'

6.2 Rightward high tone spread (RHTS)

The juxtaposition of two words in certain syntactic relations results in changes in surface tonal structure. RHTS refers to “the extension of a high tone from its underlying position to immediately adjacent syllables to the right” Zerbian (2017:396). A high tone on a pre-verbal particle spreads to the verb in Isekiri, that is, the high tone of the word preceding the verb spreads to the first syllable of the verb. An examination of data in the language shows that the rightward spread of the high tone is governed by two constraints; the number of syllables in the verb stem (at least disyllabic), and the tonal melody (a LL or LLL). Data show that this is a robust phenomenon in Isekiri. Thus, tonal and syllabic contexts are required for the RHTS to occur. An examination of the following LL patterned verbs in syntactic constructions produce a tonal outcome different from their lexical tonal input. Two data sets are presented for the RHTS. In (3a), the spread is from pre-verbal articles and in (3b), the spread is from the aspectual marker *gbá*.

Example (3a)

- Nesín ré lèghè uwọ? → Nesín ré **lèghè** uwọ?
 Who BE deceive PRON
 'Who deceived you?'
- i) Ó waá lèlè uwọ. → Ó waá **lèlè** uwọ.
 PRON FUT follow PRON
 'He/she will follow you.'
- ii) Wo má gbòrò ó, O waá sènguà. ► Wo má **gbòrò** ó, O waá sènguà.
 PRON COMP rub PRON FUT beautiful
 'If you paint it, it will be beautiful.'
- iii) Jédí ùkpò wé gbègbèrè aralí wé → Jédí ùkpò wé **gbègbèrè** aralí wé
 Allow bed Det rest wall Det.
 'Let the bed lie against the wall'
- v) Aşọ wé kèkè mí → Aşọ wé **kèkè** mí
 cloth Det tight PRON
 'The cloth is closely fitted for me'

Example (3b)

- i) Ìdibì gbá rùkù omi wé → Ìdibì gbá **rùkù** omi wé
 Crab ASP muddy water Det
 'The crab started mudding the water'
- ii) O wínóròn gbá se òjè → O wínóròn gbá **sòjè**
 PRON BE ASP cook food
 'He/she is cooking'
- iii) O wínóròn gbá kpòkpò ọwa ro → O wínóròn gbá **kpókpo** ọwa ro
 PRON BE ASP trouble father PRON
 'He is troubling his father'
- iv) Bawọ wínóròn gbá gbàngbàn orígho ro ► Bawọ wínóròn gbá **gbángbàn** orígho ro
 Bawọ BE ASP shake head PRON
 'Bawọ is shaking her head'
- v) Mo wínóròn gbá jìgìrìn ara mí → Mo wínóròn gbá **jígìrìn** ara mí
 PRON BE ASP shake body PRON
 'I am shaking my body'

The tone of the first syllable of the verb in the Isekiri data presented changes to a high tone. In like manner with the LHTS, the rightward spread of the [+Upper] and [+Raised] feature of a preceding H tone to a [-Upper, -Raised] feature of a L tone accounts for this as shown in Figure 6.

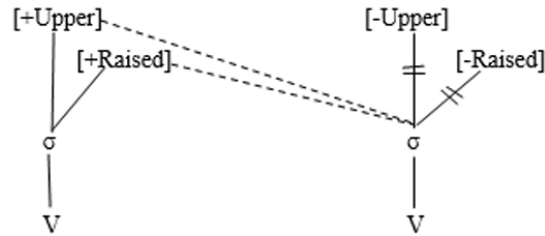


Fig. 6a). Rightward high tone spread

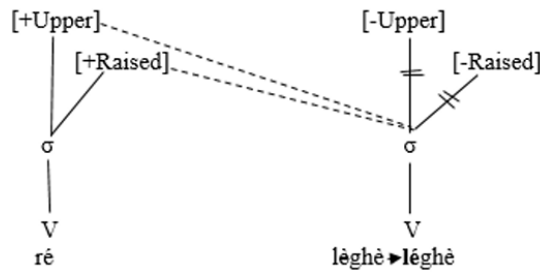


Fig. 6b). Rightward high tone spread in Işekiri

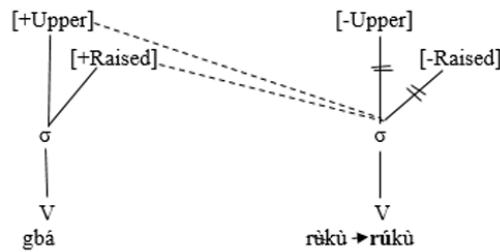


Fig. 6c). Rightward high tone spread in Işekiri

Figures 6a, b & c illustrate the spread of the [+Upper, +Raised] features of a high tone to the initial syllable of a LL patterned disyllabic verb. In Figure 6b, the spread is from a pre-verbal particle *ré* to the verb *leghe* 'to deceive' to become **lēghè** and in Figure 6c, the spread is from the aspectual marker *gbá* to *ruku* 'muddy' to become **rùku**.

A summary of (3a) and (3b) showing the verb in isolation and in the contexts explained is given in Table 1.

Table 1. A summary of tonal input and output

Lexical tone LL	Sentence	HL Tonal verbal outcome
lèlè ‘follow’	Ó waá lèlè uwọ ‘He/she will follow you.’	lélè
rùkù ‘muddy’	Idibi gbá rùkù omi we e ‘The crab started mudding the water’	rúkù
lèghè ‘deceive’	Nesin ré léghè uwọ? ‘Who deceived you?’	lèghè
sọjẹ ‘cooking’	O wínóron gbá sọjẹ ‘He/she is cooking’	sọjẹ
Kèkè ‘closely fitted’	Aşọ wé kékè mi ‘The cloth is closely fitted for me’	kékè
kpòkpò ‘trouble’	O wínóron gbá kpòkpò ọwa ro ‘He is troubling his father’	kpòkpò
gbòrò ‘paint’	Wo má gbòrò, Ó waá sengua ‘If you paint it, it will be beautiful.’	gbòrò
gbàngbàn ‘shake’	Bawọ wínóron gbá gbàngbàn orígho ro ‘Bawọ is shaking her head’	gbàngbàn
jígìrìn ‘shake’	Mo wínóron gbá jígìrìn ara mi ‘I am shaking my body’	jígìrìn
gbégbèrè ‘lie’	Jédí ùkpò wé gbégbèrè aralí wé ‘Let the bed lie against the wall’	gbégbèrè

An examination of the data shows that the constraints earlier mentioned holds, as RHTS is exempted from monosyllabic verbs and any other tonal formation different from the LL sequence. These constraints exempt a spread of the [+ Raised] feature to an M tone as the study has it in the LHTS. An extract from story 1 (see appendix) clearly shows that the spread of features is blocked for monosyllabic verbs and M tone sequences.

Example (4)

- (a) Idibi **gbá kpujo**.
Crab ASP call-dance
‘The crab called a dance’

- (b) Idibi biri aghan ti (**wó kpè**) (**gbá bóójo**) (**gbá rè**)
 Crab CONJ PRON COMP 3Pl call ASP CONJ- dance ASP go
 'The crab and those that he called started dancing and going with him.'
- (c) Owun Idibi gba sebino **gbá rè**
 COMP Crab ASP do-anger ASP go
 'Then the crab got angry and left'
- (d) Omi we **ka rùkù**
 Water Det become muddy
 'The water got muddied'
- (e) Idibi **gbá rùkù** omi we
 Crab ASP muddy water Det
 'The crab started mudding the water'

The extract above shows the conditions under which RHTS can occur. The highlighted words in (4a, b, &c) have pre-verbal elements with a H tone but no tonal change is observed on the following verbs because the verbs are monosyllabic. In cases where they are not monosyllabic but the tonal sequence is not a LL formation as seen in *gbá bojó* with a MH tone in (4b), RHTS does not occur. The lexical tonal formation in the verb *rùkù* (LL) is unaffected by the preceding word with a low tone in (4d) when compared with the same verb with a different tonal outcome in *rùkù* (HL) in (4e) resulting from the rightward spread of the [+Upper] and [+Raised] feature of a preceding H tone in *gbá*.

A test to ascertain the requirement of the tonal melody was carried out using a frame with an MM tonal formation and a LL tonal formation in the frame (*datú* 'again' verb object pronoun) in (5).

Example (5): MM verb

- (a) Datu sere e
 again pick OP
 'Pick it again'
- (b) Datu jonje e
 again press OP
 'Press it again'
- LL verb
- (c) Datu leghe e
 again deceive OP
 'Deceive him again'

- (d) Datu gboro o
again rub OP
'Rub him again'

The verbs in (5a&b) are not affected by the high tone on datu while the low tone on the initial syllable in the verbs in (5c&d) is changed to the H tone.

This section has described and analysed the behaviour of Işekíri tones. Changes in tonal output were examined under syntactically conditioned tonological operations such as the Leftward high tone spread and Rightward high tone spread. The changes in the surface tonal realization as a result of bidirectional tone spread has the surface effect of changing a lexically specified tone (tone sequence); changing a lexical low or mid tone to a surface high tone in the language.

7. Conclusion

Bidirectional tone spread has the surface effect of changing a lexically specified tone (tone sequence); changing a lexical low or mid tone to a surface high tone in the language. Syntactic environments that condition the behaviour of tones were perceptually and instrumentally considered. Tonological operations found in the language include Leftward high tone spread (LHTS) and Rightward high tone spread (RHTS). Leftward high tone spread showed the tonal replacement of the tone of the last vowel of the noun phrase, which resulted from the processes of the assimilation of the high tone syllable é to the vowel of its immediate left, a leftward spread of the [+Upper] feature of a H tone to a preceding [-Upper] feature of an M and a [+Upper] and [+Raised] feature to a [-Upper, -Raised] feature of a L tone and then the deletion of the HTS. Rightward high tone spread is sensitive to tone type and number of syllables. A high tone on a pre-verbal particle spreads to the verb, that is, the high tone of the word preceding the verb spreads to the first syllable of the verb. An examination of data in Işekiri revealed that the rightward spread of the high tone is governed by two constraints; the number of syllable in the verb stem (at least disyllabic), and the tonal melody (a LL or LLL).S

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**The Language of Conversation as a Discourse:
Analysis of Some Texts and Social Discourse**

By

Dr. Florence Etuwe Oghiator

Department of Languages
University of Delta, Agbor, Delta State.
fetuwe@gmail.com; 08033855058

&

Dr. Gegeri, Dike Gegeri

Department of Languages
University of Delta, Agbor, Delta State.
08033442668

Abstract

This paper examined the language of conversation as a discourse by analysing some tests and social discourse. Conversation is seen as a social representation and it is characterized by many features. The features of conversation are: the use of ambiguities, frequent occurrence of incompleteness of utterances, hesitancy, randomness of subject matter and randomness of voice. Moreover, conversation involves the implicit use of language exception of that of telephone conversations which participants do not rely on the extra-linguistic context, and require explicitness of language. Grice's Theory of conversation is used as the theoretical framework for this paper. This theory states in its co-operative principle that a participant in a conversation should make required contribution at the state at which it occurs, and by the accepted purpose of direction of the talk exchange in which it occurs. The paper also made analysis of some texts from social discourse, and some of literary texts to portray conversational discourse. All the foregoing were critically examined in this paper.

Keywords: Language; Conversation; Discourse; Grice Theory; Analysis; Texts and Social Discourse.

Introduction

Conversation is one of the social representations of discourse in that it brings together the world of objects and human interlocutors. Before delving into the language of conversation, the term conversation shall be fully explained for a proper understanding of the discourse. Generally speaking, conversation is usually an informal talk which involves two persons or a small group of people. Conversation in English can be described as an activity where for

the most part, two or more people take turns at speaking (Yule, 1996). In normal circumstance, only one person speaks at a time. But, sometimes, there is tendency of avoidance of silence between speaking turns. If more than one interlocutor tries to talk at the same time, one of them usually stops. This is illustrated between speakers A and B below:

A: Didn't you see that Joy...

B: She shouldn't be the one.

A: But you knew she was there.

The ellipsis in 'A' shows that the interlocutor stops for 'B' to speak. Uzunoglu (2000) stipulates that conversation is one of the components of discourse in terms of processing and comprehension, which also contributes to the expansion of the frontiers of linguistics. A conversation can take place anywhere, and can only succeed if the participants share a common purpose in communication. In conversational analysis, the function of utterances is considered for the purposes of that analysis and that function can only be determined by reference to the total context of the conversations.

Methodology of the Research

Grice's theory of conversation is used for this paper. Moreover, materials, such as; books, journals, and other relevant information are collected from the library. Some data from interlocutors in social forms of conversation are also used for analysis in this paper. Consequently, conversation between Anowa and her mother (Badua) in the text *Anowa* was analysed in this paper too. Similarly, the paper portrayed some instances of conversational discourse between Prof. and Samson in *The Road*.

Theoretical Framework

Grice theory of conversation is the framework used in this research. In Grice's theory of conversation, there is a co-operative principle which participants in a conversation have to do in order to converse in a rational co-operate way (Sperber & Wilson, 1996). The co-operative principle says that a participant in a conversation should make required contribution at the state at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged. This co-operative principle is Grice's maxim of conversation, quality, quantity, relevance and manner.

The maxim of quality states that an interlocutor's contribution should be one that is true and with adequate evidence. Similarly, the maxim of quantity posits that an interlocutor should make an informative contribution that is required for the current purpose of the exchange, but not more informative than as required. For the maxim of relevance, a participant in a conversation should make a relevant contribution. And the maxim of manner

says that a participant in a conversation should avoid obscurity and ambiguity. That an interlocutor should also be brief and orderly in conversation.

The foregoing maxims specify what participants have to do in order to converse in a maximally, efficient, rational and co-operative ways. Interlocutors should speak sincerely, relevantly, and clearly while providing sufficient information. (Livison cited in Segardahl, 1996). However, this co-operative principle of Grice, may be violated in a conversation because it is difficult to adhere to all the cooperative maxims. This is exemplified in the conversation below.

A: Where is Lizzy?

B: I heard a sound in the kitchen.

In the conversation above, participant 'B' fails to answer the question asked by participant 'A'. Therefore, the maxims of relevance and manner have been violated. But in a deeper level, the answer to the question is right. This is because speaker 'B' considers Lizzy to be in the kitchen where the sound was coming from. By violating the maxims, interlocutors are able to mean more than they literally say in a conversation by giving a meaning of irony or metaphor.

The Language of Conversation

The language of conversation also known as conversational language is referred to as “everyday language”, social communication, or national language. It is a language used by peer groups, friends, children, adults and family members. The language of conversation is characterized by many features, which shall be fully discussed in this paper. Conversation language is informal. The informality of conversation accounts for the use of any type of language such as; slangs, colloquial and jargon in conversational discourse. The informal nature of the language of conversation reveals friendliness or politeness in conversation.

The example below buttresses the foregoing assertion:

Speaker A: Baby, how now?

Speaker B: I'm cool boy! Where to?

Speaker A: You look take away. I just wanna check that guy in Zik's flat.

Speaker B: Alright, catch you.

It is this juxtaposition of separated linguistic features that distinguishes conversation from other types of discourse, with the exception of literature. Conversational discourse involves the use of ambiguities. This is because the interlocutors rely on the extra-linguistic context

in which the conversation is taking place, and also due to the use of anaphoric features in language. For example, the use of determine in conversation as shown below:

'That's a big one'

'The above sentence is ambiguous and it is only the interlocutors that can understand the meaning of the context. Consequently, in a discourse of conversation, there is the implicit use of language. This is because the participants know the extra-linguistic context of the conversation. Such as the place, time, personal background and the knowledge of the discourse. It is only in a telephone conversation that participants do not rely on the extra-linguistic context, and a telephone conversation is explicit, such that some words have to be spelt due to distortion of sounds. Furthermore, in a conversation, there is frequent occurrence of incompleteness of utterances, as seen in the example below:

Speaker A: John, did you see...

Speaker B: See who?

Speaker A: I mean if you saw Jane.

Speaker B: Ehm, no; but... (pauses)

Speaker B: Oh! I'm sorry.

Hesitancy is another feature of the language of conversation. According to Crystal and Davy (1969), hesitancy is strongly influenced by periods of creative thinking - the more one is thinking about what to say, the more likely hesitation features are to appear - and this tends to produce a cyclic pattern. Hesitation is a significance of conversation. Hesitation is a noun from the verb, hesitate, it is an act to stop, or pause in decision, speech or action. It is an act of showing some doubt in conversation.

Conversation is also characterized by randomness of subject matter and a general lack of planning (Crystal and Davy Year). It is impossible to predict how a conversation will end, at its beginning. Similarly, the duration of a conversation cannot be predicted. The theme in a conversation can be changed at any point in time, which is taken to be linguistically appropriate. This quality makes conversation different from discussion or debate.

The foregoing is illustrated with an example below:

Speaker A: Dave, I heard that ASUU has suspended its strike action?

Speaker B: Yes, they reached an agreement with the Federal Government.

Speaker A: Have you written your paper for presentation?

Speaker B: I don't think I will attend that conference at Okene.

Speaker A: Come o, did you hear that the new man is now the HOD?

Speaker B: Tessy, please we shall discuss that later. I have a call now.

The above conversation illustrates the randomness of subject matter and a general lack of planning in conversation discourse. Phonologically, conversational discourse is characterized by randomness of voice. The voice in a conversation has no pattern and there is no formal training required in the range of voice qualities. (Crystal and Davy, Year). Crystal and Davy (Year) further state that the phonological distinctiveness of conversation lies mainly in the use of non-segmental features of language. There is much of intonation in discourse and the way in which it links together a conversation is important. In a conversation, there is frequency of rise and fall in tone.

This can be seen in the following speakers:

Speaker A: Madam K, I didn't see the lace you told me about.

Speaker B: Ah Mrs. Boyle, what do you mean?

Speaker A: I mean I could not find the lace in the market.

Speaker B: Well, you can have another lace.

Speaker A: Ah! To be different from others?

Speaker B: Then, go to Onitsha main market, or.....

Speaker A: or what?

Speaker B: You make a plan B.

The rise and fall of tone in the foregoing discourse elicits one of the qualities of the language of conversation. The tone in a conversation depends on the discourse, participants in the conversation, social status and ethno-linguistic group of the participants. According to Uhunmwangho (2000), in conversational discourse, there are conversational tone and turn-taking. To him, tone is very essential in conversation because it contributes to the meaning of a discourse. Turn-taking is when an interlocutor gives way for another participant to speak. In English language, two speakers cannot speak at the same time.

Usually, in written texts the prerogative to take turns to speak is created by the author. An example of turn-taking can be seen in **ANOWA** between a mother (Badua) and a daughter (Anowa) who has chosen the laziest man in the village to be her husband. Badua is against the marriage of her only daughter to a lazy man, as can be seen in their conversation below;

ANOWA: Mother, you have been at me for a longtime to get married. And now that I have found someone I like very much...

BADUA: Anowa, shut up. Shut up! Push your tongue into your mouth and close it.

Shut up because I never counted Kofi Ako among my son-in-laws. Anowa, why Kofi Ako? Of all the mothers that are here in Yebi. Should I be the one whose daughter would want to marry this, this good-for-nothing cassava-man, the watery of all watery males? This I am-the handsome one-with-a –stick-between-my-teeth-in-the-market place. This...

This.

ANOWA: Mother

BADUA: (Quietly) I say Anowa, why did you not wait for a day when I was cooking banku and your father was drinking palm-wine in the market-place with his friends? When you could have snatched the ladle from my hands and hit me with it and taken your father's wine from his hands and thrown it into his face? Anowa, why did you not wait for a day like that, since you want to behave like the girl in the folk tale?

ANOWA: But what are you talking about mother?

BADUA: And you Kobina Sam, will you not say anything?

The girl's mother (Badua) expected her husband to participate in the conversation as she feels it is her husband's (Sam) turn to speak. Therefore, she calls on him to make his own contribution to the discourse concerning their daughter. The question marks in the above conversation portray the inquisitive nature in the conversation. The proverbs also show one of the qualities of a conversation. The hyphen in between each word in Badua's first speech explains the womanish nature of Kofi. Turn taking in conversational discourse can also be seen in *The Road*, (a play). The conversation in this scene is between Prof. and Samson.

Prof: And you brought no revelation for me? You found no broken words where the bridge swallowed them?

Samson: How would we think of such a thing? Professor?

Prof: A man must be alert in each event. ... Surely you brought new spare parts for the store?

Samson: Sir...

Prof: You neglect my needs and you neglect the quest. Even total strangers have begun to notice. Three men sought me out on the road. They complained of your tardiness in re-opening the shop.

Samson: Oh these foolish men...

Prof: Understand that shop sustains our souls and feeds our bodies. We lose customers every day.

Professor and Samson had their turns talking at a time. Moreover, linguistics features such

as graphology which includes the punctuation marks, capitalization, and cohesive devices, such as anaphora and cataphora. The anaphora in the foregoing text are the pronouns, which include; 'you', 'we' 'my', and the cataphora are the determiners 'the' 'that', 'their', and these. They are all linguistic features in conversational discourse. The ellipsis also characterized the features of the language of conversation. An ellipsis is an omission of one or more words from a clause or sentence. Ellipsis is very prominent in the language of conversation, as interlocutors use them often either to observe a pause or to indicate that the statement is incomplete, which the interlocutors could understand through extra linguistic context of the discourse. Social representations in general are systematically conveyed through everyday conversation (Van Dijk, 1989). Similarly, Van Dijk in Uhunmwangho (2000), affirms lucidly that the analysis of conversation which originates from micro-sociology is one of the productive approaches to the study of spoken or written discourse.

Conclusion

This paper deals with the language of conversation as regard discourse. From the analyses in this texts and social discourse, conversation is characterized by many features, and conversation itself is an everyday activity which is a social representation

Finally, this paper also showed that conversation is generally informal, and implicit. The only exception is telephone conversation which exhibits a kind of formality and explicitness. The paper used different text to portray the various features of conversation. Social discourse, and literary text were analysed to depict the aspects of conversational discourse.

Suggestions

From the analysis of language of conversation as a discourse, the following recommendations are suggested:

- (1) Conversation should be treated as a course or be included in course outlines in language courses in schools,
- (2) Since conversation is a social representation, it should be taken as part of oral text for both internal and external examinations. The question of mere giving of audio tape recording to students for oral English is not adequate for a student to be represented socially in terms of speech-act. This is because, an individual is socially recognized by his speech,
- (3) Conversation does not end in language alone, but can also be included in literature and music in schools to facilitate students' speech- act.

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**Legend In Francophone African Theatre: A Reading of
Tchicaya U Tam'si's Le Zulu and Jean Pliya's Kondo Le Requin**

By

Professor Raufu Adebisi

Department of French

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

08034532120, raufadebisi@gmail.com

Abstract

The aim of this article is to look at the manner two Francophone African playwrights, Tchicaya U tam'si from the Republic of Congo and Jean Pliya from the Republic of Benin use their plays to promote good conduct for the development of society. The two works, Le Zulu by U tam'si and Kondo le requin by Pliya, are legendary plays. The legendary heroes whose lives inspired the theatres are the South African Zulu King Chaka and the Dahomean King Gbehanzin. Names of legendary heroes continue to be alive among their people because of their feats and their services to their people. In the two plays Chaka and Gbehanzin manifest these qualities. But is their commitment gratuitous? To interrogate this problem, we have recourse to Functional myth theory, one of the major theories for the study of myths and legends. We consider Functional myth theory apt because of its emphasis on patriotism and development. We use the technique of literary appreciation to study the two dramatic works in focus. We discover that contrary to the struggles of genuinely selfless heroes, the exertions of Chaka and Gbehanzin are marred by egocentric ambitions as manifested in their intransigence and use of Machiavellian policies. In the end, both kings end ingloriously as a result of their selfish ambitions. The article thus emphasises a lasting lesson in leadership and societal development. It is an indirect warning to African politicians who oppress and exploit their compatriots once they come to power.

Keywords legend, myth, patriotism, national interest, war

Introduction

The subject of literature is man in society. Creative literature, addresses the problem of man pursuing his individual objectives and the way he contributes to the growth of society. We are here, far from the purview of literature as pure art, which rejects the idea of any social commitment but which exists for its own sake. We are here in the realm of what is referred to in French as 'littérature engagée', a notion by which a work of art must be at the service of society. According to Buchanan, the renowned French philosopher and writer Jean-Paul Sartre thrashed out the dichotomy between the two opposing perspectives of imaginative

literature when he “rejected aesthetics of 'pure writing for its own sake' and argued that the writer had a responsibility to explore and integrate universal values of freedom” (433). Significantly, Sartre, and his influencers, chief among who are Marx, Kant and Hegel, directly or indirectly, endorse these basic characteristics of creative fiction, precisely that of the utilitarian value of art being on the side of truth and supporting the oppressed against the oppressors in the collective search for a just society.

As an offshoot of Francophone African Literature, the Francophone drama shares the characteristics of the umbrella discipline in terms of its thematic preoccupations, especially its concern with the practical problems of society and the desire to find solution to them. This social reality is foregrounded by their triple common heritage of dehumanising slavery, pillaging colonialism and depersonalising post-independence experience, which all manifest in the three main genres of imaginative literature- poetry, prose and theatre. In the first, the traumatising reality registers in the voice of one of the chief exponents of Negritude, Aimé Césaire in whose poetry, according to Chevrier, we can read “Que ce pays cria pendant des siècles que nous sommes des bêtes brutes” (29). (“That this our land wept over centuries that we were called beasts”). It echoes in Ferdinand Oyono's novel *The Old Man and the Medal* “The whites had undermined all the traditions of the land” (109). And it resonates in the theatrical domain in Senouvo Agbota Zinsou's *La Tortue qui chante* as “Ah ! quel siècle ! Pour s'enrichir, accéder à une position élevée dans la société, on ment, on vole, on trompe même !” (19). (“What a century! In order to get rich, in order to assume a higher position in the society, some people tell lies and even deceive others”).

In spite of the common historical background of the three major genres of Francophone African Literature, it is a truism to state that each of them treaded its peculiar course in its growth from its inception to the present. In this regard, Francophone African Theatre, which as pointed out by Ricard (45) is (“both practice and theory”), charted a course that is distinctly different from those of the two other branches of literature- prose and poetry. Chronologically, Francophone African theatre was the last to emerge on the literary landscape of French Black Africa, with its debuts at the Ecole normale de Bingerville in the Côte d'Ivoire in 1931. Introduced on the inspiration of the then school teacher Charles Beart, Francophone theatre was two years later to be introduced into the Ecole normale William Ponty at Gorée in Senegal, under the influence of the same school teacher Beart, now a headmaster.

The young pupils who attended these schools from all over French-speaking West Africa, among who are stars of Francophone African Theatre today, such as Bernard Dadié, Koffi Gadeau, Amadou Cissé Dia and Francois-Joseph Amon d'Aby, who were asked to produce playlets from materials drawn their environments for the entertainment of the French colonial administrators and their families on the prize-giving days, wrote original dramatic sketches inspired by local proverbs, maxims, mores, lores, myths and legends. The

pioneering works by these young pupils were to form the basis of many plays published by Francophone African playwrights in later years.

This article focuses on two legendary plays *Le Zulu* and *Kondo le requin* by two African playwrights, the Congolese Felix Tchicaya Utam'si and the Beninese John Pliya respectively. Tchicaya U'tamsi is generally known as a poet, however, in reality, he combines in his person the multiple vocations of politician, poet, story-teller and playwright. Even though Utam'si, grew up outside his country, precisely in France where, according to Blair (172), as early as fifteen years of age, he had accompanied his father who had in 1946 been “elected as the first Deputy to represent Congo-Brazzaville at the National Assembly”, and where he later sought voluntary exile, he was always close to his fatherland and Africa generally. In the words of Blair (172) “In spite of Utam'si's protestations of 'disengagement' he has by no means been indifferent to the fate of his homeland...his verse shows a deep concern for past exploitations and dissensions that were rending both Congos during most of the periods he was writing his six collections of poems.” This commitment of Tchicaya Utam'si to his country and to the Black race is all too glaring in his poems and plays, some of which have been translated into English, among which are the poems (“Bad Blood”) (1955) and (“Epitomé”) (1962), (“The Inner Failure”) (1977) and the plays *Glorious Destiny of Marshall Nnikon* and one of his plays under study *Le Zulu* suivi de *Vwene le fondateur* and African stories *Légendes africaines* (1969). This play, *Le Zulu* the focus of this article, is based on the life of the legendary South African leader Chaka the Zulu, believed to possess mystical powers who saved his people from their domineering neighbours but who was killed by his half-brothers.

In the same vein, the Beninese Jean Pliya (1931-2015), was a very prolific writer who combined his work as teacher of Geography with writing. Like Utam'si, Pliya was a committed writer known for his wittiness and scathing social remarks in his two favorite areas of focus, short stories and plays. Of his works, the short story 'Les tresseurs de corde' and his two plays *La Secrétaire particulière* (1973) and *Kondo le requin* (1981) are remarkable. The latter, one of the plays we intend to treat in this article is inspired by the Dahomean king Gbehanzin, known for his military prowess and who fought a last-ditch battle against the French colonial troupes, surrendering to them only on the realisation of their military superiority.

Our aim in this article is to interrogate the lessons that can be learnt from the episodes of the heroes of the two legendary plays, *Le Zulu* and *Kondo le requin*, Chaka and Gbehanzin and their people. The pertinent questions here are: How exemplary and inspiring are the conducts of the leaders in the two dramatic works under study? What lessons can we learn from their weaknesses and their fall? How useful are the conducts of the subjects of the leaders in the two legendary plays.

To provide answers to these questions, we will have recourse to Functional myth theory, which is one of the main theories used for the study of myths and legends. The two forms of art, like the other traditional oral forms, are integral parts of African culture which may also be studied with the help various cultural theories. However, oral tradition, even as an aspect of culture, has its own peculiar postulates among which is Functional myth theory which we intend to use in this article. The article will be divided into three parts- the relationship between legend and Functional myth theory, lessons to be learnt from the lives of the legendary heroes and those of their close associates. We can apprehend the close rapport between the three aspects of the paper quite easily by reflecting first on the relationship between legend and Functional myth theory.

Legend and Functional myth theory

Legend is a complex word which has been variously defined. A Cambridge dictionary defines it as “a very old story or set of stories from ancient times or stories not always true, that people talk about a famous event or person” (<https://cambridge.org>). Another source puts legend as a “traditional story or group of stories about a particular person or place. ...Legends resemble folktales in content; they may include supernatural beings, elements of mythology, or explanation of natural phenomenon, but they are associated with a particular locality or person and are told as a matter of history” (<http://www.britannica.com>).

One problem with the study of legend is its close interconnectedness with myth and which makes the distinction between them quite difficult. Blair attempts to present the difference between a myth and a legend this way “Myth offers an explanation of the universe or of creation. It may also hand down from generation to generation the history of the race or tribe...legend often explains the origins of the race. It may also hand down from generation to generation the history of the race or tribe” (17). The fact is that even with Blair's elucidation, the borderline between legend and myth remains quite tenuous, tenuousness which also captures the attention of Ibrahim who observes concerning the Abdoulaye's novel “Sarrounia est consideree (sic) comme une legende pour les uns ou un mythe historique ou littéraire pour les autres” (429). (“Sarrounia is considered as a legend by some people while others see it as a historical or literary myth”). All that one can glean from the above is that while myth relates more to the origins of natural phenomena, legends are more of the stories of historical or semi historical personages. Little wonder therefore that studies of myths and legends conveniently share the same theories. We shall return to this later in the paper.

If by nature, legends and myths overlap, sometimes leading to controversies, there is no doubt whatsoever as to their form and the category of art to which they both belong; they are folklores and part of oral literature. In sum, legends and myths are an integral part of

culture. There are no people, no matter how backward they are, without a culture. Culture defines a people, their past, present and guides to their future. As we stressed in an earlier article, culture, like Indigenous Knowledge Systems, can be local, national or even international (Adebisi in JJoFLLit, 69). During, while elaborating its function at the national level, opined "Culture is regarded as a means through which governments can manage different communal values and traditions in society" (17). During also says the obvious when he presents culture as a source of wealth, adding further that "Entertainment is ...the USA's biggest export" (14). This implies not only revenue for America but also the external deployment of American culture in the pursuit of her global interests. We are here at the heart of the concept of hegemony, otherwise known as "soft power" by which powerful classes and nations use cultural instruments including entertainment and religion to subdue others in order to secure their compliance in the pursuit of their own objectives.

For Africans whose mores and civilisations have been treated with disdain by Europeans since the beginning of the contact of the two races, and who are determined to rehabilitate their image, the issue of cultural revival and preservation can be said to be nonnegotiable. As aptly put by Dango, "La culture fait partie intégrante de l'existence humaine" (57). ("Culture is an integral part of human existence"). Thus, any people considered as cultureless or whose traditional ways are dismissed as invaluable, does not deserve to live. To Africans, therefore, stories, proverbs, maxims, mimes, folklores, myths and legends among several others, which are all elements of African oral literature which emphasise the beauty and dynamism of their traditions and assert their dignity, are to be preserved at all cost for the present and future generations.

Bernard Dadié the multitalented Ivorian writer, quoted by Hutchinson, puts it in no less certain term when he stressed "Les contes et légendes sont pour nous des musées, des monuments, des plaques de rues, en somme, nos seuls livres" (17). ("Tales and legends are for us like museums, monuments, street signposts, in short our books"). This basic importance of tales, myths and legends, the poet-President Senghor quoted by Hutchinson, on his part clarifies it further "En Afrique Noire, tout fable, voire tout conte est l'expression imagée d'une vérité morale, à la connaissance du monde et une leçon de vie sociale » (16). ("In Black Africa, every fable, and even every tale is the vivid expression of a moral truth, of our intimacy with the world and a lesson for our social life"). As for the Burkinabe historian, politician and writer, Ki-Zerbo quoted by Hutchinson, African tales are "les chansons de geste des troubadours" ((17). ("songs of heroic deeds"). For, Ki-Zerbo, therefore, African tales have the same status as the prestigious medieval French epic, which the French people irrespective of region, class and age, cherish so much. It can be said that legends stand out of all the oral traditions mentioned above in that, while sharing the aesthetic characteristics of the others, they at the same time constitute a reservoir of knowledge into the accomplishments and weaknesses of past heroes and thereby pointing

lessons for future generations.

It follows from all we have said above that no one can meaningfully study legends in a work of art without having recourse to theory. We have said that studies into the main subject, culture have their theories some of which include Marxism, feminism, gender, hegemony and queer which may at some level, be employed in the study of cultural themes generally. But we also noted that, folkloristics, that is the study of folklore, has its peculiar postulates for probing into their peculiarities as an indigenous art form. Of these, the four major ones are Functional myth theory, Rational myth theory, psychological myth theory and Structural myth theory (<http://www.philau.edu>). However, we have decided to pick Functional myth theory as the conceptual instrument for the interrogation of the two legendary plays for reason of pertinence, especially in the light of the goal of legendary studies. Functional myth theory “talks about how myths were used to teach morality and social behavior” (<http://www.philau.edu>). Legendary heroes are historical or semi-historical figures but whose conducts, like those of the mythical heroes, must impart their community, and thereby inspire future generations for noble deeds for themselves as individuals and for the progress of their society. In the light of the foregoing, we can say that we can determine the status of our two legendary heroes by scrutinising their conduct in the light of their people's interests, which for the purpose of our paper we will tag as their 'national interests'.

Chaka, Gbehanzin and their 'National Interests'

Across the world, people, communities, societies and nations have their semi legendary and legendary heroes who they venerate as a result of the supernatural feats for which such individuals are known; no one becomes a hero/heroine without overcoming a trial, without saving his/her people from one difficulty or the other. Indeed, it is by this solemn criterion that international, national, racial and tribal legends are identified and their names permanently embossed in the memory of their people.

In the same vein it is by their super human accomplishments that the French have their Joan of Arc, the patron saint, Nigerians have Queen Amina of Zaria, Moremi of Ile-Ife, and Nne Uko from the Igbo village of Akanu, (near Ohafia). Similarly, among the legendary giants French-speaking Black Africa boasts of are the Almamy (Imam) Samory Toure of Guinea, Abraha Pokou of Côte d'Ivoire, Lat Dior, Damel, (King) of Cayor, Senegal, Beatrice du Congo in the Congo and Gbehanzin (alias Kondo le requin-Kondo the Whale) of Abomey (Dahomey) And outside Francophone Africa, history has always retained the name of the Zulu king of South Africa, among the greatest mythical personages of all times.

Legendary personalities wherever and whenever they emerge are always distinguished by their personal sacrifices for the cause of their people, be it international, national or sub-national level. Thus, if we talk of a people's commitment to their national

interest, we think here of this word in its loose sense, for national goal is generally understood in its application to mean the modern nation-state. In an earlier article, while quoting Rufa'i Alkali (26) drew attention to his categorisation of national objectives to include "the defence of the territorial integrity of the nation, the preservation of security and sovereignty of the state and the promotion of the wellbeing and welfare of the people" (Adebisi 61). Therefore, here we think of the national interest at the sub-national level such as entities like Zulu and Abomey kingdoms in which Chaka and Gbehanzin in *Le Zulu* and *Kondo le requin* respectively lived and ruled prior to the arrival of Europeans in their land.

But we need to remember that we are before literary works and not before historical documents, and the issue of historical accuracy does not arise here. Rather, our task consists of interrogating the interplay between history and the creative works with the aim of revealing the dramatic skills of the playwrights and the effectiveness of their message. Did Pavis not say it all when he stressed in *Théâtre et histoire* that "Le bon auteur dramatique a l'art de prendre des libertés avec l'histoire" (123). ("The good author of dramatic work is one who takes liberties with history").

Even though U tam'si and Pliya are keen observers of the happenings in their individual society who used its resources for their plays, they did not receive these materials in the same way. While Pliya was motivated directly by legendary facts on Gbehanzin, Utam'si, on his part, like the Francophone African playwrights who wrote dramatic works on the Chaka theme, drew his inspiration from the novel by the Sotho novelist, Thomas Mofolo. According to Dorothy Blair, such is the case of Sedar Senghor's dramatic poem *Chaka, poème dramatique à plusieurs voix* (1958) "dedicated to the Black martyrs of South Africa" (Blair 96), Seydou Konyaté (sic) Badian's *La mort de Chaka* (1961) ("*The Death of Chaka*"), Condetto Nenekhaly-Camara's *Amazoulou* (1970). Also from the same Mofolo source, are Djibril Tamsir Niane's *Chaka suivi de Sikasso, la dernière citadelle* (1971) and Abdou Anta Ka's *Les Amazoulous in Théâtre, Quatre pièces d'Abdou Anta Ka* (1972). However, if these playwrights drew from the same creative fountain, the Mofolo's novel, poetic license, that is the liberty to write according to one's taste, grants each of the dramatists the freedom to cast every historical figure and every historical event from his own angle and in the light of the message he wants to convey to his readership. It is precisely this point that Abdou Anta Ka seeks to emphasise when he states "Il y a eu un Chaka d'un Poète-Président de République, d'un Ministre (Seydou Badian), il faut bien un Chaka d'un homme de la rue. Et l'homme de la rue c'est moi » (36). ("There has been a Chaka by a Poet-President of a Republic, a Chaka by a Minister (Seydou Badian), there is now the need for a Chaka by a man in the street. And I am this man in the street").

However, in spite of the freedom of all these playwrights to create characters from their individual perspective, all the dramatists we have just mentioned are unanimous in agreeing to Chaka's character as a fearless redeemer imbued with a unique sense of mission.

In Seydou Badian's *La mort de Chaka*. (*The Death of Chaka*) one of the characters, Mapo, acknowledging Chaka's redemptive deeds has this to say “Qu'éitions-nous avant Chaka? Une poussière de peuplades affaiblies dominées par les autres tribus » (193). (“Who were we before Chaka ascended the throne, just a wasted dust of weak people humiliated by other tribes”).

We find the same glorious image of Chaka in Anta Kâ's *Les Amazoulous* in which one of the characters, Le vieux roi (the old king) observes “De l'autre côté des montagnes, le peuple de Chaka mangeait à sa faim” (55). (“From the other flank of the mountains, Chaka people ate to their fill”). Dolisane saying the obvious about the sagacity of elderly Africans, notes that the old man is “symbole évident de la sagesse en Afrique” (R.A.N.E.U.F. 140). (“Obvious symbol of wisdom in Africa”). It follows that the Old King's favourable comment on Chaka's accomplishment should be considered with all seriousness. And now this is the appropriate time for Chaka himself in U tam'si's *Le Zulu* to glorify his exploits “Entre ces deux rivières-là, Il y avait les Ouandwandwa de Zwide, les Abatétoa de Ding'Iswayo, les Ifénilénya de Senza Ngakona, mon père. Il y avait... Maintenant il y a le Zulu! Le peuple Zulu” (1977:89). (“Between those two rivers, there were Zwide's people the Ouandwandwa, Ding'Iswayo people the Abatettoa, Senza Ngakona, my father's people the Ifenilenya.

There were...But now, there is Zulu and a proud Zulu people”). When Utam'si puts these words in the mouth of his Chaka, he expects the Zulu King to be respected because all the other people who have earlier commented on his personality have testified to his rare skills and devotion to the cause of his people.

We can say at this point that Chaka has weathered the storm. As a Zulu leader, he met a people debilitated by internal dissensions, weak and exploited by small neighbouring tribes. But by dint of hard work, he has succeeded in liberating them from the shackles of servitude, with their agriculture and livestock now booming while every Zulu now lives in pride and dignity. But, pragmatic, Chaka is not under any illusion and is fully conscious of residual challenges which include the preservation of the hard earned unity of the people and checking pockets of residual threats from neighbouring clans and tribes. But even of greater threat is the imminent landing of European conquerors which Chaka refers to metaphorically as “*l'écume de la mer*”. U tam'si has his tongue in his cheek when he talks of the disembarkation of these Whites, but he knows that this is real. The year is 1828, just before King Chaka's death. He therefore faces the double daunting task of preserving the internal cohesion and warding off the even greater external menace of the infiltration by the European colonisers.

As for the depiction of King Gbehanzin, we have said that Jean Pliya, unlike U tam'si and the other dramatists who wrote on the Chaka subject, did not require any third-party intermediary to cast the Dahomey King the way he has done. In fact, Pliya himself

confirmed the closeness of his play to the Gbehanzin legend he used when he said in the preface to his play “Si le fond historique de la pièce demeure authentique et inchangé, pour les besoins de la scène, j'ai juste pris la liberté de modifier les noms de certains personnages ou d'attribuer à d'autres des rôles qu'ils n'ont pas joués dans la réalité. Que les fanatiques de la vérité anecdotique ne s'en étonnent point ! » (8). (“The historical content of the play is authentic and the same, but because of the demands of the stage, I have taken the liberty to modify the names of certain characters or attribute to some of them roles that they did not actually play in real life. Enthusiasts of historical accuracy should therefore not be surprised!”) By this statement, Pliya is suggesting that he would like his play to be read as what according to Felluga, Lynda Hutcheon terms as “historiographic metafiction”, by which she means “novels (plays) which are both internally self- reflexive and yet paradoxically lay claim to historical events and personages” (135).

Arising from this admixture of the real and the imagined, is Ghehanzin, King of Dahomey who demonstrates love for his subjects and is prepared to go to any length to protect their integrity and wellbeing. Within this context of national interest, Ghehanzin aims at achieving a number of goals which all prove to be dear to him and which he announces proudly even as heir to his father, Glèlè's throne. Chief of Gbehanzin's ambition is to maintain the territorial integrity of Dahomey Kingdom by preventing secession of any of its component chiefdoms. Related to this Gbehanzin's territorial design is to check the advance of the French who are already challenging his authority over Porto-Novo, Koutounou and other adjoining chiefdoms. Furthermore, Gbehanzin nurses expansionist dream as he intimates his subjects with his intention to invade and annex a far-flung chiefdom like Abeokuta. Last but not the least of Gbenhazin's projects is an unalloyed determination to protect the dignity of ancestors, whose spirits he believes are guiding Dahomeans in their entire private and public affairs. In fact to Gbehanzin, just as to Sarzan in Birago Diop's story of the same name in Hutchinson's *Birago Diop: Contes choisis*, (“The dead are never gone”) (102).

In all these interactions between Gbehanzin, his subjects and the French commanders, Pliya, enhances the credibility of his anecdote by remaining as close as possible to the history of Dahomey in these closing years of the 19th century but without compromising the exigencies of the work as a dramatic art as manifested in the precision of the dialogues and the language used by the characters. When commander Bayol, representative of the French Republic. asks Gbehanzin alias Kondo “Reconnaissez-vous les droits de la France?” (17). (“Do you recognise the rights of France?”), Gbehanzin's reply is rhetorical but pungent “Au nom de quoi, de qui, un étranger ose-t-il parler aux descendants de Houégbagba de droits sur le Danhomè? » (17-18) (“For what reason, on whose behalf does a stranger dare talk to the descendants of Houégbagba of their rights over Danhomè?”) The answer is as blunt as the question; the stage is thus set for the physical confrontation

between the two contending peoples, the French and the Danhomeans.

Pursuit of the 'National Interests' by Chaka and Gbehanzin

Chaka, King of the Zulu and Gbehanzin King of Abomey, having identified the national interests of their people, which may be summed up as the protection of the territorial integrity and the promotion of the wellbeing of the people, their next task is the policies to adopt towards the achievement of these national objectives. For Chaka, this collective goal is symbolised by a 'digue', a sea wall, which he plans to lead the people to construct in order to bar 'l'écume de mer' ("sea foam"), that is Europeans from disembarking in Zulu land).

The monument he has in mind, the 'digue' is akin to the national monument King Christophe tries to mobilise his subjects to build in Aimé Césaire's play *La Tragédie du roi Christophe*. But this edifice which is supposed to be a source of dignity and pride to the Black Man becomes, in the course of construction, a nightmare, a project of misery to all when King Christophe, due to his excesses, becomes a despicable tyrant who eliminates his subjects at will. "Ou bien on brise tout ou on met tout debout » (86). ("Either we destroy everything or we have everything erect"), he vows. For him, there is no middle course, no consideration for human weakness, and this is the very extremism that leads to Christophe's downfall.

In *Le Zulu*, Chaka's drift into despotism and his eventual debacle reminds us of Christophe since Chaka like Christophe, initially exhibits qualities of a tolerant and selfless leader, only to degenerate into an irredeemable tyrant finally consumed by his egocentric ambition.

In the same vein, the story of Gbehanzin in Pliya's play follows almost the same trajectory as that of Chaka; starting off gloriously with salutary agenda, his ambition of remaining an indisputable King, soon sways him to a rule characterised by ruthlessness which leaves his people vulnerable to French penetration and pillaging.

It can be said that the plots of *Le Zulu* and *Kondo le requin* are based on the symmetrical constructions of humble beginnings to their rise to the apogee of power to their decline and fall. Chaka was unknown to his Zulu tribesmen until he ascended the throne, at height of his power, he became tyrannical and this distanced him from the people, leading to his eventual suicide. As for Gbehanzin, even though a prince, he was relatively unknown before his father Glele's death, and at the height of his power, he allows arbitrariness to set in, facilitating French incursion and conquest.

In both plays under study, what is supposed to be narratives on the collective pursuit of the 'national' aspirations soon gives way to an agenda of personalisation of power, characterised by intolerance and assassinations. In *Le Zulu*, Chaka spares no one in his egocentric scheme, as his generals, friends, guardians all fall victim. Not even his mother and wife are safe from his murderous designs, as he does not hesitate to eliminate the duo

in pursuit of his personal ambition. In the depiction of all these scenes, U tam'si deliberately magnifies some biographical details for theatrical effect; no doubt the real Chaka is recorded by historians to have been a ruthless leader who eliminated many of his own associates, but in reality Chaka never assassinated his mother (she died naturally on October 10, 1827) neither did he eliminate his wife. In fact, history has it that Chaka never married and that even though he had affairs with women, “but when they got pregnant, he handed them to his brother, Mpande, seen as a weakling” (<https://www.dw.com:shaka:zulu>). Thus, in *Le Zulu*, Chaka's hostile attitude towards his father, Senzangakhona, his mother Nandi and his fiancée and wife Noliwe are all purposely exaggerated by U tam'si in order to heighten the dramatic effect of his play and the moral lesson he seeks to stress.

With respect to Gbehanzin's quest for a surer future for his people, a reading of *Kondo le requin* shows that he sees the French colonisers who are already on Dahomean soil as the main obstacle to the attainment of this objective. The plot of the play is centred on Gbehanzin's mobilisation of his warriors to confront and liberate the land from the menace constituted by the French forces. However, even before the campaign commences, Gbehanzin starts manifesting traits suggestive of a tyrannical leadership almost similar to that of Chaka. Like the Zulu king, he adopts a self-exulting name 'Kondo le requin' (“Kondo the King Shark”) implying the fish capable of swallowing all other fishes. Human sacrifices, even though practised prior to his enthronement, thrive under him. Intolerance of opposition leads to the physical elimination of an associate like Kinvo without sparing even women.

The aggregation of these royal excesses weakened the moral basis of Gbehanzin's resistance, facilitating the invasion of Dahomey land by the French occupying forces. In reality, after the final defeat of Gbehanzin and his Dahomean warriors by the French troops led by Col. Dodds in 1894, he was dethroned and replaced with his brother, Agoli Agba, (Goutchili) before being exiled to Martinique and later to Algeria, where he finally died in 1906. From the foregoing, it is clear that the extensive scene of self-pity in which Gbehanzin makes poetic elocution, discusses with his ten year old son, and a broad spectrum of his associates, before deciding on the trek from Dahomey land, all emanate from Pliya's own pen. This prolongation is purposeful, it confirms the dual function of the theatre, which as Guillaume Oyono-Mbia puts it (“is only through entertaining that one can arouse the consciousness of the public to aspects of our culture and social life”) (7).

Lessons from the Two Legendary Plays

We have said that the aim of Functional myth theory is the inculcation of morals for the benefit of society. Thus, when the theory is used for the study of legends, one envisages two sources of lessons for the society, first through the episode of the legendary hero himself and secondly through the conducts of his subjects. Therefore, we are interested here in the conducts of the two legendary leaders, King Chaka and King Gbehanzin and their subjects.

The major lesson that comes through from the anecdotes of both legendary personages is that it pays to be patriotic. This is because if in Africa today, the names of Chaka the South African King and Gbehanzin the Dahomean King have not gone into oblivion, it is because of the personal sacrifices they made to save their people. Today, the names of Chaka and Gbehanzin are known to historians and other experts in and outside their country and mentioned side by side with other honourable African legendary figures like Soundjata of Mali, Assimien Deyhle of Côte d'Ivoire and Almamy Samory Toure of Guinea famed for their selfless services to their people. For long time to come, the names of the duo, King Chaka and King Gbehanzin, will be written in gold among other African heroes of all times.

On the other hand, it is important that as the leader leads his people, sincerity of intention should be his permanent principle and that at no time should he allow his personal ambition to override the collective dream and aspiration. Otherwise, the consequence becomes unpleasant. Obviously, Chaka and Gbehanzin meet their waterloo as a result of their blind personal ambition which soon turns them into intolerant and ruthless Kings and alienates them from their subjects. As the duo become despicable despots, so a gap is created between them and the people, thus making their Kingdom weak and submit to propaganda and invasion by European conquerors. In sum, the egocentric design put their patriotic achievements in doubt and dumps them in the ranks of other African self-serving leaders like Podogan in Senouvo Agbota Zinsou's *La Tortue qui chante* and Antoine in Sony Labou Tansi's *Antoine m'a vendu son destin* whose Machiavellian ways lead to their self-destruction

A vital factor in the drift of the two Kings into debacle is their refusal to heed wise counsel. With Chaka's single-mindedness in his quest for power and greatness, he ignores all voices of caution and executes to the letter all his plans to eliminate everyone he sees as an obstacle in his way until his last moment when he realises that there is no way out of his intransigence and vanity. It is at this helpless point that the playwright's authorial intrusion takes over Chaka's voice "L'homme est aveugle parcequ'il ne voit pas où il va" (130), ("Man is blind because he is ignorant of where he is heading for") But Chaka's realisation of his folly comes only too late, making all the chances of his redemption impossible.

Similarly, King Gbehanzin rebuffs all wise and patriotic advice to his chagrin. Even though, his sorcerer Guedegbe, reputed for the precision of his predictions, advises him against going to war with the French, he insists on doing so, mindless of the superior fire power of the French troops compared to that of the Dahomean warriors. Not even the additional voices of reason counseling Gbehanzin to concentrate on agriculture and commerce instead of leading his people into war, appeal to him. Let us get into history at this point: even though following the Berlin Conference of 1884, Dahomey had been designated among the lands to be part of Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) (French West Africa)

and that whether Gbehanzin went to war with the French or not, the French would still have launched an attack on Dahomey, with full blown war, Gbehanzin could have saved his people including women (the Amazons) from the blood baths running into several thousand souls lost to the French forces.

When we talk of patriotism, we should also think of the Dahomean women warriors popularly called the 'Amazones' and whose war exploits are succinctly depicted by Pliya in *Kondo le requin*. If today, the names of the women fighters resonate among Dahomeans and non Dahomeans it is because of their role as combatants who fought side by side with their men in defence of the fatherland from the foreign armies. At the peak of the threat to the Kingdom, they not only boost the morale of King Gbehanzin, they even form their own regiment and confront the foreign intruders. Most of them lost their lives in the battles against the colonial soldiers. If the 'Amazones' are remembered gloriously today, it is as a result of their courage, selflessness, and rare sense of patriotism which give them a place among African legendary heroines and their inspirational role in the continent.

On the other hand, quite a handsome number of the Kings' lieutenants and subjects in both theatres play undignified parts which are reprehensible. Such people who tarnish their image include companions of Chaka and Gbehanzin who seek their fall not out of patriotic fervor but rather out of cowardice or outright jealousy. In the closing scenes of the plays some of these people defect and are seen working in collaboration with the Europeans to ease their penetration and conquest of the fatherland. The betraying roles of such individuals are unedifying and not worthy of emulation in any way.

Conclusion

Functional myth theory is aimed at inculcating morals and noble social behaviours. Only a society built on solid moral foundation and social conduct can be stable and make meaningful progress. This informed our decision to interrogate the lives of the legendary heroes in the plays of U tam'si and Pliya. Legendary personages are considered worthy of the name because of the contributions they make to their society. In the interface between the Functional myth theory and the protagonists, we find in them courage, skillfulness and an acute sense of patriotism. These qualities have inscribed their names, and those of their subjects who shared these merits with them, like the women soldiers "the Amazones" in Pliya's theatre, in history up to this day. On the other hand, their compatriots like the individuals known for their dishonourable role of connivance with the European colonialists, are seen in unfavourable light.

However, the legendary hero while leading his people in the pursuit of the collective goal should beware not to yield to egocentric passion of self-aggrandisement and fame. These are the fates of Chaka and Gbehanzin in the two plays we have studied. In the last scene of *Le Zulu* Chaka is shown alone in a soliloquy prior to his suicide. This is at variance

with historical reality according to which King Chaka was assassinated by some of his close associates including his half-brothers. The same experience is seen in the case of Gbehanzin who is seen in the final days in a long trek with a handful of his loyalists. This is contrary to reality as King Gbehanzin was exiled by the French to Martinique and then to Algeria where he died in 1906. In the cases of the two legendary heroes, both dramatists depict them in lonely agonizing moods in order to accentuate the morals of the plays; no cause can justify tyranny, rather wherever it occurs it ends up diminishing the noble accomplishments of the leader.

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Sensational Meanings of Ideophones in Anaañ

By

Idongesit Imohowo Eyakndue

Department of Linguistics and
Communication Studies University of
Calabar, Calabar

eyakndueidongesit@unical.edu.ng
+2348034631134

&

Aaron Ogbonna Nwogu

Department of Linguistics and
Communication Studies

University of Calabar, Calabar
nwogu@gmail.com, +2348033381434

Abstract

This study sets out to investigate the sensational meaning of ideophones in Anaañ south-southern Nigeria. It identifies the types of ideophones, examines the functions of ideophones in the Anaañ language, and further investigates the structure of ideophone in the language. Data for this study were sourced through participant observations, interviews and meta-linguistic conversations. The study is rooted in the metrical theory which is basically concerned with organizing segments into groups of relative prominence, syllables and metrical feet. The study found out that ideophones are linguistic components in which meaning are derived from the sound. The study also revealed that lengthening and reduplication constitute the major structural frame through which the sensational meaning of ideophones is established in Anaañ. The study further discovered that ideophones are language specific, culturally bound, contextual, and morphologically conditioned. It is therefore recommended that other researchers should consider investigations on the syntactic aspect of ideophone.

Keywords: Ideophone, sensational, Anaañ, linguistic, contextual, Language.

1. Background to the Study

The Anaañ people are the second largest ethnic group in Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria, after the Ibibios. The language is named after the speakers, and is spoken in eight Local Government Areas of Akwa- Ibom State as first language (mother tongue), Abak, Etim Ekpo, Essien Udim, Ika, Ikot Ekpene, Obot Akara, Oruk Annam and Ukanafun. Genetically, Anaañ is a member of the Lower Cross Language family, a sub- family of the new Benue-Congo which is traceable to the Niger Congo phylum (Faraclass 1983; Connell 1994 and

Urua 2007).

Every language has its peculiar linguistic component which makes the day-to-day interaction at different levels meaningful, interesting, and culturally insightful. Hence, man and language are inseparable, and language makes every human society viable (Eyakndue & Iwuchukwu 2016), because human society must be interactive, and cannot operate in a vacuum. Ideophone is one of the socio-linguistic nuances that bring the phonological forms conspicuously to feature the regular phoneme of a language to be felt sensationally. In Anaañ, idiophones are used for emphatic expressions to sustain interaction in discourse and also used in describing shape, size, colour, form, situations, state of being and attitude. The structure of ideophone is dependent on the word structure of the language. However, the humorous effect of ideophone can occur as a result of the phonological environment. Ideophones cannot be adequately discuss without the names and the culture of the people, because it contains an iconicity center on human activities and cultural believes, which involve laws, customs and morals that govern the behaviours and practices of the members of the society (Eyakndue & Ogar 2023). Hence, the contextual and functional use of ideophone to appeal to the five senses of human compels people's attention, buttress a fact and intensify contextual incidents directly connected to human activities within the social space.

2. Conceptual discourse

The process in which meanings are derived from sounds is traditionally known as ideophone. According to Dingemanse (2019), ideophones are “marked words that vividly evoke sensory events”. The notion of ideophone is centered on the distinctive structural make-up relative to other classes of words, particularly phonology and prosody. Ekere (1988) viewed ideophone from emotional point of view, example: “brèk” “sudden shock” which are normally made to obey harmony between sounds and sense. It showcases the oral tradition of a given language and the competency of a native speaker in situational conversation. Udoh (2009) viewed the structural pattern of ideophone in Leggbo as having a reduplication feature, indicating that they are morphologically conditioned. Routledge (1996, p.216) asserts that ideophone is generally onomatopoeia and a representation of concept which often consist of reduplicated syllables and not adhering to the phonotactic structure of the language. Akpan (1996) asserts that ideophone is just like poetry, is a spoken picture which relates what is seen by only the mind's eye to the other different senses of man.

Therefore the evaluation of ideophones depends on the speaker's sensitivity, his imagination, his mental perception and his cultural background. Ideophones are lexicalization of expressive function in a word category robustly attested throughout Africa (Childs 2003). The sensational meaning expressed is based on the perception involved. For

instance, the sense of smell is felt and express differently from the sense of colour or the sound of a fall. This is why Ameka (2001), Tufvesson (2007), and Childs (2001) assert that ideophones which convey visual perception capture movement pattern, physical appearance and different qualities of colour, while those expressing the acoustic experience portray differences in intensity, pitch and loudness. In African context, ideophones are used to express surface structures of items, either by intensity of hardness, softness or roughness, and all these characteristics describe the physical structure of an object. According to Majid, Senft and Levinson (2007) identify four modes of touch to include surface touch, bulky touch, touching object, filling a space and touching through a transparent film. Drawing from assertion, ideophones can also be felt through touching, to decipher the quality, size, shape and weight of an object.

Dingemmanse (2012) identify the form meaning mapping of ideophone into three categories namely: imagic iconicity where the sound of the word imitate that of the real world, gestalt iconicity, where the structure of the word portrays event structure and thirdly, relative iconicity where related forms map into related meanings. Ideophone are deeply connected to the real life activities of human existence, both in expressive form, structure and in forms. . It is worthy of note that all the definitions above hold two things in common, that is the notion of “sound and sense”, meaning sound and sense are related in decoding ideophonic expressions. Hence, ideophones are “words whose meanings are derived through sound which appeals to all the senses of man, and can as well create a mental image of the state of being”. Based on these assertions, we establish that ideophones have relationship between form and meaning.

Longtau (2015) examined ideophones as a “phono-semantics phenomenon which encode emotive content of size, sensations etc.” One of the distinctive characteristics of ideophone in Anaañ is on the process of lengthening which gives the proportion, intensity and the duration of the action (Enang, T.; Nyarks, L.; Utin, D.; Udoka, T. & Udom, E. 2014). Proverbs and ideophones are aspects of “African verbal art” which are often presented in poetic forms (Michael (2014). Put these together, ideophone is dependent on both phonological and morphological elements subsumed in oral literature in a given language.

Empirically, Essegbey (2013) attest that the semantic and the use of texture ideophones in Nyabo shows monovocalic status. Uchechukwu (2007) argue that Igbo ideophones manifest a unique case of reduplication where a high tone base is followed by a low tone reduplicant usually imposed with a semantic change that contrast the meaning of the high tone base which deviate from the linguistic reduplication patterns. However, this implies that tonal processes are the fundamental suprasegmental components that contribute significantly to meaning (Eyakndue 2024), even in ideophonic expression, and these could only be understood by the deep knowledge of the sound pattern of the language by the native speaker (Eyakndue 2024).

Ideophones are integral components of a language; they are part of language structure, a veritable instrument for communication. This is why Obute, Eyakndue & Otun (2019) assert that language is the main instrument for communication, self-expression and declaration of intention. Narrog (2005) argues that language is a possible set of sentences, and grammar of a language is the rules that distinguish between sentences and those that are not sentences. These rules also govern the structure of ideophones in the language. However, language is the vehicle through which people express their ideas, feelings and thought. Eyakndue et.al (2023), assert that language is the fundamental instrument for any linguistic analysis which can as well include ideophones. Crystal (1992) opines that language is a systematic conventional use of symbols, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression. Invariably man and language were formed together hence without language man will be extremely limited in speech and linguistic innovations.

Language has been with man, right from creation, and he uses it to communicate, make judgments in a more complex way than the way other living things communicate. Man uses language to express ideas, and opinions, give information, narrate and describe events that are happening now, have happened in the past, or will happen in the future (Anagbogu, Mbah & Eme 2010). These narrations and the description of events and happenings are not without ideophones, and their different functions. Eyakndue (2024) submit that the role of language in our day-to-day interactions bring to the spotlight the phonological rules that govern the different tonal process in a tone language which are also applicable to ideophones.

3. Theoretical Framework.

This study adopts the Metrical Theory which was propounded by (Liberman and Prince 1977). Their assertion is that "a theory of stress must take on board the fact that prominence is a relational concept" (Katamba, 1989). For these proponents, emphasis is that the stressed syllable is more salient and prominent than its unstressed counterpart and will enable us to ascertain the pitch pattern in a word and further showcases the most prominent syllable in a lexical item. Also, it will enable us to determine the meter or the rhythm in ideophonic words. Hence the theory was developed to handle stress phenomena in a language. In view of this assertion we see that Metrical Theory is basically concerned with organizing segments into groups of relative prominence, segments are organized into syllables, syllables into metrical feet, feet into phonological words and words into larger units. Although Anaañ is not a stressed language, we apply this theory on the basis of pitch which is characterized by tone.

4. Methodology

As a qualitative ethnographic study, the field work for data collection was carried out in three geographical locations which included Abak, Oruk Anam and Etim ekpo. The primary sources of data collection were participant observation, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations. These participants were chosen based on their willingness to participate in the study and to provide all the necessary information on the structure and function of ideophones. The study sampled 50 participants who indicated their willingness to participate in the research. Among these are 25 women and 25 men, between the age range of 40-70, who are well vested in the socio-linguistic codes of Anaañ, ideophones, their implications and the cultural significance in social discourse. The researcher adopted participant observation so that she can have some level of closeness with the participants and observed them through intensive participation with their natural environments within a period of time. This approach enabled the researcher to gain access to the participants' details in a greater dimension, and obtain vital information on the research topic.

Semi-structured interviews gave the participants the freedom of self-expression and open questions which attracted a follow-up to other questions. It enables the participants to explain in details the sensational meaning of ideophone in reality. This approach permits the researcher to probe the motivations of ideophones and participants shared opinions and perspectives on the categories and functions of ideophones in communication.

The study also adopted informal conversations with participants. Questions were asked on what the different forms of ideophone would communicate to different people, and of what relevance is ideophone as an important tool for communication in this era of technology in the modern society. Finally, we inquired about the perception and attitude of the youths towards the entire phonological system in relation to the sounds and forms of ideophones in linguistic studies. An audio recorder and a field note were used in recording and documenting data, which were coded into relevant categorial frames, checked for accuracy, themed and transcribed. The conceptual framework limited the scope of the data to only the sensational meaning of ideophones in Anaañ. The descriptive and analytical approach was adopted in data interpretation, analysis and discussion.

5. Discussion and analysis

Ideophone is generally like onomatopoeia in nature (Routledge 1996) and they are marked words that vividly evoke sensory events and thoughts through sounds. Consider the data below:

Word	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. /Kpáá/	- [kpá:]	sound of a serious slap
ii./Kpóó/	- [Kpó:]	fall of an earthen pot

iii. /Kpɔɔ/	- [Kpɔ:]	sound of a gunshot
iv. /Kɔi/	- [Kɔi]	sound of a knock on the head
v. /Kwái/	- [kwái]	sound of a hard cough
vi. /kring/	- [kriŋ]	the sound of a bell
vii. /kprɔg/	- [kprɔg]	sound of a nut
viii. /gwàm/	- [gwàm]	sound of a great fall
ix. /wààà/	- [wa:]	sound of pouring of water

The data above reveal that the ideas and meanings are derived from the sounds and the high tone equally evoke the mental sense in these words. The structure is rooted in the language structure; the CV is intensified and lengthened to derive the meaning. However, the mental senses in these data indicate that listeners have clearer contextual meanings of what the sounds evoke.

6. Sensational Categorization of Ideophones in Anaañ

6.1 Ideophones that Describe Size

According to Longtau (2015), ideophones are “phono-semantic phenomena which encode emotive contents of size sensation which suggests the intensity of the size of an object. Hence, expressions to describe the sizes and forms of objects are better understood ideophonically as shown below.

Ideophone	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. akpon /á-fāā-fà-bà/	- [á-fāā-fà-bà]	- describes extreme fatness
ii. akpon /ámóó-nó/	- [amɔ:-nɔ]-	big and swollen in form
iii. akpon /ájá-ká/	- [áɖʒá-ká]	- big, but not heavy
iv. asib /akpii-ghé/	- [akpi:-ré]	- very smallish

The data above give the mental view of the size and form of the object, describing the intensity of the fatness and the smallness, which show the vividness of the sizes of the objects. This process is morphologically conditioned as some of the expressions are derived through reduplication. The sensational meaning reflects in the duration, quantity and intensity of the verbal formation in the words. This agrees with the claim of (Udoh 2009) that the structural pattern of ideophone involves reduplication feature.

6.2 Ideophones that Describe Movement

Every action from man and any living thing could be expressed clearly through the use of ideophones. They are deeply connected to the real life activities of both humans and non-

human existence.

Ideophone	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. asaña /ɲ-wun-ɲwù-nù/	- [ɲ-wun-ɲwù-nù]	- walking in snake-like form
ii. esaña /mbò-kò- mbò-kò/	- [mbò-kò- mbò-kò]	- walking close to each other
iii. esaña /ntā-rà- ntā-rà/	- [ntā-rà- ntā-rà]	- walking separately
iv. asaña /inyiɔn- inyiɔn/	- [inyiɔn - inyiɔn]	- walking sluggishly
iv. esaña /-mkpāā-a-mkpà-kà/	- [mkpā:-mkpà-kà]	- walking in interlocked form
v. asña /ntiañ-ntiañ/	- [ntiañ-ntiañ]	- walking in bow legged form

6.3 Ideophones that Describe Shapes

The shape of any object and even that of humans is one of the characteristics through which something could be identified, if properly described. And the description that is capable of bringing to the vivid sense of these characteristics is in ideophone. The data below attest to this assertion.

Ideophone	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. /mbóró- mbóró/	- [mbóró- mbóró]	- roundish in shape
ii. /íkrák- íkrák/	- [íkrák- íkrák]	- lanky in nature
iii. /ñkwuaña-ñkwuaña/	- [ɲk ^w uaɲa-ɲk ^w uaɲa]	- not straight
iv. /ñkɔwɔ-ñkɔwɔ/	- [ɲkɔwɔ-ɲkɔwɔ]	- cuff-like in nature
v. /mkpa-mkpa/	- [mkpa-mkpa]	- skin-like inform
vi. /echañ-echañ/	- [etʃaɲ-etʃaɲ]	- is like a staff
vii. /eruɔɔn-eruɔɔn/	- [eruɔ:n-eruɔ:n]	- tall without form
viii. /ikara-ikara/	- [ikara-ikara]	- looks roundish in form
ix. /mbòghò-mbòghò/	- [mbòɕò-mbòɕò]	- roundish in form

6.4 Ideophones that Suggest Texture.

In African context, including Anaañ, ideophones are used to express surface structures of items, either by intensity of hardness, softness or roughness, and all these characteristics describe the physical structure of an object, as well as humans. This study identifies the following examples in Anaañ.

Ideophones	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. atie /nchiád- nchiád/	- [nʃiád- nʃiád]	- to be dry in nature
ii. atie /mkpù-kò- mkpù-kò/	- [mkpù-kò- mkpù-kò]	- to be rough in form
iii. atie /mbudu- mbudu/	- [mbɔdɔ- mbɔdɔ]	- to be rotten
iv. atie /ñkwuàña- ñkwuàña/	- [ñk ^w uàɲa- ñk ^w uàɲà]	- to be hard in nature
v. atie /mfuwo-mfuwo/	- [mfuwo-mfuwo]	- to be rough
vi. atie /nsóghó-nsoghó/	- [nsóghó-nsoghó]	- to be in pieces

vii. atie /nnuorɔ- nnuorɔ/	-[nnuɔɔ- nnuɔɔ]	- to be slippery in nature
viii. atie /ukwak-ukwak/	-[uk ^w ak-uk ^w ak]	- to be like iron.
ix. atie /ngwágwàrà-ngwágwàrà/	-[ɲg ^w ág ^w àrà ɲg ^w ág ^w àrà]	-to be sandy in form'
x. atie /àkpo- àkpo/	-[àkpɔ- àkpɔ]	- to be like rubber in texture
xi. atie /ñkrañ- ñkrañ/	-[ɲkraɲ- ɲkraɲ]	- to be like scale in nature

6.5 Ideophone that Evokes the Sense of Attitude

In Anaan, ideophone could be used to qualify peoples' attitude and behaviours. As argued by (Akpan 1996) ideophone is just like poetry, and is a spoken picture which relates what is seen by only the mind's eye to the other different senses of man. However, someone's way of life and physical appearance are described ideophonically as illustrated in the data set below.

Verb	Ideophone	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. (átáɲ-útáɲ)-	/wá-wà-wá/	- [wá-wà-wá]	- 'talks anyhow'
ii. (ásàɲà)	-/fúm-fùm-fúm/	- [fúm-fùm-fúm]	- 'walks anyhow'
iii. (ápìɔɲ)-	/trɛn-trɛn-trɛn/	- [trɛn-trɛn-trɛn]	- 'extremely tall'
vi. (ábád)-	/á-gwě-gwè-bé/	- [á-gwě-gwè-bé]	- 'extremely dirty'
v. (ásāɲà)-	/króng- kròng- króng/	- [krónɲ- krònɲ- krónɲ]	- 'walks arrogantly'
vi. ade	/kán-kàn-kán/	- [kán-kàn-kán]	- walks up and down
vii. anam./nyághá- nyághá- nyághá/		-[ɲaɛa-ɲaɛa-ɲaɛa]	- very uncoordinated

The data above indicate the rhythmic and reduplicative nature of ideophone through the tone levels on each syllable [HLH], or [HHH] which give a vivid description of either the attitude or the behaviour of the person. This affirms the claims of (Dingemanse 2019) that ideophones are words with conventional meanings. However, the possible factors for this process is consonant copying and vowel harmony, hence they are adverbs describing the verb.

6.6 Ideophone that Evokes the Sense of Colour in Anaañ

Colour	ideophone	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. (ánwèn)	/chəm/	- [tʃəm]	- 'extremely black'
ii. (ádàd)	/túén/	- [twén]	- 'extreme ripeness of fruit'
iii. (afia)	/jámm/	- [dʒámm]	- 'extremely white'

The above data shows that ideophones are depict, implying that they use a mode of signification that highlight iconic association between aspects of form and meaning. In Anaañ, these three colours (black, red and white) are better described through ideophone to emphasize the degree and intensity of the colours.

6.7 Ideophone that Suggest the Meaning of a Fall through

The meaning of sound that come from the fall either from man, tree or other objects can be identified or well expressed through ideophone. The ideophonic form of it presents the vivid mental picture and the degree and the intensity of the fall. In this study, the following examples attest to this phenomenon.

Ideophone Phonetic Form Gloss

- i. /jimm/ – [jimm] – sound of the fall of a big tree
- ii. /jikimm/ – [jikimm] – sound of the fall of a mighty object
- iii. /gwamm/ – [gwamm] – Sound of the fall of a fat person
- iv. /bamm/ – [bamm] – sound of the fall of someone into a muddy place.
- v. /sèmm/ – [sèmm] – Sound of dropping heavy object into river.
- vi. /nyagha/ – [ɲaɣa] – sound of the fall of a dry object
- vii. /kprañ/ – [kpraɲ] – sound of the fall of a light iron

From the examples above, it is observed that the feature of voicing in the initial and the final sounds give the sensational insight of the action which indicate the intensity and the effect of the action. However the meanings of these expressions are characterized by the vowel sound at the medial position. Data further revealed that ideophonic meaning lies in the domain of sensory imagery, evoking rich sensory in colourful ways.

6.8 Ideophones Used to Express State of Being

In Anaañ, the psychological and the philosophical expression of meaning in state of being is better captured through ideophonic expressions as shown below.

State of being	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i. /mfòhò-mfòhò/ -	[mfòɣò-mfòɣò]	- 'like a deflated tube or tire'
ii. /nkwà-kà-nkwà-kà/ -	[ɲkwà:ɲkwà-kà]	- 'being very strong'
iii. /mbɔdɔ-mbɔdɔ/ -	[mbɔdɔ-mbɔdɔ]	- 'very rotten'
v. /nsèré-nsèré/ -	[nsèré-nsèré]	- being unkempt
vii. /ntúéké-ntúéké/ -	[ntwéké-ntwéké]	- very ugly
viii. /ńnyáká-ńnyáká/ -	[ńnyáká-ńnyáká]	- very disorderly
ix. /ntóńó-ntóńó/ -	[ntóɲó-ntóɲó]	- not properly fastened

The above expressions present vivid picture of the state of being, which qualify the nouns with emphasis of how they are. They highlight the iconic association between aspects of form and meaning as argued by Dingemanse (2019).

7. Function of Ideophone

7.1 Lengthening

Lengthening is one of the functions that ideophone perform in Anaañ. Lengthening stands out ideophonic expression in Anaañ. It can occur in an open syllable or closed syllable. Whichever form it occurs, it evokes the sense of duration, proportion and intensity of the action. This entails doubling of the vowel either inter-consonantly or at the end of the open syllable. The following examples can attest to this.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| i./siuad/ – [siu:d] | 'penetrating deep gradually' (like an injection needle) |
| ii./tè-è-eb/ - [tè:b] | 'gradual drops of water' |
| iii./wà-à-à/ - [wà-à:] | 'pouring of water carelessly' |
| iv./só-ó-ó/ - [só-ó:] | 'expression indicating intensive purging' |
| v./nw-á-ám/ -[nw-á:m] | 'this indicate something finishing completely.' |

The illustration above agrees with (Essien 1990) that ideophonic lengthening is that in which the duration, or the extent of a verbal quality is intensified. In this case, the length of the vowel depends on what the speaker considers as the duration of the action (Essien 1990). The illustration equally showed that ideophones are words with conventional meanings. Lengthening is a distinctive characteristic of ideophone in Anaañ and other African languages. It is the process of lengthening that provides enabling environment for proportion, intensity and the duration of the action, being expressed.

7.2 Emphatic Functions

The bases of emphasis in speech is to clarify issues and bring to the fore the intensity of an action, event and situation. The phono-semantic phenomenon which is encoded in the emotive content of size, shape, colour, state of being, amongst others, to create sensations are basically for emphasis. This is why most ideophones are in reduplicative forms. For instance, expressions such as: *ηkwà-kà-nkwà-kà*, *mfòhò-mfòhò*, *fùm-fùm-fùm* etc translating as 'being very strong', 'a deflated tube' and 'walks anyhow', respectively. Drawing from the data here presented, it is obvious that reduplication is the fundamental component that triggers emphatic function in ideophones. And this paves way for humorous effect. Furthermore, ideophones are deeply rooted in the structure of the language. In Anaañ, all forms of ideophones are anchored on the root word CV, and further spread to lengthening phenomenon. They occur in monosyllabic forms such as *kpáá*, *kpóó* and *wáá* etc, and these forms are reduplicated to create vivid sensational meanings.

7.3. Minimal pairs

Ideophones in Anaañ attest to minimal pair.

- i. /kòì/ - [kòì] - 'fall on a stem'
 /fòì/ - [fòì] - 'sudden opening of a container'
- ii. /gwáb/ - [gwáb] - 'snatching something forcefully'
 /gwɔk/ - [gwɔk] - 'a fall of a loose object'
- iii. /bràk-bràk/ - [bràk-bràk] - 'drops of rain on leaves'
 /bròk/ - [bròk] - 'breaking of a dead stem (palm tree)'
- iv. /átwéké/ - [átwéké] - 'state of extreme dirtiness'
 /árúéké/ - [árúéké] - 'state of extreme ripeness' (fruit)

8. The Metrical Theory

The metrical theory lays emphasis on prominence of a syllable in a structure. However, in ideophonic expressions, the prominent feature is the pitch of the voice during articulation or utterance that gives the meaning in the expressions. For instance a word like [átwéké] 'extreme dirtiness' is represented thus in a metrical tree.

- 1 (a)
- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| | Z | |
| S | | W |
| túé | | ké |

The branching node that is dominated by (S), indicates 'strong syllable' and is more prominent in pitch than its counterpart (W) which indicates 'weak syllable'. This is presented in a metrical grid below.

- 1(b).
- | | | |
|-----|----|--|
| | X | |
| X | | |
| X | X | |
| X | X | |
| túé | ké | |
- Metrical Grid.

- 2 (a)
- | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | Z | | | X | |
| | S | | W | | |
| | | | | X | x |
| | | | | X | x |
| | S | W | S | X | x |
| wá | wà | wá | wá | wà | wá |
- Metrical Grid.

The table above illustrates the metrical feet which show the prominent feature in each syllable. The first syllable is the strongest (S) syllable with a high tone, followed by the weak (W) syllable bearing a low tone, which cause the high tone on the last syllable to be lower in pitch than the normal high tone. This shows the interrelatedness among strong and weak syllables.

Conclusion

As a descriptive study, the concept of sensational meaning of ideophones in Anaañ has been examined. The background of the study covers the genetic classification of Anaañ language and the speakers. Literature on ideophone and other related areas were reviewed, and this led to the definitions of ideophones by different scholars as well as the researcher's view. The analysis was descriptive in nature. Based on this, we discovered that ideophone in Anaañ belongs to certain grammatical classes like adverb, verb, noun and adjective with vivid sound representation. The study also discovered that lengthening, reduplication and diphthongization are the basic linguistic elements that trigger ideophones basically for emphasis, humour, intensity, and clarity. Besides, ideophones differ from culture to culture and is dominant in oral literature which is based on human social activities. However, the field work for this study reveals that much work has not been done on ideophones in Anaañ, hence it is recommended that other researchers should consider it a fertile ground for analysis at any level of linguistics.

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Assessing Agoa Achievements in Senegal

By

SY Mamadou Malal (PHD)

Assistant Professor of American
Literature and Civilization

Department of Languages, Letters,
and Human Sciences, Iba Der Thiam

University of Thies, Senegal

mamadoumalal.sy@univ-thies.sn; +221776110698

Abstract

This paper assesses the United States/Senegal bilateral trade through the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) twenty-three years after Senegal became a member country. The research has shown that, while the United-States of America has drawn valuable advantages from AGOA facilities, Senegal still cannot come out as a winner. The main disadvantage for Senegal under AGOA often lies in the asymmetrical nature of trade. Although the agreement offers tariff benefits to Senegalese products exported to the United States, Senegal struggles to compete with more developed and competitive American industries. This situation, which is irrefutable proof that AGOA has not fully achieved its declared objectives on the Senegalese side and which leads to a significant deficit in Senegal's trade balance, calls for more equitable perspectives.

Key words: Achievements, AGOA, Assessing, Perspectives, U.S-Senegal bilateral Trade

Introduction

In the current era of globalization and worldwide interconnection, international Trade is among the acknowledged sectors lying at the heart of the dynamics of global economic growth as well as global development. Theorists of international relations on the idea of “structural competition for power and influence” (Aron, 2017: xii) such as Raymond Aron, Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Antonio Negri have long theorized the relation between space, resources, power and competition/domination. They clearly explained that the US will have to extend its sphere of influence as far as possible to keep its world domination.

In the same vain, critics of AGOA such as Peter Fabricius (2023), Joséphine Kloeckner (2024), Jewel Kiriungi (2024), in a context of global scourge that keeps interdependence among nations increasing and global competition developing, AGOA appears as a US soft power (cooperation, conventions and agreements) in order to cope with international trade competition. Thus, Africa that had formerly been ignored in the US foreign policy has increasingly become singled out as a fundamental partner in the 21st century American international cooperation mainly due to the continent's immensely oil and mineral-rich underground (Sy, 2017: 314).

In 2000, the US Congress passed the outstanding African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) to allow freer and easier trade with African countries and among them

Senegal. AGOA was created to facilitate trade between African countries and the United States, along with greatly ambitious perspectives for economic and social development on both sides. As a major trade agreement in bilateral trade, AGOA aims for increased economic growth and deeper integration into the global economy for all its member countries, including Senegal. Yet, a few questions come to our mind regarding the problem of efficiency as well as effectiveness AGOA goals achievements. To what extent have AGOA goals both for Senegal and the US been achieved after twenty-four years of implementation? What perspectives could be expected about the future of the agreement?

In a perspective of assessing the role, importance and achievements of this agreement and in strengthening trade ties between Senegal and the United States, it is necessary first to analyze the context of creation of AGOA and its provisions regarding the growth and development of African member countries like Senegal, then provide an overview of AGOA achievements both in Senegal and the US, before highlighting the weaknesses and prospects of AGOA for the future of both countries.

Context and Provisions of AGOA

The turn of the twentieth century marked the birth of the new paradigm shift in trade relations between America and the African continent (Kpohazounde, 2018: 3). As a matter of fact, the US took a revolutionizing step to strengthen both diplomatic and trade ties with Africa including Senegal for mutually beneficial ends through various trade agreements. At the heart of this dynamic lies the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), a commercially outstanding agreement. With this in mind, it appears central to discuss the context of the creation of AGOA, and subsequently determine its objectives as well as the path to their achievements.

Context of Senegal's Membership in AGOA

AGOA, the African Growth and Opportunity Act, is the Public Law number 106 of the 200th Congress of the United States, enacted on May 18, 2000 (106th Congress, 2000: 255), and signed by President Bill Clinton (Congressional Research Service, 2015: 1). The stated general objective of AGOA is to support the economies of sub-Saharan African countries by facilitating their access to the American market, provided they align with the principles of a liberal economy. Several factors have contributed to the creation and implementation of AGOA, in terms of geopolitical and economic context due to the development of new paradigm for Africa as a continent with untapped potential awaiting exploitation. But what motivated the creation of AGOA also was the fact that Africa has been highly courted by new emerging powers from Asia, namely China and India in the past few decades.

Actually, Senegal did not formally join the African Growth and Opportunity Act in the sense of acceding to a treaty but rather following an evaluation of its eligibility through various criteria pre-established by the US. Indeed, to benefit from AGOA's advantages,

Senegal simply had to demonstrate that it met these criteria in force. Thus, in a context of economic liberalization and openness to foreign markets, Senegal, following a favorable evaluation, became eligible for AGOA in 2001, as stated by ASEPEX in their strategy for the development of Senegalese exports under AGOA. This document also describes the legislative and regulatory sources of the act in Senegal over the years, which are AGOA Act adopted by the United States Congress and promulgated on May 18, 2000, the Decree No. 2010-818 amending the provisions of Decree No. 2002-273 establishing a visa system for the export of clothing and textiles to the United States under AGOA. ASEPEX also mentions the Interministerial Order No. 010740 of December 15, 2010, implementing the modifications made by Decree 2010-818 to the visa system for the shipment of clothing and textile products under AGOA (ASEPEX, 2017: 8-9).

As an open-economy country, Senegal's foreign trade accounts for an outstanding percentage of its GDP, approximately estimated at 80% in 2022 according to the WTO data (Fella Trade, 2024: 1). In fact, Senegalese products exported to other parts of the globe are raw or minimally processed materials. The country's trade relations with the rest of the world are generally characterized by the export of raw materials with low added value and massive imports of finished products, such as agricultural products (peanuts, fish), mineral products (phosphate, zircon, gold), and petroleum products. As for its imports, which are considerably higher than its exports, they revolve around large quantities of finished products of current consumption (rice, wheat, sugar) and capital goods (machinery, vehicles) from foreign countries.

A thorough analysis of Senegal's trade orientation would enable the identification of its main trade axes and the location of its bilateral trade with the USA on a global scale. This contextualization of Senegal's accession to AGOA represents an opportunity to gain an insight into its eligibility criteria, which are basically derived from two pieces of legislation namely the US Trade Act of 1974 (Trade Act of 1974 Amended, 2024), as well as the criteria stipulated in Section 104 of AGOA legislation. According to the latter, to fully benefit from AGOA's advantages, eligible African countries had to meet pre-established criteria relating to institutional and policy reform.

Provisions of AGOA

The African Growth and Opportunity Act can be understood as the most ambitious trade agenda connecting the United States to Africa in general, and between the US and Senegal in particular. As such, AGOA stands out to play a central role in the American political strategy for the US new paradigm on the African continent. Therefore, the United States, as part of ensuring the smooth running and success of AGOA initiative, has set several clear and specific objectives, including promoting trade and investment in both directions, encouraging and diversifying African economies, promoting sustained economic growth,

reducing poverty, and better integrating the continent into the global economy. To achieve these objectives, the US had to take certain provisions, ensuring its profitability.

The United States offers preferential access to its market for eligible products from eligible African countries that are granted duty-free and unrestricted quantitative access. Since its inception in 2000, the program has allowed eligible products to access the American market duty-free and largely quota-free translated into tariff reductions or exemptions on a wide range of products (Schonecke, 2024: 1). Indeed, AGOA allows, for more than 1,800 products from eligible countries, in addition to the over 4,600 product lines benefiting from the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), access to the American market, totaling over 6,500 African products that can enter the American market exempt from duties and quotas (Latreille, 2003: 43).

The products covered by this trade framework range from textiles to raw materials, agricultural products, manufactured goods and mineral products. However, it is convenient to recall that according to AGOA texts, these products are eligible only if, in the absence of 100% local production by AGOA-covered country, that at least 35% of its value and materials come from the beneficiary country, in case the product's components come from other countries (PUBLIC LAW, 2000: 257,258). Regarding Senegal, AGOA offers the opportunity to export to the United States an additional 1,835 products duty-free, in addition to the 4,650 products that already existed under the Generalized System of Preferences, according to the report titled "Senegalese Export Development Strategy under AGOA" established by the ASEPEX (ASEPEX, 2017: 9).

Impact of AGOA on Trade Relations between the US and Senegal

Nearly 23 years after Senegal joined the United States under AGOA as a beneficiary country, it seems important to conduct a thorough assessment of this relationship, which entails closely examining the trade flows between these two nations and evaluating the various achievements that have been accomplished over the past two decades. This bilateral introspection, which, beyond figures and statistics, also incorporates the socio-economic and geopolitical implications of this collaboration, is crucial in determining whether the initiatives taken have been effective and if the initial objectives have been reached.

Impact on the United States

The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) have opened up new perspectives in trade relations between the United States and Senegal, offering significant benefits for both parties. By exploring periodical data and trends, a specific examination will be conducted to determine the impact of AGOA on the United States through the highlight of the opportunities offered by the agreement.

The Data established by the US Department of Commerce in a statistical table

providing information on Bilateral Trade by Sector of the United States and Senegal in an official US AGOA website ([Senegal - Agoa.info - African Growth and Opportunity Act](#)) Provide a compelling overview of the U.S.-Senegal trade partnership. In this section dedicated to bilateral trade by sector, statistics on the past three years reveal dynamic and diversified exchanges. Indeed, this diversification is strongly reflected through a multitude of traded products, ranging from agricultural and forest products to chemicals, energy-related products, textiles and apparel, footwear, minerals and metals, machinery, transportation equipment, electronic products, miscellaneous manufactures, and other special products.

The US exports to Senegal in 2020 all sectors combined testify to the dynamism of this trade flow and the advantage of this initiative, especially for the United States, with impressive figures of \$281,192,000 of their total exports and \$100,877,000 of their general imports vis-à-vis Senegal. Various American products exported to Senegal, including \$4,460,000 for forest products and \$36,292,000 for chemicals and related products, also in 2020, indeed reveal a flourishing dynamic in favor of the United States in the context of this bilateral trade (Trade Law Center 2005: 1). Similarly, this dynamism is also reflected in the energy, textile and apparel sectors, among others, through the significant gap between US exports vastly exceeding their imports. The trend of the figures for the year 2023 corroborates this previous assertion regarding the surplus in the United States' trade balance with estimates of their total exports to Senegal at \$344,788,000 and their total imports at \$158,783,000 (Trade Law Center, 2005: 2). Over and above the diversity of the traded products they reflect, these statistics bear witness of the dynamism of the commercial transactions benefiting to the United States and the bilateral economic cooperation it maintains with Senegal.

AGOA has helped create a significant number of jobs in the United States. By fostering trade with African nations, including Senegal, which represents an expanding market and a source of growing demand, this initiative has encouraged American companies to diversify and expand their offerings. This expansion has stimulated production and strengthened the competitiveness of companies, thus generating new employment opportunities. From this ongoing process of economic growth stems the need to create more positions within companies in the United States, something the AGOA, among other trade agreements, has contributed to. As a matter of fact, at the 20th AGOA annual forum in November 2023, it was revealed that this initiative had contributed to the creation of 155,000 jobs in the United States. These figures testify to the positive and tangible impact of AGOA on the American economy, underlining its crucial role in promoting prosperity and employment (Fabricius, 2023: 7).

At the end of this assessment, AGOA as a whole, in all its aspects, is highly beneficial to the United States. It represents a significant advantage to the latter in the context of its commercial relationship with Senegal. This initiative has allowed the United States to

consolidate its position in the Senegalese market, which has stood out as an emerging market, mainly by sourcing products it needs but also by besieging the Senegalese market with American products, thus promoting its economic growth. The figures are explicitly expressive, with a surplus in the trade balance of the United States in its bilateral trade with Senegal, the United States feels the positive impact of AGOA on its American economy. By offering opportunities for commercial expansion, labor, and job creation, AGOA strengthens the competitiveness and supremacy of the United States on the international stage.

Assessing AGOA Achievements in Senegal

To evaluate AGOA's effective impacts on Senegal, it is crucial to analyze its concrete achievements and measure the degree of accomplishment of the set objectives. From 1995 to 2022, Senegal's exports to the United States grew at an average annual rate of 17.8%. These exports have risen from \$6.11 million in 1995, long before AGOA was created, to \$513 million in 2022, 22 years after AGOA was introduced - a record for recent years. Over this same long period, US exports to Senegal experienced steady growth, increasing at an annualized rate of 6.65%. This growth trend is clearly perceptible in the figures, rising from \$66.1 million in 1995 to \$375 million in 2022, a gap of 27 years since the creation of the AGOA (ASEPEX, 2024: 9). The increase in exports is more pronounced for Senegal. This steady expansion of US exports reflects the ever existing and ongoing reality of the bilateral relationship with sustained demand for American products in the Senegalese market, while Senegal's significant growth is the result of a long process spanning several decades of diversification and capacity building. These improvements have been strongly facilitated by trade agreements including the AGOA. Overall, this upward trend demonstrates the capacity for expansion and continued collaboration between the United States and Senegal in trade.

Export opportunities abound in Senegal, as revealed by various studies such as STRADEX, SCA, and SNDES, which have identified several sectors with high export potential including fisheries, agriculture, agro-industry, information and communication technologies (ICT), textiles and apparel, and crafts. Moreover, the AGOA, having made several amendments from its original version, has allowed for the addition of various products to those exported duty-free. Combined with the GSP, the AGOA offers to Senegal the opportunity to export up to more than 6400 products to the American market. Senegal can thus afford to diversify its exports. Indeed, in 2022, Senegal maintained an impressive trade surplus with the United States, mainly due to its remarkable diversity of exports, whether in precious metals, foodstuffs, or mineral products, totalizing respectively \$328 million, \$62.7 million, and \$45.6 million. This diversification is further expressed through the products traded in 2023. During this period, Senegalese exports to the United States

revolved around various products including agricultural products valued at \$83,822,000, forest products at \$355,000, and textiles and apparel at \$2,107,000 (OEC, 2024). As for Minerals and metals, the USA imported a value of \$25,444,000, for Machinery \$147,000, \$976,000 for Transportation equipment, for Chemicals and related products and electronic products respectively \$588,000 and \$326,000 (ASEPEX, 2024: 10). Senegal has made immense progress in diversifying its exports to be more competitive and to secure a good position in the US market, although for most of these sectors, US exports remain superior.

Weaknesses and Perspectives of AGOA

Senegal's assessment within the framework of AGOA, unlike that of the United States, is not exclusively constituted of positive aspects. Indeed, approximately 23 years after becoming eligible for AGOA, Senegal, based on statistics, still struggles to fully benefit from this initiative due to several shortcomings.

Weaknesses of AGOA in Senegal

AGOA does not really benefit Senegal, despite the improvements noted in trade flows between Senegal and the United States and the measures taken. Indeed, while AGOA offers valuable opportunities, the benefits for Senegal are often limited by several factors including the complexity of the eligibility criteria for the country's products. Although Senegal is eligible for AGOA, many of its products do not meet AGOA's somewhat stringent eligibility criteria, which restricts their access to program benefits. Moreover, even eligible products must meet rigorous origin and other requirements, such as packaging quality, which can pose additional challenges for Senegalese businesses. Furthermore, access to the US market can be hindered by fierce competition with other AGOA beneficiary countries, as well as potential trade barriers.

The rise of large foreign companies poses a threat to the viability of Senegalese enterprises, which are often less powerful and competitive. This dynamic leads to job losses and a reduction in economic diversity. In the textile sector, between 1994 and 2003 alone, Senegal experienced a drastic decline in employment, similar to several other sectors, dropping from 32,700 workers in 1994 to only 1,755 in 2003, ultimately resulting in the total closure of about thirty textile industries in the country, all geared towards export (ASEPEX, 2024: 13). This happened despite Senegal's eligibility for AGOA, which failed to change the situation. AGOA was unable to protect the country's interests from the start. Furthermore, alongside a massive influx of finished products of Asian origin, trade agreements such as AGOA have facilitated access for American textile products, in the form of thrift shops or finished products, to the Senegalese market, increasing thus competitive pressure. This trend continues, with American products continuing to flood the Senegalese market. In 2020, the USA exported \$8,877,000 worth of textiles and \$12,201,000 in 2023 to Senegal

according to the US Department of Commerce (WTO, 2023: 98).

Senegal, like many African countries, struggles to fully exploit the opportunities offered by the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) due to a lack of adequate infrastructures, a major obstacle to harnessing the potential of AGOA as stated by the report of the United Nation Economic Commission for Africa:

L'accès peu satisfaisant à un approvisionnement fiable en électricité, à une formation continue et à des technologies de la communication adaptées, à des réseaux de transport, routier et ferroviaire fiables, à des installations garantissant la chaîne de froid et le traitement post-récolte, illustre les principales problématiques liées aux infrastructures et se répercute sur la compétitivité des pays éligibles (CEANU, 2014 :8).

Transaltion : Unsatisfactory access to reliable electricity supply, continuous training and adequate communication technologies, reliable transport, road and rail networks, cold chain facilities and post-harvest processing illustrate the main infrastructure issues and have an impact on the competitiveness of eligible countries (NUCEA, 2014 :8).

These infrastructural shortcomings heavily hinder the competitiveness of Senegalese enterprises in international markets, limiting their ability to export their products to the United States under AGOA, which in its exercise has not succeeded in changing the situation. This infrastructure deficit is noted in almost all sectors, compromising its abilities to comply with international standards. This highlights a crucial challenge for economies like Senegal's, which is the compliance with the quality standards required in importing markets, particularly regarding sanitary and phytosanitary standards. This constraint poses a significant impediment to exports and can hamper the country's economic growth.

Senegal records a persistent trade deficit with the United States, highlighting an imbalance in trade between the two countries. This imbalance in the exchanges between the two countries is reflected in imports significantly exceeding exports. Indeed, despite Senegal's efforts to promote its exports to the United States, notably through initiatives such as AGOA, imports from the United States remain very high and far exceeding the value of Senegalese exports to this country except for the 2022, a year in which Senegal had the advantage of the trade balance. However, this situation quickly returned to the usual trend of bilateral trade between these two countries, namely Senegal's trade balance deficit vis-à-vis the United States as shown in the table below.

For the time being, this evaluation of AGOA's achievements in Senegal falls far short from the set goals aiming for economic integration and poverty reduction (Diagne, 2009: 1). While it's true that this initiative has somehow boosted Senegalese exports to the American market, promoted their diversification, and established some structures for their promotion, Senegal remains disadvantaged due to certain factors, including a lack of

awareness of the benefits of the initiative, restrictions on a number of products, the collapse of several sectors of activity, and to make up for it all, the trade balance deficit.

Perspectives of AGOA in Senegal

Despite the numerous criticisms and shortcomings to which it is subject, AGOA represents a significant opportunity to strengthen bilateral trade ties and promote mutually beneficial economic growth, provided that its strategic directions are redefined. In this regard, it is crucial to explore various avenues available to both countries by bridging the gaps to maximize the benefits of this agreement and promote a dynamic commercial partnership.

Although AGOA offers privileged access to the US market for a wide range of products, many African companies do not take full advantage of this program due to a lack of awareness and access to information. To address this constraint, widespread dissemination of information about AGOA to African companies through media awareness campaigns, workshops, and seminars would be a good approach. Adapting these awareness programs to the specific needs of different sectors and sizes of businesses is essential for greater effectiveness. Additionally, it would be wise to establish online information platforms accessible to all, including detailed information on AGOA, eligibility procedures, documentation requirements, and lists of eligible products. By increasing awareness and access to information about AGOA, African countries can better benefit from the initiative by increasing their exports to the United States, creating jobs, and raising income.

Streamlining the Legal Framework Governing Rules of Origin

For a better version of AGOA, easing the legal framework is essential. Currently criteria for eligibility are absolutely high, as products must meet a 35% value-added requirement. This rule poses major difficulties to member countries, including the restriction of certain African exports, particularly to the least developed countries, which have limited capacity to add value to products beyond labor. Indeed, the increase in component costs compared to labor makes reaching the 35% threshold even more challenging for African countries. To address this challenge, a review of AGOA's rules of origin would be advisable to consider reducing the origin requirement of 35% and relaxing rules of origin for certain products, as was the case for garments sewn from fabrics from third countries. Efforts could be made to simplify and make the rules of origin more transparent. Relaxing the latter could stimulate an upward trend of African exports and economic growth in AGOA member countries (CENUA, 2014: 23).

Collaboration on Infrastructure enhancement

Few African countries have reaped the full benefits of AGOA, mainly due to several factors, including infrastructure deficits affecting transportation networks, energy supplies,

specialized export processing zones, as well as difficulties in meeting standards required by the American market. To be competitive, it is essential to have strong infrastructure and production quantities that meet the required standards to satisfy the American market. In this context, Senegal urgently needs to enhance its infrastructure, particularly in transportation, energy, and telecommunications fields. The country must invest in improving its infrastructure. The United States can play a crucial role in supporting the development of these in Senegal, providing expertise and resources. Collaboration between Senegal and the United States on infrastructure would definitely be beneficial for both parties. This cooperation would help improve the life quality of Senegalese people, stimulate economic growth, and create opportunities for American businesses. The importance of this initiative is evidenced in Article II of the Memorandum of Understanding between Senegal and the United States of America under the Trade Africa Initiative for facilitating trade and investment, where both countries pledge to work together to develop and promote trade by facilitating activities related to sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

Facilitating Partner Identification

Partner identification often poses a problem for African countries. To address this circumstance, connecting African companies with potential partners in the United States, essential for penetrating the American market, is therefore an unavoidable perspective. This matchmaking can be done through business twinning that encourage fostering knowledge and technology sharing, and creating business partnerships. Indeed, organizing business twinning through conferences, trade shows, or workshops, that bring together African and American companies in person, would allow them to meet, explore partnership opportunities, and make contacts. Partner identification could also be done through platforms where companies can create profiles, search for partners by sector of activity, products, or services, and communicate directly with each other (Diémé, 2017: 2).

In the face of numerous criticisms regarding unilateral benefits, neo-colonial tendencies, and shortcomings of AGOA, which, with a little hindsight, are more or less legitimate, it is crucial to further align with Africa's interests through a profound revision of the initiative with prospects in sights. The perspectives for the evolution in question include the diversification of trade partnerships, the development of local industries and the structural transformation of African economies through various factors. These perspectives are necessary to truly ensure sustainable economic development in Africa while respecting its aspirations and promoting an equitable trade relationship with the United States in the future.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the examination of the United States and Senegal commercial relations

within the framework of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) sheds light on the multifaceted dynamics at play. The historical backdrop marked by a complex past relations reveals the evolution of trade ties between these nations, reflecting both common interests and significant disparities. The implementation of AGOA emerges as a pivotal juncture, symbolizing a concerted effort towards fostering economic cooperation and development between the United States and sub-saharan African countries in general and Senegal in particular.

However, a nuanced assessment of the implementation of the agreement reveals varying impacts on both parties namely Senegal and the United States. Senegal, while benefitting from several advantages of AGOA, including preferential access to the American market, faces numerous challenges in fully capitalizing on the opportunities presented by AGOA. Conversely, concerning the evaluation of the United States regarding AGOA, the positive aspect dominates the balance. Both countries have experienced a multitude of benefits in the framework of trade exchanges driven by the initiative. Yet, Senegal, like almost all African countries, encounters complexities in managing its commercial relations with the US under AGOA due to AGOA restrictions, as well as various weaknesses of its offers. Criticisms surrounding AGOA's effectiveness and limitations regarding its asymmetrical nature serve as a reminder of the complexities inherent in its trade policies formulation and implementation. Thus, AGOA has so far not achieved the most important objectives for Senegal.

Looking ahead, for a better trade future, there is a compelling imperative to address these limitations and capitalize on the opportunities for enhancing US-Senegal commercial relations through a revised AGOA. This requires a comprehensive approach that acknowledges the diverse interests and priorities of both nations, while fostering mutual understanding and collaboration as well as somehow balanced economics opportunities. By leveraging the strengths of the initiative, in the aspiration for an improved AGOA, and addressing its shortcomings through various perspectives including structural reinforcement, partnerships, regional integration, and economic structural transformation, the prospects for deepening and diversifying bilateral trade between the US and Senegal appear promising. Ultimately, sustained efforts towards the creation of a conducive environment for trade and investment hold the key to unlocking the full potential of commercial relations between the United States and Senegal in the years to come. Moreover, it is noteworthy that there appears a growing uncertainty regarding the future of AGOA in the context of Trump administration new isolationist paradigm, which opens up opportunities for further studies on the topic, in the perspective of the outcome of the ongoing paradigm shift.

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Section B
**HISTORY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**Reexamining the Narrative of
American-Indians Experience on the Western Frontier**

By

Mamadou Malal SY

Assistant Lecturer in American Civilization

Iba Der Thiam University of Thies, Senegal

Mamadoumalal.sy@univ-thies.sn

Abstract

This paper tries to reexamine the narrative of Native American history and experience with the American colonists from Europe on the western frontier. It analyzes real historical facts on the frontier line separating “civilization” from “wilderness” and symbolizing the absolutely hostile contact between white Americans and Indian tribes that led to bloodiest confrontations over land control. The study is motivated by a need to contribute in clearing up the confusion and controversies on the cause of Indian population decline from nearly 8 million on the colonists' arrival in the New World to about 200000 in the turn of the 19th century. Thus, it has eventually come to the conclusion that this was mostly due to Europeans' colonialism through wars as well as systematic Indian extermination in the Whites deliberate enterprise of the Indians removal policy, leading thus to most horrific genocidal catastrophes in human history, even though we cannot lose sight of the role of epidemics.

Key words: Civilization, Epidemics, Expansion, Experience, Genocide, Narrative, Native Americans, reexamine, Western Frontier, Wilderness

Introduction

The narrative regarding the history of American-Indian's experience in the New World has been controversial among historians. Some historians, like Ernest Codman (1913), Alfred Crosby (1976), Andrew David *et al* (2000), Suzanne Austin Alchon (2003) and James Daschuk (2013) firmly deny the idea that there was an Indian extermination or genocide and defend the theory of Virgin Soil Epidemics as the main cause of Native American population decline due to Indian populations being immunologically unprepared for Old World diseases. Other historians and scholars such as Dee Brown (1970), Alexie Sherman (2005; 2013) and David Treuer (2014) have criticized what they conceive as deliberate misinterpretation of Native American history and historiography by some historians in their narrative of Native American experiences with European settlers and colonists in the New World. This debate has greatly contributed to the shed light on aspects of this outstanding part of American history.

Early European explorers who set foot on the New World declared that it was an uninhabited land, a virgin and no man's land that they also called *terra nullius*, meaning an unoccupied land. Indeed, they believed that the indigenous Indians that they found there were savages just like the wild beasts they met in the New World. Yet, Historians estimate at about 8 million the number of Indians who lived in the New World with their secular civilization and culture when the first settlers founded the first colonies in North America (Smith, 2017: 8). At that time, indigenous people (Indians) had settled across North America in hundreds of different tribes.

This study is guided by the following questions: how was it that the Indians who were estimated about 8 million on the European colonist's arrival in the New World, eventually counted just about thousands in the turn of nineteenth century America? What had happened to the 567 Indian nations by the end of the 1890s? The paper aims to reexamine the whole process of the conflicts and wars that took place between the Indians and the European settlers to highlight what had really happened to Native Americans. To do so, we will try to revisit the context of the colonists' westward expansion into the Indian lands. Then we will analyze the role played by the 1812 American-British war over western lands occupation and finally see how the hundreds Indian tribes along with their civilizations disappeared from their ancestral lands of New World.

American Westward Expansion into the Indian Lands

The so-called colonists' hostile contact with Indians started the moment the first settlers arrived on the new continent. This hostile relationship was, among other things, a logical consequence of not only a need for occupying Indian lands but also of ethnocentrism as well racism and discrimination leveled against the Native Americans by the colonists as the Europeans who arrived in New World did not consider Indians as full human beings. They rather regarded them with disgust and described them as uncivilized wild creatures as shown in the following words of Louis Hennepin:

The Indians trouble themselves very little with our civilities [...] Men and women hide only their private parts. ... They never wash their platters which are of wood or bark, nor their bowls or their spoons. They eat in a snuffling way and puffing like animals. When they eat fat meat, they grease their whole faces with it. They belch continually. Those who have intercourse with the French, scarcely ever wash their shirts, but let them rot on their backs. They seldom cut their nails. They rarely wash meat before putting it in the pot. ... In fine, they put no restraint on their actions, and follow simply the animals (Hennepin, 1985: 40-41).

Such ethnocentric and racist mind reflected, perpetuated, and above all "legitimated settler-colonists' faith in the righteousness of their mission" (Jones *et al.*, 2024), which led to

more furious confrontations between white colonists and Native Americans. Thus, between 1622 and the late 19th century, a series of wars and skirmishes known as the Indian Wars occurred between American Indians and European settlers, mainly over land control. Thus, by the turn of the 19th century, Indian population in the US was estimated at just about 200,000. As a matter of fact, this “American Indians' experience of U.S. westward expansion was nightmarish; it was an ordeal that did not end until most of their ancestral domains had been absorbed and their way of life nearly erased from the face of the earth” (Wexler, 1995: xv).

As early as 1609, the colonists of Jamestown started to have turmoil and conflict with neighboring Indian tribes such as Nansemond and Powhatan Indians. But it's only twelve years later that the hostilities took a more serious turn when on March 22, 1622, the Powhatan Indian tribe led a wild attack on British settlers in Virginia, killing a lot of them. This attack was later labeled as the Jamestown Massacre that served as a legitimizing basis for the colonists to exterminate many Native Americans confiscating their lands. English explorer Captain [John Smith](#), described, in his *History of Virginia*, how the Indians fooled and attacked them by surprise on March 22th, 1622. He reported that the [Powhatan](#):

came unarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkeys, Fish, Fruits, and other provisions to sell us, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediately with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman or child, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction”. (Smith, 1624: 280)

The fact that both the English and the Powhatans had ethnocentric, aggressive, authoritarian as well as religion-oriented attitudes towards each other “makes coexistence between “primitive natives” and civilized Europeans impossible on any basis other than that of subjugation” (Slotkin, 1992: 12). Indeed, the English invaders were strongly predisposed by their cultural assumptions to alienate, subjugate, or eradicate non-Christian native peoples, while the Powhatans were equally predisposed to choose alienation or risk destruction by a staunch defense of their culture.

This hostile environment fueled a discourse that developed throughout the colonies presenting the Indians as enemies who deserved nothing but eradication or subjugation. Thus, the next event that was also a landmark in the conflict between British settlers and the Indian tribes was the so-called Pequot War that broke out in 1636 opposing the colonists of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Additionally, a series of wars between the settlers in New Netherlands and many Indian tribes such as the Algonquians, Susquehannock, Lenape, Esopus, occurred from 1636 until 1659 causing many New Netherland settlers to flee back to Netherland.

Then with the development of slavery industry and tobacco, cotton plantations

expansion, the English needed more and more land and had to extend further more to the South and West. An important date that marked the intensification of American colonization of Indian territories was the year 1670 corresponding with the foundation of the Carolina colony, which opened up a new era in the process of taking away western lands from Amerindian tribes.

When the English planted a settlement at Carolina in 1670, no one could envision the extent of its impact on the South. Entering a region already in the throes of vast cultural, social, and political change, the English would provide the dominant societal framework that replaced the chiefdoms that had prevailed for so long (Gallay, 2002: 40).

This historical step towards more Indian land occupation had serious impact on the everyday life on the western frontier as it brought about direct bloody wars opposing the antagonistic white European colonists and the Indians. One of the most tragic wars occurred in 1675. The historic Swamp massacre that took place between the colonial militia from New England and the Narragansett in December 1675 was a turning point in the history of European colonist hostile relations with the Indian tribes.

By the end of spring 1676, many Indian bands suffering from hunger and diseases surrendered to the English or their Native allies. On the other hand, the English were increasingly successful in surprising and killing many Indians who tried to provide for themselves by fishing and were therefore concentrated in fishing camps. In one such attack, as many as two hundred rebel Indians were killed by Massachusetts militia. The unity of Indians began to crumble and they became more and more divided in their opinions on the further actions. Some of them wanted to carry on fighting, others believed in peace negotiations with the English. The English encouraged them to surrender, promising to give amnesty to those who had not participated directly in any attacks against the English. For those enemy Indians who took part in any attack on the English, the only options suggested by the Puritan authorities were either death or slavery (Leach, 2009: 199, 203, 213- 214).

In December, about thousand soldiers from the United Colonies joined by some 150 Pequot and Mohegan Indians marched to Rhode Island to “execute the vengeance of the Lord upon the perfidious and bloody Heathen” (Mather, 2010: 20). After some time, however, the English troops managed to get inside the fort and the Narragansett warriors started to flee into the swamp, from where they continued to attack the English soldiers, trying to save the Native women and children who were trapped in wigwams inside the fort (Philbrick, 2006: 272-273).

The American colonists' expansion westward of Virginia forced Amerindians to migrate to the west again. However, some of the Indians that the Spanish named the *Westo* managed to establish good relations with westerners, the Americans, and could get the support of the English against their own Indian neighbors. Americans, mainly English men would even trade goods with the *westo* in exchange of enslaving the latter's own Indian tribe

Neighbors.

The *Westo* relationship with Virginia traders also shaped the nature of their aggressiveness toward their neighbors. The Virginians offered trade goods to the *Westo* in exchange for captives. It made more sense to the *Westo* to devote their energy to enslaving Amerindians than hunting and processing pelts. Instead of killing their enemies or intimidating them to flee, the *Westo* sold them to the English, which not removed their foes but gained them something in return. Their single-mindedness to gain land and their organizational skills, tactics, and trade connection gave them numerous advantages over the region's other Indians (Gallay, 2002: p. vi).

So, Americans managed to destroy Indian nations pushing Indian tribes struggling one against the other. When William Henry Harrison became governor of the newly organized Indian Territory in the year 1800, he started on a very aggressive program of land acquisitions from the Indian tribes. The types of methods he used in negotiations include plying some Indian tribal leaders with liquor, promising them military support in intertribal conflicts, offering them bribes, as well as threatening them with the use of armed force. By so doing, he managed to make Indians cede huge land of tens of millions of acres to White Americans. By the year 1804, Harrison had gained part of Illinois from Kaskaskias tribe and other territories in southern Indian after meeting and convincing representatives of Delaware and other Indian tribes. In the same year, he obtained from the Sauk and Fox tribes 15 million of acres of Indian lands south of the Wisconsin River. At the same time, Michigan territorial governor William Hull was making similar arrangements for the cession of large tracts of Indiana lands in what is now Michigan. In September of the year 1809, in the ensuing Treaty of Fort Wayne, tribal leaders ceded to Americans 3 million acres of Indiana lands along the lower Wabash River region in exchange with an increase in their annuities and a cash payment of \$1,750 (Barce, 1915: 352 – 360).

Meanwhile, other Ohio valley Indian tribes like the Shawnees, the Iroquois of New York, the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Cherokees, strongly opposed Harrison's land acquisition of Indian reserved lands. They defended that these lands were the common property of all the Indians. They said that no individual tribe or Indian leader had the right to bargain away territory without the consent of all Indians. Tecumseh, an outstanding Indian leader sought to unify all the Indian tribes in a confederation to refuse further Indian lands cessions but also repudiate past unauthorized transfer of Indian territory. On occasion of a meeting held with the territorial governor, Harrison, at Vincennes in August of 1810, Tecumseh protested against the Fort Wayne Treaty shouting "Sell our country!

Why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the earth?" (Wexler, 1995: 43). Tecumseh sought the support of the British at Fort Malden in Upper Canada. With growing Indian resentment against American settlement, the British took advance of this opportunity to further their own interests by supporting Tecumseh's idea of having an

independent Indian state that the British believe would undoubtedly serve as a buffer between the United-States and British Canada, extending from the Ohio River to the Mississippi. When White Americans started to move into the Indian lands ceded under the Treaty of Fort Wayne, the Indian tribes supported by the British, strongly resisted against what was known as the American mythic Frontier settlements.

In late 1811, Harrison, at the head of 1000 militia men, took the opportunity of the absence of Indians leader, Tecumseh to launch a sudden blow against the Indians of the upper Wabash River region in what will become known as the Battle of Tippecanoe. From this Battle, William Henry Harrison became notorious as an Indian fighter. It was thanks to his reputation as "Old Tippecanoe" that he was able to win the United-States presidential election in 1840. However, despite Harrison's destruction of the capital of Indian tribes, Prophetstown, thereby allowing further frontier progress westward, it greatly heightened Indians wild hostilities against Americans farmers, trappers, and mountain men. This antagonism between Americans and Indians culminated in the war of 1812.

The West and the Role of Indians in the American-British War of 1812

Everything started with the British infringement on the rights of the American ships to freely navigate the high seas, along with the impressments of American sea men into the British navy. The issue prompted President James Madison and the United-States Congress to declare war on Great Britain in June of 1812. Yet, enthusiasm was not forthcoming the costal New England states, even though that region relied most heavily on shipping as a major industry.

Instead, it was the land locked Trans-Appalachian West and the predominantly agricultural South that had brought about the war (Wolf, 2015: 30-36). The reasons for that paradox stemmed from economic conditions that compelled them to react accordingly. Indeed, in the year 1812, the frontier men found themselves in the grip of a severe economic downturn. Such a situation was partly brought about by the Napoleonic war and the British blockade of European and Caribbean ports, causing thus prices of the West's agricultural output to decrease greatly as a result of overproduction, coupled with limited inland transportation routes to eastern markets and costal ports. This situation was aggravated by the British blockade, on the one hand, and the United-States government-imposed embargoes. Thus, producers of coffee, corn, cotton, wheat, rice, and other raw materials in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys remained the only outlet for their products causing a very tough competition for buyers in a limited market (Juhász, 2014: 20 -22).

As a result, prosperity on the frontier was a bit halted, yet this did not prevent the West from being absolutely influential on the federal government. In the 1810 presidential election, a powerful faction of frontier men (westerners and southerners) headed by Henry Clay of Kentucky managed to dominate the Congress. Clay became the Speaker of the

House of Representatives along with his followers called for a war against the British. Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and other “War Hawks” in Congress held the British responsible for the West's economic downturn defending the idea that the frontier Depression was a direct consequence of the British blockade. They also said that the Indians uprisings in the Old Northwest were instigated by the British in order to protect their fur trading interests in Canada (Juhász, 2014: 23).

Southerners in Congress, led by Calhoun, also pushed for war with Great Britain as a way of acquiring the remainder of Spanish Florida. Americans hoped that Spain that was an ally of the British, could involve into the war, which would thereby serve as justification for American seizure of Florida part of which had already been annexed by Americans in the year 1810 (Wexler, 1995: 39). Britain was the world's greatest naval power while Americans only possessed a dozen warships. The latter centered their war strategy on attacks against the Indians on the Great Lakes Frontier intending to capture the British colony of Canada to force Great Britain to stop its aggressive naval attacks on US ships as well as make it leave the North American continent.

The sixty-year-old American officer and governor of the Michigan Territory, William Hull who was appointed commander of the US forces in the Old Northwest, though veteran officer of the American Revolution war rejected the idea of invading Canada. On the side of the British, the Indian leader, Tecumseh, and his warriors joined the cause of Britain against the Americans and he was commissioned Brigadier general by the British. In 1812 Hull led an expeditionary force of 1600 men from Detroit and across the St. Clair River, hoping to capture Fort Malden, the main British garrison in Upper Canada. British troops to the west had captured the American base at Mackinac Island, thereby taking control of the upper Great Lakes as well as the Port Dearborn, at the South end Lakes of Michigan. Such defeat made William Hull withdraw to Detroit which was then surrounded by British and Indian forces commanded by General Isaac Brock. Fearing the onslaught of the Indian troops who were often encouraged by the British to spare no lives, Hull surrendered Detroit as well as his entire army to General Brock. Many other American defeats followed.

The British repelled the American troops who were trying to advance from Fort Niagara, they also prevented another American assault on eastern Canada from Lake Champlain in November 1812 (Wexler, 1995: 46). Soon, William Henry Harrison succeeded Hull as commander of American forces in the West in late 1812. He had already consolidated Kentucky militia and U.S. army forces in Indiana and Ohio, he had also retaken Fort Wayne from British-allied Indian forces. 10000 British troops commanded by General James Winchester, pushed northward to what was known as Frenchtown where they defeated the Americans on January 22, 1813. The American forces withdrew to the Maumee River in northern Ohio where they established Fort Meigs. However American forces started to take the offensive to recapture Indian-British territories such as Port Seneca and Port

Stephenson in the Sandusky River region. Americans knew that the control of western Lake Erie was necessary for them to take back Detroit but also start another offensive against Canada. Thus, in September 1813, Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a U.S. Navy officer, attacked the British warships at Put-In-Bay on the western end of Lake Erie (Bond, 1927: 506-507).

On September 10, 1813, the British were defeated by Perry's forces during what became known as the Battle of Lake Erie. Thanks to Perry's naval victory, the Americans cut off the British and their Indian allies from supply and reinforcement from eastern Canada. Harrison and his army were ferried across the Lake and moved against Fort Malden eastern. Colonel Proctor, believing that he could only save his troops by withdrawing, retreated from Fort Malden eastward along the Thames River, with Harrison and his forces in pursuit. Harrison was finally victorious on the British in what was known as the Battle of the Thames during which the Indian forces notorious leader, Tecumseh, was killed (Bond, 1927: 508).

Additionally, the American forces under General Benjamin defeated the Indians over the Illinois country, destroying thus the last remnants of Tecumseh's confederation. The American forces victory at the Battle of the Thames reestablished American sovereignty north of the Ohio, ending thus British-Indian resistance to American expansion in the Old Northwest. Just a year after the end of the hostilities in this part of the continent, massive emigration into Michigan and other western territories continued to push the frontier westward to the Mississippi. Yet, the conquest of Canada by Americans forces remained elusive.

In the south, control of Florida, which was a Spanish colony, was also considered necessary in the conflict with the British. It is noteworthy that in March 1812, just two months before the declaration of war, the Americans forces under General George Mathews had attempted to take Florida from Spain by occupying Mary's River region, with plans to march on St. Augustine. But President James Madison had ordered the expeditionary force to withdraw because the Spanish did not intend to join the British troops against America. However, when American forces were trying to stop British advances in the region, General James Wilkinson and his American forces eventually captured Florida in April of 1813(Wexler, 1995: 47).

When the Red Sticks got news of General William Hull's defeat at Detroit they decided to revolt against American settlers along the frontier region of Mississippi Territory, now today's Alabama. Backed by the British, the Indians launched a series of raids on the southern frontier in the spring of 1813, driving frontier settlers to seek the safety of stockades and forts. On August 30, 1813, Fort Mims, at the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers, suffered an attack in which more than 500 settlers were killed either in the flames or while trying to escape when the Creeks under the command of William Weatherford set fire to the fort, capturing over a hundred of American frontier settlers (Wexler, 1995: 47).

To stop this Creek uprising, 5000 American troops under the lead of General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee headed southward from Tennessee in October 1813, then they advanced into the Creek homelands, destroying their villages at Tallahatchie and Talladega on Tallapoosa River. Jackson also won a decisive victory over the Creeks at the Battle of horseshoe Bend when he destroyed their stronghold in the horseshoe Bend, killing more than 800 Creeks. Then the Fort of Jackson was established at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapposa rivers, where he negotiated a peace settlement with the members of the Red Stick Creeks who survived from the war. The defeated Indians were then compelled to agree to the Treaty of Fort Jackson as well as cede 22 million acres of land equating to half of the Indian territories to American frontier men. Additionally, in November 1814 Jackson captured Pensacola which occupied by the Spanish (Bond, 1927: 513-514).

In late 1814 the British, who had freed their troops from French had reinforced their military forces, renewed operations against Americans. The British executed a three-day-assault plan on the Americans, invading them southward from Canada along Lake Champlain and the Hudson. They led an offensive into the mid-Atlantic region by way of Chesapeake Bay and a frontal attack against the lower Mississippi region and New Orleans. The British advanced to Potomac, capturing Washington DC., where they burned the White House. Yet, they withdrew the land attack soon afterward due to strong American resistance from Fort McHenry, the British failed then to capture strategic port of Baltimore. Although a great military triumph, the American victory at New Orleans had no influence. On December 24, 1814, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin went to Ghent (Belgium today) to negotiate peace with the British (Wexler, 1995: 48).

The Indian Systematic Removal Policy in the Far West

The policy of systematic Indian removal from their own lands started during the 1820s when mass migration of white American settlers advanced westward in quest of fertile lands. They moved into the Lake Plains of the Old North West, in northern Illinois as well as in present-day Wisconsin and Michigan. American settlers then occupied more Indians homelands bringing about serious conflicts. Farmers of small holdings in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi who could not compete with the expanding plantation economy poured into the west, attracted by available fertile “no man's land”. In the south “Native American” tribes such as the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Seminole and the Creek found themselves amidst white settlements:

The usual practice of forcing tribal leaders to cede their ancestral homelands in exchange for reservations in adjacent areas only pushed the Indians in advance of white settlement and left them to fall prey to unscrupulous traders and whiskey peddlers. Moreover, such measures only forestalled inevitable new conflicts that arose when Whites appropriated Indian lands and homes. There it

was hoped the native people could adapt themselves to agriculture and white civilization in an environment isolated from the corrupting influence of white frontier society (Wexler, 1995: 86).

Indeed, with the 1825 President Monroe policy of relocating Indian tribes of the Old Northwest as well as the Old Southwest to very remote territories in the Far west, the Indians were removed massively and progressively to the “Great American Desert” in the Far West. These desert lands were characterized by the Americans as the most suitable place to move the remaining wild Indian tribes because they believe they have duty of exploiting all the available land of the continent. Saul Landau supports this idea of a religious obligation. “It was against the law of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and raise bread” (Landau 1971: 13- 14). For Americans, establishing a permanent Indian frontier would not only protect the Indians from encroachment but also check the westward expansion of the white population. The authorities feared that the rapid rate of western settlement make the nation too spread out to effectively administer from a central government in the East. The nation was entering into an era when internal improvements were being promoted to connect the eastern seaboard with the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

President Monroe secretary of war, John Calhoun along with New England missionary and geographer Jedediah Morse had traveled throughout the lands of the eastern and western Indians in 1819-23, surveying their situation and estimating their numbers. Based on Morse's 1823 report, Calhoun recommended that the Indians remaining east of the Mississippi cede their lands in exchange for new and permanent homelands in the Far West.

On February 16, 1835, Andrew Jackson, carrying the torch of American expansion, wrote to the Seminole Indians of Florida to drive them from the places so coveted by his people. “The white people are settling around you. The game has disappeared from your country. Your people are poor and hungry. All this you have perceived for some time.... I tell you that you must go, and that you will go” (Landau, 1971: 63-65).

Such a declaration is completely illustrative of the feeling which animates the American settlers but especially the American leaders in their relentless conquest of the western territories under the influence of the declaration of Andrew Jackson now established as a guideline for American strategic space policy. Actually, these somewhat violent remarks by President Andrew Jackson express how Americans are determined to rid America of what they call savagery, “the wilderness”, that is to say the Indians who occupy even then the virgin lands of the west. “Under President Andrew Jackson, Native American tribes were systematically forced from their lands and pushed westward to make way for European colonialism.” (Urofsky, 1994: 78).

In the language of the men of the frontier, the Indian appears as the enemy to be

defeated, while Americans and other immigrants from all walks of life and mainly from Europe are considered as the innocent to be protected. Richard Slotkin explains this fact in his book titled *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*:

The enemy, who attacks the innocent Edenic community, was often cast in frontier language as the Indians who “fought for survival” and resistance from the European settling their land, and because of the 'savage' and the bloodthirsty propensity of the natives, such struggles inevitably become 'wars of extermination' (Slotkin, 1992: 12).

Andrew Jackson fiercely encourages and supports the attacks and exterminations of the Indians by the seekers of gold and rich lands, who are more determined than ever to drive these Indians out of these lands of provision, conducive to the achievement of their common dream "the American Dream". Thus, a systematic extermination of the Seminoles made available to the American people vast areas of land formerly occupied by the savage Indians. It is this conception of the border that Frederick Jackson Turner describes as:

a steady growth of independence on American lines ... to study this advance [of the frontier] ... is to study the really American part of our history ... the common sequence of frontier types (fur trader, cattle-raising pioneer, small primitive farmer, and the farmer) ... succeeded rapidly and intermingled (Turner, 1890: 44).

Alongside the expansionist dynamics, the democratization of political and economic institutions has allowed the populations of the south, formerly disadvantaged, to have access to public and banking services, to the exploitation of increasingly available land in addition to a strong reduction of customs tariffs and taxes. This situation strongly favored the entry of new States into the Union. Thus, we will note the integration of more and more States, and quickly, into the union; which will allow an intensive enlargement of the United States.

This expansionist dynamic developed and became more and more accentuated as the 19th century progressed. It becomes a precious heritage for all the generations that will follow and will be taken in hand by the political elite of the new world. But it is above all the notion of border in America which will play the central role in the expansionist policy of the United States and particularly during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. It should be noted, however, that the notion of border has existed since the arrival of the first settlers on the new continent. It then evolved as a justification for wars against the Indians.

Already in the 17th century the great theorist, Hugo Grotius declared that the most just war is the one waged against savages in the true sense of the term and then that waged against those who resemble savages. The Americans, and more precisely the Founding Fathers, were inspired by this theory by considering the Indians or even the Native Americans as absolutely savage peoples. They then implemented it by declaring just war, as Grotius defended, against these savages spread throughout the new continent, especially in the western part. George Washington himself said in 1783 that “the gradual extension of our

settlements will as certainly cause the savage, as the wolf, to withdraw; both being beast of prey, tho' they differ in shape"(Chomsky, 1993: 22). Ryan Malphurs states in his article *The Media's Frontier Construction of President George W. Bush* that the existence of the border and even of a civilized people means that there are necessarily savages on the other side to be hunted and eliminated, the Indians:

In order for a hunt to occur or even for civilization to exist in contrast with its defining shadow, wilderness, an untamed frontier/"Wild West" must exist. The frontier often exists in opposition to the innocent Edenic community, due to the wild forces that persist and threaten civilization. Richard Slotkin notes that, on the frontier, Indians were regularly framed as "savages," and "in most typical formulations, the myth of "savage war" blames Native Americans as instigators of a war of extermination". Lawrence and Jewett also note that the extermination of a threat restored peace to civilization, but frontier mythology regularly depicts "Paradise ... as repeatedly under siege, its citizens pressed down by alien forces too powerful for democratic institutions to quell" (Malphurs, 2008: 13).

A few days following the independence of the American nation, Jefferson said to John Adams that the Indians had an absolutely unfortunate destiny because: "[they] will relapse into barbarism and misery, lose numbers by war and want, and we shall be obliged to drive them, with the beasts of the forests into the stony mountains" (Chomsky, 1993: 22). As a former soldier absolutely distinguished by his ruthless battles, Andrew Jackson will order fierce wars against the Indians with a view to their extermination in favor of the expansion of the United States.

In 1824, just a year after his declaration which later became doctrine, President Monroe said that American expansion was a benefit to the Indians because it allowed them to confine themselves to the far west which the president perceived as the true region, natural and suitable for primitives. He argues that the expansionist American people play a fundamental role extremely favorable to the Indians and that is to civilize the latter.

For him, these nomads, exactly like the primitives, must be transferred to the region that suits them to settle there and then gradually emancipate them through contact with the civilizing people. So, he said "We become in reality their benefactors" (Noam Chomsky, 1993: 22). Herman Melville declared in 1857 that "Of Native Americans, the Western world knows above all the image transmitted by the myths spread by literature, history, folklore, cinema, school and family education" (Noam Chomsky, 1993: 22).

The hatred and contempt for the natives thus developed in the child of the courser des bois was based on an image of the Indian as old as the arrival of the first settlers in Virginia and the Mayflower "pilgrims" in New England. The negative and stereotypical image of Indians follows step by step the history of European immigration and the colonization of the

new continent: it is inseparable from it. Indeed, as soon as the Americans obtained independence, their first concern was to mark the separation of the new nation from the hordes of Indians by a moving border which made it possible to gradually repel these savages. This is how the strategy of colonization of the entire continent will be pursued by the establishment of principles essentially based on expansionist ideologies. The stigmatization of Indian tribes as wild animals incapable of cultivating the immensely fertile lands that stretch as far as the eye can see has made the United States' desire for expansion both legally and culturally incontestable.

The Indians were thus denied any rights to the land. They must be hunted and pushed back as much as possible by the moving border. This image of Indians as primitives devoid of all culture and humanity was the central lever which made it possible to legitimize the ambitions of the American people to occupy the entire new continent. Ryan Malphurs cites Lawrence and Jewett who present the men of the frontier, in particular the cowboys, as true innocent warriors defending a noble cause against the Indians seen as evil to be exterminated. Thus, the historian Pierre Merlandri wrote :

Quand le xx^e siècle s'achève, il y a une dizaine d'années au moins que l'on ne peut plus parler de résistance indienne. Parqués sur des réserves de terres médiocres, les premiers occupants du sol américain s'essayaient sans conviction à cultiver leur misérable lopin ... C'est l'aboutissement ultime d'un demi-siècle de politiques indiennes, diverses dans leurs modalités mais uniformes dans leur finalité: éliminer toute résistance aux exigences en terres de la colonisation blanche. (Mélandri, 1984: 22) *When the 20th century ended, it had been at least ten years since we could no longer talk about Indians resistance.*

Parked on reserves on mediocre land, the first occupants of American soil tried halfheartedly to cultivate their miserable plots... It was the ultimate outcome of half a century of Indian policies, diverse in their methods but uniform in their purpose: to eliminate all resistance to the land demands of white colonization. (Translation).

According to Lawrence and Jewett, western settlers moving into Indian lands were not then seen as possessing or encroaching upon lands unrightfully, but rather they were deemed mythically innocent by “western novels and films depicting small communities of peaceful and industrious citizens saved from thieves, [Indians], and blackguards by courageous cowboys” (Malphurs, 2008: 13). Indians were regularly cast as the evil intruders upon Edenic communities, and innocent settlers and the cowboy's six-shooter repeatedly defended civilization from their blood-thirsty desires (Shelton et al. 2002). This Indian's extermination is also described in the following lines by Robert Lacour-Gayet : *Les attaques se conduisirent avec une cruauté telle que l'affaire fit l'objet d'une enquête au congrès [...] il n'y était question que de « corps mutilés de la plus horrible manière », de « morts dont tous furent scalpés », de villages brûlés, de carnage* (Lacour-Gayet, 1977: 29).

The attacks were carried out with such cruelty the matter was the subject of investigation by Congress [...] there was only question “bodies mutilated in the most horrible manner”, of deaths of which all were scalped” of “burned villages, of carnage”. (Translation).

Historian Gary Clayton (2014) provided important responses to the following heart-breaking inquiries of Tecumseh, the leader of the Shawnee Indian tribe at the dawn of the 20th century: “Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket, and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and the oppression of the White Man, as snow before a summer sun. Will we let ourselves be destroyed in our turn without a struggle, give up our homes, our country bequeathed to us by the Great Spirit, the graves of our dead and everything that is dear and sacred to us? I know you will cry with me, never! Never!” (Brown, 1971: 1). Indeed, he clearly describes Indian experience with European colonists on the frontier during all the second half of the 19th century rather as a systematic ethnic cleansing of the Indians, as the atrocities and horrors associated with it account for the worst excesses of violence, terror, mass murder, forced dispossession and exile. Thus, the experiences of Native people of the Americas around such issues as colonialism, displacement, assimilation and genocide, appear as “the worst human holocaust the world had ever witnessed” (Stannard, 1992: ix).

Conclusion

The history of Native Americans experiences with American colonists was about cruelty and power associated with ethnocentricity and racism. Indeed, when the first Europeans arrived in the New World, Indian tribes such as the Wampanoag, the Shawnees, the Iroquois, the Mohawks, the Kaskaskias, the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Cherokees, the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket, the Algonquians, the Susquehannock, the Lenape, the Powhatans, the Nansemond were living on their secular ancestral lands of the Americas proud of their civilization and culture that the “new comer” Europeans regarded as wild and barbarous.

To the question whether or not Native Americans were really victims of genocide during the conquest and colonization by European colonists or white Americans of the entire 4800 km from the Eastern Coast to the West of America, academics have long debated without ultimately agreeing on a single answer to the issue. While some scholars continue to defend the idea that Native Americans' catastrophic demographic decline from a pre-contact population of about 8 million to some 240,000 individuals by 1900 was mainly due to the Old-World epidemic diseases that ravaged them, other academics and historians argue in their works that the Indians were rather exterminated in what can be referred to as a genocide.

After reexamination of real historical facts, through the Americans' expansion into the Indian lands as well as the 1812 war and the Indian systematic removal policy, the study

has allowed us to better understand the Native Americans experience on the “frontier” as major Native population disasters in world history. Indeed, even if we cannot lose sight of the role of epidemic diseases, we have come to the conclusion that this was mostly due to Europeans' colonialism through wars against the Native combined with systematic Indian extermination in the Whites deliberate enterprise of the Indians removal policy, leading thus to most horrific genocidal catastrophes in human history.

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**Historical Context on the claims and
contestations of the Ownership of Kaduna Metropolis:
An Examination of the Gbagyi and other Ethnic Minorities Factor.**

By

Timothy Zakimayu Barje

Department of History and International Studies,
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil Kano State
timzaks@gmail.com, 08060068698

&

Bulus Nom Audu

Department of History and International Studies,
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil Kano State
budu2010@yahoo.com

Abstract

Kaduna metropolis is one of the most vibrant and economically viable cities not only in northern Nigeria but the country as a whole. What many are not aware of is that deep in the history of this capital, there is a deep-seated struggle to control the political and economic institutions of the state, a struggle that is rooted in the origin of the establishment of the metropolis as the capital of Northern Nigeria during the colonial period. At the centre of these contestation and claims is the Gbagyi ethnic nationality which have historically lay claim to the city. Other contestations in the city arise only because the metropolis is the centre of political leadership and economic nerve centre of the state. The struggles for control and recognition have been considered in this study as the silent trigger of the numerous ethno-religious crises of the city. Using various historical materials published on the history of Kaduna, this study analyses the historical context of these claims and contestations and the major actors involved.

Key words:

Kaduna, Gbagyi, Ethnic minorities, Contestations, Ethno-religious Crisis

Introduction

Kaduna state is located in the Northwestern region of Nigeria, and it is one of the states in the country that is peopled by so many ethnic nationalities who claim to be indigenous to the state on the basis of their history and ancestral origins. Aside from the indigenous people of Kaduna state, the state, especially the capital, is also home to Nigerians of various ethnic

nationalities and origins, who by virtue of employment, business establishments and choice of settlement have made the state home. The state ranked among the most economically viable states in the Northern part of the country with an Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) of N52.9 billion naira in 2021 (Statisense, 2022), making her the highest in the north after Kano state.

Kaduna metropolis on the other hand, has always been considered as the political nerve centre of Northern Nigeria politics. From its early beginnings as the colonial headquarters of Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, it metamorphosed into the choice neighbourhood of the high-and-mighty class of Northern Nigeria political aristocrat. It also considered highly in terms of religious importance, not because the metropolis had any historical significance as an Islamic centre like Kano, Katsina and Borno states, but Kaduna has carved a niche for being the nerve centre of modern Nigeria Islamic politico-religious thoughts and fundamentalist institutions, where the apex Islamic organs and bodies are established.

Despite the blitz and glamour that characterised Kaduna metropolis, it is also considered as one of the most volatile cities in the country due to its ethno-religious composition. Being a city that is sharply divided by religion, between Muslims and Christians, and added to the ethnic composition, it has experienced some of the ugliest ethno-religious clashes the country has witnessed. So many reasons have been adduced to the crisis in Kaduna state, majority of these have been linked with the city's history and religious divide.¹

This study is an attempt to present in historical perspective, the context, claims and political contestation of the ownership of Kaduna metropolis, which has been a barrage of political cudgeling between the Gbagyi and the Hausa/Fulani under the suzerain of Zaria emirate, who control to some extent the external relations between the states. Based on historical evidences, the Gbagyi have laid claim to the metropolis having been the first settlers on the land from as early as 1700AD (Jackel, 1997), they claim only to owed some form of allegiance to the Habe king of Zaria until he was driven by the Fulani after the jihad and forced to flee to Abuja (Temple, 1922: 125). However, from the arrival of the British, the whole political landscape was changed introducing other active actors, who successfully dominated and took over the political control of this area.

Origin and Establishment of Modern Kaduna Metropolis

Kaduna metropolis consist of what can also be regarded as the greater-Kaduna metropolis, consisting of Kaduna South, Kaduna North, parts of Chikun and parts of Igabi LGAs. Kaduna metropolis has been an administrative capital of Northern Protectorate of Nigeria during the colonial period, and subsequently was retained as the Northern Region capital after independence. The metropolis later became the administrative capital of North Central

state, the old and new Kaduna state. With such a portfolio, Kaduna metropolis unarguably became the pivotal nerve centre of Northern Nigerian politics, an important regional trade, industrial and commercial centre, and also a major transportation hub (Gandu, 2011: 73).

By implication, the significant role Kaduna played in northern politics invariably means the Hausa and Fulani oligarchy, owing to their political wealth and influence, became the new 'masters' in town. This opened the first pathway to conflict with the original inhabitants. Prior to independence, the political importance of Kaduna city grew with founding of the Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa Ayau in 1948, which later transform into the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), with Kaduna being the headquarters of the political party (Max Lock Centre, 2016: 33).

According to Bununu *et-al* (2015: 56), Kaduna's importance and significance in the political life of northern Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole is further strengthened by the role it plays as the home city and base of the powerful and highly influential "Kaduna Mafia", which is the name given to a group of Northern aristocrats consisting of military and political elite known to promote the regional political and economic interests of the north and its members. They further noted that Kaduna's importance is also attached to its Islamic religious orientation noting that the headquarters of the Jama'atul Nasril Islam and the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs – whose membership consists of the predominantly Muslim Emirs, scholars as well as community or opinion leaders of northern Nigeria that are equally influential and powerful figures in the north.

With its centralised location, Kaduna metropolis connects the far Northern parts of Nigeria to the south-west, south-east and south-south especially through rail network and roads. Major industries in the metropolis include textile and garment, paint, chemical plants, a petroleum refinery, petrochemical plants, fertilizer processing, breweries, vehicle assembly plant, and a remarkable number of military and defence formations and institutions, are all located and spread out in the metropolitan area. It is therefore not surprising that Kaduna metropolis attracts migrants from all over Nigeria. Gandu provided a chronological timetable describing the emergence of Kaduna capital city status since its colonial creation in 1912.

Kaduna was capital of Northern Nigeria Protectorate from 1912 to 1960; it remained the capital of the Northern Region under the three Regional Government from 1960 to 1966 (with a fourth, Midwest Region created later in 1963); in 27 May 1967 when the military abolished the regional system, Kaduna was again made capital of North Central state among the twelve new states. Again, on 3 February 1976, the twelve states were further divided to make 19 states and North Central state was renamed Kaduna state, with the metropolis remaining as the capital; on 23 September 1987, the states were further divided again to form 21 states, with Katsina state carved out of Kaduna state with the capital still remaining within the metropolis.

It remained so up till date, as the state was not affected by the 1991 and 1996 creation of states bringing the total number of states to 30 and 36 respectively. In Kaduna state, there are agitations for the creation of Gurara state, with the calls coming mainly from the Southern part of the state which has a predominantly Christian population. This brings to bare the sectarian pattern of state creation in Nigeria, which is contrarily opposed to the supposed intent as means to enable equitable distribution of resources. States creation in Nigeria has rather stoke tension and threat to peace, as many states were created without recourse to the historical and ethnological composition of the region. This primordial move has open up room for claims and counter claims, with a fissiparous agitation based on ethnicity and religion, with Kaduna as no exception.

The origins of Kaduna metropolis have been encapsulated in myths, legends and political manipulations by contesting ethno-religious or identity groups. From historical records, the Gbagyi settlements in Kaduna and environs date back to the early 14th century. However, the political changes that witnessed the arrival of the British, leaves a streak of deliberate and gradual take-over of the area from the original inhabitants. This began with the choice of the area to serve as the administrative capital of British colonial expansion in Northern Nigeria. Describing how Lord Lugard made his choice of Kaduna as capital of the Northern Protectorate, here is the following submission:

Kaduna was Savannah bush and a resting place for crocodiles (Kada in Hausa). Hence, the name “Kaduna” ... from traditional African perspective, Kaduna had never been uninhabited but had been major Gbagyi (Gwari) area, reflecting their segmental village structure. The name “Kaduna” means the “the river of snails.” Kaduna is a “Gwari” town, but these original people were pushed to the outskirts and the land taken from them. The Gbagyi do not believe in “rebellions” against constituted authority, or violence, and hence have not been “problem” to the larger communities in which they live... Kaduna was never given a “Chief” by the colonialists means that the Gbagyi are still recognized as the “owners” of Kaduna (Paden, 1986: 318).

Though the colonial administration might not have out rightly ceded Kaduna to the Fulani oligarchy, but their indirect rule system subjugated the Gbagyi under the northern emirate system. By implication, military led leadership in the country out rightly concluded what the colonialist started by marginally recognising the emir of Zaria as suzerain over Kaduna instead of the *Sa Gbagyi*. According to Gandu, claims and counter claims over Kaduna metropolis became fierce after the end of military rule in 1999, leading to resurgence of political violence and sectarian contestations over Kaduna, often ignited by religious crisis.

He explained the reason behind this to be as follows: firstly since 1983, Nigeria military junta have been led by Northerners who are considered as bias in favor of the Hausa and Fulani stock; secondly, military rule suppressed human rights, stifled open-civil debate, banned all forms of protests and agitations.

Thirdly, it is the general feeling of the Gbagyi and other minority groups in Kaduna, that the military administrations served, projected and protected the interest of the Northern aristocrats; and fourthly, the military policy and process through which Kaduna metropolis was ceded to Zaria emirate in 1987, is partly responsible for igniting agitations.

The Gbagyi and Kaduna Ownership in Contestation

Gbagyi. Agbagyi is the name and the language of Gbagyi/Gbari ethnic group who are predominantly found in Central Nigeria, spread across Kaduna, Niger, FCT, and parts of Nassarawa and Kogi states. Speakers of the dialects were loosely called Gwari by both the Hausa Fulani and Europeans from pre-colonial times, but the people prefer to be known as Gbagyi (Filaba & Goje, 2008). The Gbagyi people are adherents of Islam, Christianity and traditional African religion. In their traditional religion, some Gbagyi believe in a God called Shekwai (one who was there before their ancestors) but they also devote themselves to appeasing deities of the god such as Maigiro. Islam became more prominent among the people after the Fulani jihad while Christianity was introduced to the people by the Sudan Interior Mission (which is now known as Evangelical Church of Winning All; formerly Evangelical Church of West Africa - ECWA) and the Baptist Missionaries from the Western part of Nigeria (Walu, 2005).

Although most chronicles of early historiographers on Gbagyi origins corroborated that Gbagyi migrated from the Chadian region into Borno about 1400 AD, but were said to have later migrated southwards from Borno into Kano, and from thence moved further south into Zaria by 1700 AD (Jackel, 1997). But it has been posited that the Gbagyi were found in Kaduna area earlier than 13th century. Thus, while providing the background of the establishment of modern Kaduna city, Jackel submitted that, as a field administrative and military centre, Kaduna set in pagan Gwari (Gbagyi) country in the heart of Zaria Province, was isolated from existing towns and would therefore be free from local political manipulation... Until the coming of the British, the local population around and to the south of the town was widely scattered, sparse and self-sufficient with virtually no outside communication – descendants of those (Gbagyi) who were there even before the Hausa came in between 13th and 14th century (Jackel, 1997: 98).

Ayuba posits that the Gbagyi identity within the Northern part of Nigeria began to be threatened in the British colonial period, where the administrative records of the British alleged that the Gbagyi did not possess the institution of 'Chieftdom' because of their

'independent' and 'unsettled nature' (Sanda, 2016: 706) He berates the imposition of statements such as “absence of state-power formations” being ascribed to the Gbagyi as affirmation of British colonial administration perceptions. This was believed to have created the basis for the British to look for a more 'suitable' solution to the Gbagyi's perceived institutional handicap, which is detrimental to their imperial ambitions. It is with such set of colonial interpretation of the political organisation of the area that most self-governed kingdoms south of Zazzau Emirate, that were not politically large were labelled as acephalous and impractically brought under the suzerainty of the emir and his representatives.

In 1905 the area was placed under the Magaji of Kachia as a district head. That was the genesis of political contestation in Kaduna, a provenance of the colonial administrators. Adeleye (1971) argued that, “Although Gbagyi settlements in Kaduna and environs date back to the 14th century, the historical origin on Kaduna is shrouded in dispute”. Claims and counter claims have come to characterise its history. Filaba argues, that the claims of Zaria emirate of the ownership of Kaduna can only be morally justified if only historically, the princes of the emirates ruled the town since its inception (Adeleye, 1971). Undoubtedly, the originality of Gbagyi peoples' uncontestable position as indigenes of Kaduna area cannot be denied based on historical evidences. However, the scenario that precipitated the contemporary struggle among the Gbagyiis to regain what they believed they had lost first to colonialists and subsequently to military administrators in Kaduna State that skewed towards local politics (Adeleye)

However, even prior to the military era that many believed have unfavourably tilted the political and economic strength to a particular ethnic nationality, an important aspect of the history of Kaduna metropolis lies in its colonial origin. First established as a garrison town by Lord Lugard in 1912, it subsequently became the regional capital of the then Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Bununu, *et al* 2015: 55). As the capital, it attracted people of different backgrounds, religions and cultures, and according to Gandu, by the end of the first 20 years of its founding, Kaduna had developed from a near virgin territory of small and scattered settlements of the mostly indigenous Gbagyi, to a town with a population of over 30,000 (Gandu, 75); consisting of British colonial officers and their dependents, artisans from other British colonies in West Africa, skilled and unskilled workers from British Colonial Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, labourers and merchants that were mainly Hausa, Nupe, Kanuri, Fulani, and other ethnic groups from other parts of the Northern Protectorate. As the Northern capital, Kaduna became the political headquarters of the north and became a stronghold of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) that became the ruling party of the northern region at independence.

According to Gandu, all settlements in Kaduna and environs were inhabited by the Gbagyi people prior to the British colonization. British colonial policy of land confiscation

suppressed the Gbagyi community's claim to it. The Gbagyi, through the British policy of Indirect Rule were subjugated to the northern emirate system; this was further entrenched by the military rulers of northern extraction who served and projected the interest of northern Hausa and Fulani aristocracy since 1983. In 1987, Kaduna metropolis was ceded to Zaria Emirate by the military administration. The Gbagyi have called for redress through boundary adjustment that would give them traditional chieftaincy control over Kaduna metropolis and other adjacent towns including Jaji.

Further Complications on the Ethnic Divide in Kaduna Metropolis

Kaduna state is populated by more than sixty ethnic groups with Hausa and Fulani combined as the major group. A large proportion of the smaller ethnic groups are predominant occupants of the southern part of the state. It is estimated that about 40% of the population of Kaduna metropolis are Christians, while the remaining 60% are Muslims, even though there is no official data to support this claim. A research report by Max Lock Centre claims that more than 50% of the population of Kaduna metropolis currently lives in the majority Christian Kaduna South and Chikun LGAs.

Historically, the ethnic minorities in the southern part of Kaduna state were majorly converted to Christianity during the colonial period, most having resisted and endured the Muslim jihadist incursion of the earlier century prior to the arrival of the British. A move to institute sharia law in the state in 2000 following Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999, reignited historical tensions in the metropolis, that was already fragmented by decade of perceived military bias towards a section of the state. Prior to this, the city had hitherto maintained a relatively cordial ethnic diversity and integration. The proposed move to establish sharia combusted into a deadly inters communal riots in the city in 2000, where it was estimated that at least 2000 people were killed. (Human Rights Watch, 2003: 15). The introduction of sharia law was not only in Kaduna, as what appears to be a simultaneous move by some states in Northern Nigeria, the law was introduced in several northern states. However, the impact of such decision in Kaduna was terribly impactful considering the ethnic diversity of the metropolis.

Among the adherents of the Islamic faith in Nigeria, the Sunni sect is the most dominant, and twelve northern states in Nigeria are seen as predominantly controlled by the Sunni. Whilst introducing the sharia in some Northern states did not pose any serious problems due to the fact that the Muslims are predominant, introducing sharia in states where the Christian population is considerable in proportion to the Muslims is tantamount to creating upheavals. In the aftermath of the riots that broke out in Kaduna metropolis in February and May 2000 as a result of the attempt to introduce sharia law across the state, the then state governor, Ahmed Makarfi, decided to introduce sharia courts into the predominantly Muslim areas of the metropolis and parts of the state, covering religious and

family matters, and customary courts remained for predominantly non-Muslim areas where sales of alcohol were not prohibited.

As a background base, the attempt towards the introduction of sharia law in Kaduna state in the modern era was said to have dated back to the period of the Second Republic (1979-1983). In precedence was the political hostility to the court of the emir of Zaria, whose authority many perceived as being foisted to extend to the metropolis, when in reality, his influence writ in the Southeastern part of Kaduna state. Many independent scholars in Kaduna history cannot fail to notice the feeling of resentment and hostility against the emirate rule that often trails discussions with many of the minority groups in the southern part of the state. One of the major reasons for this is that the emirate stool is considered as the basis for political manipulation of religion by the Muslim elite (Max Lock Centre), so it is not so much about the Zazzau throne, but about what is being used to achieve. According to James (1989: 45-46), from 1903 – 1960, colonial authority was super-imposed on the emirate of Zaria through conquest and through indirect rule system, the colonial authorities legitimized the Native Authority system.

The consequences on the indirect rule system are seen to be not so effective in areas where emirate system of administration had never penetrated successfully, largely due to resistance by the minority groups. Indirect rule in some ways reinforced emirate administration, because many minority areas were further subordinated to emirate power with little regard for their own distinct identities. Many minority groups converted to Christianity often in reaction to the perceived power of the emirate administration. A report from a Crisis Group concludes that through the indirect rule system, “colonial rule facilitated the domination of Hausa and Fulani elites, especially in areas that minority groups had historically considered their exclusive domains, and sowed seeds for conflicting claims to political space, economic rights and societal values” (International Crisis Group, 2010: 3).

However, the ethnic nationalities in the southern part of Kaduna, formerly regarded as the southern Zaria, saw this move as purely a means to sanction and legitimise the imposition of an alien rule, which they fought hard to resist prior to colonial rule. Under the indirect rule system of the colonial administration, the people south of the then Zaria Province, though not Muslims, were made subordinates under the emirate system control by Zaria. Resident District chiefs from Zaria were posted under pretext, leading to the duplication of the Zaria hierarchical model at the district, village and hamlet levels in what is perceived as Hausa trading colonies. Over time, some of these so-called district heads have come up with bogus claims, leading to the creation of phantom emirates deep within the southern Zaria precinct, further deteriorating and heightening tension and resistance. James submits that in post-independence era, it proved impossible for the southern Zaria peoples to entirely shake off the influence of Zazzau Emirate and the pre-colonial slaving emirate

became the basis for the modern Kaduna state, bringing together entirely incompatible groups. The history of Southern Zaria has largely been one of greater pressure for more ethnically delimited LGAs and for the creation of chiefs reflecting the large peoples (James, 1989).

Since 1948, there had been protest registered by the people of southern part of Kaduna over the seeming imposition of rulers posing representatives of the emirate and inadvertently trying to usurp through unfounded historical narratives their legitimacy over the area. It was said that the 1976 local government reforms signaled the beginning of the long period of violent demonstrations by the Katafs and related groups especially over the aspect of the emirate system (Max Lock Centre), with emphatic rejection of the headship of the Fulani ruling families over predominantly non-Fulani districts. This has created some sought of animosity which easily triggered violent responses on matters not directly related to the immediate cause of disagreement.

The Kafanchan crisis of March 1987 and the Zangon Kataf riots of February and May 1992 are often linked with these remote issues, which easily transform minor misunderstanding into infernos. Added to the frustration of the southern Kaduna ethnic minorities is the fact that since independence, the LGAs in the area have witnessed little development and most federal institutions and parastatals which ordinarily have been attracted to the state by political influence, were sited either in Kaduna or Zaria metropolis. This perhaps explains some of the frustrations, as the relative underdevelopment contributed massively to the sparse population of southern Kaduna, as majority of the working age-group migrate to the Kaduna metropolis or Zaria seeking for jobs and other opportunities. Kafanchan, which is seen as the largest town in southern part of the state has suffered neglect infrastructurally. Being a very important railway terminal in the past, the death of the railway industry has contributed immensely in affecting the economic stability and prosperity of the region, thereby forcing thousands of youthful population and skilled labour migrating to the city centres. It is therefore not surprising to find that Chikun and Kaduna South LGA within Kaduna metropolis are seen as largely populated by ethnic minorities and Christians from all over southern part of the state.

By the 1980s, these tensions took on a religious dimension, as it became a fight between Muslims and Christians in the state. It is argued that the expansion in the number of states from 19 in 1976 to 30 in 1991 undermined the former regional basis of Nigerian politics, especially for the so-called 'northern oligarchy'. As much as the colonial government laid the foundation with impositions of rulers, many argued that religion was never explicitly recognised as a politically salient element of Nigeria's federal character until relatively recently (Rotimi, 2001). The former regional government made it difficult for religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional diversity to find a political expression and the political leaders were careful to avoid situations where publicly incendiary statements or

actions are likely to cause religious polarisation. However, since recognising the political benefit that a collective regional power can attain at the national level, the ruling classes, whose power and wealth had been based on exploiting regionalistic politics, since 1976 intensified ways to mobilise support. The northern oligarchy has increasingly started using religion as a tool to forge a new hegemony and a coalition of northern political gladiators.

The ethnic and religious tensions have translated to new calls and agitations for more recognition of the south at the national level. At the 2014 National Conference, representatives have argued for the separation of the southern part of the state to form a new state. As part of its recommendation, the National Conference recommended the creation of 18 new states including Gurara state, to be carved out of Kaduna state. The LGAs to be carved out include Sanga, Jama'a, Jaba, Kagarko, Kaura, ZangoKataf, Kachia, Kajuru, Chikun and Lere. Chikun LGA is considered as one of the most important LGAs because it hosts more than a quarter of the population of Greater Kaduna metropolis and it is the most rapidly growing section of the metropolis.

Conclusion

The evolution of Kaduna metropolis since the colonial period has erupted series of political development that has activated century old dissatisfaction among groups within the metropolis. This inadvertently initiated a struggle to maintain control, and to beg for recognition/inclusiveness, respectively from those who hold the economic and political wand, and secondly from those who feel they are valid stakeholders and should be accorded a place at the table. Being the political capital of the state, happenings in Kaduna metropolis can often trigger reaction from other parts of the state, it is made more complicated when the southern half of the metropolis is occupied majorly by Christians and the northern part dominated by Muslims, which coincidentally is the reflection of the ethnic and religious division of the state between a south mostly dominated by Christians ethnic minority groups and a north dominated by Hausa/Fulani ethnic majority.

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The Origin and Development of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) in Lagos State, 1932-1978

By

Kolawole A. Adesuyi

Department of History and International Studies,
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria.
kolawole.adesuyi@lasu.edu.ng, 08033634439

Oladipo O. Olubobehin

Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.
olubomehind@gmail.com, 08034069943

Adewale Adeyemi-Suenu

Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria.
Ololadeololade70@gmail.com, 08023015230

Abstract

This study examined the history and the activities of early motor transport unions in Lagos since 1932, up to the formation of National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) in Lagos State. It investigated the issues of proliferation, development and various legislations before its establishment in 1978. The first serious attempt by the colonial administration at encouraging the establishment of trade unions was in 1938 when the first labour legislation was enacted, legalizing trade unionism. By 1942, the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) emerged, against the ill-treatment of the drivers by owners leading to the formation of NURTW in 1978. The nature of NURTW and its activities in recent times has raised a number of questions, especially on the issues of legitimacy. Residents of Lagos State perceived the activities of the union as negative. This study adopted a historical research method which involved the use of both primary and secondary data. The primary data collected are from manuscripts, letters and diaries. The secondary materials used were published books and journal articles and government gazette. By this, there is a bridge between the gaps in literature in an area that scholars have paid limited attention with regards to the study of transport unions in Nigeria.

Keywords: Lagos State, Trade Union, Transportation, Development, Workers

Introduction

The origin of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) has a long history which is connected to trade unions. This origin is traceable to the seventeenth century, just before the emergence of the factory system, otherwise known as the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Webb & Webb, 1965:25). Although there were various trade and craft guilds in Europe before the industrial revolution, their fraternity did not form a continuous association that outlived their demands. This buttresses the assertion of Webb and Webb (1965:26) that the industrial revolution contributed to the emergence of trade unions. In essence, modern trade unionism developed out of the definite separation between the employers and the employees, that is, the capitalists and the workers. .

The emergence of trade unionism in Nigeria, unlike most other colonial dependencies, was rather earlier than expected. James Coleman (1965:212) states that one of the significant occurrences in Nigeria at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the emergence of multiple associations with common interests. Unlike modern trade unions, these interest groups were organized based on traditional guilds and associations with all the paraphernalia of secretaries and executive committees (Coleman, 1965:212).

The first serious attempt by the colonial administration at encouraging the establishment of trade unions was in 1938 when the first labour legislation was enacted, formally legalizing trade unionism (Tinuoye, 2014:376). The first central labour organization to emerge in Nigeria was the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) which was formed in 1942. This piece of legislation was soon followed by other legislations viz; the Trade Disputes and Arbitration Ordinance and Workers Compensation Ordinance of 1945, the Factories Ordinance of 1955, Wages Board and National Provident Fund Ordinance of 1957 (Jauch, 2003:31). Trade unionism in Nigeria has had a chequered history of antagonism and repressive legislations under successive military governments and civilian administrations and; that of rivalry within its ranks.

There were also drivers' unions such as the Western Provinces Drivers' Union and the Nigerian Motor Workers' Union in West and Eastern Nigeria respectively. The formation of motor transport unions was a novel development in colonial Nigeria. It was meant to ensure and promote the collective interests of the motor transporters in the face of colonial discriminatory policies in favour of railway transport. In fact, the influence of the Nigerian Motor Transport Union (NMTU) was felt in 1937, when it successfully resisted attempts by the colonial government to impose higher taxes on its members (Ogunremi, 1978:127-144). This study investigate the formation and development of National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) in Lagos State from 1932-1978. The next sections of this work capture the literature review, methodology employed for the study, presentation and

discussion of findings as well as the conclusion.

The Extant Works

Hawkins' (1958) work on *Road Transport in Nigeria: a Study of African Enterprise* is the most useful and important material for this research. This book focuses on African enterprises in the transport sector and the transport system in Nigeria. Hawkins stated that the most interesting feature of motor transport is that, the ownership is widely diffused throughout Nigeria. He examined the pattern of commercial road traffic and the different kinds of freight that they carried. The commercial distributions and ownership of vehicles between 1950 and 1956 were also examined. With Lagos as the main port of entry, many of the new vehicles came into Nigeria through the city and they were also registered there. But since 1952, the law required that the vehicles must be licensed either in the region of use or where the owner resided.

Hawkins criticized African (Nigeria) owners for the absence of proper bookkeeping, in terms of their cost and revenue and for not making provisions for depreciation. He pays attention to drivers and the environment of the road transport industry in Nigeria. He examines the enthusiasm with which Nigeria took driving, especially after World War II. According to him, drivers' behaviour made the transport business discouraging. Consequently, the scarcity of entrepreneurial skills required in the industry and the need of finding good and reliable drivers became a big issue. He looked at the regulatory authority, as spelt out under the Road Traffic Ordinance of 1947 (license and inspection). The local authority was responsible for the provision, maintenance of parks and collection of revenue from the users. These parks soon became the source of controversy between the local authorities and the motor unions. On the whole, Hawkins' book is a useful pioneering effort in the historical genre of Africa enterprises in the Nigerian road transport industry.

Coleman's (1965) *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* is not focused on trade unions in the road transport sector in Nigeria. However, the book also examines the emergence and proliferation of new associations such as trade associations and guilds in the inter-war period. The book discusses how the membership (or at least leadership) of these associations was drawn largely from Nigerians who came of age in the inter-war period. According to Coleman, this development resulted from changes such as increased mobility and social re-stratification brought about by the Western impact. However, these new associations were of crucial significance in the development of the nationalist movement because they enabled nationalist leaders to mobilize and manipulate important segments of the population.

Coleman lists some of these associations to include Niger Traders Association (1909), West African Federation of Native Shippers and Traders (1919), Nigerian Law Association (1923), Ibibio Farmers' Association (1930s), Nigerian Produce Traders'

Association (1930s), NMTU (1934), Taxi Drivers Association (1938), and Lagos Canoe Transport Union (1938) and so on. Above all, Coleman made no pretense that these organizations, with all the paraphernalia of secretaries and executive committees, were the same as modern trade unions but based on traditional guilds and associations. He concluded that even though they fell short of the description of modern trade unions, they reflected the growth of new ties based on the common interests that developed in new urban centres. The significance of Coleman's work lies solely in the historical context, it gives to the rise of trade associations as the forerunners of trade unions in Nigeria. The work does not discuss politics of the formation in the road transport sector per se, and it is the gap that this article intends to bridge.

Ogunremi's article (1978), "The Nigerian Motor Transport Union Strike of 1978" is very pertinent to this study. In particular, the work depicts the strength of collectivism, as derivable from trade unionism, in the face of the unfair colonial government's protectionist policy. The work explains the cause of the strike as being the attempt of the colonial government to protect the railways from road competition thereby imposing double taxation (Trading License) on vehicles plying routes parallel to railroads. According to Ogunremi, in levying the double taxation, the colonial government had probably overlooked the growing influence of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) and that of the Nigerian Motor Transport Union (NMTU). Although, the strike's aim to cancel the double license fee was achieved; it was not realized until a year later. Having realized the power of the union, the government began to work together with it, at ensuring transport coordination. Ogunremi's article is quite useful to this study because it showed the resolve of the NMTU in ending an arbitrary government policy and also portrays the eventual collaborative effort between the government and the transport union in achieving transport coordination. Though the author paid attention to the causes of the strike and its aftermath, the work gives a passing comment on the origin and development of trade unionism in the transport sector. This is one of the gaps that this research seeks to fill.

Olubomehin, (2012) like Drummond-Thompson, examines the contributions of pioneer private transport enterprises across Nigeria. Unlike Drummond-Thompson, however, Olubomehin (2012) further examines the origin and development of the NURTW since 1978. This article gives deserving attention to the political influence of early transport union operators Nigeria. However, while Olubomehin's work examines the activities of motor transporters across Nigeria since the 1920s, this article examined and proliferated transport unions in Nigeria, the politics of the emergence of the formation in 1978.

The Proliferation of Transport Unions in Nigeria

Trade unions in the Western sense began to emerge after the first decade of the twentieth century in Nigeria. These new unions generally were company (firms) unions rather than

industry-wide unions like in the United Kingdom. Secondly, the employers had not established trade associations as was the case in the United Kingdom. The exceptions to this trend were the trade unions in the motor industry, as both the employers and employees (drivers) were organized on an industry-wide basis (Hawkins, 1958:80).

The first set of employers to form trade unions in the transport industry was the Nigerian Motor Traders' Association (NMTA) formed in 1925 which was made up of expatriate firms engaged in the sales of vehicles and the haulage business (Albert, 2007:129). One of these was the Levantine firm J.N. Zarpas and Co. Bus Services was established in 1929 and it dominated the Lagos public transport sector until 1958 (Olukoju, 2003:84). Others were Messers El Khalil and Arab's transport companies. The native owners and employers' union was the NMTU. These two unions represented the employers' attempt at unionization and were headquartered in Lagos. The NMTU was established in Lagos in 1932, with Samuel Akinsanya and Chief Obafemi Awolowo as its President and General Secretary respectively (Ogunremi, 1978:138, Hawkins, 1958:81).

The National Union of Road Transport Workers headquarter was first located at 98, Docemo (Dosumu) Street and later at 23 Martins Street, Lagos Island. The union was formed in response to the colonial government's discriminatory policies in favour of the railways against the road transport sector and secondly, as a reaction to police harassment of operators in the road transport sector. In fact, the Union organized a motor transport strike in 1937 in response to the government's double license fees imposed on motor transporters (Ogunremi, 1978:137).

Between 1954 and 1955, the Union had a membership of approximately six hundred spread across its 15 branches in Lagos and the Western Region (excluding the Ilorin and Gusau branches which were both in the Northern Region). In the Eastern Region, the owners and employers' union were the African Transport Union which had its headquarters in Aba, with eight branches across the region. Unlike its Western region counterpart – the NMTU – it was registered as a company limited by guarantee (that is, a non-profit company whose liabilities are limited to its guarantors, also known as its members) rather than the Trade Unions Ordinance (Hawkins, 1958:81).

On the part of the drivers, their unionization was a reflection of the will to take control of their profession (i.e. “the daily operation of the industry”) as against the vehicle owners' union which had hitherto dominated the industry and its rates (Hawkins, 1958:83). It was also aimed at standardizing the drivers' profession in order to reduce road mishaps and curb drivers' excesses (NAI: COMCOL, File No. 3226: 1-3). In the Western Region, the Western Provinces Drivers' Union metamorphosed and was later known as the Nigerian Motor Drivers' Union (NMDU). It was probably established in the early 1930s. The earliest record obtained about the NMDU was on 24 June 1936, in “Notes of an interview accorded to the Motor Transport Drivers' Union” (COMCOL 1960, R/10, 2/1:5).

Its Eastern counterpart was the Nigerian Motor Transport Workers Union (formerly Eastern Motor Transport Workers' Union) which was registered as a trade union on 4 December 1944 and had over two thousand members by 1955 (Hawkins, 1958:82; COMCOL 935/1, F/6, Z/1:17). The taxi owners and drivers had their unions too; the Taxi Drivers' Union formed in 1938 (Coleman, 1965) and the Taxi Owners' Union. There were other drivers' unions in the public and private sectors such as the Zarpas Company Bus Drivers' Union and the Lagos Government Drivers Union, both registered in 1941 and 1944 respectively under the Nigerian Trade Unions Ordinance of 1938, (NAI: COMCOL 1, File No. 935/1F/6, Z/1:5 & 17).

There was also the Arab Trans Workers' Union. The NMDU, like the NMTU, had its headquarters at 18, Tinubu Street, Lagos Island. It had 16 branches in Lagos and the Western Region, including the Ilorin and Gusau branches. However, the NMDU, as of 1950 had well over one thousand and six hundred members in the Lagos State branch alone (COMCOL, 3296/C.14: 2-3); the Ibadan branch had approximately two hundred members (Hawkins, 1958: 82).

Between 1933 and 1958 the Messer Zarpas and Co. Bus Service dominated the Lagos public transport sector. It acquired 30 route permits, plying the suburbs of Obalende, Yaba, Apapa, Idi-Oro, Mushin and Ikoyi (Olukoju, 2014:224). The constant of Local competitors in the transport sector against the undue advantages accorded to the Zarpas Bus Service by the Lagos Municipal Council (Daily Service, Vol. VII, 8 April, 1947: 1, 3 & 4; COMCOL 1562, Vol. I: 20) and the company's (Messer Zarpas) inability to meet the increasing transport needs of Lagos commuters led to the acquisition of its assets in 1958. The Lagos Municipal Council paid the total sum of £500,000 for the Zarpas assets.

The amount included £392,183 for the fixed assets, £85,185 for goodwill; and £22,632 for the current assets (AutoReportNG, 28 March 2019). Consequently, the attempt at municipalized bus services in Lagos, which had 'been hanging in the air' (West African Pilot, 25 February 1956) for over five years was achieved by the establishment of the Lagos Municipal Transport Service (LMTS) in 1958. The transfer of Messer Zarpas' assets meant that its drivers (workers) became civil servants under the Lagos Municipal Transport Service (LMTS). As a result, all the drivers of the public and privately-run buses were merged under an umbrella union known as the Amalgamated Union of Lagos Municipal Bus Workers (AULMBW), (NURTW, 2013:20). The LMTS later became the Lagos City Transport Service (LCTS) in 1963 when the Lagos Town Council was renamed the Lagos City Council. The AULMBW was an affiliate of the United Labour Congress (ULC) and the International Transport Workers' Federation.

Meanwhile, at independence in 1960, the AULMBW continued to grow stronger and during a general strike in 1964, its might became felt. The first public sector reform attempt in post-independence Nigeria was brought about by the Morgan Commission of

1963. It was established to review the wages, salaries and conditions of service of junior employees in the private and public sectors of the economy. The Commission was the first attempt at introducing a minimum wage in the Nigerian civil service commission. It submitted its report to the government in which it recommended a minimum wage in the country on a geographical basis (Ukwandu and Ejere, 2020:3).

On the 1st of June 1964 strike was called as a result of the delay of the government to issue a White Paper on the Morgan Report. Thus, the Amalgamated Union of Lagos Municipal Bus Workers under J.O. Olatunde as its President (and V.M.I. Jack as the General Secretary), joined the strike on 2 June and all the 100 buses under the Lagos Municipal Transport Service laid idle (Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 1964).

The nation was paralyzed by the strike. The strike eventually resulted in victory for the workers as they won £10 a month minimum wage. However, the more militant unions like the 100,000 strong, Amalgamated Union of Building and Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Union of Lagos Municipal Bus Workers and the Nigerian Plantation Workers, which had 6,000 members threatened to embark on another strike until the full payment for the period of the strike was paid (The Newsletter, 355, 18 July 1964:1). By 9 October 1975, the Amalgamated Union of Lagos Municipal Bus Workers and the City Rethreading Service Workers' Union applied to the Registrar of the Trade Unions under the Federal Ministry of Labour, for a merger under the name Lagos City Transport and Rethreading Services Workers' Union (Federal Gazette, No. 51, Vol. 62, 1975: 1607).

The Formation of National Union of Road Transport Worker (NURTW)

In 1976, Lagos became a state in the 12 states federal arrangement and in 1977; the Lagos State Transport Corporation (LSTC) was founded. During this period, there were a plethora of trade unions in the country and the transport sector owing allegiance to any of the four competing labour union organizations – The National Trade Union Congress (NTUC), The United Labour Congress of Nigeria (ULCN), The Nigeria Workers Council (NWC) and The Nigerian Labour Unity Front (NLUF). There were no less than 148 unions in the transport industry alone and over 800 unions in total across all sectors of the country (NURTW, 2013:26). Therefore, the military junta on 3 March 1976 set up a Trade Union Tribunal headed by Justice Samuel DurojaiyeAdebiyi to look into the possibility of a unified labour federation and the streamlining of the existing unions.

In line with this directive, the Federal Ministry of Labour summoned a preparatory meeting in Ibadan, of all trade unions in the transport industry. It was at this meeting that the 148 unions were pruned down into Nineteen (19); Fourteen (14) for the transport workers and five (5) for the road transport employers. This process was to culminate in the enactment of the Trade Unions (Amendment) Decree No. 22 of 1978.

The NURTW was founded as the union of road transport workers and as an affiliate body of the NLC which emerged as the central labour organization. According to the Decree, the NURTW as a union included all transport workers involved in the transportation of passengers and food by road, excluding the transporters of petroleum by road and self-employed drivers (Federal Gazette, (6), 65, 1978:163). The following 14 unions formed the NURTW:

- i. Amalgamated Union of Lagos Municipal Bus Workers
- ii. Arab Trans Workers Union
- iii. Benson Transport Workers Union
- iv. Safieddine. H Transport Limited Workers' Union
- v. Hope Rising Drivers Union
- vi. Tractors Drivers Union
- vii. Anice Transport Service Workers Union
- viii. M.S. Fawaz (Nigeria) Limited and Allied Workers Union
- ix. Mid-West Line and Armels Transport Workers Union
- x. Trans-Continental (Nig.) Ltd. Workers Union
- xi. Jam IyyanAlhinDiraibob in Arewa Northern Transport Workers Union
- xii. Cross River State Transport and Allied Workers Union
- xiii. Ikot-Ekpene Divisional Transport Workers Union
- xiv. Rivers State Transport Corporation and Allied Workers Union

By the same token, the RTEAN was established as an amalgam of employers in the road transport industry (motor transport owners in Nigeria). The RTEAN was formed by the amalgamation of the following bodies (Federal Gazette, (6), 65, 1978:163):

- i. Nigerian Bus Owners' Association
- ii. Escravos Contractors' Association
- iii. Federal Planks and Plywood Transporters' Union
- iv. Kwara State Union of Transporters:
- v. The Nigerian Motor Transport Owners' Union.

At the Ibadan meeting, AlhajiMajeedAderibigbeBakare and V.M.I. Jack emerged as the pioneer President and General Secretary of the NURTW respectively. Upon their election, a ten-man committee was set up to come up with a draft constitution for the NURTW in Nigeria. Some of the matters were to re-echo the observation of Mr E.A. Olawaiye Commissioner of Police in 1968, when he disclosed that on his numerous visits to various prisons, most of the prisoners were noted to be drivers. According to the Commissioner's observation at Ikoyi Prison, the number of drivers at the prison was about eight in every prisoner. At Kirikiri Maximum Prison were about eighteen drivers out of every 20 prisoners. Also taken into consideration in the draft consideration was the contentious issue of self-employed drivers which included drivers of taxis, omnibus (Molue), minibuses (Danfo), trailers, tankers, commercial lorries and quasi-governmental and public road transport workers.

It should be noted that the self-employed drivers were excluded from union registration by the provision of the Trade Union (Amendment) Decree of 1978. This matter was to mark the beginning of several brutal confrontations between the road transport employers and the NURTW; as the latter sought to integrate the self-employed and professional drivers into its fold (NURTW, 2013:40). These recurrent confrontations soon led to the setting up of the Justice OlatunjiAjose-Adeogun Panel of Inquiry in February 1980 by the AlhajiLateefJakande administration in Lagos State. The mandate of the Panel inter alia was to inquire into and determine the remote and immediate causes of the frequent clashes between the NURTW and RTEAN (NURTW, 2013:44).

Discussion of Findings

This research has shown that the history of indigenous motor transport unions in Nigeria dated back to 1932 (Hawkins, 1958:80) when the NMTU was formed. Whereas the NMTU was a motor owners' union, the unionization of drivers came later based on the desire of the drivers to disentangle themselves from the control of the vehicle owners who had dominated the transport industry and controlled its rates (Hawkins, 1958:83). The drivers' unions were also aimed at standardizing the drivers' profession in a bid to reduce road mishaps and curb drivers' excesses (NAI: COMCOL, File No. 3226:1-3).

The Western Provinces Drivers' Union was established in the 1930s. Its Eastern Nigeria counterpart, the Nigerian Motor Transport Drivers' Union was registered as a trade union on 4 December 1944 (Hawkins, 1958:82). In Lagos State, the Nigeria Motor Drivers Union (NMDU) had its headquarters at 18, Tinubu Street Lagos Island. It had 16 branches in Lagos and the Western Region, including the Ilorin and Gusau branches. The NMDU as of 1950 had well over one thousand and six hundred members in the Lagos State branch alone (COMCOL, 3296/C.14: 2 & 3); the Ibadan branch had approximately two hundred

members (Hawkins, 1958:82).

The Nigerian Motor Traders' Association (NMTA) was formed in 1925 by expatriate firms comprising J.N Zarpas and Messers El Khalil and Arabs Transport Companies (Albert, 2016:129). This was many years before the creation of Lagos State in 1967. At that time, only a few people in Nigeria saw the opportunities in the public road transport industry and went ahead to take advantage of the opportunities. The few indigenous motor transport businesses then were Abusi-Odumare Transport Company, Benson Transport Services, Elias Transport Services, P.W.D. Motor Transport Services and Kinito Alafia Transport Services.

This study shows that 90 percent of these transport companies were based and operated in Lagos State (NAI, COMCOL, 1929, 1562:53). Interestingly, their activities were controlled by the government for the purpose of effective delivery of services, regulations and traffic control. But of particular importance was the drafting of a "Model Motor Parks Bye Law" sent by P.S.G. Flit-Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, Western Region of Nigeria to District Officers and local government Councils on 26 May 1954. The Model Motor Park Bye-law conferred power to the local government authorities to run the motor parks. It provided for the provision of land to be referred to as motor parks (NAI: COMCOL 1, 3852:6). Other provisions of the bye-laws included: the appointment of an attendant by the Council, payment of fees by vehicles, orders to be obeyed in the parks, mode of entry and exit, and fines to be paid by offenders of the bye-laws.

In 1958, the municipalization of the bus services in Lagos State was achieved by the acquisition of the Messrs Zarpas and Co. Bus Service by the Lagos Municipal Transport Services (LMTS). It became necessary due to the inability of Messer Zarpas and Co. Bus Service to meet the increasing transport needs of Lagos commuters. The transfer of the Messrs Zarpas' assets to the LMTS meant that its drivers became civil servants under the LMTS. Consequently, all the drivers of the public and privately-run buses merged under an umbrella union known as the Amalgamated Union Lagos Bus Workers (AULMBW) (NURTW, 2013:20). The Lagos Municipal Transport Services (LMTS) later became the Lagos City Transport services (LCTS) in 1963 when the Lagos Town Council was renamed the Lagos City Council. The AULMBW was affiliated with the United Labour Congress (ULC) and the International Transport Workers' Federation.

By March 1976, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo's military regime set up a Trade Union Tribunal headed by Justice Samuel Durojaiye Adebisi to streamline the proliferation of unions in all sectors of the economy including the transport sector which had about 148 unions (NURTW, 2013:26). This effort culminated in the 1978 Trade Union Amendment Decree of 1978. Two motor transport unions emerged from this reform namely the NURTW and RTEAN as affiliated bodies of the Central Labour Organisation (CLO), now NLC

(Tinuoye, 2014:376). While the NURTW represented the motor drivers' union, the National Association of Road Transport Owners (RTEAN) was to represent the motor transport owners. Gradually, the NURTW soon became a force to be reckoned with. In Lagos State, for instance, the NURTW made tremendous socio-economic contributions to the road transport sector. In the social sphere, it contributed to the formation and transmission of motor park slangs and language which percolated into Lagos society. Similarly, it influenced the denotation of the different Nigerian currency denominations.

Within its spheres of operations (bus stops, motor packs and the roads), the NURTW maintained order in the absence of law enforcement agencies such as the police and Lagos State Transport Management Authority (LASTMA) by enforcing parking regulations and clearing traffic. In the economic sphere, the union contributed over 100 high-capacity buses and 120 other buses to the Bus Rapid Transit (BTR) lite in Lagos State when it took off in 2008. It equally supplied over 80 percent of the drivers used in the scheme at the time. Apart from these, the NURTW through its toll agents assisted the local government authorities in Lagos State to generate revenue on a consultancy basis. The union also provided employment opportunities and acted as guarantors for loans to its members.

In spite of its different socio-economic contributions to Lagos State, the union has also negatively impacted the society. One major negative impact of the NURTW on the society at large is the evolving of road culture which encouraged social deviance. This is especially the case because two categories of NURTW members are identifiable: the administrative members (i.e. bosses) and the toll agents – the Agbero (or *Ẹrukus*). The latter are usually recruited from street urchins (street-toughened) known as “Area Boys”. Their presence at the parks, bus stops and streets bred the perception of fear of violence and intimidation. Their mode of operations and activities on the roads, motor parks and bus stops often caused traffic congestion.

Furthermore, their activities often led to an increase in transport fares due to numerous taxes and rates exerted by the union agents. The union agent's wanton disregard for the authorities sometimes caused an increased rate of accidents. It was also discovered that in spite of the huge sums generated by the NURTW through taxes and rates, a good part of the money often ended up in the private pockets of the NURTW bosses rather than the union or the government. The implication of this formation is for the union to directly protect the interest of its members.

Conclusion

This study examined the politics and formation of NURTW in Lagos State, with the focus on its establishment in 1978. Research has shown that the history of indigenous motor transport unions in Nigeria dates back to 1932 and it became proliferated and caused societal menace. From the foregoing, it is very glaring that the emergence of NURTW was achieved through

government legislation because of the need to unify the various interest unions, especially the owners and their workers in the sector. In the same vein, the colonial dependency and unfavorable transport policies necessitated the Nigerian Motor Transport Union Strike of 1978. This strike reflects cohesion and courage of the Nigeria Motor Transport Union (NMTU) to end arbitrary government policy. Since its formation as an affiliated body of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), the union has played a significant role in complementing the government's efforts in the provision of public transport services for the teeming masses of Lagos State. Through the fleet of mini-buses (Dánfó) at the disposal of its members (the drivers), the NURTW conveyed about 9,982,000 passengers daily (LAMATA, 2015). The regulatory lacunae observed in the operations of the motor transport union should be urgently addressed by the state government through the implementation of public transport sector reforms and the enforcement of relevant laws.

On this end, the government should create more commercial motor parks and take the NURTW off the roads and bus stops while ensuring that the activities of the union are limited to the motor parks. On the other end, the union should use the financial resources at their disposal to also create private motor parks. This enhances effective management of road facilities and the commuters, reducing the population of commercial buses carrying passengers illegally from one bus-stop to the other. It will further reduce crimes 'one chance' on the road of Lagos State, when all commercial vehicles converge in space as defined by "Model Motor Parks Bye Law" sent by P.S.G. Flit-Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, Western Region of Nigeria to District Officers and local government Councils on 26 May 1954 (NAI: COMCOL 1, 3852:6).

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Section C
PHILOSOPHY

9. A Critique of The Theory of Moral Luck

By

Idorenyin Francis Esikot, Ph.D

Department of Philosophy, University of Uyo
idorenyinesikot@uniuyo.edu.ng

&

Emem Fabian Etukudoh

Department of Philosophy, University of Uyo
ememfaby@gmail.com

Abstract

The problem with moral luck is basically that luck has a lingering influence towards the moral status of our actions. The crux of the question about moral luck hinges on the question: can luck make a difference in what a person is morally responsible for? Although many thinkers have contributed immensely to the issue of moral luck, Bernard Williams and Thomas Nagel argued that our moral status—how good or bad we are, and how much praise or blame we deserve—is largely determined by factors beyond our control. Accepting a phenomenon uncritically means acknowledging that one can be praised or blamed for things beyond one's control. This goes against our most fundamental prospect of evaluating moral actions where we have a deep attachment to the idea that we should be judged morally only about what is within our control. But abandoning the judgments and practices that seem to inevitably lead to these phenomena would require a radical and perhaps almost impossible modification of ordinary moral evaluation. This study, aimed to critically and analytically evaluate moral luck, as discussed by Bernard Williams and Thomas Nagel. The study noted that taking moral luck seriously may create moral dilemma in decision making. It concluded that the idea of moral luck makes moral agents reducible to fatalistic creations.

Keywords:

Moral, Luck, Moral Agent, Freewill, Blame-Worthy, Praise-Worthy, Control Principle

Introduction

It can be argued that one of the defining characteristics of humanity is the capacity for moral

behaviour. We have moral values, we think of our actions in moral terms, and we base our ideas about what people deserve on moral considerations. Humans are not the only creatures that act morally. This means that morality is not exclusive to human; rather other non-sentient creatures possess the ability to act in ways that are moral. Though the cognitive ability and self-awareness cannot be equated with that of humans, but they demonstrate behaviours that agrees with moral principles such as cooperation and empathy. This explains Psychologist Frans de Waal (13) submission that, primates have at least proto-morality. However, our focus in this paper, pertains to human morality as this is what makes us unique as humans. What makes us unique in our morality is our ability to examine, understand, and modify our moral principles, beliefs, and practices. We strive to understand the principles that guide our actions and judgments, and we want them to be consistent with our judgments.

This testing and evaluation of our moral system makes our morality very unique. It is this testing and evaluation that has caused many of the biggest problems and controversies among people regarding our moral practices. Our morality is both one of our species' greatest achievements and one of its greatest curses. The evaluation of our moral system may have brought great growth to human society, but it also opened the way for criticism and challenge. This is not to say that criticism is necessarily bad, but it can sometimes create problems that threaten to undermine our very moral practices. These problems have been growing for centuries.

From Euthyphro's dilemma (which questions the relationship between morality and religion; does morality rest on divine command, or is there a higher standard of morality that the gods must also adhere), to modern debates about free will and responsibility, as a specie, humans have been intrigued by questions about morality and its complexities. If we want to continually improve our world and our moral system, we must address these issues and ensure that our moral system itself remains intact. One of such issue is moral luck, and that is what we will consider in this study, in particular, the problem of moral luck as explained in the work of Bernard Williams. According to him, our moral system generally provides that we should not punish agents for actions that are outside the control of the agent in question. This seems to lead to a contradiction at the heart of our morality— should we punish or not punish people for actions that are beyond their control? How are actions beyond the rational control of human individuals? This is one question this study must attempt an answer.

Bernard Williams on Moral Luck

Bernard Williams in the introduction of his conception of moral luck viewed the term 'luck', to mean a 'lack of control. Bernard's' argument was that our moral systems presuppose a 'Control Principle', that states that agents may only be judged for actions within their control. In explaining William's perspective on moral luck, David Enoch in his work *A Case*

against *Moral Luck* writes that:

We tend to assume that people cannot be praised or blamed for something that they are not responsible for. A simple example would be if someone knocked a glass of water out of your hand and it then spilt on another person. In such a case we would conclude that you are not morally responsible for this result, as you could not have done otherwise. The fact is simply that the water spilt was not under your control (3).

Williams then goes on to explain that, contradictorily, our moral systems also do seem to judge people for actions outside their control (27). These two opposing principles create a paradox within our moral systems. He explains that we as agents frequently lack the kind of control necessary for responsibility, due to factors outside of our control. He refers to such factors in so far as they pertain to morality as “moral luck”. “Luck” here refers to any part of an agent's life that seems to influence moral judgments related to her, but which is also outside of the agent's control.

In the paper “*Moral Luck*”, Williams uses the story of an aspiring artist to demonstrate a problem with our moral systems and practice in general. Williams starts the discussion with a description of how we usually see morality, i.e. as unique. As he explains, we are all aware that the world is full of good and bad luck, but, somehow, we see morality and those actions that we tend to make moral judgments about as being immune to these features thus:

The thought that there is a kind of value which is, unlike others, accessible to all rational agents, offers little encouragement if that kind of value is merely a last resort, the doss-house of the spirit. Rather, it must have a claim on one's most fundamental concerns as a rational agent, and in one's recognition of that one is supposed to grasp, not only morality's immunity to luck, but one's own partial immunity to luck through morality (36).

The intuition that we have about morality is that it pertains to those actions that we can rightly pass judgment on, due to the culpability of the agents performing those actions. This intuition seems to be widespread and is strengthened by various religious teachings, as well as Kant's famous work on morality. We believe that moral responsibility should not be influenced by the unlucky happenings of the moment and that agents should only be punished for those things that are within their control. This “Control Principle” can be formulated with the position that an agent should only be judged for those actions within the agent's control.

A corollary of this principle is that, usually, any action that is outside of the control of the agent should not be liable to moral judgment. The intuitive appeal of this principle is demonstrated when we consider the case of two people (X and Y) who both spill coffee on someone: X, while carrying some coffee, does not take proper notice of her environment because her attention is focusing on something else, perhaps her phone, carelessly trips over a desk and spills her coffee on her colleague sitting there. Now, I believe most people would agree that X is at least responsible for being negligent. She is guilty of not taking proper note of her surroundings and should, therefore, be held morally responsible for neglect in this regard. In a second case, Y is also carrying a cup of coffee, but is concentrating on his surroundings and trying his best not to spill any coffee; however, as he passes his colleague, an office chair is pushed into his path and causes him to spill coffee on his colleague. Although the colleague might initially react in the same way in both instances, most would agree that the second case is an accident and that Y is not to be blamed. Both X and Y spill coffee, yet they are treated differently. The only difference is that while it was within X's control to avoid spilling her coffee (by being more vigilant), it was not within Y's control since he could not avoid the chair.

As much as this moral difference seems intuitive, some philosophers have also explicitly argued that it must be a fundamental part of morality. For an example, Immanuel Kant in his *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* states:

Even if by some particular disfavour of fate, or by the scanty endowment of a step-motherly nature, this will should entirely lack the capacity to carry through its purpose; if despite its greatest striving it should still accomplish nothing, and only the good will were to remain (not, of course, as a mere wish, but as the summoning of all means that are within our control); then, like a jewel, it would still shine by itself, as something that has its full worth in itself. Usefulness or fruitlessness can neither add anything to this worth, nor take anything away from it (17).

From the foregoing, it is evident that Kant thus argues that even if a person is unable to act, or if their actions do not turn out as intended, their will remains fully in their control, and we are therefore able to hold them responsible for what they intended.

This free “will” is an important aspect of Kant's philosophy, and indeed our own conceptions of what it means to be human and what it means to be moral. How can we judge, blame, reward, and punish people if what they do is not in their control? When someone does something, it is only the fact that we believe that that action was “part of them”, that they meant to do it rather than doing something else, and that we feel we may judge them.

This belief stems from the understanding that our choices and decision reflect our personal agency and autonomy. And when we act in accordance with our own will, we own our actions and accept the consequences that may result from it. It is this fully-free will of the human that is called into question when we realize that the world might not afford us the amount of control required by our moral systems. We now have to ask whether we do indeed have such control.

Williams famously argues that we do not have such control, or, at least, that we do not have enough control over our actions to be fully responsible for them. To illustrate this, Williams tells the story of a fictional artist named Gauguin, who had the responsibilities one might expect a grown man to have, such as holding down a job and caring for a family. However, he also felt that he would not reach his full potential as a painter leading the life that he currently led (Williams 38). It is important to note that Williams stipulates that Gauguin is not morally bankrupt. He knows he has these other responsibilities, and he believes he ought to fulfil them. Nevertheless, his desire to become a great painter eventually pushes him to neglect these duties. He hopes that by starting a new life he may become a great painter, but he has no way of knowing whether or not he will be successful.

It is here that Williams argues that Gauguin has no way of justifying his decision to be a good painter until he has gained success, hence, Gauguin has no way of knowing whether his decision is a good one or not. If Gauguin fails, his decision would have been a bad one, if he succeeds, his decision would be a good one (Williams 38). It is important to note that Williams does not cast this decision in moral terms; rather, he states that Gauguin has no way of knowing if his decision is rational, and therefore, a good one. Williams then argues that this insight also has bearing on moral decisions and actions. It is with the story of Gauguin that Williams believes he is able to demonstrate the problem we face. The problem is not that we have to wait until after the fact to make our moral judgment, rather, it lies in how the circumstances which lead to either a good or bad judgment come about, and also in how the effects of our decisions play out.

William argues that it might seem theoretically possible to find a criterion which allows us to judge the rightness/wrongness of an action before we make it, but that such criteria would still seem to require some information about the future. The problem with the future, at least from this perspective, is that it is uncertain, and the reason for this uncertainty lies in all the different factors that are at play in any decision that we make, as well as its effects. No one person is able to control all aspects of his life; so, whether Gauguin becomes a successful artist or not will be partially up to him, but also partially up to how morally lucky he is in finding the right place to work, choosing the right moment to act, and working in the particularly popular style of art of that time, to name a few. Williams thus argues that Gauguin has no way of knowing whether or not he will be successful, and that to some degree his rational justification for his actions depends on his success or failure (Williams 40

–41). Something similar applies when it comes to the morality of our actions.

One can summarize all of this as follows: Gauguin should only hold himself responsible for those things within his control. He decides to leave his family and pursue a career in art, whether he did the right or wrong thing (in neglecting his responsibilities) is also partially dependent upon his failure or success as a painter, yet these are not wholly within his control. This is due to the fact that people judge people not just for what was “rational” at a given time, but also for what actually happened, and moral judgment is therefore susceptible to post hoc factors. Hence, Gauguin is responsible for something not within his control. It is this story that captures the apparent paradox within our moral systems: we ought only to blame ourselves for what is in our control, but we do blame ourselves for what is not.

The Nature of Moral Luck and How They Affect Moral Responsibility

Thomas Nagel also contributed immensely to the problem of moral luck. Thomas Nagel tries to defend moral luck by saying that a moral agent is never responsible for the action performed by him, because the situation or outer conditions of an action, which are not controlled by the agent, are responsible for an action. In his work *Moral Luck*, Thomas Nagel claims that moral luck reveals a paradox. It holds that the apparent paradox emerges only because it is assumed that attributions of responsibility require agents to have total control over their actions.

Thomas Nagel was the first author to distinguish between four different “types” of luck and this paper will adopt same. Although Nagel distinguishes between the four types, they are still related to one another and all refer to the same issue: the seeming paradox between the Control Principle and the fact that we tend to include factors out of the agent's control. Nagel starts his discussion by admitting that the Control Principle seems to be intuitively appealing. But he argues that, although the Control Principle seems to be intuitively true, he does not agree with Kant that intentions are all that matter when making moral judgments. He believes it also seems intuitively true that what actually happens should also have an effect on moral judgments, and therefore, we have a conflict between the Control Principle and the way we actually make moral assessments (Nagel 58). He further strengthens this intuition by distinguishing between two different forms of blame. According to him, although we may judge some things as being bad (such as death or harm), these are not necessarily within the scope of moral judgment. As Nagel explains: “...but when we blame someone for his actions, we are not merely saying it is bad that they happened, or bad that he exists: we are judging him, saying he is bad, which is different from him being a bad thing.” (58)

It is this second form of bad that the Control Principle is concerned with. We want to only blame and judge people as bad for doing what is within their control. Since it is undoubtedly true that much of what we do depends on factors beyond our control, Nagel

asks whether we should not simply deny the Control Principle. If we can clearly show examples where it does not hold, we should reject it and find another, more refined principle by which to judge others.

The problem, Nagel argues, is that we cannot do this since the Control Principle is not only a foundational part of our moral systems; it is still an intuitively necessary requirement for justified moral judgments. It is not the principle of control itself that is the problem here (i.e. it is not an “ethical” or “logical” mistake), but the paradox that arises when we consider the facts about the way in which the world is constituted and the principles our moral systems imply (Nagel 59). The principle of control is not false, and hence is not something we can simply get rid of. Therefore, Nagel believes, we truly do have a paradox at the heart of our moral systems. With this in mind, he goes on to describe four separate instances of luck which each, in their own way, takes away one aspect of an agent's control over her actions and their results. It is Nagel's thesis that if we accept these to be true, we lose moral responsibility.

The first form of luck is called Resultant luck. Nagel identifies this as the first of two types of luck that fall within the sphere of external factors that affect the causes and effects of our actions. Resultant luck is concerned with how things turn out, or, put more simply, how your actions play out in the real world and “actually” occur. To demonstrate this, we can consider the case of two different truck drivers: Both of these truck drivers find themselves driving on the road. Known to both, their brakes have not been checked and serviced in a while. It is clear that both drivers are negligent. If the story were to stop here, most would agree that they should be blamed equally for this negligence. However, as luck would have it, one of the drivers makes it to his destination safe and sound, while the other is in an unfortunate accident where a child has fallen into the road, and due to the poor brakes of the truck, the driver was not able to come to a stop in time, thereby crushing the child to death.

The story above poses an interesting question: are both drivers equally blameworthy or is the second more blameworthy, given the results of his negligence? Nagel argues that cases like the above demonstrate that while we hold the Control Principle to be true, we also blame people for the results of their actions, even when these results were not within their control. Moral blame, according to Nagel, is thus subject to external factors (if we blame people for the results of their actions rather than their intentions). Luck (or otherwise stated, a lack of control) often characterizes the results of our actions and therefore undermines the Control Principle when it comes to moral judgments.

A second type of luck Nagel introduces is that of circumstantial luck. This is the type of luck in the circumstances in which you find yourself. Circumstances (the world around you) play a large role in who you are and what you do. It plays a role in the development of your personality and, of course, different circumstances require different reactions. As Nagel explains: The things we are called upon to do, the moral tests we face, are importantly

determined by factors beyond our control. It may be true of someone that in a dangerous situation he would behave in a cowardly or heroic fashion, but if the situation never arises, he will never have the chance to distinguish or disgrace himself in this way (Nagel 65). Again, to demonstrate how this diminishes your control when it comes to moral matters, Nagel uses the Second World War as an example. He explains that the ordinary citizens of Germany, during the rise of Nazism, had the option to either oppose the Nazi government (a commendable act) or to join them (an action which is now looked upon with disdain). This “test”, as Nagel calls it, was one not shared by the people in other countries, but that is not to say they would not have acted as badly as many Germans did, were they to have been presented with the same circumstances (Nagel 65).

The same is true of Germans who were lucky enough to have emigrated out of the country before the rise of the Nazi party. It would seem that whether one is morally judged as a good or bad person also depends on how lucky one is in the circumstances one finds oneself in. Or, as Nagel puts it: “We judge people for what they actually do or fail to do, not just for what they would have done if circumstances had been different” (56). The world pushes and pulls us in different directions, placing us in different circumstances. We are only able to react to those circumstances we are presented with, so why should we be held accountable for those actions when others (through no merit or fault of their own) are not?

The third type of luck, Constitutive luck, which determines who you are; arguably, our personalities, wills, desires, and capabilities are to a large extent formed by the world around us. We may have no direct control over who we are, and yet we hold one another responsible for actions that came about due to our personality, even though we may not be responsible for it. Some people have extremely hard lives, some people have privileged lives, and this shapes the sort of people they are (Walker 12). Why should we say a thief is a bad person when, for the sake of argument, his behaviour and attitudes were caused by a hard life full of struggle? We praise people who support and assist others, but, again, for the sake of argument, why should we praise them when such behaviour and attitudes were caused by a life of privilege where they had the opportunity to develop such a character? Examples such as these are meant to demonstrate that the people we are, and therefore the moral judgments accrued to us, are influenced by many factors out of our control.

And this observation takes us to causal luck that has to do with how one's actions are caused by the circumstances that precede them. In this regard, if determinism is true, then all our actions are caused by events that happened before us. These events are beyond our control, so why hold ourselves responsible for actions that inevitably result from them? To summarize, we seem to find the Control Principle intuitively plausible, yet, we also seem to lack control in three distinct yet related ways. First, we seem to lack control over how our actions turn out. Second, we seem to lack control over the opportunities and challenges we face. Finally, we lack control over the people we are and the intentions we have. Taken

together, these three types of luck undermine the Control Principle and therefore moral responsibility.

Evaluation of the Theory of Moral Luck

It is indisputable that the realm of moral responsibility revolves around humans because of the capacity and ability to reason, the capacity to decipher what is right or wrong. Levy in his work *Hard Luck: How Luck Undermines Free Will and Moral Responsibility* asserts that the agent can control his actions and that he can be held responsible for such action, because intuitively, we understand people to have a part that controls their actions and another part which is controlled (54). The thrust of this idea is that man exhibits some level of decision over the things he does, and man is not absolutely a fatalistic creation. Similarly, Pereboom in *Living without Freewill* also writes that character traits or mental states cannot be seen as being beyond the control of the agent (13). For this reason, if we accept the Control Principle, we hold that agents can only be held morally responsible for their actions insofar as these actions are somehow under their control. But, the question remains, how can we decipher the fact that other actions which we feel an agent is not blameworthy are not under the agent's control? As demonstrated by Robert Adams in his *Involuntary Sins* this claim leads to a problem (91). Adams argued that there is no conception of circumstances that allows us to conclude that agents do not have a sufficient level of control over their characters to satisfy the Control Principle. Characters are voluntary by being operations of the will, since there is no way to make sense of the idea that agents can “try” or “will” their characters into being.

Now that we have a better understanding of the agent and what exactly it is that we expect to be in control, we can move on to understanding the relationship between the agent and their circumstances. The problem of circumstantial luck states that different people face different challenges and tests, as well as different opportunities for success, and that this is not fair since the praise or blame accrued to them would have also been accrued to others, had they found themselves in the same circumstances. Again, we lack control over our circumstances and this violates the Control Principle, which undermines our moral responsibility. If this is true, it then implies that no one is worthy of any praise since such actions may not be under the person's control, but only circumstantial influences.

From the foregoing, we may assert that the whole prospect of the argument about moral luck may be reduced to the idea that we have moral agents equipped with all the relevant psychological states and capacities necessary to make moral decisions and actions; without these states/properties, we would not be talking about moral agents. It is this set of states and capacities which exercises 'control' and therefore bares moral responsibility (agent-causality). This implies that moral judgements require actions that make the judgement possible, and for this to happen, it requires an environment in which a person can

act in a way that indicates a moral position. These circumstances and the judgements that accompany them do not determine the agent's moral standing, but only the agent's moral record.

Practically, if we hold the perspective of moral luck which leans on the control principle, as hinted above, then nobody should be punished by the criminal code because people should be punished for their wrongdoing, not for any practical reason (such as deterrence), but solely on the bases that they deserve punishment because they did wrong. If an agent hurts someone, then they deserve to be hurt back. This principle will imply that anyone cannot escape punishment since such an agent can always have an excuse for the immoral actions committed.

Caruso in his *Why Luck (Still) Undermines Moral Responsibility* asserts that:

Kant was right when he thought that luck should not come into ethics. Every action which can be assessed in moral terms must be freely performed: you should not be held morally responsible for anything outside your conscious control. This view seems plausible: our notions of moral praise and blame are focused on what is and is not avoidable, on what is within the agent's control (19).

Kant believed that good or bad luck should influence neither our moral judgment of a person and his actions, nor his moral assessment of himself. The good will is not good because of what it effects or accomplishes or because of its adequacy to achieve some proposed end; it is good only because of its willing, i.e., it is good of itself. And, regarded for itself, it is to be esteemed incomparably higher than anything which could be brought about by it in favour of any inclination or even of the sum total of all inclinations.

Conclusion

The study notes that the problem of moral luck is the seeming paradox that occurs due to the fact that we believe two contradictory things, both to be intuitively true. The first is the Control Principle which states that an agent can only be held morally responsible for those things within their control (McCann 22). A corollary to this principle is that an agent cannot be held responsible for that which is not in their control. The second is the fact that we do, in general, judge agents for things not in their control, and intuitively we feel this is right.

The justification for the Control Principle is both intuitive and moral. As was discussed, we intuitively believe the Control Principle to be true because it seems right. More than this, the Control Principle also seems like a fundamental part of our moral systems. We can see in the writings of Kant that we cannot abort freewill from our moral frameworks because it is intrinsically linked to our actions.

The study concludes by stating that the idea of moral luck makes moral agents reducible to a fatalistic creation. Moreover, morality remains one of the ways of keeping society in order. Relying therefore on moral luck in assessing the actions of persons can yield anarchy since everyone will have an explanation as to their innocence, and the cause of their moral misdemeanour. Finally, the freedom of the will debate does threaten the particular case for moral luck by contradicting the fundamental tenets of the theory.

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Section D
MISCELLANEOUS

**An Anthropological Exploration of the
Influence of Social Media on Nigerian Youths Culture**

Glory Ekan Akpan

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State

gloweekan25@gmail.com; 08102968971

Nsikanabasi Wilson

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State

nsidofzion@yahoo.com 07062295373

Emem UmohUmoh

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State

Queen Idopese Enyina

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State

&

Eddiong Udofia

Center for Translation and Implementation Research

University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Enugu State

Abstract

This study explored the anthropological influence of the social media on Nigerian Youths Culture, using Uyo as the study area. In carrying out this study, the researcher employed survey method in which structured questionnaire was used to gather data. The population of the study were youths in Uyo metropolis aged between 16 to 35 from which sample of 400 was drawn. The researcher formulated research questions to guide the study. Relevant literatures were reviewed for the study. The data obtained were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis and were presented in tables that contain frequencies and percentages, and the following findings were made: the social media have influence participation in political activities among youths residing in Uyo; the social media has positively impacted

social skills among youths residing in Uyo; social media use has positively affected reading habits of youths in Uyo; the social media has affected the usage of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths; the social media has influenced the cultural identity (e.g., values, beliefs, practices) of Nigerian youths. The researcher made a number of recommendations for further study.

Keywords: Social media, Nigerian youths, Uyo residents, Political Participation, Reading Culture.

Introduction

Social media has become an essential part of daily life for many young people worldwide, including those in Nigeria. The widespread use of platforms like Facebook, X, Instagram, and WhatsApp has significantly influenced various aspects of Nigerian youth culture. Every individual has needs ranging from basic to more complex. As outlined in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, one fundamental need is to belong to a group, to love, and be loved (Amogu, 2008). This makes communication a basic human need. Throughout history, humans have always found ways to fulfil this need through interpersonal or mass communication. Today, unlike in the past, the world feels like a global village due to advancements in information technology. Marshall McLuhan aptly described this phenomenon, stating, "The world is now a global village where the whole world is now compressed into a single electronic chat room." McLuhan (1964)

Katz (2014) observes that information dissemination, which once took days or weeks, now occurs in seconds or minutes. Social media enables people to quickly engage in interpersonal communication and obtain desired information from across the country or even from other countries without leaving their immediate surroundings. The late 20th-century technological advancements, driven by the internet and satellite, gave rise to what we now call social media. This term encompasses the digital, computerized, or networked interactive information channels that form today's communication system.

The evolution of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has thrust young people and teenagers into the digital space. Modern teenagers and youths spend hours online, engaging in chatting and socializing on various social networking sites such as Facebook, X, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, YouTube, TikTok, Pinterest, Google+, Tumblr, and Instagram. This has become a significant part of their lives, often prioritizing virtual friends and online interactions over face-to-face relationships. Singh et al., (2017) notes that "today, youths are defining users of social media. Social media provides a platform for youth to build social networks or social relations among people".

Teenagers and youths have become increasingly addicted to online interactions. They claim that social media helps them stay connected with friends they don't see often,

make new friends, find jobs and business opportunities through LinkedIn, and achieve self-fulfilment, importance, expectation, fame, health-related information, and social well-being. According to Brady, *et al* social media also provides efficient ways for education, with students using it for e-learning, developing communication skills, and enhancing their learning abilities (Ali *et al.*, 2017).

Despite these positive aspects, studies have shown numerous negative effects of social media, particularly on teenagers and youths. Access to social media can create significant distractions, impair learning and comprehension in class, and facilitate cheating during examinations. Unrestricted information on social media negatively impacts teenagers and youths, as highlighted by Ali. Berson and Berson's work noted that high exposure to the internet carries risks (Singh *et al.*, 2017). Additionally, Jacobsen and Forste's research found that two-thirds of students had lower grades due to using social media during class hours. Other negative impacts include hacking, identity theft, phishing scams, and exposure to pornographic materials.

Nigerian youths on their parts, is no exception. The pervasive use of social media platforms such as Facebook, X, Instagram, WhatsApp and many others have had a profound impact on various aspects of Nigerian youth culture. This study explores the influence of social media on Nigerian youth from an anthropological perspective, focusing on political participation, social development, reading culture, traditional media usage, and cultural identity.

Political Participation

Social media has significantly expanded opportunities for political engagement among Nigerian youths. Platforms like X and Facebook have been instrumental in mobilizing youth for political participation and discourse. Studies have shown that social media use has positively influenced offline youth political participation, enabling a more inclusive and engaged youth populace in political processes (Egbunike, 2023). Furthermore, during the 2015 general elections, social media networks facilitated socio-political movements and heightened political awareness among young Nigerians (Egbunike, 2023).

Social Development

While social media enhances global communication, there are concerns about its impact on the social development of Nigerian youths. Research indicates that a significant portion of Nigerian adolescents and youths engage in social media use daily, which influences their social development in various degrees (Aondowase and McCarty, 2017). However, unchecked use of social media could potentially lead to negative outcomes such as reduced face-to-face interactions and increased exposure to cybercrimes.

Reading Culture

Contrary to the popular belief that social media is detrimental to the reading culture among Nigerian youths, studies have found only a weak relationship between social media use and reading habits. The decline in reading culture is more significantly associated with demographic variables such as sex, education, and employment status (Oji and Erubami, 2020). Nonetheless, efforts are needed to improve reading habits through socio-economic interventions rather than merely restricting social media use.

Traditional Media Usage

The advent of social media has changed how Nigerian youths interact with traditional mass media. Social media platforms provide alternative avenues for accessing news and entertainment, thereby broadening the media landscape. However, the shift has also led to a decreased reliance on traditional media among youths (Edogor *et al.*, 2014). This convergence of media forms underscores the evolving nature of information consumption in the digital age.

Cultural Identity

Globalization and media consumption have posed challenges to the cultural identity of Nigerian youths. The proliferation of Western celebrity culture through social media has influenced the lifestyles and worldviews of many young Nigerians. Despite these influences, there is an emerging trend of hybridizing African and Western cultures, as Nigerian youths negotiate their cultural identities in a globalized world (Omenugha *et al.*, 2016)

Statement of Problem

Advancement in technology in this era has reshaped all human activities on earth to include communication. The world has become a global village as postulated by Marshal McLuhan where the use of computer and internet facilities is indispensable. Social media is among the numerous means which the people interact and communicate online exchanging views, ideas and other related matters with a good number of them being the teenagers.

The rapid proliferation of social media among Nigerian youths has generated significant changes in their cultural practices and social behaviour. However, the extent and nature of these changes remain under-researched, leading to a gap in understanding the comprehensive impact of social media on youth culture in Nigeria. This study seeks to fill this gap by investigating the multifaceted effects of social media on various dimensions of Nigerian youth culture.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the influence of social media on Nigerian youth culture, using anthropological lenses. The specific objective includes to:

- i. Examine the influence of social media on political participation among Nigerian youths.
- ii Assess the impact of social media on the social development of Nigerian adolescents and youths.
- iii Explore the relationship between social media use and the reading culture of Nigerian youths.
- iv. Investigate how social media affects the usage of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths.
- v. Analyse the effects of social media on the cultural identity of Nigerian youths.

Overview of Social Media

Definitions and Features

Bryer and Zavatarro define social media as “the technologies that facilitate social interaction, make possible collaboration, and enable deliberations across stakeholders” (Bryer and Zavattaro, 2011). This definition includes tools such as electronic blogs, audio/video platforms like YouTube, internet chat rooms, cellular and computer texting, and social networking sites (SNSs). Rosen's 2011 study found that, on average, individuals born between 1965 and 1979 (Generation X) spend about 13 hours per day on social media; those born between 1980 and 1989 (Net Generation) spend about 19 hours per day; and those born between 1990 and 1999 (I Generation) spend about 20 hours per day.

The term social media has a broad meaning, while social networking sites (SNSs) specifically refer to internet-based platforms that enable individuals and groups to interact. Boyd and Ellison (2007) define SNSs as internet-based services that promote online social interactions within a bounded system for the purpose of friendship, meeting new people, and exchanging information. These sites allow users to create public or semi-public profiles, communicate with other users, and search for users based on specific criteria. Examples of SNSs include Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn, and X.

Defining social media can be challenging due to the wide range of standalone and integrated social media services available. However, they share some common features such as:

- i. Social media are interactive, internet-based applications.
- ii. User-generated content—such as text posts, comments, digital photos, videos, and data from online interactions—forms the core of social media.
- iii. Users create profiles specific to the website or app, which are designed and managed by the social media platform.
- iv. Social media enable the formation of online social networks by linking a user's

profile with those of other individuals or groups.

Users typically access social media services through web-based applications on desktops and laptops or by downloading apps that provide social media functionality on mobile devices like smart phones and tablets. By engaging with these electronic platforms, users create highly interactive spaces where individuals, communities, and organizations can share, co-create, discuss, participate in, and modify user-generated or self-curated content. Social media is also used for documenting memories, learning and exploring new things, self-promotion, and forming friendships. This includes creating and sharing blogs, podcasts, videos, and gaming content.

Some of the most popular social media platforms, each boasting over 100 million registered users, are Facebook (and its Facebook Messenger), TikTok, WeChat, Instagram, QZone, Weibo, X, Tumblr, BaiduTieba, and LinkedIn. Other widely used platforms often classified as social media include YouTube, QQ, Quora, Telegram, WhatsApp, LINE, Snapchat, Pinterest, Viber, Reddit, Discord, VK, and Microsoft Teams. Wikis are examples of collaborative content creation.

Social media differs from traditional media (such as print magazines, newspapers, TV, and radio) in several ways, including quality, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy, and permanence. While traditional media typically operates under a monologic transmission model (one source to many receivers), social media functions through a dialogic transmission system (many sources to many receivers). For instance, a newspaper is distributed to numerous subscribers, and a radio station broadcasts the same content to an entire city, whereas social media allows for multiple simultaneous exchanges between users.

History and Development of Social Media

The evolution of social media began with simple platforms. GeoCities, one of the earliest social networking services, launched in November 1994, followed by Classmates.com in December 1995, and SixDegrees.com in May 1997. SixDegrees, often regarded as the first true social media site, was unique because it was designed for real people using their real names, unlike instant-messaging clients (e.g., ICQ and AOL's AIM) or chat clients (e.g., IRC, iChat, or Chat Television). According to CBS News, Six Degrees is “widely considered to be the very first social networking site,” as it included profiles, friends lists, and school affiliations for registered users.

Following SixDegrees, Open Diary launched in October 1998; LiveJournal in April 1999; Ryze in October 2001; Friendster in March 2003; LinkedIn in May 2003; hi5 in June 2003; MySpace in August 2003; Orkut in January 2004; Facebook in February 2004; YouTube in February 2005; Yahoo! 360° in March 2005; Bebo in July 2005; Twitter (now called X), which limited posts (tweets) to 140 characters, in July 2006; Tumblr in February

2007; Instagram in July 2010; and Google+ in July 2011.

Research from 2015 indicated that people spent 22% of their online time on social networks, highlighting the growing popularity of social media platforms. This increase is largely attributed to the widespread daily use of smartphones.

Social Media Use and Applications

Social media and social networking websites were developed to help people share their views and stay connected with friends, relatives, well-wishers, and other groups in society. In Nigeria, both the internet and social media have become essential tools, widely used across various sectors of the economy. According to World Development Indicators 2013, cited in Anyanwu and Agwu, “social media users in Nigeria were officially estimated to be 53.5% of the population in 2012, higher than the national average for 2008. It was projected that by 2016, over 80% of urban residents in Nigeria would be using social media.”

Both the internet and social networking sites play a crucial role in the educational environment. Odoh *et al.*, (2021) in their study of social media usage within the Nigerian academic setting, focusing on Madonna University, Okija, and National Open University, Enugu Campus, sampled 420 students aged 20-45. They found that Nigerian students primarily use Facebook and X. Their findings also showed that these social media tools enable Nigerian undergraduates and teachers to communicate directly with friends and colleagues worldwide for academic and other purposes. Students access social media daily on desktop computers, laptops, e-readers, tablets, and cell phones to engage in social networking, text messaging, blogging, and content sharing.

In a separate study, Odoh and Ajah explored the role of social media in bridging the rural-urban information gap for development in Igbo-Etiti Local Government Area of Enugu State, a rural setting. They surveyed 400 participants, including students aged 17-30 and teachers aged 25-45, from a population of 9700 using Taro Yamani's sampling method. The study found that rural residents in Igbo-Etiti have access to telecommunication services and use social media, although the networks are often unreliable. The preferred social media platforms in this area were Facebook and Twitter.

The popularity of social networking sites has surged in recent years. Downes describes social networks as the intersection of personal connections facilitated by a set of relationships. These platforms allow users to express daily thoughts, engage in discussions, share and update photographs and videos, and participate in various real-world activities within a virtual environment.

According to Boyd and Ellison (2007), the first social networking site, SixDegrees.com, launched in 1997, allowed users to create profiles, list their friends, and browse friends' lists. From 1997 to 2010, the number of social networking site users grew to 1.5 billion, with Facebook leading the way with over 901 million users. Initially, Facebook

was exclusively for college and high school students, but it was later opened to everyone, encouraging diverse member postings similar to MySpace.

Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the Uses and Gratification Theory, which suggests that individuals are more inclined to engage with information that provides them the greatest utility and benefits. Conversely, information lacking sufficient and tangible benefits for a particular audience is likely to be disregarded.

According to McQuail (2010), the theory posits that media usage is driven by the perceived satisfaction of needs, wishes, or motives of the audience, which stem from psychological instincts such as the need for information, relaxation, companionship, diversion, and escape. Ndolo (2006) further explains that uses and gratification arise from the "social and psychological origins of needs," which create expectations of the mass media or other sources, leading to varying patterns of media consumption or other activities that fulfil these needs.

Ndolo identifies the adult needs fulfilled by the media as including surveillance, excitement, guidance, relaxation, tension reduction, social integration, entertainment, escape, self and personal identity, social contact, and information acquisition.

In the context of studying youths' use of social media, this theory provides insights into their motivations for high levels of interest and engagement. Social media has become a crucial aspect of life for many young people today, addressing various needs specific to the teenage audience.

For example, youths report that social media helps them stay connected with friends they don't see often, make new friends online, find jobs and business opportunities through platforms like LinkedIn, and achieve self-fulfilment, importance, fame, address health-related issues, and enhance their social well-being.

Materials and Methods

The selection of a research method for any study is determined by the study's purpose or objective and the nature of the problem being investigated. Given that this study examines the influence of social media on Nigerian youth culture, a survey research design was adopted. This method is particularly suitable because it offers a straightforward and uncomplicated approach to examining attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives across a broad population. Surveys can efficiently generate a large amount of data at a relatively low cost within a short timeframe, making it appropriate for capturing the perspectives of a diverse group of Nigerian youths.

Given that the study utilized the survey research method, a descriptive design was selected as the most suitable research design. This design aids in providing information that

can address the research questions by detailing the variables involved to achieve the study's objectives. In a descriptive design, data are collected to test hypotheses and answer the research questions posed in the study. Additionally, the descriptive design enables the researcher to make comparisons, conduct systematic evaluations, and identify the problems under investigation.

The study targets Nigerian youths aged 16-35 who actively use social media. Hence, the population of the study is the youthful population in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, aged 16-35. The information gathered by the researcher from the Office of the State Surveyor General, Ministry of Economic Development in the State Secretariat Complex, Uyo revealed that the population of youths in Uyo metropolis aged 16-35 as at the time of this study was 619,900. Therefore, the researcher carried the survey research with a population of 619,900 people. To determine the sample size of the study, the researcher used a scientific formula of Taro Yamane. The formula is stated below as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

In the formula above; n is the required sample size from the population under study, N is the whole population of youths in Uyo, and e is the precision or sampling error which is 0.05.

Using the formula, $N = 619,900$, $e = 0.05$

$$n = \frac{619,900}{1 + 619,900(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = 619,900/1550.75$$

$n = 399.74$ or approximately 400. Therefore, a sample size of 400 fits for the study.

The researcher used a purposive sampling technique, also known as judgmental sampling. This method involves the researcher selectively choosing participants from the study population based on specific criteria (Ogbuoshi, 2006). This technique was chosen because not everyone in the population has a good understanding of social media. Additionally, the selection was based on the respondents' literacy levels, focusing on literate individuals, as not everyone in the population is literate.

Questionnaires were employed as the primary measurement instrument in the study. According to Ogbuoshi (2006), a questionnaire is useful for capturing the feelings, beliefs, experiences, or activities of respondents. The study utilized a structured or close-ended questionnaire to limit respondents from providing irrelevant information. Each question included a set of predefined options, and respondents were asked to select the one that best reflected their answer. The questionnaire was designed to be simple and easy for respondents to understand, and it was self-administered.

The data collected for the study's analysis were obtained from primary sources, specifically through a Google Form questionnaire distributed to young respondents in Uyo

metropolis. To facilitate the distribution and collection of the questionnaires, the researcher enlisted the help of three student assistants. The questionnaire was designed to address the research questions and meet the study's objectives. It was self-administered, and responses were collected immediately after respondents completed and submitted their answers. This approach ensured that respondents could receive guidance on any problematic questions and helped to minimize bias in their responses.

The study employed quantitative data analysis methods. Data collected from respondents were analysed using tables, frequencies, and simple percentages. Simple percentages were utilized to describe the occurrence of events. These methods facilitated the identification of changes in responses to the various questions posed. The findings enabled the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis and draw relevant conclusions.

Below, the researcher presented the data obtained. The presentation involved a tabular form of analysis to show the number of questionnaires distributed. A total number of 400 copies of questionnaires were distributed to the respondents and returned. The demographic data were analysed after the presentation and analysis of the questionnaire distribution and returned followed by other research questions as follows, using simple percentages.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Category	Frequency (%)
Gender	Male	244 (61.0)
	Female	156 (39.0)
Age	16-20	5 (1.3)
	21-25	40 (10.0)
	26-30	180 (45.0)
	31-35	175 (43.7)
Marital Status	Single	277 (69.3)
	Married	117 (29.3)
	Separated	5 (1.3)
	Divorced	1 (0.1)
	Widowed	0
Education Level	Secondary	6 (1.5)
	Undergraduate	36 (9.0)
	Graduate	267 (66.8)
	Postgraduate	91 (22.7)
Employment Status	Student	26 (6.5)
	Employed	317 (79.3)
	Unemployed	57 (14.2)

From table 1 above, the figures show that 244 respondents representing 61% were males and 156 respondents representing 39% were females. The data on the age distribution shows that 5 respondents representing 1.3% indicated that they fall between the age-bracket of 16-20

years, 40 respondents representing 10% were between 21-25 years, 180 respondents representing 45% were between 26-30 years old while 175 respondents representing 43.7% indicated they are between 31-35 years old. The data on marital status shows that 277 respondents representing 69.3% are single, 177 representing 29.3% are married, 5 representing 1.3% are divorced while 1 respondent representing 0.1% was divorced. This shows also that there are more single people who probably like to spend more time to consume social media contents.

The data on education level of the respondents revealed that 6 respondents representing 1.5% were in secondary education level, 36 respondents representing 9% indicated that they are undergraduates, 267 respondents representing 66.8% were graduates, while 91 respondents representing 22.7% were in postgraduate level of education or have graduated from postgraduate studies. The implication is that more of the respondents were graduates, who may be seen to make use of internet regularly than those in other category. The analysis on the employment status of the respondents indicated that 26 respondents representing 6.5% were students, 317 respondents representing 79.3% were employed, while 57 respondents representing 14.2% said they were unemployed.

Table 2: Social Media Usage

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
How many hours do you spend on social media daily?	Less than 1 hour	25 (40.3)
	1 to 2 hours	101 (25.3)
	3 to 4 hours	113 (28.2)
	More than 4 hours	161 (40.3)

From table 2 above, the question on the number of hours spend on social media daily, when analyzed revealed that 25 respondents representing 40.3% spent less than 1 hour, 101 respondents representing (25.3) spends 1 to 2 hours daily, 113 (28.2%) respondents said they spends 3 to 4 hours daily, while 161 respondents representing 40.3% spends more than 4 hours daily on social media. This means a greater number of youths spend more than 4 hours of their daily life on social media.

Table 3: Influence of social media on political participation among Nigerian youths

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
Has social media influenced your participation in political activities (e.g., voting, protests, campaigns, elections)?	Yes	294 (73.5)
	No	106 (26.5)

From table 3, the question on social media's influence on participation in political activities (e.g., voting, protests, campaigns, elections), when analysed, revealed that 294 respondents representing 73.5% were of the view that the social media have influence participation in political activities among youths residing in Uyo while 106 respondents representing 26.5%

said no. This means that social media have not influence participation in political activities among youths residing in Uyo.

Table 4: Impact of Social Media on the Social Development of Nigerian youths

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
Do you believe social media has impacted your social skills (e.g., communication, empathy)?	Yes, positively	359 (89.8)
	Yes, negatively	9 (2.2)
	No impact	32 (8.0)

The analysis of the impact of social media on the social development of Nigerian youths shows that 359 respondents representing 89.8% agreed that social media has positively impacted social skills among youths residing in Uyo, 9 respondents representing 2.2% were of the opinion that social media has negatively impacted social skills, while 32 respondents representing 8% were of the opinion that social media has no impact on social skills of Nigerian youths.

Table 5: Relationship between social media use and the reading culture of Nigerian youths

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
Has social media use affected your reading habits?	Yes, positively	164 (41.0)
	Yes, negatively	146 (36.5)
	No impact	90 (22.5)

The figures presented and analyzed in table 5 above shows that 164 respondents representing 41% were of the view that social media use have positively affected reading habits of youths in Uyo, 146 respondents representing 36.5% were of the view that social media use have negatively affected reading habits of youths in Uyo, while 90 respondents representing 22.5% were of the view that social media use has no impact on reading habits of youths in Uyo.

Table 6: Social Media effect on the usage of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
Has your use of traditional media changed due to social media?	Yes	291 (72.8)
	No	109 (27.2)

The analysis on whether social media have affected the usage of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths in Uyo indicated that 291 respondents representing 72.8% said yes while 109 respondents representing 27.2% said no, that social media have not affected the usage of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths in Uyo.

Table 7: Effect of social media on the cultural identity of Nigerian youths

Question	Response	Frequency (%)
Do you feel that social media has influenced your cultural identity (e.g., values, beliefs, practices)?	Yes	214 (53.5)
	No	186 (46.5)

From table 7, the analysis on whether social media have affected the cultural identity of Nigerian youths residing in Uyo indicated that 214 respondents representing 53.5% said yes, while 186 respondents representing 46.5% said no, that social media have not affected the cultural identity Nigerian youths in Uyo.

Findings

This study found that young adults in Nigeria are aware of Socialmedia, use them frequently and most times more than 4 hours in a day. The internet, especially for social use has influence participation in political activities (such as voting, protests, campaigns, elections, etc.) among youths in Nigeria. The findings of Ahmad *et al.* (2019) align with of this study as they found that the younger generations (university students) are very active on social media to participate in online and offline political activities.

Ahmad *et al.* (2019) emphasized that youths utilize social media to engage in various political activities. These include political advocacy, campaigning, communicating with politicians, participating in political discussions, monitoring and reporting electoral malpractices, engaging in public consultations, joining interest groups involved in lobbying, blogging about political issues, and writing letters to public officials. Given that youths are prolific users of social media, it is natural for them to leverage these platforms for political participation as well. The social media has positively impacted social skills among youths (e.g., communication, empathy), according to this study. An assertion that agrees with the work of Singh *et al.*, (2017) where respondents admitted that social media have had positive and negative impact on their social lives and skills. Singh *et al.* (2017) investigated the positive and negative effects of social media on Indian youths. Ngonso (2019) summarized these impacts on teenagers, and also concluded that social media helps youths develop social skills and foster the formation of new friendships through social websites. Youths typically enjoy making new friends and learning about others, which is facilitated by social media platforms.

This study also asserts that social media use has positively affected reading habits of youths. A finding that agrees with that of Akintola (2020), where 136 of youths representing 73.5 % say “Yes” that social media have assisted them in their reading culture and studies. Eliciting the effect of social media on the use of traditional mass media among Nigerian youths, this study revealed that the social media have had significant effect on the use of traditional mass media among Nigerian youth. Edogor *et al.* (2014) discovered that using

social media, Nigerian youths access traditional mass media online. This was determined because a bigger majority of respondents said that Nigerian youths receive traditional mainstream media via social media. So, the usage of social media provides Nigerian adolescents with simple access to traditional mass media, which has connections with the former and encourages their audiences to follow them via the links. Edogor (2014) discovered the link between conventional media and social media and says that "...there is a convergence of social media with other media genre."

Lastly, looking at the effect of social media on the cultural identity of Nigerian youths, this paper affirms that social media has influenced Nigerian youth's cultural identity (e.g., values, beliefs, practices). This is a finding that is similar with Nwaolikpe (2013). Nwaolikpe (2013) noted that young adults in Nigeria feel that social media have contributed to the erosion of traditional African values such as morality, respect for elders, and communalism. The study found that social media bring about both positive and negative changes but do not significantly promote Nigerian cultural values. Young adults are often influenced by what they see on platforms like Facebook and X, which tends to shift their focus away from Nigerian cultural values towards Western styles in fashion, food and even thought processes. The findings also suggest that social networks were primarily created for social interaction rather than for promoting national cultural values.

Conclusion

This study concludes that as information and communication technology (ICT) and social media increasingly shape various aspects of our lives, including politics, cultural identity, education, and commerce, their role and impact are firmly established. Adolescents and youths will continue to adopt and use these technologies; along with their associated consequences. Accesses to these devices are becoming increasingly available, cheap and simple to use. Hence, as revealed in the study, adolescents and youths are gaining more and more access to use them, and are being influenced by them day in, day out.

Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations to ensure proper use of the social media by youths:

1. Social Media Sites (SMS) should serve as veritable sources of socialization, communication, cultural awareness, motivation, learning opportunity and political participation.
2. Relevant stakeholders such as government agencies, educational institutions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should organize awareness programmes on proper social media use—particularly focusing on the social development of youths—in community centers, higher institutions, and schools.

3. The federal government, state governments, parents and guidance/teachers should ensure that adolescents and youth exposure to social media is for basically academic purpose and tailored to their needs.
4. All levels of government, businesses, and NGOs should ensure that the youths gain access to social media platforms through their traditional media, and ensure that the youths are fed with information that can enrich their lives and not something that would affect their morals, leading them to degeneration and a neglect of the traditional media.
5. To preserve Nigerian cultural values among young adults, efforts should focus on integrating media literacy skills such as accessing, analysing, and evaluating media content. The National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO), in collaboration with the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC), should promote Nigerian cultural heritage on social networking sites. This initiative should highlight our beliefs, norms, cuisine, attire, and other cultural aspects, while discouraging the adoption of foreign cultures. It is essential to ensure that these cultural values remain deeply ingrained in young adults, who will then pass them on to future generations.

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Tense-aspect Morphology in the Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Second Language (ESL)

By

Willie U. Willie (Ph.D.)

Lecturer and Researcher

Department of Linguistics and

Nigerian Languages

University of Uyo,

PMB 1017, Uyo, Nigeria

e-mail: williesco70@yahoo.com

phone: +2348163481476

Abstract

This paper explores the pattern of acquisition and distribution of tense-aspect morphology by L2 learners. We tested the predictions of the Aspect Hypothesis and Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis on a set of data elicited from nine ESL learners with Chinese L1 using a set of cloze test. Aspect Hypothesis predicts that past tense-aspect verbal morphology emerges first on telic predicates before atelic predicates in the interlanguage of L2 learners irrespective of the variation in their L1 while Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis predicts that irregular verbs are marked with past tense-aspect verbal morphology before regular verbs. The analyses of the data show that the pattern of acquisition and distribution of past tense-aspect verbal morphology by this group of ESL learners is not determined by either the lexical aspectual class of the verbs or the perceptual saliency of the verbal predicates.

Keywords: Acquisition, Cognitive, Hypothesis, Interlanguage, Tense-aspect

1. Introduction

The acquisition of tense-aspect morphology has presented the L2 learners with serious learning difficulties and L2 researchers have speculated much on this issue. For instance, Schwartz (1993:160) states that inflectional endings are among the most difficult features of non-native languages for adult learners. According to this source, tense-aspect morphology presents the “highest amount of variability and lowest degree of success” among L2 learners. According to Salaberry (2000), Schwartz (1993) has attempted to explain the problem with a claim that parallels that of Krashen (1982). That is, the idea of unconscious acquisition versus conscious learning. Schwartz (1993) claims that learners have access to two types of evidence; positive evidence and negative evidence. Positive evidence (which supports unconscious acquisition) is represented by direct exposure to normal utterances

(primary language data) from the target language. Negative evidence (which supports conscious learning) is represented by corrections, questions, requests for clarification, etc. According to Schwartz (1993), only positive evidence can enhance acquisition. Negative evidence, which is synonymous with formal instruction, does not have a role in acquisition. With respect to inflectional morphology, Schwartz (1993:160), cited in Salaberry 2000:136), stipulates that “the syntax (being built on the basis of primary linguistic data) continues to grow but the morphology seems to lag behind: learned linguistic knowledge, in this case inflectional verbal morphology, just cannot feed into the grammar”.

In this study we use the Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis in conjunction with Aspects Hypothesis to explain the developmental pattern in acquisition of past tense-aspect morphology of L2 learners of the English language. The L1 of the participants is Chinese. Why Chinese? Chinese language is highly analytic (as opposed to synthetic). It is a good example of an isolating language. That is a language where each morpheme represents a word on its own. There is no inflectional morphology in the language as the examples in (1a-b) show:

1a. [wɔ mən tan tcin]
 I plural play piano
 ‘We are playing the piano’

b. [wɔ mən tan tcin lə]
 I plural play piano past
 ‘I played the piano’

This observation raises some interesting research questions as to whether this morphological difference between the L1 and the target language has the potential to impede or facilitate acquisition of the English tense-aspect morphology by Chinese learners. Recent research has shown that some structural differences may as well facilitate learning/acquisition (Flege 2007:367).

Therefore the research questions that this study attempts to answer are; do the learners exhibit any degree of native-like performance in their use of various past tense-aspect morphological forms across the lexical aspectual classes, or to what extent is the prediction of aspect hypothesis confirmed or refuted by the empirical data under analysis? Does the level of proficiency of the learner determine or contribute to the question of whether the prediction of aspects hypothesis is confirmed or refuted? That is, does the high proficiency learner (HPL) follow the predicted pattern while the low proficiency learner does not or vice versa? Also, to what extent can the predictions of cognitive saliency hypothesis explain the past tense-aspect morphology acquisition pattern in the L2 data?

Does the high proficiency learner follow the pattern predicted by this hypothesis while the low proficiency learner does not or vice versa? But before we continue the process of finding answers to these research questions, let us discuss briefly what tense- aspect is in natural language.

2. What is Tense-aspect?

The concept of temporality or time is expressed with the category that 'relates the time of the situation referred to with some other time, usually the moment of speaking' (Comrie, 1976: 1-2 cited in Ayoun and Salaberry, 2008: 557). If the situation is simultaneous with the moment of speech, (i.e. the deictic center), we talk of the present tense. If the moment of speech is subsequent to the situation referred to or discussed, we talk about the past tense, and if the moment of speech is before the situation, we talk about the future tense. Aspect, on its part, is the speaker's view point about the internal temporal mark-up of the situation.

According to Comrie (1976:3, cited in Ayoun and Salaberry, 2008:557), aspect denotes the 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. In fact, aspect has been compared to the camera lens focused on a situation. The lens focused on a situation determines the presentation of a situation just like grammatical aspect does in language (Smith, 1983, 1991; Bardovi-Harlig, 2000). For example, in describing an event such as washing of dishes, a speaker may say either (2a) or (2b) depending on whether s/he focuses the lens of the view-point aspect on the terminal phase of the situation (2a) or the continuative phase of the situation (2b).

- 2a. John washed the dishes
- b. John was washing the dishes

The purpose of tense is to order events along a time line; i.e. to situate events in reference to other events in terms of temporality whereas aspect reflects the speaker's internal perspective on a given situation (Ayoun and Salaberry, 2000). Tense and aspect is very difficult to disentangle from one another in most languages of the world. In the example in (1a), the same morphological form is used to mark the past tense and the perfective aspect. In aspect hypothesis, aspect is discussed under two broad areas: grammatical aspect is what we have discussed so far and aspectual distinction is made broadly between perfective aspect and imperfective aspect. The differences between perfective and imperfective aspect are explained in terms of the speaker's perspective on the event described. Perfective aspect focuses on the beginning and the end of a situation whereas imperfective aspect focuses on the situation from within, without definite temporal boundaries (Smith, 1991, 1997; Ayoun and Salaberry 2000).

Lexical aspect, also known as inherent aspect, refers to the inherent semantic

property of the verb phrase or predicate used to express a situation or an event. Vendler (1957, 1967 cited in Bardovi-Harlig, 2000) proposed a four-way division that distinguishes the lexical aspectual categories of 'states', 'activities', 'accomplishments', and 'achievements'. States persist over time without change. They are not interruptible and if a state ceases to obtain, then a new state begins, for example, 'seem', 'know', 'need', 'want', also 'be' as in 'be tall', 'be big', 'be green' etc. "Activities have inherent duration in that they involve a span of time. They have no specific end points" (Bardovi-Harlig 2000: 215).

Examples of activities include 'rain', 'play', 'walk' and 'talk'. Achievements capture the beginning or the end of an action as in 'the race began or the game ended'. Examples of achievement verbs include 'arrive', 'leave', 'recognize' and 'fall asleep' (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000; Mourelatos, 1981; Andersen, 1991). "Accomplishments have both inherent duration (like activities) and inherent end-point (like achievements)" Bardovi-Harlig (2000: 215).

Examples of accomplishment verbs include 'build a house, paint a painting' etc. The classes of achievement and accomplishment are grouped together as telic predicates and the classes of states and activities are also grouped together as atelic predicates. Aspectual distinctions or categories apply to the verb and its argument(s); not just the verb (Dowty, 1986; Freed 1979). Other distinctions may be possible in the aspectual system; like the distinction between punctual and non-punctual, dynamic and non-dynamic; but we are concerned mainly with the distinctions discussed above. Overall table of aspectual

Table 1. Semantic Features of Aspectual Categories

	States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
Punctual	-	-	-	+
Telic	-	-	+	+
Dynamic	-	+	+	+

(Table 1 adapted from Ayoun and Salaberry 2008: 559 and Bardovi-Harlig, 2000: 216).

3. Theoretical Review of Terms

There has been an increase in research inquiry into the nature of L2 acquisition of tense-aspect (especially the past tense) morphology in the last two decades. Researchers in L2 acquisition have tested a number of hypotheses that make well defined predictions about the developmental processes involved in L2 tense-aspect morphology acquisition. Among the leading hypotheses that have been tested include the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis (AH), Discourse Hypothesis (DH), Perceptual Saliency Hypothesis or Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis and Monitor Hypothesis or Input Hypothesis. Lexical Aspect Hypothesis

(henceforth AH), as propounded by Andersen (1986, 1994, 1991) predicts that events that have an inherent end point (e.g. to crash, to break, to reach the top, to notice something, to recognize somebody) will be the first type of verbs marked with past tense (i.e. telic predicates are marked with past tense morphology first). This would be followed by atelic events (i.e. activities; processes that have no inherent end point). Examples of these include, to walk, to beg, to look, to watch, to do, and to listen. And the last class of verbs to be marked with the past tense morphology is the statives (a type of atelic); for example, verbs like to be, to remain, to know, to have, to want etc. What this means is that the appearance of temporal verbal morphological markings on the verbal predicates would depend on the lexical semantic class of the predicate. That is, L2 learners first use tense markings to signal or in relation to the lexical semantic class of the verbs. AH makes other predictions which we do not hope to be concerned with in this study. These include the prediction that 'in languages that encode the perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction, imperfective past appears later than perfective past and imperfect past marking begins with statives; extending next to activities, then to accomplishments, and finally to achievements' (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000: 227).

Other predictions of AH include the fact that 'in languages that have progressive aspect, progressive marking begins with activities, then extends to accomplishments and achievement', (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000: 227). And the last prediction of AH is that 'progressive markings are not incorrectly overextended to states' (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000: 227, Salaberry, 2000: 137). However, in this study we would be concerned in testing the first (the major) prediction of AH on the data elicited from L1 Chinese speakers who are English L2 learners.

Another factor that has been considered by L2 researchers as contributing to the development of verbal morphology is the 'role of the perceptual saliency and frequency of verbal endings (i.e. regular – irregular morphology) in the past tense marking' (Salaberry 2000: 137). The claim is that irregular verbs are typically frequent and the morphological differences between the base form and the inflected form are perceptually salient, compared to a regular verb ending like *-ed* which may be hard to process by learners. The postulation is that irregular verbs may be listed in the mind of the speaker differently from how regular verbs are listed. Irregular verbs may be listed as individual lexical items. That is the finite form and the inflected form may be listed independently of each other. This makes for ease of processing as opposed to regular verb morphology which is rule-based and has to be generated by some syntactic rule which might not yet have been acquired by the L2 learner. In essence, the major prediction of this view is that the more frequent and irregular the verb, the more likely it will appear first in the development of past markings by L2 learners, irrespective of the lexical semantic value of the verb phrase. (Wolfram, 1985; Bayley, 1994; Klein et al, 1995; Salaberry, 1999a, 2000; Ayoun and Salaberry 2000; Hawkins and Liszka

2003).

In this study, we will be concerned with testing the interaction of the prediction of the cognitive saliency hypothesis just stated above with the major prediction of the AH in the data elicited from L2 learners of English with respect to the development of the past temporal verbal morphology.

Moreover, aspects of Krashen's input hypothesis have been tested with L2 data. The effect of 'monitoring' or what Salaberry (2000) calls 'planning time effect' has been observed in the performance data elicited from L2 learners. This effect is independent of the learners L1 and may or may not interact with the lexical class of the predicate. For instance, Salaberry (2000) investigated the development of English past tense verbal morphology among 14 monolingual Spanish speakers who only had access to classroom instruction. The analysis of the data collected with both oral and written narratives of two excerpts from the silent film "Modern Times" led to the finding that there was a planning time effect (among other findings) in that there was a more extended use of past tense markings in written narratives than in oral narratives (Salaberry 2000; Ayoun and Salaberry 2000; Hawkins and Liszka 2003). This clearly seems to be a proof for Krashen's monitor hypothesis especially as the L2 learners were exposed to only classroom L2 language instruction.

3.1 Previous Works on AH and Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis.

The major predictions of AH stated above; namely that past tense morphology would appear in the interlanguage of L2 learners first on telic events (and marked with perfective aspect), then spread to activities and finally to stative predicates have been tested with many empirical data from L2 learners from various L1 backgrounds. Data have been elicited from learners who learn their L2 in both naturalistic setting and instructional settings using both written and oral narrative tests and cloze tests; the latter being the elicitation method used in this study. The prediction of cognitive saliency hypothesis, which is that irregular verbal morphology would appear first in the interlanguage of L2 learners before the regular verbal morphology, has also been tested by scholars though not as widely tested as AH. We review some of the empirical studies testing these two hypotheses.

Results of some studies directly support the prediction of AH. For example, Robison (1995) analyzed data from 30-60 minutes of oral interviews with 26 college-level L1 Spanish speakers in Puerto Rico. Robison's (1995) data showed that the use of past tense across lexical aspectual classes was mostly restricted to the marking of telic events although the most advanced learners only marked past tense with approximately 20% of all verbs. It is important to note that Robison's data were elicited in a variety of contexts like descriptions of hometown, and family members, narratives of movies, narratives of stories heard or read and a picture-based questionnaire (see Salaberry (2000)).

Also, the results of the empirical studies conducted by Bardovi-Harlig and Reynolds (1995) directly support the predictions of AH. In that study, 182 ESL learners at six different levels of proficiency and with 15 different L1s were tested on 32 short passages. The participants were asked to provide the appropriate verbal morphology for predicates based on contextual information. The results of the data analysis showed that lexical aspectual class influenced the sequence of acquisition of past tense morphology and that learners went through three different stages in their acquisition of the simple past. First to appear were telic verbs followed by atelic verbs, before stative verbs started being used more than activities.

Lee (2001) conducted a longitudinal study of two adolescents with Korean L1 learning ESL. Oral data were elicited with story narration and translations, picture description and spontaneous conversations. The result of the data analysis showed that one participant rarely used past morphology, whereas the other started to use past tense morphology toward the end of the study. Instead, both participants used adverbials and discourse-pragmatic devices. The lexical aspectual analysis revealed that telic predicates were marked with past tense more often than states and activities whereas progressive appeared first with activities supporting most of AH predictions.

Collins (2002) conducted two studies with French speakers enrolled in English intensive course in Canada to test the predictions made by AH and to establish the degree of L1 influence that would come from the inappropriate use of the present perfect in English which has similar uses to the *passé composé* in French. The analysis of the data obtained from a 32-passage cloze test looked at the use of the simple past and its alternative forms for four aspectual classes of predicates. The results from the first study revealed a significant difference in past tense use across lexical aspectual classes but no interaction with proficiency level. Also, the L1 effect in present perfect use seemed to be limited to higher proficiency learners. Over all, learners had the most difficulty with activity verbs. The result of the 25-passage cloze task administered in the second study showed a significant difference in past tense use across lexical aspectual classes but no interaction between group and lexical aspect. And Ayoun and Salaberry (2008: 565) observe that 'it appears that even advanced learners' use of past tense morphology was influenced by lexical aspect'. Significant differences were also found between achievements and states, between achievements and activities, as well as between accomplishments and states. Past progressive was the second common form used mostly with activities followed by the present with states. The present perfect was the alternative form used and most often used with telics, especially with increasing levels of proficiency, but it remained relatively low in production rate.

On the contrary, some empirical studies have raised doubt about the validity of AH predictions. For example, Housen (2002), using longitudinal data from a 9-year old Dutch

child showed that whereas the development of progressive marking supported the prediction of the AH, the development of past tense did not. First, states were marked for past tense beginning in the early stages of development much more than expected, though they were mostly irregular verbs. Second, type analysis, as opposed to token analysis did not support the proposed early association of past tense marking with achievements because the repeated use of a few achievement verbs (i.e. 'said' and 'got') inflated their token count. Housen (2002) therefore speculates that AH prediction for past tense might be valid for regular past only, whereas a different processing mechanism might be involved for irregular past, assumed to be more prone to rote learning than regular past (Ayoun and Salaberry 2008).

Another study that tends to be problematic for AH is Rohde (2002) cited in Ayoun and Salaberry, (2008:566). Rohde's (2002) study focused on child L2 acquisition of English. It studied verbal morphology in the interlanguage of four German children acquiring English in a naturalistic setting. After discussing various possible factors such as L1 transfer and input, he argued that 'aspectual effect', which can vary in strength, should be invoked rather than an aspect hypothesis that must be either supported or rejected. The major finding that was problematic for AH was that stative verbs had very high past marking rate (80-100%) in obligatory past contexts. So, according to Ayoun and Salaberry (2008: 566) 'although states verbs in Rohdes' (2002) data included 'be' copula/auxiliary, the same tendency was observed by Housen's (2002) study that arrived at a similar finding although he had excluded 'be'. Rohde and Housen therefore both provided important counter examples to the AH'.

Many studies have been conducted to test the prediction of cognitive saliency hypothesis. For example (Klien et.al 1995:271) reports on a study supported by the European Science Foundation Project as reaching the conclusion that 'past tense formation is very simple for the regular forms, and irregular past is often a nightmare. Still, the learners of our study tended to overlook the simple rules of the former and to start with the complexities of the latter' (whatever the semantic category of the verb). In the same way, Sato (1990) conducted a longitudinal (10-month) study of two Vietnamese speakers learning English in the United States with foster families. Analysis of the data revealed that the two learners did not use inflectional endings (i.e. regular past tense morphology) to mark past tense. In contrast, they used what Sato (1990) calls 'lexical past verbs' (e.g. brought, came), irregular past tense morphology was the only means attested in Sato's data to mark past tense.

Hawkins and Liszka (2003) conducted a study which seems to clearly link the nature of saliency with irregularity or regularity of verbal conjugation. For example, the study investigated the effect of the regular-irregular morphology in the use of L2 English past tense marking among L1 speakers of Chinese, Japanese and German. The learners

performed at an advanced level of L2 English proficiency as determined by written test that assessed their use of past tense marking. For the Chinese, the use of past tense in two spontaneous oral narratives (a personal narrative and a retelling of a movie excerpt) however, stands in contrast with the written data as noted above. That is, the L1 Chinese speakers were more successful in using irregular past tense forms (84% correctly inflected.) Hawkins and Liszka speculated that the irregular forms might be processed as independent lexical items that have different morphological status than the syntactically based regular forms. About the regular forms, the authors suggest that Chinese speakers might not treat them as the irregular forms due to their regularity as applied to many different verbs and their associated frequency in the input.

4. The Current Study

4.1 Objective and Research Questions.

The major objective of this study is to test the predictions of two hypotheses: the aspect hypothesis (AH) and the cognitive saliency hypothesis on the data collected from L2 learners of English who are native speakers of Chinese. The research questions as we stated above are: to what extent is the major prediction of AH confirmed or refuted by data collected from the participants in this study? Does the level of proficiency of the learner affect how the prediction of AH is borne out? The same set of research questions go for cognitive saliency hypothesis. Furthermore, we shall assess the interaction of the two sets of predictions as they are evident in the analyses of the data elicited for this study.

4.2 Participants

Nine participants who are all L1 Chinese speakers took part in this study. This included 5 females and 4 males and 8 (88.8%) of them are within the age range of 15-30 while the remaining 1 (11.1%) participant was within the age range of 31-60. All participants are residents of Athens in Georgia. The participants were classified into two groups for the purpose of this study. The first group was called high proficiency learners (HPL). These are L2 learners who have studied the English language for more than one year or have stay in the United States for more than one year. The other group of participants was called low proficiency learners (LPL). These are learners who have studied the English language for less than one year and have remained in the United States for less than one year. The level of proficiency of the learners was determined by self-evaluation by the learners themselves. Learners were asked to rate their proficiency on a scale of 1-10. High proficiency learners are those who rated themselves from 7-10 and answered other questions that ascertained their length of stay in the United States appropriately. Low proficiency learners, generally, rated themselves 6 and below and answered the questions that ascertained their length of stay in the United States appropriately too.

4.3 Methodological Processes

The data used in this study was collected using a cloze task adapted from Ayoun and Salaberry, (2008) and modified to suit our research questions in this study. The cloze task was a fictional narrative by a native speaker (NS) of English. To perform the cloze task, participants were instructed to read the entire story first and then complete it by using the given base forms of the predicates in the appropriate tense according to the context. The original cloze task adapted from Ayoun and Salaberry, (2008) contained 59 predicates but in the version used in this study, some predicates were deleted (2 of them). This brings it to a total of 57 predicates which were designed to test mostly the simple past tense. These were distributed across lexical aspectual categories as follows: 15 states, 12 activities and 30 telic events (combining achievements and accomplishments). The tests for the classification of the predicates used in the cloze task into lexical aspectual classes have been conducted by Ayoun and Salaberry, (2008). However, to be sure, we asked another native speaker of English to re-conduct the test using the method used in Salaberry, (2000:142) which is similar to the one used in Ayoun and Salaberry, (2008) but which is simpler. The test was conducted to distinguish statives from activities and to distinguish the two from telic verbs.

The test of stativity distinguished statives versus non-statives verbs: If the verb cannot have a habitual interpretation it is a stative verb.

The test of telicity distinguishes telic versus atelic verbs: If you stop in the middle of V-ing, have you done the act of V? The application of the test is illustrated based on these sentences:

He (to be) hungry

The police (to take) the man to the car

First, we apply the test of stativity: can we use the verb *to be* in a habitual sense in the framework in which it has been embedded? No. Then the verb *to be* is a stative verb. The second test becomes irrelevant in this case. The same procedure is applied to the second sentence: can we use the verb *to take* in a habitual sense in the framework in which it has been embedded? Yes. Then it is a non-stative verb. The second test now applies: if you stop in the middle of taking the man to the car, have you taken the man to the car? No. Then, *to take* is a telic verb. (Shirai 1991).

5. Results

The participants' responses to the cloze task were classified into one of the following five categories:

- i. Correct response ©; when the target tense was used with appropriate morphological form and inflection; e.g. *I **brought** it outside to him but he had disappeared.*
- ii. Partially correct response (PC), when the target tense was used but not complete predicate; e.g. *I brought it outside to him but he **disappeared** (target: had disappeared)*
- iii. Alternatively correct response (AC) , when an alternative tense other than the target tense was used; e.g. *The night fell, it **rained** and like I said, it was extremely cold (target: was raining)*
- iv. Incorrect response (INC), when a non-target tense was used; e.g. *It was pretty easy because his limb **preventing** him from going fast (target: prevented)*
- v. Missing response, when no answer was provided

Tables (2) and (3) present the means across learners for high proficiency learners and low proficiency learners respectively.

Table 2: HPL Mean across Learners on the Cloze Task

Response	Statives	Activities	Telics
Correct (C)	82.2	54.1	70.6
Partially correct (PC)	4.1	16.6	16.1
Alternatively correct (AC)	1.0	4.1	2.2
Incorrect (INC)	12.6	25.0	11.1
Missing (M)	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 3: LPL Mean across Learners on the Cloze Task

Response	Statives	Activities	Telics
Correct (C)	93.3	58.3	71.1
Partially correct (PC)	0.0	24.9	11.1
Alternatively correct (AC)	0.0	0.0	5.6
Incorrect (INC)	6.7	13.9	12.2
Missing (M)	0.0	2.8	0.0

Table (2) shows that for the high proficiency learners (HPL), the order of performance in terms of accuracy; i.e. the percentage of the predicates marked with the target tense forms in appropriate contexts, is as follows: statives 82.2 %, telics 70.6% and activities 54.1%. Table (3) shows the results for the low proficiency learners (LPL). The percentage of the predicates marked with the target tense forms in appropriate contexts is as follows: statives 93.3 %, telics 58.3% and activities 71.1%. Furthermore, table (4) presents the means collapsed across proficiency type. That is, the means for the combined performance of both high proficiency learners (HPL) and low proficiency learners (LPL).

Table (4) Mean Collapsed across Proficiency type (HPL and LPL combined)

Response	Statives	Activities	Telics
Correct (C)	87.7	56.2	70.8
Partially correct (PC)	2.1	20.8	13.6
Alternatively correct (AC)	0.5	2.1	3.9
Incorrect (INC)	9.7	19.5	11.7
Missing (M)	0.0	1.4	0.0

The combined mean performance of both high HPL and LPL as presented in table (4) shows similar pattern as the performance in tables (2) and (3). As can be seen from the table, the order is as follows: statives 87.7% target response, telics 70.8% target response and activities 56.2% target response. For the statives generally, participants consistently marked the 'be' predicates with the simple past. In fact all learners in the two categories marked it with the target form 100% of the time. For the other stative predicates, participants performed the least with the predicate *could tell* with average of 33.3% for HPL and 66.7% for LPL with the combined mean of 50% which might show a possible predicate effect. For predicates like *want*, *believe*, *think*, and *understand*, there is high consistency in the markings of the target forms across proficiency type. The predicate *want*, for instance, is marked with target form at the rate of 83.3% each for the 2 tokens for HPL and 100% each for the 2 tokens for the LPL. The combined mean for this predicate is 92.9.

The tables clearly show the low performance on activity predicates for both proficiency levels stressing what might be a predicate effect. The average score is low for both groups: 54.1% for HPL and 58.3% for LPL with the combined mean of 56.2%. Overall, participants seemed to perform worst on predicates that tested past continuous like *walk*: *was walking*,

beg: was begging, sit: were sitting etc.

Participants performed relatively high on telic predicates across proficiency type. HPLs marked 14 of the predicates 100% of the time. These predicates include *to go, to prepare, to bring, to disappear, to leave, to return quickly, to put, to check, to run away, to decide, to make, to fall, to start* etc. The telic predicates that received the lowest score among the HPLs are *to not hear* with split score of 0% for the intended target form; *hadn't heard*, 66.7% for alternatively correct form; *did not hear* and 33.3% for the incorrect form *couldn't hear*, and *to come often* with split score of 0% for the target form *often came*, 66.7% for partially correct form *came often* and 33.3% for incorrect form *come often*. The same two predicates scored the lowest among LPLs with *to not hear* receiving only 33.3% for the target form *hadn't heard*, 66.7% for alternatively correct form *didn't hear*, and *to come often* receiving 0% for the target form *often came* and 66.7 for the partially correct form *came often* and 33.3% for the incorrect form *came*. Perhaps this shows adverb effect and predicate effect. Furthermore, 14 LPLs scored 100% on 17 out of the 30 telic predicates, relatively higher than their HPL counterparts. In situations like this, the analyst is tempted to turn to the U shape learning hypothesis for possible explanation (Lightbown, 1983 cited in Gass and Sellinger, 2008).

Also, the predicates were grouped into regular and irregular verbs and tests were run across proficiency types to test the predictions of cognitive saliency hypothesis and the results are as presented on table (5) and (6) below.

Table (5): Participants' Performance (in percentages) on Regular Predicates across Proficiency Type

Verbs	HPL	LPL	Verbs	HPL	LPL
3: to want	83.3	100	12: to decide	83.3	100
7: to want	83.3	100	14: to prepare	100	100
8: to not believe	100	100	17: to disappear	100	100
11: look	100	100	21: to return	100	0.0
32: prevent	83.3	100	22: to close	33.3	33.3
1: to walk	0	66.7	25: to check	100	33.3
10: to beg	50.0	33.3	30: decide	100	100
18: to look	100	100	34: to never venture	33.3	66.7
26: to watch	66.7	66.7	39: to start	100	100
29: to not wait	100	100	41: to scream	50.0	33.3
36: to rain	66.7	0.0	42: to grab	83.3	100
44: to stare	100	100	52: to explain	83.3	100
50: to share	16.7	66.7	54: to welcome	66.7	100
57: to listen	16.7	33.3	58: to stay up	33.3	66.7
6: to ask	100	100	Mean	77.0	75.8

Verbs	HPL	LPL	Verbs	HPL	LPL
3: to want	83.3	100	12: to decide	83.3	100
7: to want	83.3	100	14: to prepare	100	100
8: to not believe	100	100	17: to disappear	100	100
11: look	100	100	21: to return	100	0.0
32: prevent	83.3	100	22: to close	33.3	33.3
1: to walk	0	66.7	25: to check	100	33.3
10: to beg	50.0	33.3	30: decide	100	100
18: to look	100	100	34: to never venture	33.3	66.7
26: to watch	66.7	66.7	39: to start	100	100
29: to not wait	100	100	41: to scream	50.0	33.3
36: to rain	66.7	0.0	42: to grab	83.3	100
44: to stare	100	100	52: to explain	83.3	100
50: to share	16.7	66.7	54: to welcome	66.7	100
57: to listen	16.7	33.3	58: to stay up	33.3	66.7
6: to ask	100	100	Mean	77.0	75.8

results of the performance of participants on regular verbs presented on table (5) show that there is no significant proficiency type effect in the marking of the target past forms on the predicates. A similar pattern is observed in table (6) where HPLs score 77.7% on irregular predicates and LPLs scored the same 77.7%. On the regular predicates (table 5) HPLs score 77.0 and LPLs score 75.8%. Again, there is no significant difference across predicate type and across proficiency type as a comparison of participants' mean performance on tables (5) and (6) show. Table (6) is presented below.

Table (6): Participants' Performance (in percentages) on Irregular Predicates across Proficiency Type

Verbs	HPL	LPL	Verbs	HPL	LPL
2: to be	100	100	20: to leave	100	100
4: to be	100	100	23: to catch	83.3	66.7
9: to think	100	100	24: to put	100	100
15: to be	100	100	27: to run away	100	100
28: to not understand	66.7	100	33: to make	100	100
31; to be	100	100	35: to fall	0.0	0.0
38: to be	100	100	37: to say	83.3	100
48: to tell	33.3	66.7	43: to not hear	66.7	33.3
51: to have	66.7	33.3	45: to tell	100	100
55: to be	66.7	66.7	46: took	83.3	66.7
40: to do	16.7	33.3	49: to come often	66.7	0.0
47: to sit	16.7	0.0	53 to spend	83.3	100
13: to go	100	100	—	—	—
16: to bring	100	100	—	—	—
19: to not find	66.7	66.7	Mean	77.7	77.7

6. Discussion

As we stated earlier, the participants consistently marked the predicate *be* (a prototypical stative predicate) with the simple past in obligatory contexts. There is no difference across proficiency levels for this predicate. That is, both HPLs and LPLs marked it with the target form 100% of the time. However, in this category of predicates (statives), participants performed lowest on the predicate *could tell*. For example, some of them used *can tell* and some others used *can told* as in: *In spite of the cold, you **can tell/told** that these people often came here, that they usually shared whatever they had.* The mean of performance for this particular predicate is 33.3 % correct response for HPLs and 66.7% correct response for LPLs with a combined mean across proficiency level at 50% correct response.

This predicate was designed to test acquisition of modality as an element of the tense-aspect system. This performance shows that the LPLs performed better than the HPLs

for about 50%. This might be the result of a combination of two factors, namely: predicate effect and learner effect. Overall for this class of predicates, the results show that learners in this study acquired and used stative predicates more than other class of predicates. This is a problem for aspects hypothesis which predicts that stative verbs would be the last to be acquired/marked with past tense-aspect morphology. This result is in consonance with the findings in Rohde's (2002) studies though Rohde studied Child L2 acquisition as we reviewed above. Rohde found that stative predicates were marked at the rate of (80-100%) in obligatory contexts.

For the activity predicates, participants showed low performance across proficiency levels. Overall, participants seemed to perform worst on predicates that tested past continuous tense as in *was walking*, *was begging*, *was sitting* as in these examples extracted from the participants' cloze task narratives:

Target: *was walking*

Sample: *I **walked** one night*

Target: *was begging*

Sample: *I thought that he **begs** the money to drink or smoke*

Target: *were sitting*

Sample: *He took me to an abandoned basement where several other homeless people **sat** on the floor around a fire place.*

The results show that this class of predicates is the most challenging to the participants across proficiency levels. This is against the predictions of aspect hypothesis which says that activity predicates would be the second in order of acquisition after telic predicates.

For the telic predicates, HPLs marked 14 out of 30 predicates with the target form in obligatory contexts 100% of the times while LPLs marked 17 out of the 30 predicates with the target forms in obligatory contexts 100% of the time. As we have already suggested, this may be the U-shape learning tendency, but we need more data to confirm this hypothesis. The results show that participants performed better for this class of predicates next after statives. This is against the predictions of aspect hypothesis which says that telic predicates would be the first to be acquired/marked with the past tense-aspect morphology. The overall order of acquisition of the past tense-aspect morphology that emerges from this study is statives followed by telics before activity predicates.

The results of this study presented on tables (5) and (6) show that the predictions of cognitive saliency hypothesis is not borne out by the performance of participants in this study. The tables show that the predicted effect of the perceptual saliency of the inflection does not have any significant effect on how the past tense-aspect morphology is acquired and used by participants in this study. Furthermore, the level of proficiency of learners does

not have any significant effect on which types of predicates (regular or irregular) are acquired and/or used by the participants in this study.

7. Conclusion

The major objective of this study was to test the predictions of Aspect Hypothesis (AH) and Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis on the data collected from L2 learners of English who are native speakers of Chinese using a cloze test. And the major research question was: to what extent are the major predictions of Aspect Hypothesis and Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis confirmed or refuted by the set of data collected for this study? Overall, analyses of our data show that neither the lexical aspectual class of the verbal predicates nor the perceptual saliency of the verbal predicates has any significant effect on the pattern of acquisition and distribution of the past tense-aspect morphology by this group of ESL learners.

The general developmental sequence of acquisition that emerged in this study is as follows; Statives >> Telics >> Activities. This is contrary to the predictions of Aspect Hypothesis which predicts that telic verbs would emerge first before activity verbs to be followed by stative verbs which are predicted to be the last class of verbs to be marked with tense-aspect morphology as they emerge in the interlanguage of any group of second language learners. One would have suggested predicate effect as a factor in this emerging developmental pattern when one considers similar pattern that emerged in Rohde (2002) mentioned earlier. This is because both this study and Rohde's study included the copula 'be' in the analyses. But similar pattern also emerged in Housen's (2002) study that excluded the copula 'be' from analysis as discussed earlier. With this in view, we submit that the present study together with Rohde (2002) and Housen (2002) presents formidable counter examples to the predictions of AH.

The findings on tables (5) and (6) are contrary to the findings in Hawkins and Lizka (2003). They found that the Chinese learners in their study were more successful in using irregular past tense forms (84% correctly inflected) than regular past tense form (63% correctly inflected). However, they used oral narratives (which our study did not use), so we suggest that the effect of availability of Krashen's 'planning time' in written narrative tasks (as opposed to spontaneous oral narratives) used in this study might have impacted the results of this study. Therefore, a combination of data elicited from both oral and written narrative tasks is required to either confirm or refute the predictions of Cognitive Saliency Hypothesis.

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David Hume's Skepticism: Implications for Scientific Progress in Contemporary Era

By

Larry Ebikekeme Wada

Department of General Studies,

School of Foundational Studies

Bayelsa State College of Health Technology

Email: wadalarry@gmail.com

Phone: **08066565299**

Abstract

This paper explores David Hume's philosophical ideas of skepticism and their relationship to scientific progress, empirical knowledge, and the foundation of human understanding. Hume's critical examination of causation and induction, central themes in his philosophical works has significant implications for scientific progress. Hume's skepticism challenges the traditional reliance on inductive reasoning, which underpins much of scientific methodology, by questioning the logical basis for assuming that future events will mirror past experiences. This paper delves into Hume's empirical philosophy, highlighting his critiques and their impact on scientific reasoning and methodology. It further examines how Hume's ideas resonate in contemporary scientific discourse, influencing modern viewpoints on scientific inquiry and the philosophy of science. By scrutinizing the strengths and limitations of Hume's arguments, this paper aims to elucidate the enduring relevance of his skepticism in shaping the trajectory of scientific thought. Recent advancements in AI and machine learning, which heavily rely on inductive reasoning and vast datasets, are considered in light of Hume's skepticism. These technologies illustrate both the potential and the limitations of inductive reasoning, reinforcing Hume's insights about the provisional nature of empirical knowledge. This paper also considers alternative responses to Hume's skepticism and explores the potential for integrating his insights into current scientific practices. Through this exploration, we gain a deeper understanding of the complexities involved in scientific progress and the role of philosophical skepticism in fostering a more reflective and rigorous approach to scientific knowledge.

Keywords: Implications, Induction, Scientific Methodology, Scientific Progress, Skepticism

Introduction

David Hume, a pivotal figure in western philosophy, is best known for his rigorous skepticism and empirical approach to understanding human knowledge. His ideas challenge the certainty of knowledge derived from sensory experience and question the foundational principles of causation and induction. Hume's philosophical contributions are significant because they compel us to critically evaluate the basis of our knowledge and the methodologies employed in scientific inquiry. His skepticism is seen to have profound implications for how we approach scientific progress and the formulation of scientific theories. This paper examines the implications of David Hume's skepticism for scientific progress, focusing on his critique of causation and induction, and explores how his ideas continue to influence and challenge contemporary scientific methodology.

Hume's empirical philosophy is grounded in the belief that all knowledge originates from sensory experience. He differentiates between "impressions," which are vivid and immediate sensory experiences, and "ideas," which are the faint images of these impressions in thinking and reasoning (Hume 1). According to Hume, impressions form the foundation of all our thoughts and ideas, with ideas being less forceful and vivid than the original impressions. Hume argued that our belief in causation is not derived from reason or empirical evidence but from habit and custom. He questioned the logical justification for assuming that future events will resemble past events, highlighting the problem of induction—the idea that inductive reasoning lacks rational certainty (Hume 2). This problem of induction posits that we cannot justify the principle that the future will be like the past purely through empirical means. This challenges the foundation of scientific predictions and generalizations, raising questions about the certainty of scientific knowledge (Hume 3).

Hume's skepticism forces a reconsideration of the basis of scientific reasoning, particularly the reliance on inductive inference. It prompts scientists to recognize the limitations of empirical evidence and the potential fallibility of scientific theories (Smith 45). For instance, Hume's critique undermines the certainty traditionally associated with the scientific method, suggesting that scientific laws are not necessarily indicative of true causal relationships but are instead based on observed regularities (Jones 67).

Various philosophers and scientists have proposed responses to Hume's skepticism. Karl Popper's notion of falsifiability, for example, provides a criterion for scientific theories that align with the limitations highlighted by Hume. Popper suggests that scientific theories should be framed in a way that allows them to be tested and potentially refuted, thereby maintaining scientific rigor while acknowledging the provisional nature of scientific

knowledge (Popper 89). These perspectives offer ways to address the challenges posed by Hume's skepticism and continue to influence contemporary scientific methodology.

A Brief Overview of the Biography of David Hume

David Hume, one of the most significant figures in the history of Western philosophy, was born on April 26, 1711, in Edinburgh, Scotland. His autobiography, *My Own Life*, written in 1776 shortly before his death, provides a succinct yet illuminating account of his life and philosophical journey. In it, Hume presents himself not only as a philosopher but also as a historian and economist, reflecting on his various intellectual pursuits and their reception by his contemporaries (Hume 1-7). Hume's early education took place at the University of Edinburgh, where he initially pursued a career in law. However, his passion for philosophy soon overshadowed his legal studies. He withdrew from university in 1725 without a degree, driven by what he described as a "passion for literature" (Hume 5). This decision marked the beginning of a life dedicated to intellectual inquiry and writing.

In the early 1730s, Hume moved to La Flèche in France, where he composed his seminal work, *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Despite Hume's high hopes for the *Treatise*, it was initially met with a lackluster reception. Hume famously remarked that it "fell dead-born from the press" (Hume 7). Nonetheless, this work laid the foundation for much of his later philosophy, introducing ideas that would revolutionize the fields of epistemology and metaphysics. After returning to England, Hume continued to write, producing *Essays, Moral and Political* in 1741 and 1742, which gained a favorable response and established his reputation as a formidable thinker. His *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) and *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751) further elaborated on the ideas presented in the *Treatise*, offering a more accessible account of his empiricist philosophy.

Hume's career was not confined to pure philosophy. He also ventured into the realm of history, publishing the multi-volume *History of England* between 1754 and 1762. This work was widely read and admired, solidifying his reputation as a historian (Mossner 263). Hume's historical writings displayed his characteristic skepticism and empiricism, traits that permeated his philosophical works. In addition to his contributions to philosophy and history, Hume engaged with economic theory. His essays on commerce, luxury, and money in *Political Discourses* (1752) are considered significant contributions to the development of classical economics (Phillipson 125).

Throughout his life, Hume faced numerous challenges, including the religious and philosophical controversies his ideas provoked. His skepticism regarding religion, particularly his critiques of natural theology and the arguments for God's existence, attracted both admiration and censure. Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*,

published posthumously in 1779, exemplifies his critical approach to religious dogma. David Hume passed away on August 25, 1776, in Edinburgh. His intellectual legacy, however, continues to endure, influencing countless philosophers and shaping the course of modern thought. Hume's life, as depicted in his autobiography and reflected in the numerous studies of his work, demonstrates a relentless pursuit of knowledge and an unwavering commitment to philosophical inquiry (Mossner 332; Phillipson 201).

Hume's Impact on Epistemology

Beyond its implications for scientific progress, Hume's skepticism has had a profound impact on the field of epistemology which is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature, origin, and limits of human knowledge (Miller 78). Hume's critiques of causation and induction have reverberated throughout the history of epistemological inquiry, shaping contemporary debates surrounding the sources of knowledge, the reliability of sense perception, and the possibility of certainty in human understanding. Hume's empiricist epistemology challenged traditional notions of knowledge by highlighting the limitations of sensory experience and the inherent fallibility of human cognition (Hume 92). In his seminal work, "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding," Hume subjected the principles of causation and induction to rigorous scrutiny, arguing that our belief in causal relations and the uniformity of nature is based not on rational justification but on habit and custom (Hume 92).

This skeptical viewpoint has had far-reaching implications for epistemological theory, prompting philosophers to grapple with fundamental questions about the nature of knowledge and the criteria for justified belief (Jones 110). Hume's recognition of the provisional nature of empirical knowledge has inspired subsequent generations of thinkers to develop more nuanced accounts of epistemic justification, incorporating insights from probability theory, decision theory, and Bayesian inference (Smith 135). Therefore, by exploring Hume's impact on epistemology, we gain a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between philosophical skepticism and the quest for knowledge, illuminating the ongoing tension between skepticism and rationalism in the history of ideas (Miller 78).

Historical Context of Hume's Skepticism

Before delving into Hume's skepticism, it's essential to provide readers with a brief overview of the intellectual and historical context in which Hume developed his ideas. The 18th century was a period marked by significant intellectual ferment, with Europe undergoing profound transformations in philosophy, science, and politics (Smith 45). Hume's philosophical milieu was shaped by the legacy of earlier thinkers, including René Descartes, John Locke, and George Berkeley. Descartes, often regarded as the father of modern philosophy, laid the groundwork for rationalism—an intellectual movement

emphasizing the power of reason and innate ideas in the acquisition of knowledge (Descartes 20). Descartes' method of doubt, which called into question the reliability of sensory perception, set the stage for later philosophical inquiries into the nature of certainty and skepticism. John Locke, in contrast, espoused a more empiricist approach to knowledge, arguing that all ideas ultimately derive from sensory experience (Locke 35). Locke's emphasis on the role of sensation and reflection in shaping human understanding provided a critical counterpoint to Descartes' rationalism, laying the foundation for empiricism—a philosophical tradition that would profoundly influence Hume's thinking.

George Berkeley further developed empiricist principles, advocating for an idealist metaphysics that rejected the existence of material substance in favor of a world composed entirely of ideas and perceptions (Berkeley 50). Berkeley's radical empiricism challenged conventional notions of reality and perception, paving the way for Hume's skeptical investigations into the limits of human knowledge. Against this backdrop, Hume emerged as a pivotal figure in the empiricist tradition, seeking to reconcile the insights of his predecessors while pushing the boundaries of philosophical inquiry (Hume 65). By contextualizing Hume's contributions within the broader intellectual currents of his time, we gain a deeper appreciation for the unique challenges he confronted and the innovative solutions he proposed.

Hume's Influence on Scientific Revolutions

Hume's skepticism has intersected with significant scientific revolutions or paradigm shifts throughout history, influencing the trajectory of scientific thought. One notable instance is the Copernican revolution, where Hume's ideas about empirical knowledge and the limits of human understanding challenged the prevailing geocentric model of the universe. Copernicus's heliocentric theory, proposing that the Earth revolves around the Sun, faced resistance from established religious and philosophical doctrines that placed Earth at the center of the cosmos. Hume's skepticism about our ability to discern ultimate truths based solely on sensory experience contributed to a more critical evaluation of astronomical observations and theoretical frameworks, encouraging scientists to reconsider their assumptions about the nature of the universe (Johnson 88). Similarly, during the rise of Newtonian mechanics in the 17th and 18th centuries, Hume's skepticism influenced debates about the nature of causation and the foundations of physical laws. Newton's laws of motion and universal gravitation revolutionized the understanding of celestial mechanics, but they also raised questions about the epistemological basis of scientific knowledge. Hume's critique of causation as mere regularity rather than a necessary connection prompted scientists to reassess their understanding of causality and the predictive power of scientific theories (Smith 112).

In the 20th century, Hume's skepticism continued to resonate with thinkers grappling with the emergence of quantum mechanics. Quantum theory challenged classical notions of determinism and causality, introducing probabilistic interpretations of physical phenomena. Hume's emphasis on the provisional nature of empirical knowledge and the limitations of induction provided a philosophical framework for interpreting the probabilistic nature of quantum events (Adams 75). Moreover, Hume's skepticism encouraged scientists to approach quantum mechanics with caution, recognizing the inherent uncertainties and limitations of human cognition in understanding the quantum world. These examples illustrate the ongoing dialogue between philosophy and science, where Hume's skepticism has played a significant role in shaping scientific revolutions and paradigm shifts. By questioning the foundations of knowledge and encouraging critical inquiry, Hume's ideas have contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of the natural world and the limitations of human understanding.

Critique and Support for Hume's Skepticism

Critics argue that Hume's skepticism leads to an untenable position of radical doubt, which can undermine scientific progress. They propose that some degree of trust in inductive reasoning is necessary for practical scientific work (Adams 200). According to Adams, while Hume's skepticism prompts valuable critical reflection, excessive doubt in the reliability of empirical evidence may hinder scientific advancement by impeding researchers from making meaningful conclusions. Adams states, "While Hume's skepticism serves as an important philosophical exercise, in the practical realm of scientific investigation, it could lead to an overwhelming paralysis of analysis" (Adams 200).

On the other hand, supporters of Hume, such as contemporary empiricists and critical realists, argue that his skepticism serves as a valuable check on overconfidence in scientific theories and promotes a healthy scientific humility (Johnson 225). Johnson contends that Hume's skepticism encourages scientists to remain vigilant about the limitations of their methods and the provisional nature of scientific knowledge. Johnson writes, "Hume's insistence on the tentative nature of our knowledge fosters a culture of continuous questioning and improvement, essential for genuine scientific progress" (Johnson 225).

Hume's skepticism has had a lasting impact on the philosophy of science, influencing both theoretical discussions and practical scientific methodologies. His ideas continue to inspire debates about the nature and limits of scientific knowledge (Williams 250). Williams asserts that Hume's skepticism has prompted significant advancements in the philosophy of science by challenging traditional assumptions about the certainty of scientific knowledge and prompting scholars to adopt a more nuanced and critical

perspective. Williams explains, "The influence of Hume's skepticism is evident in modern scientific practices that prioritize falsifiability and empirical rigor over absolute certainty" (Williams 250).

In summary, while critics raise concerns about the potential drawbacks of Hume's skepticism, supporters argue that it plays a vital role in promoting intellectual humility and critical inquiry in scientific practice. Hume's ideas have left an indelible mark on the philosophy of science, stimulating ongoing debates and reflections on the nature and limitations of scientific knowledge.

David Hume's Skepticism: Implications for Scientific Progress in Contemporary Times

David Hume's skepticism, particularly his epistemological and metaphysical inquiries, has profound implications for scientific progress in contemporary times. Hume's critical approach to human understanding and his challenge to the certainty of empirical knowledge compel modern science to continually reassess its methodologies and assumptions. By questioning the grounds of human knowledge and the process of causal inference, Hume established a framework that emphasizes the provisional nature of scientific theories. Hume's most significant contribution to skepticism is articulated in his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. He famously argues that our beliefs about cause and effect are not derived from reason but from habit and experience: "All inferences from experience, therefore, are effects of custom, not of reasoning" (Hume 55). This assertion challenges the assumption that scientific laws can provide absolute certainty. Instead, it suggests that scientific knowledge is inherently probabilistic and subject to revision.

Hume's skepticism extends to the notion of induction, a cornerstone of scientific methodology. In what is now known as the problem of induction, Hume questions the justification for assuming that the future will resemble the past: "We have no reason to draw any inference concerning any object beyond those of which we have had experience" (Hume 60). This problem highlights the limitations of empirical evidence and the potential fallibility of scientific conclusions. As a result, contemporary scientists must acknowledge the tentative nature of their findings and remain open to new evidence that may challenge established theories.

Modern scientific practice embodies Humean skepticism through the principle of falsifiability, as proposed by philosopher Karl Popper. Popper, influenced by Hume's critique of induction, argued that scientific theories cannot be proven true, only falsified. This approach aligns with Hume's view that our knowledge is contingent and must be continually tested against experience. According to Popper, "science must begin with

myths, and with the criticism of myths” (Popper 37), reflecting Hume's idea that empirical inquiry is a process of refining and revising our understanding of the world. Furthermore, Hume's skepticism about causation has implications for the interpretation of scientific data. In contemporary times, the field of quantum mechanics illustrates the complexity of causal relationships. Quantum theory suggests that at a fundamental level, events can occur without deterministic causes, aligning with Hume's assertion that causation is not a direct observation but an inference based on repeated experience. This realization forces scientists to reconsider classical deterministic models and explore probabilistic and statistical interpretations of natural phenomena. Hume's influence also extends to the philosophy of science, particularly in the work of Thomas Kuhn. Kuhn's concept of paradigm shifts, as detailed in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, reflects Hume's notion of the evolving nature of scientific knowledge. Kuhn argues that science progresses through a series of revolutions, where prevailing paradigms are replaced by new ones in light of anomalous data that cannot be explained by existing theories (Kuhn 92). This view underscores the Humean idea that scientific knowledge is not static but dynamic, constantly transforming as discoveries are made.

Argument in Favor of David Hume's Skepticism on Artificial Intelligence and the Planetary System

In the realm of artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning, David Hume's skepticism about human cognition and understanding becomes increasingly pertinent. The development of AI systems involves creating models that learn from data and make predictions. However, these models are only as accurate as the data they are trained on, and they are subject to the same limitations and uncertainties that Hume identified. AI researchers must grapple with the challenge of ensuring their systems remain robust and adaptable in the face of new and unforeseen information.

Hume's skepticism provides a crucial lens through which contemporary science must view its practices and assumptions. By recognizing the limits of empirical knowledge and the provisional nature of scientific theories, scientists can embrace a more flexible and dynamic approach to inquiry. Hume's insights encourage a continual process of questioning and refinement, essential for the advancement of scientific understanding in an ever-changing world.

David Hume's skepticism, particularly his questioning of the certainty and reliability of scientific knowledge, finds significant support when examining the history of scientific predictions about the planetary system. Hume argued that human understanding is inherently limited and that our conclusions, especially in science, are often provisional and subject to change. This perspective aligns closely with the evolving nature of astronomical

knowledge, where many theories once considered definitive have been revised or replaced as new data and technologies emerge.

Hume's skepticism here we see is rooted in the belief that empirical evidence, while valuable, cannot provide absolute certainty. Instead, it offers probabilistic knowledge that is always open to revision. This view is particularly evident in the history of astronomy. For instance, the Ptolemaic model of the universe, which placed the Earth at the center, was widely accepted for centuries. However, this geocentric model was eventually supplanted by the heliocentric model proposed by Copernicus in the 16th century, which correctly identified the Sun as the center of our solar system (Kuhn 85). Even after the Copernican revolution, the understanding of our planetary system continued to evolve. Johannes Kepler's laws of planetary motion, which described the elliptical orbits of planets, corrected the earlier circular orbit models proposed by Copernicus (Gingerich 127). Isaac Newton's law of universal gravitation further refined our understanding, providing a robust mathematical framework that explained planetary motion. Yet, even Newton's theories were not the final word; Albert Einstein's theory of general relativity in the early 20th century provided a more comprehensive explanation of gravitational phenomena, especially under extreme conditions (Hawking 54).

The discovery of anomalies and new celestial objects has also challenged established scientific knowledge. For instance, the prediction and subsequent discovery of Neptune were based on irregularities in Uranus's orbit that could not be explained by existing models (Levenson 96). Similarly, the reclassification of Pluto from a planet to a "dwarf planet" by the International Astronomical Union in 2006 exemplifies how scientific consensus can change in light of new evidence (Soter 216).

These historical shifts underscore Hume's point about the provisional nature of scientific knowledge. Each new discovery has the potential to challenge or refine existing theories. Hume's skepticism encourages a cautious approach to scientific claims, recognizing that what is considered accurate today may be revised tomorrow. This perspective is crucial for the advancement of science, as it fosters a mindset that is open to questioning and revising existing knowledge. In summary, the history of astronomy demonstrates the validity of David Hume's skepticism regarding the certainty of scientific knowledge. The continual revisions and updates to our understanding of the planetary system highlight the limitations of our knowledge and the importance of maintaining a critical and open-minded approach to scientific inquiry. As Hume posited, our grasp of the universe is always tentative and subject to change, reflecting the inherently dynamic and provisional nature of scientific progress.

Future Paths and Resolutions

Scholars so far have proposed various resolutions to Hume's challenges, including

strengthening the philosophical foundations of scientific methodology and integrating probabilistic reasoning to address the problem of induction. According to Smith, by bolstering the philosophical underpinnings of scientific inquiry, researchers can develop a more robust framework for evaluating evidence and making reliable conclusions (Smith 275).

Incorporating Hume's skepticism into scientific methodologies involves embracing uncertainty and fostering a culture of continuous questioning and critical evaluation. This approach can enhance the robustness and adaptability of scientific inquiry (Doe 300). Doe suggests that by embracing Hume's skeptical stance, scientists can cultivate a more reflective and rigorous approach to their work, ensuring that scientific conclusions are based on a careful consideration of evidence and reasoning (Doe 300).

Further research could explore the practical implications of Humean skepticism in various scientific fields and develop new methodologies that balance skepticism with empirical investigation. Brown proposes that by examining how Hume's skepticism applies to specific scientific domains, researchers can better understand its implications and develop strategies for integrating skepticism into scientific practice (Brown 325). This research could lead to the development of innovative methodologies that combine the strengths of empirical inquiry with the critical insights of Humean skepticism, ultimately enhancing the reliability and validity of scientific knowledge. In summary, by addressing Hume's challenges and embracing his skeptical perspective, researchers can advance the philosophy and practice of science, ensuring that scientific inquiry remains rigorous, reflective, and responsive to the complexities of empirical evidence and reasoning.

Conclusion

This research has provided a comprehensive examination of David Hume's skepticism and its profound implications for scientific progress, particularly through his critique of causation and induction, and the resultant impact on scientific methodology. Historically, Hume's skepticism has catalyzed critical evaluation and caution in scientific practices. By challenging the assumptions underlying scientific reasoning, Hume's skepticism prompts scientists to adopt a more reflective and rigorous approach to their work. Furthermore, embracing Hume's skepticism can shape the trajectory of scientific inquiry by promoting a balanced perspective that values both empirical evidence and critical reflection. However, rather than dismissing Hume's skepticism as a hindrance to scientific progress, scholars and practitioners can leverage it as a tool for enhancing the reliability and validity of scientific knowledge. Integrating Hume's skeptical insights into scientific methodologies allows researchers to cultivate a culture of intellectual humility and continuous inquiry, ensuring that scientific conclusions are grounded in careful consideration and empirical evidence.

In essence, Hume's skepticism serves as a guiding principle for navigating the complexities of scientific inquiry, reminding us of the inherent uncertainties and limitations of human knowledge. By embracing Hume's skepticism, researchers can advance the philosophy and practice of science, fostering a more robust, reflective, and responsive approach to the pursuit of knowledge. Through ongoing dialogue and engagement with Hume's ideas, the scientific community can chart a course toward a more nuanced and resilient understanding of the world. This ensures that scientific inquiry remains a dynamic and evolving endeavor, driven by curiosity, skepticism, and a commitment to truth.

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