

## **A Critical Evaluation of the Use of Music in Nollywood Movies**

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### **Abstract**

Music is a very important element in the life of man. Its role in the theatre sometimes reflects in the name of the production company such as Hubert Ogunde's African Music Research Party, which by implication assures audience of total theatre experience. The pervasive power of music is nowhere more pronounced than in the film and show business worlds as well as the media, where it can be said to be all encompassing, and where without it the industry would suffer a terrible fate. This paper critically examines the way music is deployed in the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood, with the hope of proffering suggestions for the best way(s) to use it. The aim is to determine whether Nollywood filmmakers use music in their films the way it ought to be used. This is because some of the industry practitioners over the years have so abused this vital aesthetic element of film production whose absence or misuse leaves the viewers with a sense of bereavement such that makes one wonder whether such movie makers have any creative merits at all. The abuse stems mostly in the way they deploy music to carry the narrative instead of the reverse thereby making further viewing unnecessary as the music becomes the narrative voice. The paper is a critical discourse which is anchored on the uses and gratification theory. The findings show that Nollywood filmmakers kill suspense in their films through the use of music; most of their music are vocal and sometimes run through the entire narrative among other. The paper is significant because it will be of benefit to movie makers, film music composers, academics, researchers and students among others.

**Keywords:** Music, Nollywood, film, aesthetic, culture, gratification

### **Introduction**

Music is a very important element in the life of man, and animals; it is equally significant in the spiritual realm, and serves multi various purposes in the overall well being of all that has life. At all events of our lives music is germane and highly

welcome whether in sorrow or joy; whether in life or death, music is always needed, (Ayakoroma, 17). It is not any wonder that artistes of all kinds over the ages, playwrights, musicians, filmmakers, indeed, all humanity testify to the invigorating, healing, emotionally uplifting,

sometimes, destructive, bewitching and altogether evocative power of music in the business of man's existence (Ayakoroma, 2003; Okoro, 2009). "Among the Lejja people of South-eastern Nigeria, the logic of some of their music is to evoke fear, awe and other disturbing/provocative emotions in their cultural audience," (Opata and Chukwu, 112). It is practically impossible to imagine a culture that does not appreciate music. Music is a vital element in stage productions; it is equally inevitable in advertising and the radio as a medium cannot survive without it.

Several authorities and artistes, musicians and others have attested to the evocative power of music in the life of man. Indeed, every generation, every culture has its music maestros who are venerated and revered by such generation, such culture. The pervasive presence of music in every human experience attests to its significance and importance in the affairs of man. Music plays multifarious roles in human existence covering the spiritual, psychological, aesthetic, entertainment, philosophical aspects among others.

Music is used in virtually every home, institution; is essential in certain professions like the advertising industry, is found in virtually all means of transport, land, air and sea. Like water, music has no enemy. It is perhaps in recognition of this fact that Shakespeare says in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act Five, Sc. 1), "the man that hath no music in himself, nor is not moved with the concord of sweet sounds, is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils. The motions of his spirit are dull as night, and his affections, dark as Erebus; let no such man be

trusted," (Shakespeare, 1964: 213). From its earliest origin, music has been an essential part of film production. In fact, because of music in film, the argument can be proffered that there was never a silent era in film production, (Powell, 1987).

Much has been written about the relationship between the Nigerian stage and its film industry; how the latter is an off-shoot of the former. Few people if any have attempted to examine the nature of this relationship especially as in the area of how the stage has influenced Nollywood, musically. This paper sets out to address this anomaly with a view to determining whether filmmakers use music in their productions the way stage directors do, or whether they have improved upon, negated or remained the same in their deployment of music, in their film productions. Music comes in different types and forms. It is seen as a pleasant sound that appeals to the emotional state of man. It is also seen as the key that opens all doors (Maytones, 1976). Indeed, music is considered to be very vital in the life of man, especially in the aspect of entertainment and the provision of psychological uplifting of the spirit. Music has a place in every occasion that has any meaning in society.

Music has been present from the very beginning of film. This is why Powell (1987), Mayer (1973) and Lindgren (1970), all confirm that music was as old as the film. They cite the example of the 1895 exhibition of *The Jazz Singer* at the Lumiere Brothers Factory where a little music was played to entertain the audience while waiting for the vaudeville to start.

Although Mbajiogu (2013), is concerned with solo performance as it affects the Nigerian stage, Bakare (2019), makes us understand that “drama, dance and music” are the constituents of the “performative trinity” by which he means that the three work together in performance. Thus, the live stage and the screen have these elements in common for the purpose of passing their message to the audience/viewers.

**What is music?** Music has been severally defined. Yet, it does not appear to have a universally accepted definition. The Psalmist, in *Psalm 100*, says that it is “a joyful noise.” “Music comes in the form of any of the following: vocal, instrumental or a combination of both vocal and instrumental” (Ekwuazi, 1991: 2). According to Idolor (2002: vii) “Music is a global phenomenon that lends itself to diverse interpretations and opinions of people whether they are schooled in it or not. On her part, having said that the word music “is a derivative from the Greek word “Muse” (47), Ipere draws her definition of music from several sources. As she puts it, music is the

art of organising or arranging sounds into meaningful patterns usually involving pitch, rhythm and sometimes harmony.” Also, that music “is the expression of feelings and ideas in organized sound: an art which in one way or another permeates the human society: a multidimensional art which lends itself to alliances with words (as in song) and in physical

movement (as in dance), (Ipere, 2002: 47).

Music from the foregoing means many things to many people. The arrangements of its fundamental elements of rhythm and pitches, uplift, and are generally pleasing, appealing to the emotions of joy and happiness, music can also be used to achieve negative emotions such as sadness, fear, anger, sorrow tension, achieve transition, enhance the narrative among other uses especially in film. Music “in many African societies, is principally a major human activity,” (Aluede, 2002: 64). He further says that “music making may be organised as incidental or background music for other events such as games, wrestling matches, parties, processions and others.” Okoro states that “music is a universal language. There is no language barrier to music because everyone understands its effect, every language and culture worldwide has its music. Also, people appreciate and react to music from other cultures without necessarily understanding the text,” (2005: v).

It is instructive to note that:

The more one listens to native music, the more one is conscious of its vital power. It touches the chords of man’s inmost being, and stirs his primal instincts. It demands the performer’s whole attention and sways the individual as almost to divide asunder, for the time being, mind and body. It is intensely passionate, and no great effort of the imagination is required to realize that such music could

only have originated with son of Cain (Agu, 2011:3).

What is being noted here is that music is pervasive and all embracing; it is particularly appealing to the African/Nigerian especially when indigenous music is being played. This may account for its generous employment by Nollywood filmmakers in their movies. They seem to know by instinct what the audience would like and keep blind eyes to what critics say as to the duration of music in some movie scenes that seem to contradict all known laws of music application to movies which are not musicals. We shall return to this shortly. Let us look at film or movie to help us direct our discourse.

#### **What is film?**

Film, especially the fiction/feature format, is an electronic means of storytelling. No matter what the experts may say, no matter how they define it, the central business of the fiction film is to narrate a story that is entertaining, that can appeal to some emotion, be it pleasant, unpleasant, fearful or relaxing. Kolker, having observed that people do not take film seriously, asks:

But why think seriously about film at all? Many people don't. Movies are among those things in our lives that we apparently don't *need* to take seriously. We go to the movies to be entertained, scared, grossed out; to make out, spend time, have something to discuss afterward. But we don't often want to think about movies as a serious part of our

emotional or intellectual lives, or even treat them with same intensity we use when we discuss sports or politics. Outside of film studies course, we rarely hear people engaged in a discussion of films that goes deeper than plot or characters (2006: 1).

Though Kolker did not go straight into defining film, he has provided insight into what it does and how the audience or viewers, the people for whom it is meant, respond to it. Sparshott opines that:

a film is a series of motionless images projected onto a screen so fast as to create in the mind of anyone watching the screen an impression of continuous motion, such images being projected by a light shining through a corresponding series of images arranged on a continuous band of flexible material" (1979: 321).

Film is also referred to as motion picture because of its possession of motion, audio and visual attributes in putting its message across. Anyanwu (2014) concentrates on the film making process and tries to distinguish it from the finished film which he calls a product:

Motion picture, movie, film and cinema, though with varying shades of meaning, is used interchangeably by film scholars and critics alike to denote the same thing. Film is also used to denote both product and process. It is a product when after an exhaustive period on location

and at the editorial suite; the finished work is taken to the theatre for screening to the audience. On the other hand, it is a process when the members of cast and crew come together to realize the product which follows a prescribed mode of production. This mode of production runs through three broad stages which are: the preparation/preproduction stage, the production/shooting stage and the postproduction/editing/assembly stage. For a feature film therefore, these three stages of the production process must be completed before the film as a product emerges. (22-23).

From the above submission, film serves several purposes as both product and process. For the Nigerian film audience, the industry has come to release them from the bondage of being mere consumers of foreign cultures to be arm-chair critics, aestheticians and connoisseurs of movies. The Nigerian movie industry, therefore, is not just a mere entertainment industry to the Nigerian viewing public especially the rural dwellers who constitute the largest consumers and patrons of the movie market, it is a culture, a world view, a personal story, as well as news source, of which they are a part. Sometimes, their involvement begins from the conception of the idea of a film and from that moment, they enter the story as publicists. Besides, the stories are taken from their environment and meaning system and are drawn from familiar incidents. This makes comprehension easy.

Motion picture makes use of motion and is audio-visual. It is however, the audio aspect that this paper is concerned with. Film records show that sound officially entered motion picture in August 1927 through the Warner Brothers (Lindgren 1970; Thompson & Bordwell 1994, Powell 1987). For Powell, the silent era of the cinema never really existed. He asks of the films of the period:

But why do I call them silent films? Our films were never silent. From the earliest days of the nickelodeon, a tinkling piano behind a dusty palm tree had accompanied the action on the screen. The movies and music went hand in hand from the beginning. If you have never seen James Cruze's *The Covered Wagon* lurch and fight its way across the prairie on the screen, to the accompaniment of a banjo strumming in the orchestra pit:

Oh, Susannah! Oh don't you cry for me,

For I'm bound for Californiay (sic)

With my banjo on my knee played on the screen by a freckle-faced boy, you will never be able to capture the experience. Much was left to the imagination in the early films, but the music never! Sheet music accompanied the distribution of the big films. (Powell, 1987: 180-181).

Michael Powell was one of the authorities in the silent/golden era of the cinema. In the above statement

from his autobiography, one could see that music has always been part of the filmic experience. However, the music in reference above could fall under the diegetic sound, that is, sound that does not emanate from the actors but is added and is quite external to the filmic experience as it can be removed without any significant impact. But, what is the necessity for music in movies? Indeed, why is music necessary in film production and what are its functions?

### Functions of music in film

The film is an audio-visual medium. Music is a very crucial part of the audio aspect of the film. Its importance is often times more than that of dialogue as it aids thematic comprehension even without the benefit of dialogue. Film music, also called soundtrack, has several functions in film. However, it depends on the overall goal of the director to deploy or not to make use of music in his movie. Generally, music has the following functions in film.

- (a) Serves as leit-motif. In other words, music provides an overall style in film. In this way it could be a vital part of the entire narrative as in *Sound of Music*. It enhances the general content of the film- story, acting, message, pictorial quality, narration. Music makes it easy for some films to be remembered long after seeing them.
- (b) It creates mood. Music helps to determine the general mood of the film, whether there is tension, relaxed atmosphere or anxiety;

music brings out the appropriate mood in a film and this helps the viewer to follow the narrative.

- (c) It serves as a transitory technique by providing passage of time. Here, music helps in determining the mode of transition as it guides the viewer to know what time has elapsed in the process of the narration, also time of day or night.
- (d) Music helps the viewer to know when there is a scene change. This can be realized when a scene moves from a serene environment to a noisy night club as in *Sonia*.
- (e) Music functions as a background commentary to the narrative, providing the viewer with the direction of the story, thereby aiding comprehension.
- (f) Functions as special effects by introducing some peculiar noises and sounds that guide the story.
- (g) Serves as a clue to what comes next as well as what has gone before. Here, it links the past with the present and predicts the future.
- (h) Directs the viewer's attention to the action and the story.
- (i) It carries the story forward. Has cultural appeal for the viewers.
- (j) Music in film can take the place of dialogue as it helps to send the message across.
- (k) It situates the story by providing temporal and

spatial distance (Ekwuazi, 1991; Powel, 1987; Lindgren, 1979, Silvanus, 2018).

The functions of music in movies are not exhaustive. The above are just a few of the common ones. Suffice it to say that music in film is so important to the point that it is practically impossible to contemplate a movie without any form of music or sound in it.

### **Theoretical framework**

The paper is anchored on the theory of uses and gratification of the media. It is a theory founded in the 1970s and projects the concept that audiences are responsible for and indeed, deliberately seek out media that meet their desires and needs to achieve gratification. The theory indicates that the media compete with other sources of information for viewers' gratification. It operates on three basic objectives, which are (1). To explain how individuals use mass communication (mass media) to gratify their needs (what people do with the media). (2), Discover underlying motives for individuals media use; and (3), to identify the positive and negative consequences of individual media use. It is an audience oriented theory which focuses on why and how the audience use the media. (Mehrad and Tager, 2016). According to the authors, "This theory adapts a functionalistic approach to communications and media, and states that media's most important role is to fulfil the needs and motivations of the audience," (2).

The relevance of the theory to the paper is predicated on the importance to which filmmakers attach to music

hence it is favoured above other aesthetic concerns like set and props. The latter can be deliberately sidelined in film production but hardly can such happen to music. The satisfaction which music gives to both the filmmaker and the viewer, justifies the need for its use in the industry. Music, of all the elements in film production can be said to be involved in film's evolution because even during the silent era of film production, music it was there, providing a suitable atmosphere and mood for viewers to relax and enjoy the viewing experience. The traditional media of radio and television, especially the former would be boring and unattractive devoid of music. Indeed, both media have channels devoted to music twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week programming.

### **Nollywood and use of Music**

Silvanus has identified some of the functions of music in Nollywood when he says:

Nollywood film music possesses different functions for its local and diasporic audiences. To some (local) viewers, the music epitomizes recognizable, symbolic, and discursive cultural tropes upon which they compare themselves with/to "Others." This manner of comparison is clearly an enactment of identity. To some other (diasporic) audiences, the music invokes a sociocultural reality that its viewers have no actual experience of, and yet meets a yearning for "a home of their own" by simply filling the void of cultural

dislocation. The ability to fill this void is also a testament to Nollywood's development of a unique film music identity, which subsists in a blend of the lingual, structural, genre, and ethnic identity referents. (Silvanus, 2018:3).

The submission of Silvanus on the way music functions to some in Nollywood and those in Diaspora, no doubt, makes it a unique part of the filmic experience. However, some filmmakers seem to deploy it without recourse to its real functions, which have been enumerated above. In Nollywood, some filmmakers use music as a narrative force thereby killing the suspense. (See *Love Apart, Conspiracy*). This is contestable however, as only the filmmaker can defend his action(s) as to the purpose of engagement. We will therefore, discuss music in Nollywood films with a view to its universal use and not to individual filmmaker's style. In other words, where the music is overstretched, or inappropriately used and where it is commendably employed shall be highlighted.

Irrespective of how it is employed, however, it is noteworthy to observe that there has been a marked improvement in the deployment of music in the industry. Again, this is dependent on the director. In some movies, especially in the early 1990s when the craze was novel and production, an all comers affair, music drove the narrative to the point that it was virtually useless watching the movie. It was such deplorable state that prompted Osha to say, "in terms of camerawork, audio quality and editing, there is still a lot to be

accomplished, In fact, one critic, Wale Obadeyi says once you've seen one, you've seen them all," (Osha, 1998:50). That scenario painted by Osha while citing Wale Obadeyi above is almost a thing of the past in Nollywood today. Indeed, the story of Nollywood can be said to be 'new every morning' to borrow the lines from the hymn. Nollywood is an industry that is evolving and can therefore not be pigeonholed.

As already noted, Nollywood makes use of music in its movies much like other movie cultures in its non-diegetic form; that is, music was added at the postproduction level. However, much of the music where they occur, are diegetically created by the actors as in *Black November*. In the movie, the director employed background flute in most of the scenes but relied more on traditional songs as in the funeral scenes and protest scenes. The music was not original in any way. They are popular funeral and protest songs such as "We no go gree, o! We no go gree!" and "Solidarity forever...." Others were traditional tunes which were properly and evenly utilized. This is because they were used to enhance the mood and help further the action by carrying the story forward. The viewer is therefore carried along as the songs were in line with the events of the moment. However, the music *Doro buchi* by Marvin's Crew was spoilt by its duration as it was used without recourse to temporal and spatial relevance. The music opened with the birth of Ebiere and continued throughout her academic career from primary school to her undergraduate studies on scholarship abroad up to her graduation. This is quite



unacceptable even in montage sequences. Given the way music moves on the rating chart, this particular soundtrack would naturally not be in vogue by the time Ebiere graduates from the university since it was leading the chart when she was born. This is the only grey area in the use of music in Amata's *Black November*.

In Kunle Afolayan's *October 1*, on the other hand, much use was made of natural sound and again, there was much reliance on traditional and native songs. The use of the old National Anthem is commendable both in the classroom and on the hoisting up of the Nigerian flag and the lowering of the Union Jack, symbolising the attainment of independence for the sovereign state of Nigeria and the withdrawal of the colonial presence from governance. In Alex Asigbo's *Sonia*, there was no attempt to compose original soundtrack as all the songs were taken from popular local and international/foreign artists like Cocoa Tea, Michael Bolton, Billy Ocean and Celine Dion. They were all duly acknowledged at the end of the movie. The songs were used for transition, mood/soliloquy as when Sonia was faced with some dilemma over her relationship with Sammy; heighten tension, following action, foreshadowing event, create effect and increase suspense. In all the scenes where the songs were used, they were appropriately and meaningfully used, even in the club where the music lasted quite long, the environment and situation were clearly acceptable for the duration. The way the transitional music flowed from the taxi into the club was quite effective.

It was noticed that the way music is deployed in Nollywood movies is not markedly different from how it was used in *Living in Bondage* (1992), the movie that opened the floodgates to the evolution of the industry. In the film, much of the sound relied on synchronized sound and music added during postproduction. But by far, there was much reliance on natural and environmental sounds; otherwise, music came from soundtracks that were part of the movie as in the cult/ritual and party scenes. In most instances, they were properly fused into the story. The major snag, however, is in their duration: there was a general tendency for the music to drag and possibly get on the viewer's nerves. Some go as far as pre-empting the story by summarizing the narrative. This kills suspense and makes continued viewing almost impossible as the viewer has been let into the outcome of the story.

Music is one of the essential elements that are employed to spice filmic narrative and get the story across, at the same time enhancing its aesthetic richness. A film without music is like a flowing narrative without dialogue; no matter how beautiful it reads, it leaves one with some hollow feeling and emptiness. Nollywood movie makers sometimes use music to distraction by leaving no room for suspense or for imagination. Music is supposed to help the story, not replace the narration and make the viewer a mere follower of the story without deploying his or her imagination.

The uses and gratification theory as applicable to this paper is relevant here because when the filmmakers appropriately utilize music in their

films, the viewer feels accomplished having taken part in a holistic experience of the motion picture. This is so because at the end of the narrative, no part stands out like a sore thumb since the story is complete. On the other hand, if the filmmaker deploys music to the point of irritation as some of them do, the viewer easily gets bored or loses interest altogether.

### Conclusion

It has been reiterated that music has always been present in movies. Music in films gives the viewer a sense of completeness and a measure of satisfaction and serves as cultural memorabilia and identity, (Ogunleye, 2003; Silvanus and Eze-Emaeyak, 2017). Sometimes, long after the story/narrative has faded in some films, the music remains fresh. In Nollywood, the Nigerian video film industry, music tends to take the place of narrative in some movies especially in the early period of its history. Over the years, there has been some measure of improvement in the quality of Nollywood productions especially in the deployment of music and acting. The major issue of concern as it relates to the use of music in the industry has to do with the noticeable and negligible lack or near absence of the creation of original soundtracks for the movies. It is not as though there is absolute lack of originality in the creation of soundtracks, rather, there is much reliance on indigenous musical content taken from the folkloric heritage.

This may also be attributable to the perennial problem of paucity of funds in the industry. Finance has been the clog in the wheel of the industry's progress from inception. Most of the

negative criticism which the industry has been plagued with has always been associated with lack of finance. With the recent interest shown in the industry by Netflix, an American media services outfit which recently acquired the distribution rights of Genevieve Nnaji's *Lion Heart*, the sky is the limit. As Ososanya (2018), has noted, "considering how bad the audio of many of our films are, *Lion Heart*, meeting all the delivery specifications, is impressive and a challenge to the rest of the industry."

There can be no doubt that Genevieve through *Lion Heart*, has not only thrown the challenge to the rest of the industry players, but has also alerted the other American business men and women as well as other American and European media moguls on the potentials inherent in Nollywood. The likelihood of future collaborations cannot be ruled out. Thus, there is hope and better days ahead. Music when properly used with beautiful narratives which can be sourced either from the folkloric pantheon or creatively composed from the tapestry of happenings in the country.

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## **Overcoming Nigeria's Contemporary Socio-political Problems: An Analysis of Asen's *Airegin***

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### **Abstract**

The paper focuses on some socio-political problems confronting Nigeria in contemporary times and how these can be overcome using lessons from *Asen's Airegin*. The analysis of the play shows that every region in the nation is battling with one serious challenge or the other. These include marginalization, security issues, lack of basic amenities, and degraded environment due to crude oil exploration. The citizens' reactions to their challenges include violence, attempt at control and secession. Fortunately, at the end the leaders and the masses agree to overcome their challenges through unity, selflessness dialogue rather than violence, fairness and justice for all the groups.

**Keywords:** Nigeria, Socio-political Challenges, Selflessness, Dialogue, Fairness, Justice.

### **Introduction**

Nigeria has had almost sixty years of independence yet she is still being confronted with many socio-political problems that have made her stage of development to be pathetic. These problems consist of insecurity, bad leadership, ethnicity, corruption and unemployment. Though there are many factors responsible for these, the major one is bad leadership. According to Tsaku (34):

A number of development discourses attributed Nigeria's lack of meaningful development to the multi-faceted problems of bad leadership. The Nigerian state today is characterized by injustice, corruption, kleptomania, greed and inequality at different levels which have greatly affected the

perception of leadership. ... Almost fifty six years now, Nigeria got her independence and the country still suffers from political instability, lack of legitimacy of political leaders, religious and ethnic intolerance, socio-economic disorder and corruption.

Bad leadership emphasized by Tsaku has led to a myriad of socio-political issues in contemporary Nigeria to the extent that in many areas such as insecurity, unemployment, distrust among the various ethnic groups, Nigeria seems to be at a worst state than she has ever been. Since her independence from the colonial masters both democratic and military leadership style of governance have been practiced but none has so far

provided the needed panacea for the country's quest for good leadership (Marcellinus and Ngunan. 207).

### **Theoretical Framework**

This paper is anchored on the social conflict theory of Karl Marx as seen in his communist manifesto. Marx's view is that society is made up of two camps-the bourgeoisies (the wealthy and privileged) and the proletariats (the masses) who are perpetually engaged in a struggle. The masses constitute the labour force that are oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie often using violence and tyranny. In response the proletariat protest and revolt to overcome their oppressors and bring about changes in their status quo. Marx's view is that:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, Lord and Serf, Guide-maser and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried out an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes (14).

In the play, the attitude of the leaders towards the masses leads to conflicts between the two camps. The masses complain of neglect and exploitation by their leaders which results in marginalization of some groups, unemployment, lack of basic amenities and high poverty level of the people. They protest and some use violent means to draw attention to their plight. At the end they are able to bring about a change in their

circumstances through the willingness of everybody (leaders and masses), to work together and ensure justice for all in the society.

### **Review of socio-political issues in the Nigerian Nation**

Since the attainment of Nigeria's independence in 1960, the nation has been plagued with many socio-political challenges some of which have become more complicated in contemporary times. One of such challenges is the right leadership that can harness the nation's vast resources for development.

According to Marcellinus & Ngunani (207)

Almost fifty years ago, Nigeria got her independence and the country still suffers from political instability, lack of legitimacy of political leaders, religious and ethnic intolerance, socio-economic disorder, corruption etcetera...political leaders over the years have been surrounded with many challenges of improving and developing on the infrastructure facilities as well as the country's economy. This demands personal sacrifice but the spirit of selfishness seems to have replaced the spirit of nationalism which rendered most political leaders incapacitated in the performance of their duties with corruption on the entrance.

Marcellinus and Ngunan identified two major issues that have contributed to the bad leadership Nigeria has had over the years. These are selfishness and corruption which manifest in almost all the administrations Nigeria

has had including civilian and military regimes.

Commenting on Marcellnus and Ngunan's views Rufai-Ahmad(139) states that these unresolved socio-political problems are still present in the country and are skyrocketing day-in-day out. These consist of sharia crisis, ethnic crisis and Boko Haram insurgency.

Riliwan Muhammad's view (3) about governance in Nigeria is as follows:

In Nigeria, the aura of disenchantment in respect of the leadership style of the pioneer indigenous leaders started manifesting at the incubation stage of the independence from the British government in 1960. The euphoria that greeted the self-rule hardly settled down when the Nigerian political elites began to demonstrate their lack of competence and commitment to the cause of the citizenry, corruption and nepotism were also accelerated. Such tendencies were later upheld, perfected and perpetuated especially under the intermittent intrusion of the military in the governance of the country.

The issue of poor leadership by various forms of government in Nigeria i.e. democratic and civilian is also emphasized by Best Ugala (29). He states that the issue of leadership failure in Nigeria dominates most international discussions. The world knows that "Nigeria has been less fortunate in its leadership," according to Achebe (13). Ugala further states that the parliament and the judiciary have not done enough to advance the cause of democracy. Both arms are

supposed to act as checks and balances to stave off every form of unmediated individuality and stupid negation of the very principles that define their constitutional responsibilities.

The results of leadership failure in Nigeria are socio-political problems that are getting more and more complicated. The view of Kenneth Eni (13) is that

The effects of poor democratic tradition in the underdevelopment of the Nigerian society are quite visible. Nigeria is a country that has been wrestling with complex decolonization, militarization, economic and development issues since gaining independence in 1960. With a population of over one hundred and fifty million people, Nigeria is plagued by a downward spiral of the educational sector and economic ineffectiveness, high rate of crime and to add, high rate of violence and a growing monster of terrorism.

Aniukwu and Uchemkpa (35) support the above view about numerous socio-political issues in Nigeria caused by selfish leaders but add one of the ways the challenges can be overcome:

Despite these challenges that threaten development which include political instability, economic recession, social stratification, thuggery, kidnapping, schismatic agitations, genocide attempts and so on orchestrated by leadership ineptitude, the theatre artist as an interventionist and mouth piece of the people has stood firm to correct and avert the cataclysm and regrettable

ruin that the country is vulnerable to.

It is in line with the role of the theatre artist in proffering solutions to Nigeria's problems as stated by Aniukwu and Uchemboka that Marcillus Asen's play *Airegin* is discussed in this paper.

### **Synopsis of *Airegin***

The play begins with different tribes gathering to celebrate Nigeria's independence. There is much joy and optimism about the future of the new nation. The tribes initially co-exist harmoniously for a while. Later they gather again to present their problems to their leader. People from the South South region campaign about oil spillage and dysfunctional oil refineries. Northerners present the problem of high level of insecurity in their region. The western region representatives complain about poor infrastructures such as bad roads and high level of unemployment. The middle belt group are unhappy about lack of fertilizer for their farm products and herdsmen attacks despite the anti-grazing law in their state. While the south eastern group state that despite being very enterprising and hardworking they do not have an enabling environment for success in their businesses. They also suffer from insecurity through armed robbery and kidnapping. The leader attempts to pacify all the groups with the promise that all their grievances will be addressed. They gather again after some time to share the nation's resources symbolized by a bountiful harvest of yams. Trouble breaks out due to dis-satisfaction with the sharing formula. The leader gives the greatest share to his region and the second

largest share to a region perceived to have given him such support. The meeting ends in disarray with the dissatisfied groups vowing to show their displeasure in various ways such as agitations for resource control and breaking out of the nation. With time violence breaks out in the country and other problems in the nation like corruption, decaying infrastructure, armed robbery and high level of unemployment etc., come to light. At the play's close all the tribes unite to resolve their differences and proffer solutions to their problems. These include unity, selflessness, dialogue rather than violence, and equity, fairness and justice for all the groups.

### **Thematic Pre-occupation of the Play and Relevance to the Nigerian Nation**

One of the themes of the play is that of the bad leadership. The leader of the nation in the play, though well accepted by all the regions at the beginning adopts a sharing formula of the nation's resources that brings much rancor. Akpenpuun a character in the play states "as for the sharing, there is everything wrong with it and until something is done about it, heads will continue to roll". (124)

The leader's attitude is a reflection of what has been mostly occurring in Nigeria. The view of Tsaku (34) is that

Despite the abundance of resources our leaders have refused to rule by the rules. To become a leader is interpreted as an opportunity to amass wealth, loot the treasury and appoint cronies to head the choicest ministries. Sadly, with most of the African countries...the ideal environment provides that leaders are supposed to be the true representatives and servant

of the people by giving diligent and effective representation and extension meeting up with needs such as infrastructural development, employment opportunities, good and affordable education among others.

The great disparity between Nigeria's abundant resources and the poverty level of most of the citizens as observed by Tsaku is mostly due to the leadership style of Nigerians that is selfish or bereft of ideas to cope with the complex nature of Nigerian nation. A few of the leaders have had good ideas but often, have been frustrated by appointees whose intentions are different and selfish. This has left the Nigerian populace dissatisfied with their leaders.

There are a number of leaders across the world whose selflessness and foresight have turned around the economy and general development of their countries within short periods. David Arthur Granger became the president of Guyana in 2015. With a projected growth rate of 16.3% during the four-year period 2018 - 2021, Guyana is the fastest growing economy in the world, with a GDP size of 53.63 billion (2018 Rank: 160) a growth rate of 4.1% in 2018 and 4.6% in 2019, Guyana's economy is expected to grow by 33.5% and 22.9% in 2023 and 2021 respectively according to the world bank.

From Africa, with a GDP size of \$80.28 billion (2018 Rank:70) Ethiopia is the fastest growing economy in Africa and the second fastest growing economy in the world according to the world bank. The country is projected to grow at 8.1% during the 2018 - 2021 period. Sahle-work Zewde became the

president in 2018 and the first woman to hold the office.

In Rwanda, Paul Kagame has been the president since 2000. The country has been able to rehabilitate its economy after the 1994 genocide and there has been political stability and the economic revival has been accompanied by substantial improvements in living standards and social development. Poverty has reduced significantly from 60.4% in 2000 to 38.2% in 2016/2017 according to World Bank.

The above rankings are based on the average growth rate for four years 2018-2021 (2018 estimates and projections for 2019, 2020 and 2021). Growth rates are based on World Bank's Global Economic Prospects (June 2019 data). However, corruption in the country is not just limited to the leaders as it has become almost like a culture, a way of life and a normal phenomenon for many Nigerians. Nevertheless, the occurrence of corruption among the leaders has much more devastating impact on the nation. Attia and L.T. Shabu state that:

As a result of corruption in government, money meant for the people such as roads, hospitals, pipe-borne water, schools, electricity, housing etc. is embezzled or siphoned into private pockets or bank accounts. Employment into government ministries and parastatals is not based on merit but on bribery and corruption. Justice is denied the people especially the poor, as judges deliver judgments to favour the highest bidders ... (18)

In the play, the above situation in the nation of Asen's *Airegin* which symbolizes the Nigerian nation is



revealed in the complaint of some of the characters:

Nurse Titi: At times I wonder what has happened! In the past, they used to supply drugs and equipment to this hospital but along the line, they stopped. I wonder what happened to those people who used to supply those drugs. Our doctors have long been on strike because of non-payment of salaries and allowances ... As far as I know, this country is stagnated. (p. 29)

Ene: ...Yes, stagnated! I am only a poor widow with five children, five children to care of. But there is nothing to take care of them with. Nothing! The little fertilizer I used to get to grow my crops and train these children is no longer coming. (p.30)

A third character Terfa complains that he is university graduate with a good result but he has been unable to get a job for six years. The resultant effect of this is that some of the graduates resort to armed robbery for survival. They attempt to rob a hospital whose workers also have their personal woes as reflected in the above statements of Nurse Titi and Ene. One of the robbers referred to as 7Wonders states:

7 Wonders: Just take a look at me, I am a graduate for five years now but there is no job and yet you wake up every day and watch these illiterate politicians embezzle millions of naira. Yes, including what should be in my pocket and you expect me to sit down and watch and starve to death?

Current events in Nigeria show that many of the youths are so frustrated by their situation that they make

desperate attempts to leave the country. Others resort to armed robbery, kidnappings, cybercrimes (yahoo yahoo) and ritual killings. Another worrisome issue in contemporary Nigeria which the play also addresses is insecurity. Representatives from the North and Middle belt zone complain about the problems of insecurity and seek for solutions from the leader.

Bello:... Your Excellency, the major problem facing my people is insecurity. You see, everyday my people wake up and find themselves being terrorized, there is bomb blast everywhere. As a result, schools are being closed down, markets are not operational, nothing is working.

Akpanpuun from the Middle Belt also laments:

Akpanpuun: My people are killed on their farms everyday, may be something is been done about it as the anti-open grazing bill has been signed into law but as for me, I don't know because the story has not changed. (p.13)

Causes of insecurity in contemporary Nigeria include the Boko Haram insurgency, Fulani Herdsmen attacks, Bandits, Militant activities, armed robbers, kidnappers and ritual killers. The Boko Haram insurgency has had much devastating effects on the nation. Its birth is traced to a disagreement between a convoy of Tusuffiya sect and local police which turned violent in Maiduguri February 20, 2009. The sect has turned into a dreaded group which seek to impose their brand of Islam that attacks and destroys communities, displace families leading to thousands in IDP

Camps as well as abduct teenage girls and women. Chibok Girls High School was invaded by the sect in 2014 where they kidnapped over 250 girls. In Dapchi in February 19, 2018 another set of girls were kidnapped by the terrorists from the Government Girls Science and Technical College Dapchi, Yobe State, northeast Nigeria.

The effect of Boko Haram activities on the nation has been well captured by Cindi A. Ezeugwu (127):

The antecedent consequences of all these forms of violence and terrorism include the generation and spread of violent conflicts as well as proliferation of poverty, diseases, bloodshed and loss of lives and property, human dislocation and displacement. It also has numerous numbers of intra state conflicts and ethno-religious conflicts. This is more so in Africa where religious intolerance and ethnic divide fueling these violent crises through terrorism has become one of the most urgent security and developmental challenges in Nigeria today with no definite means of resolution in sight ...

Ezeugwu further states that the implicit assumption is that enough has not been done by both past and present governments in tackling the problem of terrorism besides calling for investigations that never get to see the light of the day and the soldiers are not equipped with the state of the art weapon that would bring the terrorism to an end.

Conflicts between herdsmen and other communities initially occurred in the north central zone of Nigeria but have now spread to Benue, South East, South South and South West states. These armed herdsmen attack

and destroy whole communities displacing the members to IDP camps, rape women, rob and kidnap others. They move about brazenly with AK 47, graze their cows on cultivated lands and dare the owners to complain. Response from the farmers often leads to their attacks.

Another issue raised in the play is that of perceived marginalization of some ethnic groups and the subsequent response by the oppressed group. In the play, the nation's resources are distributed in a manner that a certain region gets the majority share since the independence of the country and the leader refused to change the formula despite complains.

The reactions are as follows

Akpenpuun:... As for the sharing, there is everything wrong with it and until something is done about it, heads will continue to roll.  
(p. 24)

Okafor: ... I am afraid if you refuse to add anything to us, me and my people will leave.  
(p. 24)

Mr. Bassey: Give everybody what he deserves and if you refuse to do so, no problem, at least my people and I will control the little resources that we have in our region.  
(p.25)

The reactions of various characters in the play to their dissatisfaction with the treatment meted to their regions correlates with the events in contemporary Nigeria. The perception of the Igbos is that since the end of the civil war, they have not been accepted back in the Nigerian nation and have been discriminated against politically. Some have resorted to secessionist movements such as Movement for

Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) (<http://www.hrw.org>). The Niger Delta region believes that the oil which is produced from their soil has been used to develop other parts of the country while they continue to face hardship, poverty and degradation of their environment. They demand for resource control while some of their youths resort to militant activities (Ugala p.65). The south west region has been very vocal about restructuring the country also due to perceived marginalization in the scheme of things in the country. There have also been upsurge of socio-political groups meant to promote the interest of different regions. These include Yoruba Elders Forum, Ohaneze Ndigbo, Pan Delta Forum and Middle Belt forum.

### **Recommendations and Conclusion**

Though socio-political challenges currently confronting the nation are complex and many as shown in Asen's *Airegin* they are not insurmountable. A major panacea for the country's problems is good governance.

Leaders need to direct their energy and action towards using the country's resources to meet the needs of the people. In the play, a character Balogun states: "I think our selfishness is the reason for this pitiable state of motherland" (p.36). This means leaders must live above the prevailing practice of most using their offices to corruptly enrich themselves. Leadership in Nigeria can also be enhanced by strengthening the democratic form of government. The structures should be strong enough to stop election being a farce. Election

results should be determined by the choice of the majority rather than vote buying and change of result by corrupt INEC officials. When people's choices matter, leaders will govern to meet the need of the masses who have the power to vote them in and out.

In addition, good governance can also help a great deal in curbing terrorism and other acts of violence in the society. Factors responsible for terrorism such as poverty, marginalization, oppression, lack of basic amenities can be addressed through leadership that listens to the voices of the people and gives attention to the rights of the citizens.

Violence and terrorism in the land can be curbed by meeting the social needs of youths who are usually used to carry out such actions. Issues such as poverty reduction, education and employment should be prioritized by the government. Negotiation rather than violence should be utilized by aggrieved groups as the later complicates the situation.

Religious crises can be greatly reduced if the leaders give conscious and correct religious education to their followers. Nigeria is a secular state by her constitutional provision. Violence should not be used to impose any religion on others.

Eliminating corruption in the Nigerian society should be the focus of every administration due to the devastating effect it has had on the nation. Some of the measures that can be used according to Asen (92) include strong punitive measures against culprits. In addition, the three branches of government (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary) should cooperate in the fight against corruption. Law enforcement agencies

and anti-graft bodies such as the EFCC and ICPC should continuously be given enabling environment to carry out their functions. A media friendly environment and active civil societies are also needed in the fight against corruption. Civil societies should lead the masses to protest against corrupt officials if the government fails to act.

The existing economic and political structure of the Nigeria nation at this point seems incapable of holding the various tribes together. Complaints of political marginalization, socio-economic exclusion and cries for justice by various groups can be addressed through a national conference. This will provide the opportunity for various groups to air their grievances and agree on the way forward. In the play, the challenges the nation faced are addressed as all the tribes come together to resolve their differences. The issue of marginalization of some regions in the country can also be resolved through strengthening of the various federating units in the country. Obiora Anichebe's (260) position is that federalism helps in national integration and cohesion, taking cognizance of sectional heterogeneity, that is unity in diversity. This position is also held by Ajaebili and Amaechi (p.133-134) who believe that:

Federalism is the best method of handling diversity as it implies the existence of difference in culture, history, language, socio-political institutions and levels of economic development. Therefore, the present federal system in Nigeria must recognize these disparities and differences and make provisions for them

rather than suppressing them or sweeping them under the carpet, if our efforts at nation building and national integration are to succeed. Today, the United States of America which started with the first thirteen colonies is the strongest federal community in the world and truly manifests the unity in diversity which federalism represents.

The recommendations of the national conference organized by President Goodluck Jonathan in 2014 should be revisited. On the alternative, a new national conference can be organized to take care of current issues.

### Conclusion

The play *Airegin* draws attention to many prevailing socio-political issues confronting Nigeria. Some of them are threatening the fragile unity of the country. These demand urgent and genuine efforts by all stakeholders for solutions. Government at all levels must be such that uses the country's resources to meet the needs of the people. There should also be fairness and equity in terms of the distribution of the resources to all the regions. In addition, issues such as ethnicity and religious intolerance that threaten the unity of the country have to be adequately addressed.

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## **Xda Ch[[ N'olu Xvxx Igbo<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Umj**

Nchọcha a na-eleba anya n'ụda chij, ndi e nwere n'olu Uvuru Igbo. Ebumnuche nchọcha bu inyocha a ụda chij di n'olu Uvuru iji mata ihe mere ka ha di iche n'ụda chij, ndi e nwere n'Igbo Izugbe. Ndi nchọcha si n'aka ndi na-asu olundi Uvuru abuo were nweta njatule e ji mee nchọcha. Site n'igbado ukwu n'atutu njiri, nke mkpuru ụda asusu nakwa mkpi iche, a choptara na olu Uvuru nwere ụda chij asaa ndi na-adighi n'Igbo Izugbe; ha gunyere /pf/, /tj/ /dv/, /kf/, /gv/, /ts/ na /dz/. A choptakwara na ụda chij ndi a bu mkpuru ụda asusu n'olu Uvuru. Ufodu n'ime ụda chij ndi a choptara na-aputakwa ihe n'ufodu olu ndi mgbago ugwu Igbo di ka Ezza a na-asu na steeti Ebonyi na olu Ukehe di na steeti Enugwu. Ndi nchọcha tunyere aro ka a gbasoo usoro fonoloji di iche iche iji choptakwuo akparamagwa ụda chij ndi a choptara. A tunyewara aro ka ndi nchọcha gbaa mbu na-enyocha asusu Igbo n'ihu na o bu site n'uzo di etu a ka asusu Igbo si etolite.

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<sup>1</sup> Oru nchọcha a bu nke odee onye nke mbu guputara na Ngalaba Lingwistiks, Igbo na Asusu Naijiria ndi ozo, Mahadum Naijiria, Nsuka maka nzere Okaa. Odee a na-ekele Okn. C.U. Agbedo, onye lekotara ya na nzere Okaa ya. O na-ekele Okn. E.E. Mbah onye nyere aka gugharia oru nchọcha a ma nye ntunye puru iche. Odee na-ekele S.C. Aboh bu onye tughariri ya bu nchọcha site n'asusu Bekee gaa n'asusu Igbo.

## 1. Mkpòlite

Asụsụ ọ bụla nwere ihe mere o ji dị iche n'ebe asụsụ ndị ọzọ. Ihe a mere o ji pụọ iche n'ebe asụsụ ndị ọzọ dị nwere ike ịbụ usoro mkpọpụta ụda, usoro okwu, mkpuru okwu ma ọ bụ ogo olu. A bịa n'ogo olu, a na-enwekwa ihe na-eme ka otu olu dị iche n'ebe olu ndị ọzọ. N'asụsụ Igbo, e nwere mkpuru ụda ndị nọ n'olu Igbo niile. E nwekwara ndị bụ na naanị otu olundị ka ha dị. Enweghị asụsụ na-enweghị olu. Olu dị n'asụsụ na-enwe myiri n'ebe ọ di ukwu. Ọ bụ myiri ndị a ha nwere ka ndị na-asụ otu asụsụ si na-aghọta olu ndị di n'asụsụ ahụ. Ọ bụrụ na ndị na-asụ olu abụọ na-aghọta ibe ha, ihe ọ pụtara bụ na olu ahụ bụ olu otu asụsụ. Ọ bughị asụsụ abụọ di iche iche (hụ Ugwuona na Orjinta, 2013; Ahamefula na Okoye, 2014; Agbedo, 2015).

Ọ bụ n'ihì obere nchọcha e merela n'asụsụ, ọkachasi na fonoloji mere Ikekeonwu (1986) jiri tunye aro ka a mụọ olu Igbo site n'igbaso usoro sayensi asụsụ. Dị ka o si kowaa, ụdị nchọcha di etu a ga-eme ka a matakwuo ụfọdu ihe gbasara olu Igbo. Ọ bụ echiche a kpata ndị nchọcha ji na-eleba anya n'ụda chii ndị pụtara ihe n'olu Ụvuru Igbo. Olu Ụvuru nwere ihe ndị mere ka ọ pụọ iche n'ebe olu Igbo ndị ọzọ di.

Ụda chii bụ mgbochi ume ndi ahụ na-ebido di ka ụda ike (ọkachasi ụda ike anyuru di ka /t/ ma ọ bụ /d/) mana ha na-eji ụda shii akwusi (di ka /s/ ma ọ bụ /z/) (Roach, 2000). Ụda chii a kacha mara bụ ụda chii anyuru na akpo enwe olu na nnwe olu: /tʃ/ na /dʒ/. A na-ahukari ụda chii ndi a n'asụsụ bekee n'okwu "church" na "joy". Na Bekee, a na-eji mkpuru edide "ch" na "j" edeputa ụda chii /tʃ/ na /dʒ/ n'otu n'otu. N'otu aka ahụ kwa,

mkpuru ụda /ts/ na Jamaan na /dz/ na Italian bucha ụda chii. Mkpuru ụda ndi a dikwa na Polish /ts/ na Chainis /dz/.

Ka o sila di, ụda chii bụ agwara mgbochiume e nwere n'asụsụ Igbo. Asụsụ Igbo bụ asụsụ ụda olu nwere ogo olu atọ: elu, ala na nsuda. A na-asukari asụsụ Igbo na steeti Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugwu na Imo. E nwekwara mpaghara steeti Rivers, Delta na Akwa Ibom (Williamson na Blench, 2000). Nwaozuzu (2008) kewara olundị Igbo ụzọ asatọ: olu odida anyanwu Najia, olundị etiti ọwụwaanyanwu, olundị mba mmiri, olundị odida ọwụwaanyanwu, olundị mgbago ọwụwaanyanwu, olundị odida anyanwu, na olundị mgbagougwu.

Site na nke na ụdi olu Igbo e nyere n'elu, olu Ụvuru bụ olu mgbago ugwu nke a na-asụ n'okpuru ọchichi Ụzọ Ụwani di na steeti Enugwu. Ụzọ Ụwani na Nkpologwu gbara agbata obi n'odidaanyanwu na mgbago ugwu, ya na Ụkpata gbara agbata obi n'owuwa anyanwu ebe ya na Nkpunato na Adani gbara agbata obi na ndida ugwu. Onu ọgu mmadu nọ n'Ụvuru di ka nguonu ikpezu (2006) e mere di puku iri atọ na abuo, nari asaa na iri isii na ise. N'ihì etu ndi mmadu siri biri n'Ụvuru, e nwere obodo atọ di n'Ụvuru ndi gunyere: Ụvuru Ugwu, Ụvuru Oda na Ogwu Ụvuru. N'ime obodo atọ ndi a, e nwere onumara iri.

E meela ụfọdu nchọcha gbasara ụda chii n'asụsụ mba uwa (cf. Smith, 1969; Katamba, 1992; Laver, 2002; Ukaegbu, Aboh na Mbah, 2017). E mekwala nchọcha gbasara ụda chii n'ufodu olu Igbo: Izhi (Ibe, 2003), Ngwa (Ubani, 2005), Leeja (Ezealeke, 2006). N'ime nchọcha ndi a, dika ochocha si madebe, e nweghi nchocha

e merela banyere ụda chiji n'olu Ụvuru. O bu ya kpatara e ji eme nchocha a.

Ka e si nweta njatule e ji ruo oru bu site n'ufodu mkparita uka ndi nchocha na ndi Ụvuru nwere. A juru ufodu ndi Ụvuru ajuju ma nyekwa ha ihe e dere n'olu ha ka ha guo. Ndi e ji mee nchocha bu ndi ha na ndi bi n'obodo Ụvuru ma na-asukwa Ụvuru. Mbunuche nchocha a kpom kwem bu imata ụda chiji e nwere n'olu Ụvuru, etu e si akpopta ha na onodu di iche iche a na-ahuta ụda chiji ndi a na mkpuru okwu. E kewara oru nchocha a na ngalaba ano: ngalaba nke mbu bu mkpolite ebe a no nye ntala nchocha. Ngalaba nke abuo tuleghariri agumagu bara uru na nchocha a. Ngalaba nke ato bu ntuputa na ntucha njatule ebe nke ikpeazu bu nchikota ihe a choputara, mmechi na aro.

## 2. Ntuleghari agumagu

### 2.1 Ntuleghari atutu

Fonoloji na-amu maka mkpuru ụda ndi ahụ na-eweta ndiiche n'asusu nakwa etu e si ejikota mkpuru ụda onu n'asusu. Fonoloji gbadoro ukwu kpom kwem nomumu mkpuru ụda asusu mana o na-elebakwa anya na nkeji okwu nakwa ihe niile gbasara mkpuru ụda asusu nomumu asusu. Lass (1998) kwara na fonoloji na-eleba anya noru, agwara na ndoko ụda iji mebe mkpuru okwu n'asusu. N'otu aka ahụ kwa, Clark, Yallop na Fletcher (2007) kwara na fonoloji putara iji ụda n'uzo gara nke oma iji mata echiche di n'ihe e kwuru.

Ya bu na fonoloji na-amukari maka mkpuru ụda ndi ahụ nwere ike iwete ndiiche na nghota n'asusu. O na-enyocha etu mkpuru ụda ndi a si aru oru n'asusu a na-asu n'owa. O di mkpa irutu aka n'ebe a na fonoloji na-eleba

anya na mkpuru ụda di n'asusu n'otu n'otu. Atutu fonoloji a ga-enyocha noru a bu atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala.

#### 2.1.1 Atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala

Atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala na-arutu aka n'ebe mkpuru ụda asusu di. O na-akowa na e nweghi mkpuru ụda abuo yitere onwe ha n'odidi n'agbanyeghi na ha nwere ike ino n'otu onodu. Di ka Agbedo (2015) siri kwara, iwu na-achikwa atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala bu na o bu naani ndiiche di na mkpuru ụda di n'asusu di iche iche ka e kwesiri ileba anya naani. Atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala kwenyere na mkpuru ụda asusu bu uzo e si eweta ndiiche na nghota n'otu asusu. De Saussure na ndi okachamara namumamu sayensi asusu ndi ozo n'afu 1896 bu ndi tuputara atutu atutu usoro mkpuru ụda odinala.

##### 2.1.1.1 Atutu mkpuru ụda mbunuche

Atutu mkpuru ụda mbunuche bu oka asusu bu onye Poland a na-akpo Jan Baudoin de Courtenay tuputara ya. Atutu a na-ahuta mkpuru ụda di ka ihe no n'uche mmadu. Courtenay kwara na mkpuru ụda bu ụda ndi ahụ nwere nghota ndi a hutara n'uche okwu. O bughu ihe a na-ahụ anya (Mbah na Mbah, 2010). Mgbe ufodu, mkpuru ụda e bu n'uche agaghi abu ihe e kwuputara n'ihu ufodu ihe nhia ahụ di iche iche. Ihe na-eme mgbe a na-asuputa mkpuru ụda metutara mkponume, olilo na mkponakpo gosiri na o bughu ihe e bu n'uche ikwu mgbe niile ka a na-ekwuputa. Ima atu, onye asusu Bekee bu asusu epum ya ma na mkpuru ụda /p/ na mkpuru okwu 'puo' na 'supu'enweghi otu udi mkpopta. Na 'puo' [p] nwere mkponume mana na 'supu', o nweghi



mkponume n'ihì ọ̀nọ̀dụ ọ nọ na ya. Ndi otu Prague, di ka Mbah na Mbah (2010) siri kowaa, ruturu aka na tupu okwuu akpọtuta [p] nwere mkponume, uche ya agwala ya na ụda ahụ nwere mkponume.

### 2.1.1.2 Atutu mkpuru ụda odidi chi

Ndi tuputara atutu a bu Daniel Jones na Gleason. Atutu a na-ekwu na mkpuru ụda abughi ihe e chere n'echiche kama o bu ihe a na-ahụ anya. Jones (1967) kowara mkpuru ụda di ka ezi na ulo mkpuru ụda di n'asusu. Ndi no n'otu ezi na ulo kwesiri iyi onwe ha n'ogo amumamu akpomakpo ma nwekwaa onodu ha na-anọ naani ha. N'otu aka ahụ kwa, Gleason (1955) kowara mkpuru ụda di ka ogo mkpuru ụda ndi yiri onwe ya n'uda ma nwekwaa onodu ha na-anọ n'asusu ma o bu n'olu ndi a na-enyocha.

### 2.1.1.3 Atutu oru mkpuru ụda

Ndi tuputara atutu oru mkpuru ụda bu Bloomfield na Trubetzkoy. Echiche gbara okpurukpu ndi otu fonoloji Prague gbasara fonim bu oru. Ya mere ndi otu Prague ji kwuo na e nweghi ike ikowa mkpuru ụda site n'igbado ukwu n'odidi mbunuche ma o bu odidi chi kama site n'oru o na-arụ n'asusu.

Umụ amumamu usoro mkpuru ụda bu mkpuru ụda. Clark, Yallop na Fletcher (2007) hutara mkpuru ụda di ka mkpuru ụda na-eweta ndiiche na nghota n'asusu. Akmajian, Dermes, Farmer na Harnish (2006) kowara mkpuru ụda di ka mkpuru ụda no n'echiche okwuu nke nwere ike igbanwe agwara ya di ka onodu o weere n'okwu siri di. Ozọ kwa, Giegerich (1992) kowara fonim di ka mkpuru ụda na-enweghi nkewa nke na-eweta ndiiche n'asusu. Imaatụ: asusu bekee: 'p' na 'b' di ka ha si puta ihe na

/pin/ na/bin/. N'asusu Igbo, e nwere ike ihuta 'gb' na 'gw' di ka o si puta ihe na /agba/ na /agwa/.

Atutu ato ndi a e weputara iji kowaa mkpuru ụda na-enye aka ighota mpaghara mkpuru ụda di iche iche (Mbah na Mbah, 2010). Nke a bu na mkpuru ụda bu ihe e bu n'uche, buru ihe a na-ahụ anya ma burukwa ihe nwere oru o na-arụ n'asusu. Mana di ka o si metuta oru a, a ga-eji atutu mkpuru ụda njiri kowaa njatule. Nke a bu maka na ndi nchocha kwenyere na o bu oru mkpuru ụda na-arụ mere ya ka o buru mkpuru ụda. Ya bu o buru na ụda na-eme ka e nwee nghota di iche n'asusu, ụda ahụ bu mkpuru ụda. O bu n'ihì nke a ka e ji kowaa mkpuru ụda di ka mkpuru ụda apughi nkewa nke nwere ike ime ka e nwee mgbanwe na nghota n'asusu (Jones, 1967). Iji hu na e weputara fonim ndi a nke oma, a ga-akowa mkpiiche bu otu n'ime uzọ e si amata mkpuru ụda.

Atutu oru mkpuru ụda na-eji nnwale mkpi iche amata mkpuru ụda n'asusu. Hyman (1975) kowara mkpiiche di ka mkpuru okwu ole na ole nke nwere ndi iche n'otu mkpuru ụda. A na-ejikari mkpi iche egosiputa na e nwere ndi iche di n'etiti mkpuru ụda abuo n'asusu. Ima atu n'asusu Igbo, e nwere ndi iche di n'etiti /s/ na /z/ di ka ha si puta ihe na mkpi iche ndi a: *sú* na *zú*. Ebe o bu na ndi iche di na mkpuru okwu a bu /s/ na /z/, ihe o putara bu na ha bu mkpuru ụda asusu.

N'ikwado echiche Hyman (1975) gbasara mkpi iche, Essien (1990) kowara mkpi iche usoro a na-agbaso iji nweta ndi iche n'etiti mkpuru okwu abuo ma o bu karja. N'iweta ndi iche ndi a, mkpuru okwu ndi a ga-enwe otu udi ụda n'onodu di iche iche mana o bu naani n'otu onodu ka a ga-enwe ndi iche na mkpuru ụda. Ya bu, o buru na

mkpuru uda e jiri nochie anya mkpuru uda dibi n'onodu a mere ka e nwee mgbanwe na nghota, ihe o putara bu na mkpuru uda ahụ bu mkpuru uda asusu. Omuma atu, /p/ na /f/ na mkpuru okwu /pan/ na /fan/.

N'onodu #1-in1# (mkpuru uda na-esote mkpuru uda 'in' na mkpuru okwu), mkpuru uda ole ga-ewetanwu ndi iche na nghota bu mkpuru uda asusu n'asusu a na-atule. N'ihhi nke a, /p/, /b/, /t/, /s/ na /f/ bu mkpuru uda asusu na Bekee n'ihhi na ha na-eweta ndi iche na nghota n'onodu a e dere n'ala:

(1)	Onodu a na-atule	Mkpuru
	uda	Ndejuputa
	#/t	m/# tin
	#/p	m/# pin
	#/s	m/# sin
	#/b	m/# bin

Ya bu n'asusu Bekee, /pin/, /tin/, /sin/ na /bin/ bu mkpi iche. Onodu nnwale mkpi iche nwere ike ibu na mbido, etiti ma o bu ngwucha mkpuru okwu. Omuma atu onodu mkpi iche na ngwucha mkpuru okwu bu:

(2)	Mkpuru uda	Onodu a
	na-atule	Ndejuputa
	#/fæ	t/# fat
	#/fæ	n/# fan
	#/fæ	g/# fag

N'ebe a, /t/, /n/ na /g/ bu mkpuru uda asusu n'ihhi na ha nwetere ndi iche na nghota na mkpuru okwu ha batara na ya..

Asusu o bula nwere mkpuru uda asusu ndi e si na ha emebe mkpuru okwu. N'asusu Igbo, e nwekwara omuma atu mkpi iche ndi e ji amata mkpuru uda asusu di n'asusu Igbo. O bu site na mkpi iche ka ndi okachamara n'amumamu asusu si amata mkpuru uda asusu ole di n'asusu

ma o bu n'olu Iji mebe mkpi iche, a ga-enweriri onodu. A na-etinye mkpuru uda n'otu onodu dika o si puta ihe n'omumaatu di n'ala ebe e nwere onodu /-e/. Nke a putara na /r, m, t, d/ bu mkpuru uda asusu n'asusu Igbo n'ihhi na mebere mkpi iche. Omuma atu:

(3)	Onodu a na-atule	Mkpuru
	uda	Ndejuputa
	#/r	e/# re
	#/m	e/# me
	#/t	e/# te
	#/d	e/# de

N'Igbo, e nwekwara mkpuru okwu di ka /osó/, /ók'wó/ na /ózó/. Ndi iche di na mkpuru okwu ato ndi a putara ihe n'onodu etiti. Ihe o putara bu na /s/, /k<sup>w</sup>/ na /z/ bu mkpuru uda asusu n'Igbo n'ihhi na ha mere e nwee ndi iche na nghota. N'asusu Yoruba, omuma atu mkpi iche bu:

(4i)	/wá/	'bia'
	/bá/	'zute'

Omumaatu n'Awusa bu:

(4ii)	/jé/	'ga'
	/ké/	'gi'

O di mkpa irutu aka n'ebe a na ufodu mkpuru uda asusu nwere onodu ha enweghi ino n'okwu. Nke a na-eme ka imebe mkpi iche n'onodu ahụ na-ahia ahụ. Ima atu n'asusu Bekee, uda imi akpo nnwe olu /ŋ/ na-anokari n'onodu etiti na ikpeazu. N'asusu Igbo, o na-anọ n'onodu mbu di ka o si puta ihe na "#/ŋka/# mana o gaghi anonwu n'onodu ikpeazu n'asusu Igbo.

## 2.2 Nchocha e merela banyere isi okwu

Katamba (1992) ji mma puru iche a na-akpo 'mkpo shii' wee kowaa ndi iche di n'uda ike na uda chii. Nchocha ya

gosiputara na n'agbanyeghi na uda ike na uda chii metutara mmechibido owa onu, etu ikuku si agafe n'onu di iche. N'uda ike, ikuku na-apu na mberede mana n'uda chii, ikuku na-egbu oge tupu o puchaa. O bu nke a kpatara Katamba ji were agwara [±mkpopta nchetu] gosiputa ndi iche di n'etiti uda ike na uda chii. Uda ike bu [-mkpopta nchetu] ebe uda chii bu [+mkpopta nchetu]. Katamba (1992) gosikwara na e nwere ike ikpopta uda chii ebe o bu la e nwere ike ikpopta uda ike onu.

Laver (2002) mere nchocha n'asusu Izugbe Turkish na Sudanese West Java wee choputa na asusu ndi a nwere uda chii anyuru na akpo. Maddieson (1983) choputara na n'ime asusu nari ato na iri na asaa o nyochara na otu nari na iri anọ na otu n'ime ha nwere uda chii anyuru na akpo enwe olu /tʃ/ ebe asato n'ime ha nwere uda chii anyuru na akpo nnwe olu /dʒ/. Omuma atu ndi no n'ala si n'asusu ohuru Izugbe Turkish na Sudanese:

(5a). Uda chii anyuru na akpo n'asusu ohuru Izugbe Turkish

- i. /hatʃw/ 'obe'  
/hadʒw/ 'njem'uka'

Uda chii anyuru na akpo n'asusu Sudanese

- ii. /nahantʃa/ 'irū orū'  
/nadzawab/ 'izā'oku'

A na-ahutakwa uda chii /ts/ na /tʃ/ n'asusu Nupe. Smith (1969) choputara na a bia n'asusu Nupe na uda chii /ts/ na-abiakari n'ihu udaume azu di ka /o/ ebe /tʃ/ na-aputakari ihe n'ihu uda ume ihu /i/ mana ha abuo nwere ike iweta ndi iche na nghota mgbe /a/ no n'azu ha. Omuma atu: /tʃa/ 'ihò' na /tʃa/ 'ibido'.

Ukaegbu, Aboh na Mbah (2017) choputakwara na a bia n'asusu Berom,

e nwere uda chii ngafe anyuru /tʃ/ na /dʒ/ dika o si puta ihe n'okwu ndi a /tʃam/ 'otu n'ime umu ejima' na /dʒam/ 'ike'.

N'ufodu olu mgbago ugwu Igbo, e nwere omuma atu uda chii egbugbere onu na eze. Ngwuta (1988) choputara na e nwere otutu uda chii n'olu Ezaa. O bu ndi iche di na mkpuru uda asusu di n'olu ma o bu asusu di iche iche mere ka otutu ndi na-asu asusu ma o bu olu di iche ghara ighota ihe ndi ozọ na-ekwu. N'olu Ezaa, Ngwuta (1988) kowaputara na e nwere uda chii [pf], [bv], [kf] na [gv]. Mana olu Uvuru nwere naani uda chii egbugbere onu na eze enwe olu /pf/. Ha enweghi nke nwere olu /bv/. Ngwuta (1988) nyere omuma atu ndi a:

- (6) i. /opfu/ 'okwu'  
/okfu/ 'okwu'  
ii. /okpo/ 'ogwu'  
/ogvo/ 'ogwu'

Ozo kwa, Ibe (2003) choputara ufodu uda chii egbugbere onu abuo n'olu Izhi Igbo. Uda chii ndi a bu /pf/ - /opfu/ 'okwu' na /bv/ - /obvu/ 'ogwu'. N'olu Ngwa, Uban (2005) choputara uda chii abuo: uda chii ngafe anyuru enwe olu mkponume /tʃh/ - /itʃhè/ 'iche' na uda chii ngafe anyuru nnwe olu: /dʒ/ - /dzia/ 'dina ala'. Na nchocha Nnanyelugo (2003) mere gbasara olu Nkpoo choputara na e nwere uda chii ngafe anyuru enwe olu na nnwe olu n'olu Nkpoo. Ima atu: /dʒ/ - /ndzem/ 'njem', /adzā/ 'aja', /adzòdzó/ 'ajuju', /tʃi/ 'chi' na /etʃi/ 'echi'. O choputakwara na mkpuru uda ndi a na-aputa ihe n'onodu mbido na etiti n'olu Nkpoo. N'otu aka ahụ, Ezealeke (2006) choputara na e nwere uda chii ngafe anyuru enwe olu na nnwe olu n'olu Leeja Igbo. Uda chii ndi a bu: /tʃ/ - /otʃa/ 'ocha' na /etʃara/ 'achara',

/dʒ/ - /òdʒà/ 'oja' na /dʒá/ 'oberé'.  
 Ụda chiji ndi a di n'olu Leeja na-aputa  
 ihe naani n'onodu mbido na etiti. Ha  
 anaghị aputa ihe n'onodu ikpeazu.

### 3. Ntuputa na ntucha njatule

#### 3.1 Ụda chiji n'olu Ụvuru Igbo

Ndi ochocha n'omuma atu ndi a di  
 n'okpuru agbasoghi usoro mkpi iche  
 n'ituputa mkpuru okwu ndi nwere ụda  
 chiji n'olu Ụvuru. Ebumnuche n'ebe a  
 bu igosiputa mkpuru okwu ebe ụda  
 chiji ndi e nwere n'olu Ụvuru putara  
 n'ime ha. Omuma atu ndi a gunyere:

#### (7) Ụdachiji egbugbere onu na eze enwe olu /pf/

/pfòs/ 'puo'  
 /òpfò/ 'ike'  
 /òpfu/ 'ohu'  
 /àpfò/ 'afu'  
 /àpfè/ 'akwa'  
 /pfui/ 'huo'

N'omuma atu 7, e gosiputara na /pf/  
 bu mkpuru ụda chiji n'olu Ụvuru. O  
 nwere ike ino na mbido na ngwucha  
 mkpuru okwu.

#### (8) Ụdachiji anyuru egbugbere onu na eze enwe olu na nnwe olu /tf/ na /dv/

/tfòma/	'suo'	/dvúé/	'zoo'
/bèfòs/	'bepu'	/édvú/	'ibu onu'
/ótfú/	'amoosu'	/údvù/	'udu'
/étfú/	'esu'	/dvòs/	'doo'
/átfòaná/	'oke unyi'	édvùgvù	'aha arusi'
/ótfò/	'usu'	/ídvò/	'idu'
/òtfò/	'uto'	/ódvú/	'ozu'
/étfútúé/	'otuto'	/ódvò/	'tail'
/ótfòà/	'osu'	/ídvù/	'ubochi ahia'
/ntfò/	'nsu'	/ádvú/	'aju'

N'omuma atu 8, e gosiputara na /tf/ na /dv/ bu mkpuru ụda chiji n'olu Ụvuru.  
 Ha nwere ike ino na mbido na ngwucha mkpuru okwu.

#### (9) Ụda chiji anyuru enwe olu na nnwe olu /ts/ na /dz/

/òtsìsì/	'otiti'	/dzi/	'di'
/tsié/	'ti'	/dzìkpà/	'dimkpa'
/ìtsù/	'ikpo'	/édzì/	'edi'
/ntsùtsù/	'ntutu isi'	/ndzìdzì/	'ndidi'
/ètsìsì/	'middle'	/ágbúdzi/	'agbusi'
/àtsìsì/	'unyi'	/ìdzì/	'ndi okenye'
/ùtsùtsù/	'ututu'	/àdzìná/	'idina'
/ntsì/	'nti'	/dzìāyī/	'onye oout'

N'omuma atu 9, e gosiputara na /ts/ na /dz/ bu mkpuru ụda chiji n'olu Ụvuru.  
 Ha nwere ike ino na mbido na ngwucha mkpuru okwu.

#### (10) Ụda chiji egbugbere onu na akpo na egbugbere onu na eze enwe olu na nnwe olu /kf/ na /gv/

/íkḗ/	'ikwé'	/gvó/	'gwú'
/ókḗ/	'okwu'	/úgvú/	'ugwu'
/ákḗ/	'akwu'	/ógvò/	'ogwu'
/òkḗ/	'okwuchi'	/égvú/	'egwu'
/íkḗ/	'uko'	/ágvò/	'agwu'
/ékḗ/	'osi ite'	/ógvú/	'otu obodo nọ n'ime Ụvuru'
/ókḗ/	'leg'	/ígḗ/	'igwu'
/kḗ/	'kwuo'	/gvùtè/	'igwute'

N'omuma atụ 10, e gosiputara na /kf/ na /gv/ bụ mkpuru ụda chij n'olu Ụvuru. Ha nwere ike ino na mbido na ngwucha mkpuru okwu.

#### 4.1 Imata ụda chij bụ mkpuru ụda asusu n'olu Ụvuru Igbo

N'ebe a, a ga-eji ule mkpị iche mata ụda chij ndi bụ mkpuru ụda asusu n'olu Ụvuru Igbo. Olu Ụvuru nwere ụda chij asaa. Ha gunyere [pf], [tf], [dv], [kf], [ts], [dz] na [gv]. A ga-atule ha n'otu n'otu. Mgbe a na-akpoputa ụda chij egbugbere onu na eze enwe olu [pf], egbugbere onu ala na-aga emetuta eze elu. Ụda chij [pf] nwere ike iputa ihe di ka ụda shij akpiri [h] na ụda shij egbugbere onu na eze [f] n'Igbo Izugbe. Omuma atụ:

- (11) i /ópḗ/ 'ohu'  
 ii /ápḗ/ 'afu'

E nwere ụda chij anyuru egbugbere onu na akpo [tf] na [dv]. Na mkpoputa ha, onu ire na-emetu anyuru ebe egbugbere onu ala na-emetu eze elu. Onu ire nwekwara ike imetu eze elu ebe ihu ire ga-emetu anyuru mgbe a na-akpoputa ụda chij ndi a. Ụda chij ndi a na-anochite anya [t], [s], [z] na [d] n'Igbo Izugbe di ka o si puta ihe n'omuma atụ ndi a:

- (12) [tf] na [dv]  
 i. /átḗ/ 'atu'  
 /ódvó/ 'odu'  
 /tfómá/ 'suo'  
 /dvómá/ 'duo'

- ii. /tḗ/ 'to'  
 /dvḗ/ 'duo'
- iii. /átḗ/ 'atu ime'  
 /ádḗ/ 'adu'
- iv. /ótḗ/ 'amoosu'  
 /ódvú/ 'ozu'  
 /étḗ/ 'esu'  
 /átḗ/ 'atu'
- v. /òtḗ/ 'uso'  
 /òdvó/ 'uzo'
- vi. /ítḗ/ 'ito'  
 /ídḗ/ 'ibu'
- vii. /ótḗ/ 'otu'  
 /ódvò/ 'odu'
- viii. /ntḗ/ 'nsu'  
 /ndvó/ 'ndu'

N'omuma atụ 12 (i-viii), e gosiputara ufodu ụda chij e nwere n'olu Ụvuru na nnwale mkpị iche. Nke a gosiri na /tf/ na /dv/ bụ mkpuru ụda n'olu Ụvuru. Ihe ozọ putara ihe n'omuma atụ ndi a bu na /tf/ na /dv/ nwere ike ino na mbido maobu n'etiti mkpuru okwu.

E nwekwara ụda chij [dz] n'olu Ụvuru. Na mkpoputa ụda a, onu ire na-emetu anyuru. Omuma atụ ebe ha wetara ndi iche na nghota di na mkpuru okwu gunyere:

- (13) [dz] na [ts]

- i. /dзі/ 'di'  
/tsі/ 'ti'  
ii. /dзіe/ 'die'  
/tsіe/ 'tie'

N'omuma atụ 13 (i-ii), e gosiputara ufodu ụda chii e nwere n'olu Uvuru na nnwale mkpi iche. Nke a gosiri na /tf/ na /dv/ bu mkpuru ụda n'olu Uvuru.

E nwere ụda chii egbugbere onu na akpo enwe olu [kf] na ụda chii egbugbere onu na eze nnwe olu [gv]. Na mkpuru ụda ndi a, a na-eji egbugbere onu na akpo akpopta ha. Azu ire na-emetu akpo nro. Mgbe nke a na-eme, egbugbere onu ala na-emetu eze elu. Uda chii ndi a bu ihe na-anochite anya [kw] na [gw] n'Igbo Izugbe. Omuma atụ gunyere:

- (14) i. /ikfō/ 'ikwu'  
/igvō/ 'igwu'  
ii. /ekfū/ 'ekwu'  
/égvū/ 'egwu'  
/ikfū/ 'uko'  
/igvū/ 'igwu'  
/okfū/ 'okwu'  
/ógvū/ 'ogwu'  
iii. /ukfū/ 'ukwu'  
/úgvū/ 'ugwu'  
iv. /okfō/ 'okwu'  
/ógvō/ 'ogwu'

N'ufodu olu Igbo-oda n'Uzo Uwanị di ka Abi na Nimbo, mkpuru ụda [kf] na [gv] na-anochi anya [kw] na [gw] di ka o si puta ihe n'omuma atụ ndi a:

- (15) /okfō/ 'ukwu'  
/ekfū/ 'ekwu'  
/égvū/ 'egwu'  
/úgvū/ 'ugwu'

Di ka Ngwuta (1988) siri rutu aka, olu ndi ozọ nwere ụda chii ndi a bu Afa na

Ebe di n'okpuru ochichi Udi nakwa Akụ na Ukehe di n'okpuru ochichi Igbo Etiti. Mana otu ihe di mkpa irutu aka bu na mkpuru ụda ndi a anaghi anọ otu ebe n'olu ndi a. Ndi iche di na ha bu na ebe e nwere [tf] maobu [dv] n'Uvuru na Akụ, a ga-enwe mkpuru ụda /s/, /z/, /t/ ma o bu /d/ n'Igbo Izugbe. Omuma atụ:

- (16) /otfō/ 'usu'  
/ndvū/ 'nzu'  
/atfō/ 'atu'  
/odvō/ 'odu'

Omuma atụ ndi a no n'elu anaghi ekwu kpom kwem na ebe o bua e nwere [tf] na [dv] n'Uvuru na a ga-enwe /s, z, t, d/ n'Igbo Izugbe. Nke a bu maka na mkpuru ụda /s, z, t, d/ bu mkpuru ụda n'olu Uvuru. Nke a na-egosi na olu Igbo ka nwee mkpuru ụda asusu karija Igbo Izugbe.

#### 4. Nchikota

Asusu ma o bu olu o bua nwere uzọ di iche iche o si ahazi mkpuru ụda ya. E nwekwara mkpuru ụda di iche iche n'asusu na olundi. Nchocha lebara anya n'uda chii di n'olu Uvuru. E ji ule mkpi iche wee choputa na olu Uvuru nwere ụda chii asaa: /pf/, /tf/, /dv/, /kf/, /gv/, /ts/ na /dz/. Nchocha a choputara na ụda chii ndi a bu mkpuru ụda asusu n'olu Uvuru. Uda chii ndi a na-anọ naani na mbido na etiti mkpuru okwu di ka o si di na mgbochi ume ndi ozọ di n'asusu Igbo.

Ochocha na-atunye aro ka umu akwukwo na ndi nchocha nwee mmasi imu mkpuru ụda olu Igbo nke ga-enye aka n'iwulite amumamu asusu Igbo. Uda chii ndi a a choputara kwesiri ka a gbasoo usoro amumamu mkpuru ụda di iche iche were nyochaa ya iji choputakwuo ufodu ihe gbasara ha.

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## **‘New Humanitarianism’ in Africa: External Powers and the Politics of Intervention in Congo and Libya**

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### **Abstract**

The continuous attack on classical humanitarianism and its failure to address the challenges of the ‘new wars’ propelled the United Nations to adopt in 2005, the framework of ‘Responsibility to Protect’(R2P) under the concept of the ‘new humanitarianism’ Yet, R2P, in its first decade of existence, appears to be a clay-footed giant that may not survive the waves of criticisms and fears surrounding its motivations particularly in Africa and other Third World Countries. Using NATO’s and UN’s interventions in Libya (under the new framework) and Congo (under old humanitarianism) respectively, this paper attempted a critical analysis of the old and new humanitarianisms in Africa. It demonstrated how the two interventions were used to actualize the US hidden agenda in the two countries. The paper argues that both interventions ultimately achieved one and same goal – regime change which, arguably, was the primary motivations behind the two interventions.

### **Introduction**

The end of the Cold War witnessed the emergence of another brand of war known as “new wars”. In her seminal work on “new and old wars,” Kaldor (2006) argues that the new type of war is not only prevalent in Africa and eastern Europe, but that in an environment of the new war, distinctions between crime, mass atrocity crimes, and human right violation are blurred. One resultant effect of the new war scenario has been the increase in the failures of humanitarian interventions. Hence, classical or old humanitarianism has been subjected to severe criticism with many questioning its effectiveness in the present dispensation (Stoddard, 2003; Macrae, 1998). The framework of

Responsibility to Protect (R2P), adopted by the United Nations in 2005 under the concept of ‘new humanitarianism’ was partly a response to the crisis in the humanitarian sector. Yet, within a decade of its existence, R2P faced a deluge of criticisms arising mostly from skepticisms about its motivations especially in the Third World Countries. Analyzing data from official documents and extant literature using historical analytical method, this study attempts a comparative analysis of the motivations for the UN’s intervention in the Congo in the 1960s and NATO intervention in Libya in 2011.



### From 'Old' to 'New' Humanitarianism

Old or classical humanitarianism as an institutionalized ethics of compassion – relieving the suffering, is based on the principles of impartiality, neutrality and independence, developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). By these principles, humanitarian actors are expected to provide aid with no other consideration other than need. For more than a century, these principles formed the basis of humanitarian intervention. However, classical humanitarianism was developed in a geo-political context in which the common conflict was classic inter-state clashes with a clear separation of the military and civilians, of relief and development assistance, and in which the state sovereignty was sacrosanct (Man, 2010). Its application to other areas at different periods with different contexts has witnessed some changes in its practice. Complex humanitarian emergencies which characterized the past three decades ushered in a variety of actors – Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs), the military, donors and local communities mostly in Third World Countries whose engagements transcended traditional relief encompassing peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development assistance. As these actors trudged deeper into the humanitarian space, humanitarian intervention entered a new phase of high politicization and militarization. Consequently, classical humanitarianism came under severe scrutiny. The criticisms of old

humanitarianism gathered momentum in particular from the post-Cold War period with a growing number of intra-state conflicts blurring the traditional distinctions between combatants and civilians, as well as making civilian and civil structures the targets of violence (Man, 2010). In its struggle to maintain its age-long principles, classical humanitarianism was criticized for being insufficient and merely palliative (Nacimiento, 2011).

The greatest challenge for old humanitarianism is what Man calls 'cornerstones of peace' – protection of civilians from mass atrocity crimes such as war crime, genocide and crimes against humanity; ensuring lasting outcomes through the promotion of human rights, stable and legitimate governments, and long term development. All these entail the use of force, where need be, to end violence. Such force implies reliance on the military. The increase in military interventions in conflict zones since the end of the Cold War generated intense argument and contentions, with many seeing it as an antithesis of classical humanitarianism which is premised on the inviolability of sovereignty (Mahdavi, 2015). As a way out of this suffocating zone, the UN at the World Summit in 2005 adopted the concept of R2P which indeed signifies a shift from old humanitarianism.

Although more politically active with the assignment of the responsibility for protection of the vulnerable population to the international community, R2P punctured the basis of old humanitarianism by upholding that sovereignty is not a privilege but an

international responsibility (Mahdavi, 2015). The state has the responsibility to protect its citizens from unavoidable catastrophe, but if it is unable or unwilling to do so, that responsibility as R2P specifies must be undertaken by a wider community. In other words, sovereignty as judged by Alvarez in the Corfu Channel Case is no longer absolute but rather an institution that must function in accordance with the international law.<sup>1</sup> According to Stacy (2006):

National governments must discharge their duty of care towards their citizens, and the court of international opinion passes judgment. The international community acts as proxy for a state's citizens in judging its care for them. If the sovereignty fails to treat its citizens and by that government's own standards, the social contract between the ruler and the ruled collapses, an assessment of the government's failings becomes a tripartite negotiation between sovereign, citizens and international community.

R2P therefore implies a shift from sovereignty as right to sovereignty as a responsibility.

While the doctrine of R2P in its applause has been endorsed by various regional bodies, there has been a growing fear of its potential for exploitation by the powerful states against weaker nations (Center for Conflict Resolution, 2005). As rightly observed by Kuwali (2009): "Most Third World Countries, many of them African states, abhor the move to

<sup>1</sup> For more information see Corfu Channel Case, ICJ, Report 1949, 43.

expand the notion of intervention at the cost of sovereignty for fear that it would be reserved for the most powerful state." The most palpable aspect of this argument is that R2P will become a tool in the hands of powerful nations for intervention in the affairs of less powerful states without clear mandates; as well as an instrument for removing and installing favorable government of their choice. In other words, new humanitarianism may become an instrument of pseudo colonialism

### **Historicizing the Congo and Libya Crises**

#### ***The Congo Crisis***

The wave of nationalism which engulfed African continent in the middle of the Twentieth century did not bypass Belgium Congo. In June 1960, Congo secured its freedom from the colonial administration of Belgium with Patrice Lumumba as its Prime Minister and Joseph Kasavubu as the Head of State. Within two weeks of the declaration of independence, the Belgium colonial paramilitary police (*force publique*) rebelled against the new government over the quest for immediate improvement and promotion in line with their counterpart in Europe (Zelig, 2008). The crisis was followed by a secessionist move from the mineral region of Katanga under Tsombe. Supported by the Belgium troops stationed in Katanga, Tsombe declared Katanga an independent state on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1960. To further sustain the rebellion, Tsombe requested and received the help of the settler's colonial regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa in the form of battalion military troops (Mockler, 1998). As a

way of restoring order in the newly independent State of Congo, Lumumba, following the advice of the US, asked for the intervention of the UN. Unfortunately for the Congolese Prime Minister, the UN's directed military intervention could not prevent the crisis in Congo. Lumumba therefore, turned for material assistance from Soviet Union.

The involvement of the Soviet Union caused a split in the government of Congo between Lumumba and Kasavubu.<sup>1</sup> The political impasse was terminated by Mobutu SeseSekou, the army commander, who staged a military coup through which he established an effective government under his control. Siding Kasavubu, Mobutu re-appointed him as the head of central government while Lumumba was placed under house arrest. From his place of detention, Lumumba escaped to Stanleyville where he hoped to rally support. He was caught by Mobutu's troop and taken back to Leopoldville bound in chains. Despite the Soviet condemnation of the arrest and demand for Lumumba's release and restoration, the bidding was defeated in the UN's Security Council by a rule of eight to two votes. Lumumba was left in his detention subjected to torture and later transferred to Katanga where he was at the mercy of forces loyal to Tsombe. He was kidnapped and later executed by the Katanga troop on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1961 in the city of Elizabethville (Nzogola-Ntalaja, 2007).

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<sup>1</sup>Kasavubu being supported by the US stood against the involvement of the Soviet Union in the Congo crisis

Following the death of the UN's Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold in 1961<sup>2</sup>, the UN, took a harsher stand against the secessionist group and this enabled the central government to crush rebellions in Katanga. Although Tsombe was in exile, he was invited to come and lead the interim government in Congo pending when election will be organized. Before the organization of free election, another rebellion of the Zimba<sup>3</sup> broke out in Stanleyville. With the help of the US and Belgium, the central government was able to defeat the Zimba. The election of 1965 produced another political deadlock between Tsombe and Kasavubu. It was this political stalemate that provided opportunity for the second coup of Mobutu who, till 1997, turned Congo into a dictatorship.

#### *The Libyan Crisis*

Inspired by the civil uprising earlier in Tunisia, a protest began in Libya in mid-January 2011 with demand for greater political freedom. This eventually metamorphosed into mass demonstration against Gaddafi's government in Benghazi and Tripoli in February. By mid-February, the crisis had spread to various parts of Libya with protesters demanding that Gaddafi should step down. The anti-Gaddafi force formed a committee known as the National Transitional Council (NTC) which was meant to be an interim power in the rebel-held area. Like the other Arab States that witnessed such uprising, the Gaddafi

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<sup>2</sup> Kasavubu being supported by the US stood against the involvement of the Soviet Union in the Congo crisis.

<sup>3</sup> The UN Secretary was killed in a plane crash while going to mediate in the Congo Crisis

regime responded by using force to suppress the protesters. A number of atrocities were committed as the government began to roll down against the rebel group. Repression escalated in the middle of February with cases of mass killings reported on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of February (Smith, 2011). This attracted the criticisms of various groups most especially the international community - the US, Canada, UK, France, AU and Arab League. For instance, the US, according to Chiver, in condemning the mass atrocity on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February voiced its support for democratic reforms and economic openness not only in Libya, but also in other states that were witnessing such revolt at that period (Chivvis, 2014). A further crackdown on the protesters with heavy military force on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February; and Gaddafi declaration of “no mercy” for the protesters culminated in multilateral actions from various Western countries against Libya. The US, threatened to impose military sanction on Libya if Gaddafi failed to step down. It also closed its embassy in Tripoli. Italy terminated its friendship treaty with Libya. Canada embarked on operation MOBILE aimed at evacuating Canadians and other foreign nationals from Libya. All these resulted in the adoption of Resolution 1973 which imposed a “no-fly zone” over Libyan space, a move that was ostensibly meant to protect civilians from Gaddafi’s repression (Pommier, 2011).

Operation ‘no-fly zone’ began on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March with the US, UK, France and Canada embarking on airstrikes against Gaddafi’s forces in Benghazi, Tripoli and some other area. The operation later came together into

a single one under NATO - Operation Unified Protector led by the US. This provided opportunity for the NTC, which was already gaining the recognition of the western powers in the war. Although Gaddafi through his son, offered a free election that will see him stepped down if defeated, this was rejected by the NTC having gained upper hand in major centers of Tripoli and Benghazi with NATO’s offensive. Meanwhile, the International Court of Justice on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June issued an arrest warrant for Gaddafi and his entourage. With the fall of Qatar to the opposition government on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, it was clear Gaddafi was on his way out of power. At the battle of Sirte on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, Muammar Gaddafi was killed. His death ended the civil war and brought about a regime change in Libya. With Abdel Rahim al-keeb as the interim Prime Minister of Libya, Operation Unified Protector officially came to a close on the 31<sup>st</sup> of Oct, a week and some days after the exit of Gaddafi

### **The UN’s Intervention in Congo**

On the first of February 2002, Belgium tendered an apology to Congo for its involvement in the Murder of Patrice Lumumba (Ames, 2012). While the US Senate “Church Committee” Report appeared to have exonerated the CIA from being an accomplice in the killing of the Congolese first Prime Minister,<sup>1</sup> a number of evidences are

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1. This was a Marxist-inspired militia that proclaimed the Free Republic of Congo after the death of Lumumba. It was organized by Lumumba’s sympathizers in the eastern city of Stanleyville under the leadership of Antonio Gizenga. This group gained the support of the Soviet Union but was latter suppressed in 1962.

still pointing to the US as the master minder of the removal and eventual killing of Patrice Lumumba (Feldman, 2017). According to Weissman (2002), the US was not only implicated in the death of Lumumba, but also termed an accomplice in the secession of Katanga. The question is: what was the US interest in Congo? The strategic importance of Congo in Central Africa has been identified as one of the interests of America in the region (Davis, 2013). As a newly formed nation in the Cold War period, Congo represented a target for influence to both the US and the Soviet Union. Bordering about nine independent nations of Africa that were susceptible to the spread of communism, America was interested in protecting the Central Africa from communism using Congo (Helmreich, 1998). The mineral deposits in Congo equally explained the US interest in the region. At the time of its independence, Congo was said to be in possession of the largest uranium on earth especially in its southern region (US-Geological Survey, 2012). There were also rich deposits of copper cobalt and tin in Congo. America was in need of these minerals, particularly the Congolese uranium, which the US valued for its purity (Zoellner, 2009). Finally, the threat of a possible third world war and the strategic location of Congo equally increased the US interest in the area. Being in the middle of Africa, Congo will provide the US with transit points to move its air and ground forces through to the battle ground of the Middle East. Thus, the loss of Congo will not only be the loss of the US war of containment of communism

in Central Africa, it equally implies the loss of rich minerals especially uranium and cobalt needed to defeat the Soviet Union in nuclear arms and space races. Thomson has shown in his work how uranium was so essential to the US foreign policy that it had to close its eyes to the oppressive regime in South Africa so as to secure a reliable source of mineral resources (especially uranium) from the apartheid government (Thomson, 2008). It is from this standpoint that Davis has argued that the US move to establish pseudo-colonialism in Congo can be understood from the context of its strategic security interest which is defined in the superpowers context for influence, strategic mineral acquisition and geo-strategic factor (Davis, 2013). What then was the link between the US interests in the Congo and Patrice Lumumba death?

To protect its interests, which Congo serves, the US was interested in having a reliable and anti-communist leader at the head of the Congolese government. Lumumba was a fearless, eloquent and charismatic leader who believed in the ability of Africans and African states to chart their progress independent of the West. His strong position against neo-colonialism was evident in most of his speeches. For instance, his response to a speech by the king of Belgium at independence where the Belgium leader called the new nation of Congo to take independence slow and look up to Belgium for guide; was more of a confrontation. Lumumba accused Belgium of under-developing Congo and called on his people to see themselves not as inferiors but peers

in the world of nations.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore clear to the US policy makers of the unwillingness of Lumumba to co-operate with the West in maintaining the status quo. Moreover, the CIA study of Lumumba tagged him a communist and “another Castro or worse.”<sup>2</sup> Although an extreme view that was not accepted by some members of the Eisenhower administration, Lumumba’s erratic behavior, eloquence, intelligence and fierce nationalism was a threat to the US interests in the Congo (Derlin, 2007). America’s reaction to the Congo crisis therefore reflected its strong interest in having a reliable and anti-communist government in Congo. First, the US reframed from having a direct intervention in the crisis; rather, the Eisenhower’s government stood for the UN’s intervention and convinced Lumumba of the need to opt for the UN’s as a solution to the crisis. Although this appeared to be, on the face value, a benevolent move to prevent the conflict from escalating, a critical look at the UN’s intervention revealed it was more of an instrument used by the US in actualizing its interests in the Congo.

At the behest of the US ambassador to Congo, Claire Timberlake, Lumumba and Kasavubu invited the UN to help Congo out of the crisis. The UN’s resolution 143 of

July 14<sup>th</sup> 1960 authorized the UN Secretary General to give whatever military assistance deemed necessary to the government of Congo. The resolution equally called for the withdrawal of all Belgium troops in Congo. Lumumba’s request for the UN to use its military to force a reintegration of Katanga to Congo was not granted by the UN Secretary, Hammarskjold, who argued that resolution 143 did not authorize such force for Katanga. Despite the Resolution 146 of August 1960, which explicitly gave the Security Council the power to use UNFOR in Katanga and called again for the withdrawal of the Belgium troops, Hammarskjold failed to use force for either reintegration or the removal of Belgium forces. Indeed, reintegration of the rich mineral region of Katanga and Congo under unreliable Lumumba was not in the interest of the US. Hence the UN propped by the US maintained the principle of non-interference in the Congo dragging its feet in the move to end the Congolese crisis. The removal of Belgium troops will perhaps give the Congolese forces upper hands against its rebelled region; hence, neither the call by Resolution 143 nor that of 146 for the removal of Belgium Congo was implemented (Leido, 2001). The death of Lumumba in 1961 altered the situation in Congo. Though the UN passed a resolution denouncing his assassination, calling for independent investigation into his murder, little or nothing was done. Six months after, Mobutu ended his military rule and installed Cyril Adoula as the Prime Minister of Congo. The emergence of Adoula was welcomed by the US policy makers who described him as:

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<sup>1</sup> For more on Lumumba’s reaction to neo-colonialism, see Ludo De Witte 2016, “A Revolutionary Speech: Patrice Lumumba and the Birth of the Republic Of Congo.” Available at: [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org). Accessed 14 July 2018.

<sup>2</sup> This was stated in the ‘Memorandum of Discussion at the 452d Meeting of the Nation’s Security Council’ 21.7.1960, FRUS 1958-1960, XIV:338-339.

“a man of calm and goodwill that would be refreshing after erratic Lumumba.”<sup>1</sup> In trying to convince the US president of the reliability of Adoula, the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, George W. Ball declared thus: “Adoula is friendly to the US, respects our judgment, and has depended on our support.”<sup>2</sup>

With the restoration of a relatively stable government in Congo under Adoula, the UN made a move towards a forceful removal of Belgium mercenaries in Katanga through Operation Rompunch. The failure of this operation produced another one in September, Operation Morthor that equally suffered defeat in the hands of Katanga forces. The failure of these two UN’s operations can be explained from their unpopularity among the US policy makers. Arguably, the operations failed because they seemed not to be in line with the US policy in Katanga at that time. Fearing that a power vacuum will be created in Katanga if force was used to remove Tsombe, the US favoured a peaceful and gradual negotiation with the region which, as Kalba (1980) argues, was safer under its anti-communist leader, Tsombe. An application of force might be a chance for the communist bloc to take Katanga. Thus, Katanga ‘s defeat of the UN’s forces was a clear indication that unless the UN’s policy in Congo was in line with

the US objectives and its strategies of achieving it, it was bound to fail.

The failures of the UN in Katanga; the death of a moderate UN secretary in a plane crash and the emergence of a harsher U. Thant as the new UN’s Secretary; and most importantly, the increasing criticism of Adoula’s inability to end the crisis and unify Congo, produced a change in the U.S. strategy in Congo. Afraid that Adoula might be ousted from power or turn to non-western bloc for help, the US favored a forceful reintegration of the mineral region of Katanga by the UN. With its support, the UN forces recorded its first defeat of Katanga under Operation UNOKAT. Tsombe’s duplicity in the negotiation talk and his eventual move to build a military force to defend Katanga witnessed another operation of the UN with the US support - Operation Grand Slam. With some US coordination, it resulted in the final defeat of Katanga on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1963. Tsombe renounced its secession and the Congo crisis came to an end.

It can therefore be argued that the US was faced with two major challenges upon the outbreak of the Congo crisis, namely, the unreliable Lumumba’s government in Congo and the secessionist Katanga.. Since Katanga was under anti-communist government of Tsombe, the US moved to deal with the first problem by removing Lumumba. The exit of Lumumba and installation of a friendly government in Congo was an end to the first problem. As a way of protecting Katanga from the Soviet Union, the US favored a peaceful negotiation as a solution to the second challenge. The UN’s support for the use of force ran contrary to the US

<sup>1</sup>This is contained in the “Telegram from the Embassy in Congo to the Department of State.” 18.8.1961, FRUS, 1961/1963 XX: 229-231.

<sup>2</sup> The statement is contained in ‘Memorandum from the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs(Ball) to President Kennedy’, 23.8.1961. FRUS, 1961-1963, XX, 236 – 238.

policy in the region and so failed twice. It was not until the mid-1962 when it was obvious that both Tsonbe's Katanga and the Congolese government under Adoula were about fallen away from the western grip that the US gave its support to the use of force in ending the crisis. Arguably, the removal of a non-pro-western government and installation of a friendly one was at the basis of the US foreign policy in the Congo. The United States used the United Nation's intervention to achieve this objective.

### **Sustaining the Old Method in a New Framework in Libya**

Available evidence showed that the situation in Libya was sufficient enough to warrant humanitarian intervention. First, Gaddafi by his declaration of "no mercy" for the rebels indicated that his government intended to embark on a massacre of Libyan citizens particularly when he asked his men to "go and cleanse the city of Benghazi."<sup>1</sup> Second, by the time foreign intervention was launched, Gaddafi had already demonstrated his readiness to use force against the rebels given that an estimated 1000 to 10 000 had already been killed (Downie, 2011). Third, indiscriminate shelling of Misrata was another proof of mass atrocity by Gaddafi. However, although there may have been just reason (s) for humanitarian intervention, the situation in Libya, as Pattison (2011) argues, did not seem to have necessitated the regime change. The question is why the regime change in Libya? Differently put, why was Gaddafi removed?

<sup>1</sup> See [blogs.aljazeera.net/live/africa/Libya-liveblog.march.17](https://blogs.aljazeera.net/live/africa/Libya-liveblog.march.17)

Muammar Gaddafi came to power in 1969 through a military coup that deposed king Idris of Libya. He became the revolutionary leader of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and maintained absolute power over his people through various means. Despite his despotism, Libya enjoyed considerable economic power due to crude oil, natural gas and other petroleum products that accounted for 80% of government revenue (Gannon, 2011). As argued by Siebens and Case (2012), Libyan foreign policy under Gaddafi reflected a blend of anti-capitalism, anti-communism, pan Arabism and later pan-Africanism within the context of the Cold War. Gaddafi identified with the non-aligned movement.<sup>2</sup> Although he maintained relations with both the East and the West blocs, he strongly believed that the two were imperialistic in their relationship with the underdeveloped countries of the world. He therefore advocated for collaboration, co-operation and possibly, military unity, in order to resist effectively imperialism and exploitation (Anderson, 1982). Among the strategies he advocated for Arab and Africa were fierce nationalism, Islam and revolutionary socialism. It was based on these that he embarked on several unsuccessful moves to merge a number of Middle Eastern and African countries - Morocco, Algeria, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia and Syria, to create a united Arab Super State.

<sup>2</sup> A loose collection of nations that avoided being involved in global competition between NATO and Warsaw led the US and Russia respectively, but maintained ties with both the capitalist and communist blocs.



The failure of the Arab Federation led to a change of tactics by Gaddafi in line with his Third World revolution. He began to use his newly-found oil wealth to build arms and to support the regimes of Idi Amin and Charles Taylor that were likely to approve his agenda. Gaddafi's foreign intrigues further included support for revolutionary factions in their drives to overthrow status quo regimes. With this, Libya developed close security ties with Soviet Union and as a result attracted the suspicion of the West especially the US that was more interested in regime security and the containment of Soviet influence in various parts of the globe. Indeed, Gaddafi's support for international pariahs like Idi Amin and Charles Taylor; radical anti-government groups - Irish Republican Army, the Palestine Liberation Organization; and the Iranian Revolution, strained further Libya's relation with the US and the West in general and explained his association with terrorism by the West; thus, though a member of the Non-align Movement, his quest for Third World revolution informed his foreign policy which tilted towards the Eastern ideological bloc thereby, earning him Western enmity.

Following his association with the Islamic military group in the Middle East and beyond, the US broke its diplomatic relations with Libya in 1979 and froze its asset (Gannon, 2011). This degenerated into a proxy war between the US and Libyan intelligence agencies. Gaddafi retaliated by bombing West Berlin discothèque frequented by US service men killing about three people plus dozens of others who sustained injury. Operation Eldorado Canyon was

launched against Gaddafi. The air raid, as Hersh (1987) argues, was intended to kill Gaddafi and encouraged uprising in Libya. Though Gaddafi escaped, his adopted daughter and some other Libyans lost their lives in the attack. In retaliation, Gaddafi launched Pan Ann 103, which exploded over Lockerbie Scotland on 21<sup>st</sup> December 1988 killing 270 people including: two diplomatic security service members, one CIA operative and one DIA operative. Gaddafi's refusal to hand over two Libyan intelligence agents to face charges in the bombing saga sealed Libya's isolation from the international community. The United Nation's Security Council issued a limited trade embargo and asset freeze on Libya. While a process of normalization of relationship with the US and some other western countries began when Gaddafi agreed to hand over the two suspects in 1999, and further announced his abandonment of Libya's ballistic missile programme, Gadhafi's threat to the West especially the US was still rife.

Between 1990 and 2011, Gaddafi's foreign policy shifted from the Arab to unification of Africa. He embarked on a number of programmes such as providing financial assistance to African countries - Sierra Leone, Mali, Chad, Burkina Faso; promoting economic co-operation of the Sahel Sahara states; brokering peace between Congo and Uganda; and helping to stabilize Central African Republic after an attempted coup. His immense support and contributions to the unity of African states earned him the title of the 'King of Kings' in 2008 from more than two hundred African traditional rulers (BBC News, 2008).

Irrespective of his inconsistent foreign policies and subversions, one goal remained constant throughout his 42 years of leadership, namely, to create super states in the Middle East or Africa capable of challenging western hegemony.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, a decade of rapprochement with the West could not have been enough to convince the US and other western countries that Gaddafi was ready to play by the rule. The Arab spring could thus be viewed as an opportunity for the West led by the US to remove Muammar Gaddafi from power.

The nature of NATO's involvement in the Libyan crisis equally showed that regime change seemed to be the major pre-occupation of the coalition group. Although the protection of civilians appeared to be the paramount basis for NATO's involvement in Libya, the rhetoric of some NATO leaders who in some of their speeches argued that Gaddafi must come down suggest that *ab initio*, the success of the intervention will be determined largely by putting an end to Gaddafi's regime. For instance, President Obama on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 2011 called for resignation of Gaddafi stating that he "has lost the legitimacy to lead" and must therefore "leave (Shear. 2011)." The G8 on the 28<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>1</sup> The notion that African states are capable of engineering giant economic and other strides that will set the continent on the road to development as seen in Western countries is popular among academics and analysis. African human and material resources, artistic heritage and others are believed to be at the basis of Western development. See Okpara , Tochukwu Felicia, 2015, African Traditional Teile Forms and Ideas: An Aspect of EL Anatsui's Creative Sources", *Nsukka Journal of Humanities*, 23 64-70

March equally demanded that Gaddafi should step down.. However, despite the role Italy played in NATO's mission, the Italian Prime Minister acknowledged the unpopularity of the revolt that necessitated the intervention. According to him, "the uprising was not popular because Gaddafi was loved by his people as I was made to see when I went to Libya" (*Daily Star*, 2011). If this claim stands as it is, why then was Gaddafi killed?

Furthermore, intervention for regime change, argues Pattison (2011), is generally associated with much harm and damages which includes killing of a large number of civilians. NATO 's intervention in Libya was associated with such harm. The civilians that the western coalition under NATO sought to protect appeared to have suffered much harm under the coalition forces. The Human Right Watch (HRW)(2011) in examining evidence of claims of civilian deaths from eight separate NATO strikes in one instance noted that the first bomb killed 14 people, and a second moment later killed another 18 people who had rushed out to assist the victims of the first bombing. Similarly, Amnesty International (2011) claimed it documented 35 cases of named civilians among whom were 16 children and 14 women killed in an airstrike by NATO. At the height of the intervention, calls came from various parts of the globe demanding that NATO be probed for its incalculable act of civilian massacre. For instance, the US Congress man, Dennis Kucinich (2011) lamented that: "NATO recklessly bombed civilians in the name of saving civilians." The

South African Vice President, Kgalema Mootlanthe, equally called on the International Court of Justice to investigate allegations of NATO's human right violations in Libya (Xinhua News, 2011). It was against this backdrop that Rahunma (quoted in Chilaka *et al*, 2013) has described NATO's intervention in Libya as: "Protecting to kill, and killing to protect." Again, both the Gaddafi and the rebel forces committed atrocities against innocent citizens in Libya. The HRW (2012) noted that the former rebels tortured innocent citizens for their alleged support for Gaddafi. Such acts of violence were not investigated by NATO after the fall of Gaddafi. Shawn (2011) has argued that this was an indication that the coalition group was more concerned with the regime change than civilian protection, which it claimed was its sole and primary motivation in Libya.

Before the fall of Gaddafi, western powers - Turkey, Italy, US, France, and some others had already recognized the NTC as a legitimate government of Libya. The US in addition to its demand for resignation of the Libyan leader, invited the NTC to set up an office in Washington. Jacob Zuma's move to provide a soft landing for Gaddafi through African Union initiatives on cease fire was rejected by both NATO and the rebel group with a demand for Gaddafi's resignation before any agreement. This unwillingness to give room for peace under Gaddafi's government is also a proof that NATO's mission in Libya was beyond civilian protection.

The manner in which the intervention came to an end equally speaks volume about NATO's motivation in Libya. Gaddafi was

killed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 2011. NATO declared its mission closed a week later. Despite the request by the interim Libyan authority to the coalition to extend its mission till the end of the year to assist Libya in securing its borders and to prevent the spread of numerous dangerous weapons left behind by the conflict, NATO declined noting that its mission of protecting civilians does not include that. As argued by Shawn (2011), the sudden end of the mission reflected one of these: (1) Either the death of Gaddafi minimized the threat against civilians or (2) NATO has achieved its ultimate goal, which is the fall of Gaddafi and the victory of the opposition group.

Finally, the most outstanding development that punctured NATO protection theory was the fact that similar uprising was taking place in Syria at the same time with a serious government crackdown on the pro-democracy protesters. The coalition group failed to apply the legality of Responsibility to Protect in Syria as it did in Libya. For instance, President Bashar al-Assad in his response to pro-democracy protesters opened fire on them in Deraa killing several people and injuring a good number. Yet the demand for Assad's resignation by the protesters only hardened his resolve to crush the uprising.

### **Conclusion**

Patrice Lumumba and Muammar Gaddafi were two African leaders who believed in the capability of African states to rise to positions of power and influence like the Western states. By rejecting the hegemonic tendencies of the West, these leaders posed threat to Western imperialist drives. For the US

to safeguard its national security interest and the Containment Policy in the Congo, “unreliable’ and ‘erratic” Lumumba should not be at the helm of affairs of the Congolese government. In the same vein, “irritant” and revolutionary Gaddafi was a threat to the Containment Policy of the US. His “repentance” though, was not sufficient enough to commit substantial trust on him even after the Cold War.

Aware that unilateral intervention will endanger its interest in the Congo, the US used the UN’s intervention as an instrument for installing a favourable government in Congo after removing Lumumba. Though the situation in Libya called for intervention to give protection to the Libyan population against Gaddafi’s excesses, the manner of NATO’s intervention when analyzed within the context of the history of the US relations with Libya under Gaddafi, arguably, indicates that regime change was the primary goal of the intervention. The only difference between the two interventions was that in Congo Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu were advised by the US to call for the UN’s intervention (Old Humanitarianism), while in Libya, NATO intervened without the invitation of the Libyan government (New Humanitarianism). Otherwise, “new humanitarianism” in Africa is simply an old wine in a new wine skin.

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## **The Hobbesian State of Nature and the Nigerian Security Situation: The Way Forward**

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### **Abstract**

Without any iota of doubt, insecurity is to a large extent one of the contemporary global challenges. However, nothing can better describe the insecurity situation in Nigeria than the Hobbesian State of Nature. Nigerian today is characterized by strife, fear and anxiety stemming from lawlessness, fraud, armed robbery, kidnapping, hired assassinations, terrorism, corruption, political, religious and ethnic violence. All these have given rise to perpetual state of insecurity of lives and property, thus, hampering the socio-political development and growth of Nigeria as a nation. Making life to be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" analogous to the Hobbesian state of nature. Even government and its agents that has the sole responsibility of securing lives and properties of the citizenry default because most often they are preoccupied with self-interest and not proactive to security issues. However, taking cognizance of the fact that Nigeria has her own peculiar nature of insecurity, this paper recommends indigenous paradigm. It suggests through critical appraisal of Omoluabi ethos as panacea to demystifying the problem of insecurity in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Hobbesian, Insecurity, Nigeria, Omoluabi ethos, Security, State of Nature.

### **Introduction**

National development of any country, among other things is dependent on the level of security of lives and properties. The extent to which national security is ensured is the extent to which lives flourish, businesses blossom and foreign investors are fascinated to invest. To this end, Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), opine that: "security is the pillar upon which every meaningful development could be achieved and sustained." With the present situation of Nigeria many people, individuals

and corporate bodies as well as foreigners find it difficult to invest their resources due to insecurity and even explorers also see Nigeria as an unsafe place to work. Not only has insecurity bedeviled the socio-economic growth and development of the country, it has also succeed in deteriorating the reputation of the country in the comity of nations. A cursory view at Nigerian security situation reveals a nexus between it and Hobbesian state of nature. The Hobbesian state of nature is a conceptual description of the life of

man before the emergence of civil society. Even with civil society and democracy, Nigeria's security scene still depicts the Hobbesian state of nature. Just like the Hobbesian state of nature where self-interest and its recuperating satisfaction were the order of the day, the Nigerian state is one where vices of self-interest, corruption greed and others ills dictate human conducts making life "brutish, nasty and short" (Hobbes, 1958). Arguably, insecurity is a universal phenomenon. However, the peculiarity of insecurity in Nigeria lays in the fact that government is not proactive to insecurity issues. Government lacks preventive diplomacy - the element of addressing the root and triggers of conflict or its tendency before resulting to violent conflict. Government unwillingness to combat insecurity is to a large extent born out of the fact that it lacks the moral tenacity and veracity that is required to do so. In the bid to remedy the situation, we canvass in this paper the imbibing of the virtues of Omoluabi for all, especially those at the corridors of power at all governmental levels in discharging their duties. Efficient, effective, and credible discharging of their duties will serve as a way of ensuring reliable and consistent security of lives and property.

### **Key Concepts**

The nexus between development and security could be likened to the link between the head and the neck; security provides the platform on which development thrives. This makes security issues one of the foremost issues in any development discourse in the recent times. In the

words of Stan (2004), security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic conditions. According to him, the traditional definition of security entails the protection of the territorial integrity, stability, and vital interests of states through the use of political, legal, or coercive instruments at the state or international level. However, in the 1990s the definition was broadened to include nonmilitary threats that lead to violent conflict and affect the security of individuals, communities, and states. Such threats range from civil wars and resource conflicts to transnational crime and population movements (Stan, 2004). In conceptualizing security, Ewetan & Urhie (2014), opine that in the intelligence community, there is a consensus that security is not the absence of threats or security issues, but the existence of a robust mechanism to respond proactively to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency, expertise, and in real time. In other words, security is not limited to safety of lives and properties but also the provision of strategies that will foresightedly respond to any security issue. Insecurity which is the converse of security is a multi-facets concept like security. However, we see it as a state of being subject to danger or risk; the state of being vulnerable. Insecurity in the words of Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, (2013) has attracted such common descriptors as want of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, want of confidence, state of doubt, inadequately guarded or protected,



instability, trouble, lack of protection and being unsafe, and others. According to them, these common descriptors point to a condition where there exists a vulnerability to harm, loss of life, property or livelihood. Therefore, they consider insecurity to be a state of not knowing, a lack of control, and the inability to take defensive action against forces that portend harm or danger to an individual or group, or that make them vulnerable

State of nature is a concept used in moral and political philosophy, religion, social contract theories and international law to denote the hypothetical conditions of what the lives of people might have been like before societies came into existence (Vattel, 2008). In the words of Omoregbe (2007), state of nature is the condition men lived prior civil society. Basically, state of nature signifies a conceptual era of society when there was no government, no state, no law nor law enforcement agents. It represents what might have happened priori the existence of civil society. The idea of state of nature was postulated by philosophers like Benedict Spinoza, Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke and David Hume to account for the origin and purpose of the state. These philosophers unanimously believe that there exist a period before the advent of organized societies where men were primitive and lack government.

The state of nature, Rousseau argued, could only mean a primitive state preceding socialization; it is thus devoid of social traits such as pride, envy, or even fear of others. The state of nature, for Rousseau, is a morally

neutral and peaceful condition in which men live mainly as innocent, solitary and independent individuals who act according to their basic urges as well as their natural desire for self-preservation. This latter instinct, however, is tempered by an equally natural sense of compassion. He is only concerned with his own well-being and happiness, satisfying his personal needs and disregarding "everything he did not think himself immediately to notice"

For Locke, by contrast, the state of nature is characterized by the absence of government but not by the absence of mutual obligation. It is the natural condition of mankind prior political state, a state of total freedom and equality with no positive law but bound by the law of nature. These laws of nature which govern it obliges all and sundry. The law teaches all men that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, health, liberty of possessions. The state of nature though pre-political stage according to Locke is neither pre-moral nor chaotic. It is a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit, free from the interference of others. According to Omoregbe (2007) the natural law which Locke is talking about is, of course, the moral law. But it was not observed in the state of nature because there was no government to enforce it. Hence the state of nature was unsatisfactory and men decided to form political society on the basis of a social contract.

The similarities between the state of nature of Hobbes, Spinoza and Hume are striking. However, the condition of anarchy characterized by

chaos, conflict, strife, war of all against all and insecurity is more pronounced in Hobbes' conception. Spinoza's description of human beings as "natural enemies," and the consequent inevitability of conflict is an account of the human condition in a state of nature. Since human beings are motivated by their self-interested desires for which they seek immediate gratification, they cannot exist without government.

### **The Hobbesian State of Nature and Nigerian Security Situation - the Nexus**

Of all these aforementioned philosophers' conception of state of nature, none best describes the present security situation of Nigeria like Hobbes' conception. The 17th century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* used his theory state of nature to describe the natural condition of mankind with the Latin phrase *bellum omnium contra omnes* meaning war of all against all. The Hobbesian State of Nature is "a time of war where every man is enemy to every man" and a "time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal". Describing Hobbesian state of nature, (Omoregbe, 2007) writes:

Hobbes tells that it was a state anarchy, when men were fighting each other, a state of war, state of continuous conflict, continuous war of all against all; a state of perpetual fear and danger of death. It was a state in which there was no law, no protection, a stronger man could beat or kill a weaker man at will just because he was stronger and could do it and he would kill him without hesitation or any sense

of guilt and nothing would happen to him. For, there was no sense of guilty since there was neither law nor morality. Man, in the state of nature was selfish and aggressive. Anybody could do whatever he likes and whatever he was able to do. Thus, men lived in fear and danger of violent death; for the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

The anarchy in state of nature according Hobbes was as a result of man's self-interest in that every man simply pursued the satisfaction of his self-interest. Whatever satisfied anybody's appetite was for him good and he would pursue it, and whatever a person had aversion for was for him bad and he would avoid it. Describing further the fearful and chaotic condition the state of nature conditioned men, Hobbes (1958) writes:

When a man wants to go on a journey, he arms himself, when going to sleep, he locks his chest. What opinion has man of his fellow man or of his fellow citizens when he locks his door? Or of his children and servant when he locks his chest?

With Hobbes' famous expression *homo homini lupus*, he describes the condition of man as a wolf to his fellow man where conflict, war and insecurity are predominant phenomena among men. The depicted society by Hobbes have a social breakdown in which people have no security, no laws, no sense of right and wrong or justice and injustice. No person can lay claims to anything permanently; one could only call something his own as long as he was

able to retain it. What one has, a stronger man could come along and snatch it from him and it would become his until another stronger man also snatches it from him. However, a cursory look at the alarming rate of insecurity in Nigeria, shows that the country is gradually yet steadily deteriorating into the above description of Hobbesian state of nature dominated by fear, violent, death, retard progress and regressive development. The present day Nigerian society is one where no one is sure of the acquisition and safety of anything; life is insecure; men are enemies to each other; conflicts, struggles and war prevailed among men. Every citizen lives in perpetual danger and fear of violent death (Ehusani, 2002). Elements that turn Nigerian State into state of nature, constituting insecurity of lives and valuables include but not limited to the following:

### **Corruption**

Undoubtedly, corruption is the main inferno that keeps the flame of insecurity blossom in Nigeria. There are different types of corruption each with its own characteristics. Some types of corruption include grand corruption, political corruption, economic corruption, religious corruption, moral corruption, professional corruption, organized corruption and working-class corruption. Corruption may also take the form of cronyism, bribery, favouritism, patronage, extortion, influence peddling, fraud and embezzlement. Corruption hatches and breeds abject poverty, unemployment, decay in infrastructure, mediocrity, injustice,

environmental degradation, ethnic rivalry and so on leading many people into crime. Buttressing the fact that corruption is the root of insecurity in Nigeria, Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Okorie (2014) posit as follows:

In the Niger Delta region where militancy first occurred, it was championed by political thugs who were initially recruited by corrupt politicians prior to elections in the region. These thugs who became idle after the elections had no other job but found one in the form of militancy which eventually metamorphosed into bombing of oil installations and kidnapping of foreign oil workers for ransom. Despite amnesty granted to the militants leading to the sheathing of sword, kidnapping for ransom or rituals spread across the country and till date many find it a 'lucrative' business.

Even security personnel cannot be trusted. Most often than not they parade themselves as mechanism of harassment, intimidation, extortion, aiding and abetting robbery by supplying arms and ammunitions to robbers and perpetuation of crimes and murder. Being intoxicated by power, many times security officials 'open fire' to snuff out lives from innocent citizens they are paid to protect leading to extra judicial killings. Corroborating an instance of corruption among security personnel, Otto and Ukpere (2012) gave a scenario where a senior military officer let go two 'high profile' suspects of the Boko Haram sect, who were said to have clues necessary to stem the state of insecurity. Those suspects were arrested and put in the

care of the officer for maximum security but the officer allowed them to escape. The officer was charged to court and the president of the court found him guilty but set him free. These are just few cases out of many which debilitating national security

### **Political violence**

The collapse of the first republic in 1966 and the consequent incursion of the military into governance that same year plunged Nigeria into an endless loop of political violence. The electoral politics in Nigeria right from 1960s till date have been characterized with violent conflicts, political thuggery, assassinations, and arson. Politicians in Nigerian do not accommodate dialogue, negotiation and consensus (Eme & Onyishi, 2011). Elections into political posts are characterized by hate speeches, inciting propaganda, desperation, and violent struggle for political power among politicians leading to electoral violence and malpractices: stealing of ballot boxes, destruction and burning of electoral offices and people's properties and so on. Lack of free and free election obviously negates the principle on which democracy thrives thus validating selection of dictators. Haranguing this Anichebe, (2004) writes: "No election in Nigeria has been adjudged to be entirely free and fair. Electoral malpractices have marred every election in Nigeria...as the elections were brazenly manipulated with the active connivance of the security forces and governmental agencies." The persistence of political violence in the democratic corridor of Nigeria are best attributed to the desperation of political gladiators to win elections or

remain in office at all cost (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). These misadventures have often been catastrophic leading to decimation of innocent lives, disruption of economic activities, and the destruction of properties among others.

### **Ethno-religious conflicts**

Ethno-religious conflict is a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multiethnic and multi-religious society, is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation (Achumba *et al.*, 2013); (Salawu, 2010). Nigeria is bedeviled with a persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes between the two dominant religions, Islam and Christianity. There are ethno-religious conflicts in all parts of Nigeria and these have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethno-religious identities (Ibrahim & Igbuzor, 2002). The inability of Nigerian leaders to tackle development challenges, and distribute state resources equitably have also been a great contributory factor to the prevailing insecurity. Other causes are accusation, and allegation of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In all parts of Nigeria, ethno-religious conflicts have assumed alarming rates, having occurred in more than 90% of Nigerian states and currently, the social media remain the battle ground for the worst ethnic clashes ever witnessed in the country. Social media

websites such as Facebook, naira land, twitter and so on have become a haven of tribalistic tendencies, hate speeches and ethnic propaganda. Eme and Onyishi (2011) reported that these ethno-religious identities have become disintegrative and destructive social elements threatening the peace, stability and security in Nigeria

### **Communal violence and Frustration-inspired violence**

Violent communal conflicts is another prominent insecurity phenomenon in Nigeria. Noticeable communal conflicts in Nigeria include that between the Ife and Modakeke communities in southwest, the Jukun and the Kutebs in the northeast, and the Kataf and the Hausa-Fulani in the north, Ijaws and Urhobos fought their Itsekiri neighbours in and around the oil town of Warri, Igbo communities of Aguleri and Umuleri in eastern, Kafanchan in the north and clashes between farmers and Fulani cattle herders in the middle belt of Nigeria. Communal violence could also be intra-communal violence, that is, violence among members of the same community. Most often than not, this type of violence occurs as a result of letting loose of bottled up anger caused by poor standard of living. As a frustrated man is an angry man who is prone to evil thoughts.

### **Economic-Based violence**

The Niger-Delta crisis in Nigeria presents a classic case of this violent struggle that has been on since the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970. These violent agitations have claimed many lives of Nigerians and foreigners, military and para-military personnel, and valuable items of

property It has also resulted in economic misfortune in Nigeria through loss of oil revenue as a result of shortfall in crude oil exports by the oil companies occasioned by disruption of oil exploration activities by the Niger-Delta militants (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014).

Although by no means limited to oil in the Niger Delta, the most prevalent campaign about the link between resources and conflict in Nigeria focuses on oil and the Niger-Delta region. No doubt oil has given rise to vertical and horizontal conflicts between national, state and society or between dominant and subordinate geopolitical zones, classes and groups across Nigeria, given the pivotal role that oil plays in the political economy, and power relations in Nigeria. It is however true that other types of resource driven conflicts have received less attention in the debate. Issues such as grazing and farming, and water resource, have tended to give rise to horizontal conflicts that involve communities across the geo-political zones.

### **Organized violent groups**

Organized violent groups such as ethnic militia, vigilantes, secret cults in tertiary institutions and political thugs contribute significantly to security challenges in Nigeria in different dimension and forms. Their emergence has been linked to a number of factors which include the culture of militarism that has its antecedents in military rule, the failure of the state and its institutions, economic disempowerment, the structure of the state and Nigeria's federalism, non-separation of state and religion, politics of exclusion,

culture of patriarchy, ignorance and poor political consciousness (Ibrahim & Igbuzor, 2002) as cited in (Eme & Onyishi, 2011).

### **Terrorism**

Terrorism, religious fanaticism and intolerance particularly in Islam dominated states of Nigeria remains the most fundamental source of insecurity in Nigeria (Achumba *et al.*, 2013). According to Ewetan, & Urhie (2014), terrorism started with the notorious Islamic sect in the Northern part of Nigeria called *Mataisine* during Alhaji Shehu Shagari civilian regime of the second republic. Terrorism reared its ugly head again during the Obasanjo civilian regime of the fourth republic which witnessed religious riots in Plateau state in Northern Nigeria. In recent times terrorism has assumed a political undertone and is being spearheaded by a faceless Islamic insurgents based in the Northern region of Nigeria called *Boko Haram*, that has claimed thousands of lives in the North since 2009. Terrorism in Nigeria has been linked to religious, socio-political, economic and cultural factors. Even though terrorism originated from Islamic fanaticism, it is now driven by factors such as inequalities within the country and lack among Nigerians, in terms of livelihood (economic) resources, education or access to education and good values. The current challenge of terrorism to physical security is threatening the Nigerian society in all fronts. Terrorism in Nigeria could be attributed to many factors: corruption, political conflicts, leadership failure, uneven development caused by horizontal inequalities, religious/ethnic distrust and so on.

A casual scanning of all these menace reveals that even though we have government, a “state of nature” exists in Nigeria and a thoughtful mind cannot but question the efficacy of the government and the potency of the constitution. Because these insecurity menaces signify the state of lawlessness and moral bankruptcy. Unlike in Hobbesian state of nature where there was no law, in Nigerian state of nature laws exist only on paper especially with those at the helms of power who see themselves to be above the law. They always thwart the rule of law to their favour and that of their family buddies. The rule of law is incapacitated by moral bankruptcy on the part of the government and like wild fire it spreads into every hook and cranny of the nation. Thus, this paper suggests that in order to have a framework that will provide the needed panacea to Nigeria’s insecurity issue, it is essential to explore and learn the nation’s valuable cultures, ethos and indigenous institutions which have been proven to effectively cater for the welfare of the local people even in the face of the failure of modern government to improve the lives of citizens. However, these ethos, cultures and norms are of diverse types well represented cross various tribes in Nigeria, and they have been pointed out as major pillars in maintaining law and order before the advent of the Whites (Olowu & Erero 1995); (Okunmadewa *et al.*, 2005). *Omoluàbí* ethos is one of these ethos and we believe it is viable to represent other ethos and proffer solution to insecurity menace in Nigeria. Thus, we are proposing *Omoluàbí* ethos as the way forward.

### ***Omọ̀lúàbí* Ethos as the Way Forward**

In general Yoruba term, *omọ̀lúàbí* denotes an individual who possesses and exhibits great virtues and values. In the opinion of Awoniyi (1975) *omọ̀lúàbí* as a word combines all virtues. Analyzing how the Yorubá came about the word, *omọ̀lúàbí* Wande (1975), quoted by Fayemi, (2009) opines that the *omoluabi* concept is an adjectival Yoruba phrase, which has the words - "Omo + ti + Olu-iwa + bi" as its components. Literally translated and taken separately, omo means 'child', ti means 'that or which', Olu-iwa means the chief or master of iwa (character), bi means 'born'. When combined, *omoluabi* translates as "the child begotten by the chief of iwa". In other words, before an individual could be referred to as *omoluabi*, the person must possess some traits of virtue uprightness, patriotism, fear, respect for the Supreme Being, fellow-love and feeling. Such a person possesses and displays moral values that are devoid of flaws and beyond criticism in any culture or civilization. S/he is socially acceptable as a man of integrity, honesty, altruism courage, responsiveness and respect. An in-depth look into Nigerian society reveals that the negligence of this cultural value is the focal reason why Nigeria is in Hobbesian state of nature. As such, we propose *omoluabi* ethos as a way out of insecurity menace in Nigeria.

*Omọ̀lúàbí* ethos is a Yoruba ethical principle that has the resemblance of Aristotle's virtue ethics. Unlike other ethical theories - consequentialist and deontological - that define the rightness or wrongness of an action in terms of rules and duties, virtue ethics

which *omoluabi* ethos embodies, appraises human conduct through the character to determine whether he is virtuous or vicious. Put differently, *omoluabi* ethos is an ancient yet contemporary-relevant philosophy that places emphasis on positive character trait as the foundation and standard of morality. It is an indigenous paradigm that focuses on building moral character in order to produce a sound rational being who will act virtuously in all situations. *Omoluabi* Ethos de-emphasizes the rightness and wrongness of an action but rather emphasizes on being virtuous. This is so because it understands that not all good actions are virtuous neither is everybody who does a good action virtuous. However, an act done by a virtuous person is always good. Because such act springs spontaneously and naturally from an inner disposition permanently set towards doing good; a stable frame of mind inclined towards good actions. Its emphasis is on virtues that is the state of being which abet a person to live according to reason. It focuses on being virtuous which effortlessly will be followed by right actions. Scholars like Abimbola (1975); Bewaji (2004); and Olanipekun, (2007) have given an inexhaustible list of virtues possessed by *omọ̀lúàbí*, however, character (*iwa*) stands out. This is because a man's character typifies his lifestyle especially in ethical terms, thus character is seen as essence of being. By character we mean excellence character - *iwa rere*. Recognizing that excellent character embodies other virtues like courage, temperance, justice, integrity, diligence and so on, the Yorubá refer to it as *ọ̀ba àwúre* -

king of success (Adebowale & Onayemi, 2016)

The Yoruba recognizing that being an *omoluabi* is not an automatic thing neither is *iwa-rere* inborn, says: *Ká bí eni, kò tó ká tún ara eni bí* – being born is not sufficient as nurturing oneself. Similarly, *omoluabi* ethos taken cognizance of the fact that human is what he does repeatedly, aims at building a robust character traits or inner disposition which once developed will lead to predictable good behavior by emphasizing persistent practice of virtuous acts. It is in this respect, we recommend that to remedy the insecurity imperil, conscious determination to embrace and incorporate excellent character through practicing and internalizing virtuous acts to the point they become our habits – second nature – must be made. In other words, the carefully, conscious and rational inculcation of moral virtues will go a long way to transforming many to *omoluabi* who will restrict all various of social vices that lead or has the tendency of leading to insecurity. This however should start from the leaders, for if the head is corrupt what can the body do. With this, sanctity and sanity will be restored back to the nation particularly in the area of security.

### Concluding remarks

This paper has presented the current harsh realities of violence in the Nigerian society which are best regarded as a return to the Hobbesian state of nature, where men were primitive with prevalent violence, strife and conflicts. It has also explored the core of the Yoruba *Omoluabi* ethos and the attributes that are expected of an *omoluabi*. It has also tried to relate

these basic cores of the *Omoluabi* ethos with the prevalent insecurity in Nigeria and by extension, try to suggest them as solution to national conflicts and insecurity. With the understanding that the above characteristics and qualities define an *Omoluabi*, it should however be noted that most of these characteristics are actually missing in society today thereby undermining the Yoruba traditional value system. The Yoruba virtue caste, *omoluabi*, is based on morals and values which are aimed at building a socially acceptable and fitting individual. Therefore, embracing this value adding culture in national development plans will greatly help to shape the coming generation along an indigenous African's thought pattern of self-actualization, belief and respect for God's creations, respect for nature, respect for others, avoidance of crime and conflict, mutual respect, communal trust, success through hard work, skills in trade and businesses, responsibility to the larger community, defense of father land and many others which are the needed panacea to Nigerian insecurity.

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## **Entre Hegemonie Et Changement: Une Lecture Psychanalytique Des Personnages De Chakato Et D'Idriss Dans *Les Tresseurs De Corde* De Jean Pliya**

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### **Résumé**

Cette communication a pour but d'examiner les tendances hégémoniques de Chakato et d'Idriss, son fils vis-à-vis des changements politiques de leur village. Comment est-ce que ces tendances hégémoniques ont été démontrées dans l'œuvre en étude et quels sont les résultats ainsi que le message clé de l'auteur qui essaie de fustiger les dirigeants hégémoniques africains installés un peu partout sur le continent. Ces tendances passent par le biais de l'égoïsme et de la jalousie pour accomplir leurs tâches. Ces leaders hégémoniques sont prêts à tout pour se maintenir au pouvoir. Cette étude a été faite en privilégiant l'approche psychanalytique.

**Mots clés : hégémonie, changement, Chakato, Idriss, Trabi**

### **Abstract**

This study has the objective of examining the hegemonic tendencies of Chakato and Idriss his son with respect to the changing political realities of their village. The way these hegemonic tendencies are demonstrated in the literary work in question and its attendant results are key messages the author uses to castigate hegemonic African Leaders holding sway all over the continent. How are these hegemonic tendencies demonstrated in the literary work we are studying and what are the end results as well as the key message of the author who is castigating hegemonic African leaders holding sway all over the continent. These tendencies are selfishness and jealousy used by the perpetrators to accomplish their heinous crimes. These tendencies use selfishness and jealousy to accomplish their heinous crimes. They are ready and willing to do anything to remain in power. This study favours the use of the theory of psychoanalysis.

### **Introduction**

Comme le dit C. C. Okolo, « La littérature de l'Afrique post coloniale représente en quelque sorte le pot-pourri des techniques littéraires » (204). C'est dans cette lignée de pensée

que *Les tresseurs de corde*, Jean Pliya raconte l'histoire de Trabi, un jeune cadre en fuite de la ville pour échapper à la mort croyant que le Trabi dont il s'agissait dans un complot était lui. Après un accident

dans une brousse, il finit par être recueilli dans un petit village où la révolution bokélienne bâtait pleine. Chakato, marabout et traditionaliste de la vieille génération en voie de disparition à cause de la révolution et Idriss son fils, jeune révolutionnaire de la nouvelle génération voient en Trabi, un rival étant venu leur empêcher d'atteindre leurs objectifs de dominer le village. Dans un jeu de pouvoir, Chakato et Idriss se tournent contre le village pour assurer la mort de Trabi. Alors que Chakato veut passer par Idriss pour être révolutionnaire, il ne veut pas laisser ses vieilles pratiques traditionnelles croyant que le temps change et il fallait avancer avec. En se cachant derrière l'hypocrisie et la jalousie pour les raisons de ses actions, il utilise son fils pour atteindre ses objectifs dans *Les tresseurs de corde*, d'autres attribuerait l'hégémonie comme ses intérêts. Pour arriver donc à l'étude de la persona de Chakato et d'Idriss et les démasquer, le critique veut les déconstruire à travers la psychanalyse de Freud.

#### **Hégémonie : essai de définition**

Selon le dictionnaire *Le Petit Robert* (2008), hégémonie veut dire «Suprématie d'une cité, d'un peuple, dans les fédérations ou amphictyonies. Domination souveraine [d'une puissance, d'une nation] sur d'autres ».

Etymologiquement le mot vient du grec ancien *hégemôn* et veut dire chef militaire, guide. Dans l'Antiquité grecque, l'hégémonie désigne la suprématie politique et notamment la direction des opérations militaires qu'exerçait une cité ou un peuple sur les autres au sein d'une confédération, d'une ligue ou d'une alliance de cités (<http://www.toupie.org/Dictionnaire>

[/Hegemonie.htm](#)). Par extension, l'hégémonie est la domination exclusive qu'exerce une nation, un peuple ou une ville sur d'autres, lui assurant de ce fait le contrôle plus ou moins direct sur un grand territoire. L'hégémonie peut s'exercer dans les domaines politiques, militaires, économiques, culturels, etc. Au sens figuré, le terme hégémonie peut s'appliquer à un système de pensée, une idéologie, une idée, une classe sociale etc. Par exemple on peut parler de l'hégémonie du néolibéralisme après l'effondrement de l'URSS. L'adjectif hégémonique qualifie ce qui est relatif à l'hégémonie alors que l'hégémonisme est l'attitude ou la pensée d'une puissance, d'une nation, d'une classe sociale ou d'une idéologie qui cherche à exercer son hégémonie, sa suprématie ou son autorité sur les autres.

#### **Cadre théorique: l'approche psychanalytique dans la littérature**

La psychanalyse est une méthode thérapeutique et une étude théorique des processus psychiques inconscients. La psychanalyse représente l'une des théories les plus influentes de la pensée moderne dont la méthode est appliquée dans de nombreux domaines.

La théorie de la psychanalyse et une grande partie de la technique psychanalytique ont été développées par Sigmund Freud. Son œuvre, alimentée par sa pratique de la psychothérapie et proposant une interprétation de la structure et du fonctionnement psychique, a connu un immense retentissement, tant scientifique que pratique (Microsoft Encarta vidéo 2009).

Dans l'art, Freud lui-même affirme que « les artistes se servent de leurs œuvres pour projeter dans le moral extérieur des fantasmes inassouvis » (Microsoft Encarta vidéo 2009).

Dans son œuvre *Introduction à la psychanalyse*, la première innovation de Freud est l'identification du processus psychiques inconscients. Bien que les lois de la logique soient indispensables à la pensée consciente, les productions mentales inconscientes échappent à ces lois. Ainsi, la découverte des modes de fonctionnement spécifique de l'inconscient permet de comprendre des phénomènes psychiques jusqu'alors inexplicables comme le rêve.

Cette approche n'a rien de commun avec l'approche thématique car elle « conduit le lecteur à reconnaître dans un texte, une partie de son inconscient (...) dans sa triple dimension subjective, culturelle et idéologique » Roger (60). Selon Potelet cité par Onyemelukwe et Ibeh « la critique psychanalytique donne la tâche de déceler l'effleurement ou l'émergence de l'inconscient dans un texte littéraire » (7). Il s'agit en effet pour eux, d'une approche « qui tente de mettre en évidence la langue cachée de l'inconscient en vue de reconstruire le texte littéraire » (7). C'est bien de cet inconscient dont il s'agit chez Bellemin-Noel comme étant la porte d'entrée vers l'inconscient lorsqu'il dit :

The unconscious like the poem or novel or play cannot speak directly and explicitly but does so through images, symbols, emblems and metaphors. Literature too is involved in direct and explicit statements about life but does so through imagery, symbolism, metaphor,

etc. However, because the statements made are not explicit there is an inevitable judgmental element involved and in consequence psychoanalytic interpretation of literature is often judgmental (*Psychanalyse* 13).

Cette notion de la critique comme jugement est ancrée sur la vue de Freud sur le rêve comme « la porte d'entrée royale vers l'inconscient » car, pour lui, les rêves sont ce qui est d'important dans la critique littéraire.

Selon Odiwo: « What Freud refers to as the latent content of the dream or the novel is repressed desire and its public form to the conscious mind is the manifest content. Significantly, literary language is often characterized by functional ambiguity disguised in images, symbols and metaphors » (28). Pour lui, dans la littérature, il s'agit des motifs et la psychanalyse est une théorie fondamentale des motifs que l'homme a érigée pour son interprétation. Parfois, certains critiques croient que des personnages surtout le personnage principal dans une œuvre d'art est parfois une réflexion des vues et des visions de l'auteur. Ainsi, le personnage individuel dans un texte devient le point de mire des analyses. Selon Bressler cité par Odiwo:

A character (sic) motivations and actions are axiomatic of more complex situations than being simply attribute of the author's ideas. Consequently, how readers interpret characters become an integral part of the text interpretation. While the author creates a character, a reader recreates the same character, bringing to the text and to an individual character

all the reader's past experiences and knowledge (29).

Ainsi, va-t-il sans doute que le lecteur est impliqué dans la création du personnage littéraire puisqu'il le recrée au cours de sa lecture de l'œuvre. Ce que devient ce personnage dépend du lecteur. De ce fait, vers les années 1950, les critiques de la psychanalyse ont tourné l'attention de la psychobiographie vers l'analyse du personnage (31) car la vie de l'auteur peut être loin de celle du personnage en étude. Selon Johnson:

The use of stream of consciousness, interior monologue and intensive writing helps to dramatize the dilemma of the human mind and its attempts to grasp the essence of life, the nature of relationships, the cause of and effect of actions which make a strong impact on the mind and to come to an understanding of the forces shaping the events in which he is deeply involved (32).

Donc, le contexte psychanalytique d'une œuvre littéraire est aussi lié et tiré du style et du mode narratif de l'auteur. C'est à partir de ce contexte que le critique tente de déceler l'inconscient dans une œuvre littéraire et Ravoux Rallo explique que :

Sigmund Freud s'est intéressé à la littérature dès le début de sa carrière. Il a étudié, de son point de vue, les grands textes et il est certain que sa manière de les lire a non seulement donné naissance à une nouvelle méthode externe de lecture des œuvres, mais a contribué à profondément modifier le rapport du critique et de l'auteur. Celui-ci perd le statut qu'il avait pour la critique

traditionnelle, père ; maître de son œuvre et dernier recours pour en connaître le sens (42).

Notons d'emblée que dans la critique psychanalytique, il s'agit de l'application de la psychanalyse aux études tant littéraires que textuelles comme le dit Tassigny citée par Kuju : « On appelle critique psychanalytique une recherche qui dévoile et articule le langage caché de l'inconscient et reconstruit l'œuvre-entre l'œuvre, l'auteur et son lecteur s'établissent une relation transférentielle analogue à celle qui se déclenche dans la cure analytique » (97).

C'est bien sûr une méthode qui tient compte de l'évolution psychique de l'écrivain. Pourtant, malgré des limitations, l'on est obligé de reconnaître que « La psychanalyse est indispensable à la fois pour la lecture des textes et pour l'écriture » (Rallo 156). Il est dit que « La psychanalyse et la critique littéraire font la même chose : elles interprètent. Et c'est le phénomène d'interprétation qui est le présupposé de base : interpréter c'est chercher du sens ou sans doute plus exactement donner du sens » (156). C'est le fait de chercher le sens ou de donner du sens aux personnages choisis de Jean Pliya qui nous guidera dans ce travail. Ce sens se cache parfois dans l'inconscient qui aux dires de Freud est :

Le siège de toutes nos pensées, nos motifs, instinctifs et primitifs, nos souvenirs empruntent d'angoisse et de souffrance auxquels nous ne pouvons avoir accès consciemment. En d'autres termes, cela est gardé dans notre esprit mais c'est comme si on l'avait oublié. C'est le rôle du psychanalyste d'aider son client

à faire émerger ses contenus inconscients à sa conscience (*Essais*184).

Cette approche s'avère très pertinente pour nous dans le cadre de cette étude car, aux dires de Bernani cité par Blanchère et Sow Fall: « Toute œuvre est le résultat d'une causalité psychanalytique, comporte un 'contenu manifeste' et 'un contenu latent', exactement comme le rêve : elle est une 'projection' du psychisme de l'auteur et souvent de motivations dont il est loin d'avoir été conscient en l'élaborant » (31). De cette citation, nous nous permettons donc de hasarder des hypothèses dans le jardin intime de l'auteur et dans la corrélation entre des énoncés romanesques et l'histoire de l'auteur ainsi que de ses personnages.

#### **Identification des personnages en étude: Chakato et Idriss**

Chakato est le père d'Idriss, le guérisseur du village de Prékéto Tchè ainsi que l'œil et le porte-parole des ancêtres auprès de ses concitoyens. De ce fait, il se doit d'être le garant des traditions ancestrales. C'est aussi lui qui tente en vain de guérir le Vieux Bâ Boussa pendant des années sans succès avant l'arrivée de Trabi.

Quant à Idriss, il est l'un des nouveaux membres du comité dirigeant du groupe révolutionnaire du village. Il est chargé de la propagande et de la vigilance. De par cette position, Idriss est donc sensé être parmi ceux qui incarnent la modernité et qui cherchent à se débarrasser des vieilles traditions qui entravent le progrès du village.

#### **Analyse psychanalytique des personnages de Chakato et d'Idriss**

Trabi est un voyageur en fuite du fait que sa vie est menacée par le gouvernement du président Fioga à cause d'un complot contre ce dernier. En chemin, il a un accident et trouve asile dans un village voisin. Toutefois, ce village est plein en mutation comme partout ailleurs dans la république imaginaire de Bokéli qui vient de s'engager sur la voie de la révolution marxiste. Par conséquent, la chefferie traditionnelle du village, considérée comme une entrave au progrès, est mise à l'écart et remplacée par des jeunes révolutionnaires chargés de mener le peuple au paradis promis par la révolution. La vigilance révolutionnaire exige la vérification de l'identité de l'étranger qui arrive dans le village et de « rendre compte aux chefs politiques » (45) pour des raisons de sécurité.

Lorsque le comité se réunit pour prendre des décisions concernant le nouvel arrivant, Katiagui, le doyen d'âge et trésorier du comité « propose que le comité lui fasse confiance » (45) puisqu'il est aussi un révolutionnaire comme eux. Pour lui, on ne va pas « demander à un militant révolutionnaire, à un étranger qui honore notre village sa carte d'identité avant de l'accueillir comme il le convient » (45). Cette proposition plaît aux membres du comité qui y acquiescent. Ils sont tous des tenants de la tradition africaine de l'hospitalité. Mais l'acceptation de Trabi est rejetée par Idriss que le auteur décrit comme « Un jeune homme au nez pincé, les yeux enfoncés dans les orbites, les oreilles décollés » (45). Cette description d'Idriss nous fait penser à ce qu'il pourrait bien dire. La

physionomie un peu mal tenue de ce jeune homme laisse déjà présager qu'il ne serait en accord avec les autres. Bien qu'il prétende que, pour lui, il ne s'agissait pas de refouler l'étranger, il estime quand même qu'« [...] il n'est pas question de refouler cet étranger. Mais si nous n'examinons pas sa carte d'identité, ne devons-nous pas savoir le but de son voyage et combien de jours il va rester ici afin de rendre compte aux chefs politiques ? » (45). Tout le monde se demande pourquoi Idriss n'est pas du tout à l'aise avec Trabi qu'il ne connaît de nulle part. La réponse à cette question n'est pas loin car l'approche psychanalytique nous permet de voir que déjà Idriss pressent que l'arrivée de cet étranger pourrait lui causer des ennuis qu'il n'est pas prêt à affronter. Pour s'épargner des problèmes que Trabi pourrait lui causer dans l'avenir, il faut que le comité refuse de l'accepter dans le village. A travers la psychanalyse, nous pouvons voir déjà qu'Idriss se cache derrière des réflexions égoïstes pour la demande l'identité de Trabi car on sait qu'on ne demande pas à un étranger combien de jour il allait passer chez son hôte.

A la question de savoir si les villageois doivent prendre des précautions lorsque des colporteurs arrivent dans le village pour y rester aussi longtemps qu'ils le veulent, Idriss rétorque : « Est-ce que nous allons laisser des gens suspects s'introduire dans le village et faire ce qui leur plaît ? [...] La révolution nous le reprochera. Je m'étonne que Boni l'ait logé chez lui avant de saisir le comité » (46). Pour lui donc, Trabi serait quelqu'un de suspect qu'il ne faut pas laisser dans le village. Son problème n'est pas son identité mais il

ne veut pas que Trabi reste dans le village. Il ne faut pas accepter cet homme d'allure claire qui a l'air d'un grand séducteur qui probablement lui arrachera Miriam, la sœur de Boni dont il est éperdument amoureux. Pour encore décourager son acceptation, il demande au comité : « Et si sa venue annonce le malheur ? » (46). Déjà, Idriss prévoit le danger et le malheur qu'il pourrait courir à cause de la venue de Trabi dans le village. Son malheur sera lorsque sa petite-amie le quitterait pour ce nouveau venu. Déjà, il perçoit des changements qui allaient le perturber et il ne veut pas que cela lui arrive. Il veut l'empêcher de toutes ses forces. Ainsi, nous commençons à voir que les tendances hégémoniques d'Idriss qui, en réalité, sont motivées par des considérations purement égoïstes.

Par ce fait de dire que Trabi est suspect ou que sa venue annonce le malheur, Idriss emploie délibérément le mécanisme défensif de la psychanalyse appelé la projection. La projection comme une technique ou activité psychique est un processus à travers lequel des aspects de nous-mêmes surtout les aspects négatifs ne sont pas reconnus comme faisant partie de nous mais sont plutôt attribués aux autres. Idriss conçoit cette offensive dans la guise de faire rejeter Trabi par le comité comme un moyen de faire valoir son image et crédibilité comme le chef de la propagande révolutionnaire ainsi démontrant qu'il fait bien son travail. Ainsi, par la technique de la projection, lui qui est suspect et annonce le malheur du village essaie de faire transférer ses attributs à Trabi pour ne pas être décelé tel qu'il est.

### L'égoïsme

Nous sommes amenés à croire que la raison pour laquelle Idriss proteste contre l'arrivée de Trabi dans le village est pour des raisons égoïstes. Idriss est la première personne à s'opposer à l'acceptation de Trabi dans le village. Lorsqu'il constate que sa copine, Myriam l'évite et devient de plus en plus proche de l'étranger, son égoïsme augmente de plus bel et il déclare que Myriam ne s'occupe que de l'étranger :

Depuis quelques jours, tu m'évites, tu ne t'occupes que de l'étranger [...] tu mens, tu es comme toutes les filles qui se laissent éblouir par les étrangers lettrés [...] tu es donc si mordue pour cet étranger suspect [...] il n'est pas tombé du ciel et son séjour à Prékéto m'intrigue. C'est peut-être un criminel en fuite. (73)

Il est clair donc que les sentiments hostiles d'Idriss vis-à-vis de Trabi sont plus motivés par des raisons amoureuses et égoïstes que par l'apparent zèle révolutionnaire dont il semble faire preuve. Pour pouvoir gagner dans cette bataille d'amour, il doit chercher à salir le nom et l'image de Trabi en le désignant comme «criminel en fuite». S'il réussit à salir le nom de Trabi, Myriam s'éloignera de lui et les villageois ne vont plus s'associer à lui. Comme cela, Idriss serait l'homme de tout le monde et l'homme préféré de Myriam. Naturellement, il ne veut pas perdre sa position de petit ami de Myriam. Il tient à garder cette position que la venue de Trabi menace désormais. Il n'est pas prêt à faire face à un échec sentimental. Toutefois, caché derrière l'inconscient d'Idriss dans toutes ses

manigances est le désir ardent de rester relevant et important et dans la vie de Myriam et dans le village. Il ne veut pas accepter le changement qui annonce sa déchéance vis-à-vis de Myriam comme l'élus déchu de sa place de choix. Il essaie de consolider son pouvoir et sa place dans le cœur de la jeune fille ainsi que dans le village. Le monde de Myriam est en train de changer et cela sans lui, une réalité que le jeune homme ne veut pas accepter. Etant donné qu'il est le garant de la propagande, il se veut aussi le garant des sentiments amoureux de Myriam qui est en train de l'échapper. Dans ce temps qui change, il veut à tout prix, rester au-dessus de ses amis et surtout Trabi, son ennemi voué et fera tout pour atteindre ses objectifs.

Lors de la lutte traditionnelle entre les deux villages voisins de Prékéto Chè et Prékéto Bè, Trabi a réussi à terrasser les lutteurs du village opposant et pour féliciter et témoigner de la sympathie à l'étranger, Myriam lui lance un foulard qui lui a été acheté par Idriss. Cette action de Myriam, aussi innocente qu'elle soit, provoque un sentiment de haine et de jalousie motivée par l'égoïsme chez Idriss et le narrateur décrit son état d'âme et dit :

Lorsqu'il avait vu le foulard lancé à Trabi, il [Idriss] fut d'abord abasourdi, puis il frémit de rage. Ce foulard bleu ciel, il l'avait acheté exprès au marché de Tipani et offert à Myriam. Quelle trahison! Se dit-il. Qu'elle me rejette, soit! Qu'elle me préfère ce nouveau venu, passe encore. Mais à mes dépens, en public, ça non! Affront impardonnable (117).



Cette action était capable de causer un arrêt cardiaque chez Idriss. Pour lui, il s'agit d'un affront public où sa copine honore l'homme qui le nargue et cause sa honte. Cet affront est impardonnable. Myriam vient de mettre en évidence les soupçons qu'il nourrissait depuis l'arrivée de cet étranger dans le village. La présence de Trabi tourne donc au vinaigre pour Idriss qui l'avait déjà pressenti dès le jour de son arrivée.

A l'arrivée du Président Fioga, l'intérêt égoïste et personnel d'Idriss se laisse voir dans la manière dont il manigançait et Boni a dû le lui reprocher en disant : « Tu veux te présenter comme le meilleur soutien de la révolution, mais ce sont des raisons personnelles qui te poussent » (216). On voit que Boni sait qu'Idriss est bel et bien motivé par des raisons égoïstes qui le poussent à détester Trabi qui ne lui a rien fait.

En fin de compte, Idriss, lors de la réunion de réconciliation a dû avouer les raisons de sa haine pour Trabi :

Avant l'arrivée de Trabi, Boni et moi étions en bons termes. Certes, je trouvais qu'il dirigeait le comité révolutionnaire avec mollesse. Cependant je le fréquentais et l'aidais dans sa tâche. Mais depuis que ce Trabi vous a tous possédés, Boni ne rate aucune occasion de me rabrouer. Plus grave encore, sa mère et sa sœur me repoussent et m'humilient (229).

C'est donc le fait d'avoir perdu sa place chez les Yérima et le fait de ne plus être l'homme ou l'amant chéri qui le ronge et lui fait haïr l'étranger. L'égoïsme possède sa victime, la nourrit d'orgueil et l'aveugle de jalousie qui est une autre menace à

l'hospitalité. Idriss n'a d'objectif contre Trabi puisque son antipathie envers ce dernier est uniquement motivée par des considérations égoïstes. Mais la rancœur d'Idriss n'est pas seulement pour Trabi, mais aussi contre Boni. Un autre index psychanalytique de la persona d'Idriss est le conflit entre son moi et le ça. Le moi est la partie de la personnalité la plus consciente toujours en contact avec la réalité extérieure et héberge nos désirs les plus intimes. Son moi veut régner l'instance de la réalité qui est le fait qui aurait déjà perdu Myriam mais son ça qui fonctionne dans les principes de plaisir veut toujours assurer sa survie égoïste. Ainsi pour Idriss, il n'arrive pas à faire régner son moi sur son ça ce qui cause en lui des conflits psychiques le poussant à haïr Trabi jusqu'au point de meurtre sans vraiment en être conscient.

La vraie raison de la rancœur d'Idriss pour Boni est révélée par Sadi : « il souhaitait, avec la révolution, devenir le président du comité local pour avoir plus de prestige. Mais on le sait impulsif et rancunier. C'est pourquoi le village lui préféra Boni » (89). Ce prestige qu'il a perdu lui ronge le cœur depuis lors et tout ce que Boni propose ne lui plaît plus. Pour lui, comme il n'a pas eu le poste de président, pourquoi supporter et encourager celui qui l'a devancé dans le poste. Pour empirer les choses, Boni accueille Trabi qui deviendra plus tard son adversaire et lui prendra sa copine.

L'égoïsme est une sorte de maladie qui fait que son auteur ne pense jamais qu'à lui-même. C'est dans ce sens que nous voyons l'orgueil de Chakato, le guérisseur du village. Piqué par les accomplissements de Trabi, il dit:

« Cet étranger a un pouvoir supérieur au mien [...] depuis son arrivée au village, il n'a pas cherché à me rencontrer. Maintenant il me nargue et pond son œuf dans mon nid. Je verrai bien comment il va le couvrir » (65). Son problème ici est que Trabi guérit le vieux Boussa qu'il a essayé de guérir depuis des années en vain. A travers l'optique psychanalytique, nous pouvons hasarder une explication du problème de Chakato: il souffre de ce que les Anglais appellent *hubris* c'est-à-dire un problème d'orgueil qui ne veut la réussite de personne que soi. Chakato n'est pas content que le vieux soit guéri, son problème majeur est que ce n'est pas lui qui reçoit la gloire. A son arrivée, Trabi met de l'argile dans une cerise et voilà que le vieux est guéri. Pour Chakato, personne d'autre que lui ne doit avoir le pouvoir de guérir. Etant le guérisseur du village, il doit être le seul à le faire. Toutefois, il ne peut pas guérir cette plaie du vieux et ne veut pas avouer qu'il en est incapable. Il reçoit de l'argent chez le vieux et sa famille sans pouvoir le guérir. Le succès de Trabi constitue donc un affront à la fierté du messie du village qu'est jusque-là Chakato. Il a été démystifié par cet étranger qui arrive dans leur village. Lui qui maintenait le village et tous ses habitants sous sa domination, voire son hégémonie vient de voir quelqu'un qui lui fait perdre tout. Pour lui et son fils, le pouvoir ne doit rester nulle part que chez eux et avec eux. Pour cela, il faut chercher à se débarrasser de Trabi par tous les moyens possibles.

Notons d'emblée que Chakato étant guérisseur fait partie de ceux que la révolution veut faire chasser du système politique traditionnel.

Chakato ne veut pas que le pouvoir quitte son domicile car le temps changeant lui est important. Si par hasard, il perdait son pouvoir traditionnel, il restera puissant étant donné que son fils fait partie du comité scientifique de la révolution mis en place dans le village. Ainsi, à travers la technique psychanalytique de jeu de rôle, il pousse son fils qui l'incarne à être dans la révolution comme cela, il est partout dans une réflexion de lui et de son fils, il reste ici mais aussi il est là. Il envoie son fils pour incarner le vieux guérisseur dans la modernité mais reste toujours dans la tradition.

Nous pouvons constater que ce problème d'orgueil chez Chakato a été percé par l'étranger qui débarque dans leur village pour le démystifier. Il ne peut pas donc accepter ce défait et il faut donc faire quelque chose aussitôt possible. Cet étranger pourrait l'empêcher à atteindre son objectif de s'incarner dans son fils et se perpétuer au pouvoir. Pour pouvoir se débarrasser de Trabi, il joue à l'avocat du diable en prétendant être un vrai voyant. Lorsque les gens de Prékéto Bè sont venus le consulter, il laisse voir son émotion et sa haine contre Trabi en disant: « L'oracle approuve votre intention de dénoncer aux soldats ce Trabi qui est venu aggraver la division dans notre village. Il ne faut pas tarder à le faire. Allez-y dès demain. L'oracle dit malheur à qui désobéira » (161). Etant l'oracle du village, il se croit dans son pouvoir absolu et considère l'immensité de son pouvoir sur les villages. Ce pouvoir sur les villageois le pousse à l'utiliser à sa guise d'une manière manipulatrice pour atteindre ses propres objectifs en refusant le changement déjà en place

dans le village. D'ailleurs, avec la révolution, sa profession de guérisseur ne doit plus exister mais pour accomplir ses objectifs, il s'engage à un double jeu. Dans ces propos, nous pouvons sentir son égoïsme et son intention qui sont d'assurer que l'étranger ne soit plus dans la communauté prékétoise. Il dit que c'est Trabi qui sème et aggrave la division dans le village pour qu'on le haïsse. Pourtant, c'est l'arrivée de Trabi qui a apporté et semé l'union et la paix entre les deux villages frères mais rivaux de PrétékoTchè et PrétékoBè. On peut donc voir le ça de Chakato qui le pousse à faire le double jeu contre son peuple dans le but d'atteindre ses objectifs égoïstes qui deviennent clairs à travers l'optique psychanalytique employée dans cette étude.

### **La jalousie**

Après leur dispute avec Myriam à cause de Trabi, « Une jalousie morbide a pris racine dans le cœur d'Idriss » (138). Cette jalousie fait qu'Idriss ne reste plus sur place. Ayant perdu Myriam au profit de ce nouveau venu, Idriss perd du coup la raison d'être et rien ne lui plaît plus. Partout où vont Myriam et Trabi il les guette. C'est compte tenu de ce fait que lorsque les deux sont sortis du village en promenade qu'il les suit de loin et le narrateur dépeint la scène en ces termes :

La sortie des amants n'a pas échappé à Idriss. Sa jalousie en alerte s'est aussitôt rallumée. Depuis la rupture entre Myriam et lui, il n'a plus eu de nuit paisible. Il passe son temps à imaginer le triomphe de Trabi, à observer Myriam pour déceler sur son visage des signes de

bonheur. Cela le torture mais il ne peut s'en empêcher [...] pour rendre sa filature plus discrète, il s'engage dans les broussailles et progresse sans les perdre de vue, les narines frémissantes comme celle d'un chien de chasse, pressant le pas dans l'espoir d'entendre leurs propos. (198-199)

On voit donc qu'Idriss a perdu la joie de vivre puisque son amante l'a quitté. Toutefois, le vrai problème d'Idriss n'est pas d'avoir perdu Myriam, mais de l'avoir perdu à son pire ennemi : l'homme dont il a pressenti, dès le départ, que l'arrivée allait lui causer des ennuis. C'est bien en cela que consiste son amertume. Pourquoi est-ce que Myriam va-t-elle accepter cet étranger ? Pourquoi préfère-t-elle Trabi à lui ? Cette réalité le nargue et lui fait perdre la tête. C'est pour cela qu'il ne se tient plus sur place. Il faut qu'il les surveille pour voir ce qu'ils font. Il veut donc déceler les moindres signes de bonheur chez elle pour savoir si elle est heureuse ou non avec Trabi, ce qui ne lui apportera pourtant rien.

Pire, lors de l'agression des enfants par les impérialistes étrangers venus supplanter le gouvernement bokélien, Idriss n'a pas voulu sortir de sa cachette pensant qu'ils allaient l'aider à tuer Trabi, son ennemi : « Trabi ne peut pas s'en sortir, pense Idriss. Les autres lui régleront son compte. Je ne dois pas m'en mêler. Ces gens qui viennent de loin s'attaquer à lui ont leurs raisons. Ce vantard, ce prétentieux, n'a qu'à se débrouiller tout seul » (202). Pour lui, comme il ne peut pas tuer Trabi et que les gris-gris et les moyens traditionnels du père n'ont pas marché, que ces étrangers et

agresseurs l'aident à lui régler son compte. Il aimerait que ceux-ci l'aide à se débarrasser de Trabi qui devient pour lui un abcès au-dessous du scrotum. Même le fait que l'un des siens, soit atteint par une balle des agresseurs ne le fait pas sortir. Toutefois, Trabi a réussi à vaincre la bataille contre les agresseurs et est revenu au village en héros, ce qui naturellement conforte l'amour de Miriam pour lui et reconforte sa suprématie sur Idriss et toutes ses méchancetés.

A la réunion de réconciliation convoquée par Bâ Boussa à la requête de Boni, l'on demande d'inviter Trabi mais Chakato refuse en rétorquant: « J'en ai assez de le voir toujours entre mes pattes. Le Président lui a pardonné, qu'il s'en aille ! » (228). Il faut noter que Chakato est un guérisseur traditionnel donc parmi ceux que la révolution essaie de rayer de la société mais son fils est un révolutionnaire moderne. Ainsi, Chakato représente l'ancien ordre alors que son fils, Idriss, représente la modernité. Donc, Chakato sait fort bien que le temps n'est plus de son côté et que bientôt, les anciens perdront. Il lui faut donc placer son fils dans une position de choix dans le nouvel ordre politique pour qu'ils ne perdent pas tout. Si la tradition ancienne est maintenue dans le village, il y est déjà et continuera à diriger le village mais si la tradition perd et que la modernité est mise en place, son fils y serait et vade ce fait continuer dans la relève familiale. Comme cela, ils ne vont rien perdre du tout. Ainsi, l'ambivalence de Chakato est composée de deux impulsions opposantes et variées, d'un côté est son allégeance instinctive à un moyen

de vie déjà régi par la tradition, de l'autre côté entre son respect et son admiration des moyens de vie moderne incarnée par Trabi et la révolution dont son fils est le chef de propagande le mettent ainsi contre les valeurs de la société dans laquelle il se trouve. Cela nous fait penser à Ezeulu dans *Arrow of God* de Chinua Achebe qui veut, en plus du pouvoir traditionnel qu'il détient, garder le pouvoir moderne à travers Obierika, son fils qu'il envoie à l'école des Blancs en dépit des interdits de sa religion et des pratiques traditionnelles. Tout comme Chakato, l'ambition fait perdre la raison à Ezeulu comme le constate Odiweo : « what starts as an egoistical pursuit of an ambition drifts into a catastrophe » (39). Tout comme Ezeulu chez Chinua Achebe, le vouloir tout accaparer et se perpétuer au pouvoir devient une très grande catastrophe chez Chakato ainsi que son échec dans les deux entreprises qu'il a voulu entreprendre étant donné que qui trop étire, finira par mal être.

### **De l'égoïsme à la tentative de meurtre**

L'égoïsme de Chkato et de son fils, Idriss les poussent à vouloir la mort de Trabi par des moyens diaboliques. Un matin, lorsque Trabi sort de la chambre, « Devant la porte, il voit, stupéfié, le corps d'un chat noir, la gorge tranchée, l'abdomen béant, les entrailles éparses. Partout, du sang, sur le sol, le rideau, les murs. Et sur le seuil, des poils brûlés » (92). Dans la tradition africaine, surtout dans la croyance populaire africaine, le chat noir représente quelque chose de mal. Ainsi, cette découverte dès le petit jour est une manifestation de la

méchanceté de celui qui veut du mal à Trabi. Evidemment, la personne veut le tuer par cette voie mais comme le dit Ya Baké « L'homme au cœur limpide, l'ami des pauvres, ne doit rien redouter » (93). Cela indique que la vie de Trabi est bien assurée car il est innocent. Pour se démasquer, Idriss vient demander à Trabi « Il paraît que les « Batouré » n'ont peur de rien. Est-ce que tous tes parents sont d'accord pour ton voyage ? (92). A travers la technique psychanalytique de l'inconscient, nous pouvons voir le désir caché d'Idriss à travers cette déclaration quasi aveu. Dans son fort intérieur, il veut la mort de Trabi pour s'en débarrasser mais apparemment, celui-ci est beaucoup plus fort qu'ils auraient espéré. Ceci est sa manière d'avouer sa culpabilité car le narrateur dit qu'« Idriss, le fils de Chakato, semble particulièrement s'intéresser à Trabi » (92). Le narrateur veut faire savoir qui est à la base de cette tentative meurtrière. D'autre part, ayant essayé et échoué avec le chat noir, Chakato et son fils passent par le serpent et Trabi s'exclame « Encore un serpent, ... j'en ai marre à la fin. On dirait qu'on les envoie exprès dans ma case » (139). Cette fois-ci également, ils échouent car Trabi est un homme dont les mains sont propres. Jean Pliya condamne cet acte de Chakato et de son fils car il veut promouvoir la tradition africaine de l'hospitalité et ces actes-là sont contraires à cette tradition. Cela nous fait aussi penser à la critique que fait Jacques Roumain vers ses compatriotes surtout chez Gervilen et chez Hilarion dans *Gouverneurs de la rosée*. Hilarion est le représentant du maître colonial et ne veut pas que Manuel amène l'eau au village car elle

dérangera ses activités égoïstes dans le village et l'empêchera de gagner et d'escroquer les villageois et il veut emprisonner Manuel. En ce qui concerne Gervilen, il veut plutôt tuer Manuel et garder Annaïse que de laisser Manuel amener l'eau au village. Il finit par tuer le principal protagoniste pour que ses compatriotes meurent de soif. Ces gens ont peur du changement de quel genre que ce soit. Pourtant, ce changement est avec eux et ils ne peuvent rien faire car on ne peut rien faire contre une vérité dont l'heure a sonnée.

Rappelons que lorsque les soldats du lieutenant Assouka arrivent au village, Idriss se dit qu'il a triomphé mais cela n'a pas marché pour lui. Le narrateur parle de son état d'âme lorsqu'il dit : « « Mission accomplie »... Idriss éprouve une joie secrète. On te démasque enfin, mon bonhomme,... Ce n'est pas trop tôt. Cette fois tu es coincé et je suis débarrassé de toi » (176). Pour lui donc, ces soldats réussiront à l'aider à se débarrasser de Trabi une fois pour toute. Notons aussi que ni Idris ni Chakato n'ont jamais caché leur intention envers Trabi que cela soit en privé ou en public. Ils lui ont constamment fait comprendre qu'ils le haïssent de tout leur cœur.

On dirait que Jean Pliya passe à travers ces deux personnages pour fustiger les leaders africains qui viennent au pouvoir mais ne veulent plus le quitter. Chakato et son fils incarnent ces leaders politiques installés un peu partout en Afrique. Ils arrivent au pouvoir et s'y maintiennent à vie. Puis, leurs enfants leur succèdent comme si le pouvoir politique est devenu héréditaire.

La technique psychanalytique utilisée ici comme une optique démontre comment les leaders surtout en Afrique veulent toujours tout ramener chez eux : ceux nommés en poste comme Ministres, PDG, Secrétaires d'Etat etc. sont soit des parents soit des amis et anciens collaborateurs démontrant ainsi la peur de changement de pouvoir politique. Ils préfèrent la médiocrité contre la compétence à l'instar de Chakato dans notre roman d'étude. Pour lui, puisqu'il est le garant de la tradition, s'il y a quelqu'un pour prendre les relèves, cela doit être son fils qu'il soit qualifié ou pas. A la fin de leurs mandats, ils parlent de changement mais inconsciemment, ils veulent rester au pouvoir et finissent par s'y éterniser. D'autres font comme Chakato en nommant leurs fils pour les succéder au pouvoir. Rendant donc le pouvoir politique, un jeu familial utilisé comme leur semble bon et allant contre l'opinion d'Aristote dans le partage de pouvoir comme le dit Ifesieh (112).

### Conclusion

Dans cet article, nous avons examiné les pensées cachées de Chakato et d'Idriss dans *Les tresseurs de corde* de Jean Pliya. Chakato est un guérisseur traditionnel qui aurait déjà vu son temps passé par l'arrivée de la révolution dont son fils est l'un des dirigeants. Toutefois, il ne veut pas quitter la scène et fait tout pour rester au pouvoir par le truchement de son fils. L'analyse psychanalytique de Chakato et de son fils, Idris, nous a révélé qu'ils sont, dans une bonne mesure, à la base des problèmes que vit leur village. Leur tendance hégémonique pour des raisons

purement et bassement égoïstes les éloigne de l'intérêt commun. L'orgueil les empêche de vivre en synergie avec la communauté. En effet, l'amour déçu d'Idris et le charlatanisme de Chakato, son père sont le vrai ciment de leur haine et de leur méchanceté vis-à-vis de cet étranger venu de nulle part qui se voit adulé par tout le village à cause des bienfaits et des changements positifs dont il est l'auteur. De ce fait, nous pouvons conclure qu'Idris et son père ne sont que l'allégorie d'une classe dirigeante africaine égoïste, sans vision et totalement déconnectée. Une classe dirigeante qui, de par son incurie, se trouve être le premier moteur d'un sous-développement endogène qui mine notre continent et le plonge de jour en jour dans une obscurité de plus en plus noire.

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## **A Preliminary Archaeological Investigation of Usambe Hills, South-Eastern Tivland, Central Nigeria**

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### **Abstract**

This paper is a presentation of the result of a preliminary archaeological investigation of part of Usambe Area (with specific emphasis on Bako and Kpe Hills), Kwande Local Government Area, Benue State. The paper is aimed at contributing more archaeological evidence to the study of the occupational history of the Tiv of Central Nigeria. Consequently, the research elicited data through empirical investigation (employing archaeological and ethnographic surveys), while written documents were also used to corroborate surveyed information for the interpretation and explanation of the data recovered from the various archaeological sites studied. This was done in conjunction with other data like those on the environment of Bako and Kpe Hills, as well as the settlement morphology of the Usambe people. Thus, findings in the research include remains of pottery objects, relics of stone artefacts (like grindstone and stone ball), settlement structures (such as foundations of granaries and houses or huts) a water cistern and fortified stone walls. Consequently, this research revealed close similarities in the overall characteristics of artefacts identified during the investigation. It also revealed that the past Usambe/Tiv people who lived in the area understood their environmental opportunities and utilized them for their wellbeing. The research also confirmed a clear cultural continuity amongst the past and present Usambe/Tiv people through a comparative analysis of the archaeological and ethnographic data acquired in the area.

**Keywords:** Ethnoarchaeology, Investigation, Usambe Hills, Finds/Features, Interpretation.

### **Introduction**

This research is stem from a preliminary archaeological investigation of Bako and Kpe hill-top settlement sites in Usambe district, Ikyurav-ya, Kwande Local Government Area, Benue State. The report is part of a long term research design aimed at contributing to the

settlement history, economic and socio-cultural life of the Tiv of Central Nigeria. Traces of past human habitation that aroused the researcher's interest in the area were circular stone arrangements indicating foundations of ancient huts, long stretches of stone arrangements in the form of ancient defensive walls,



granary foundations, grindstones and potsherds amongst others.

The research was initially informed by the paucity of archaeological research of this kind in the area. More so, having knowledge of the importance of the study area to the history of Tiv people, the researcher made enquiries from Mr Nomishan Demenongo Geoffrey and a great hunter in Usambe village, Papa Apolo Jiki, which led to the identification of Kpe hill. Therefore, ground reconnaissance of the site was conducted in 2014. However, after the initial investigation of the site, the researcher revisited the area again in 2018 and discovered that Kpe hill site had two clusters (Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin). This visit also led to the identification of another hill known as Bako, which also had two clusters (Bako-vesen and Bako-chuku). This development formed the basis for the commencement of the on-going investigation in the area.

#### **Location of the Study Area**

Bako and Kpe are hill-top settlement sites amongst Usambe Mba-shahua and Usambe Mba-shin kindreds of Usambe district, Ikyurav-ya, Kwande Local Government Area, Benue State, Nigeria. Usambe is bordered to the north by Nyiev District, to the east by Maav District, all in Turan. While the

south and western parts of Usambe are bordered by Iwanev and Mbaza respectively. As noted earlier, Bako hill-top settlement is divided into two clusters known as Bako-vesen and Bako-chuku. Both Bako-vesen and Bako-chuku are located in the south eastern part of Achia, a clustered settlement in Usambe. The distance between the two hills to each other is just about 1km. Taking route from Achia, one can reach Bako-chuku before proceeding to Bako-vesen. Also in the same vein, Kpe hill is subdivided into two clusters known as Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin. Kpe-sha is located at the borderline between Usambe mba-shahua and Usambe mbashin, while Kpe-shin is in Usambe Mba-shin and is the closest hill to Achia settlement (see figure 1).

Furthermore, Bako-vesen hill is situated between  $06^{\circ} 47' 19.4''N$  to  $06^{\circ} 47' 21.0''N$  and  $09^{\circ} 28' 13.7''E$  to  $09^{\circ} 28' 47.8''E$ , Bako-chuku is between  $06^{\circ} 47' 15.1''N$  to  $06^{\circ} 47' 17.6''N$  and  $09^{\circ} 27' 45.4''E$  to  $09^{\circ} 27' 47.9''E$ , Kpe-sha is between  $06^{\circ} 45' 36.4''N$  to  $06^{\circ} 45' 42.3''N$  and  $09^{\circ} 28' 47.8''E$  to  $09^{\circ} 28' 53.1''E$ , while Kpe-shin is between  $06^{\circ} 46' 51.9''N$  to  $06^{\circ} 46' 54.4''N$  and  $09^{\circ} 27' 34.5''E$  to  $09^{\circ} 27' 37.6''E$ , with an average elevation of about 851m above sea level.

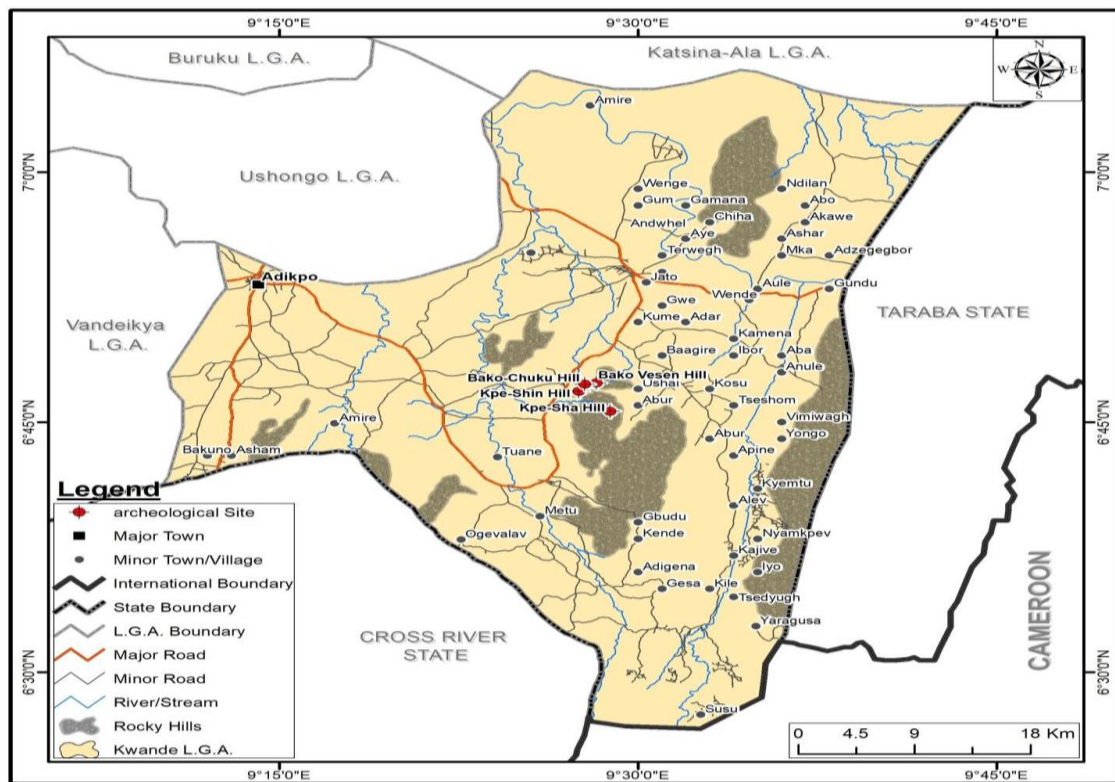


Figure 1: Map of Kwande L.G.A. showing Bako and Kpe Hills

Source: Map Gallery, Geography Department, ABU Zaria

### Research Objectives

The general oral traditions of the Tiv people posit that, Usambe hills and other hills located in the South-eastern Tivland, down to the Nigeria-Cameroon border were amongst the first set of hills on which the Tiv people settled in their various groups and camps continuously as they spread over the plains of the Middle Benue Valley (Folorunso, 1998; Gundu, 1999; Ogundele, 2006; Ndera, 2009; Chia, 2014; and Nomishan, 2014). Therefore, this location is of paramount importance in tracing the occupational and/or settlement history of the Tiv people. Several ancient settlements are still found on hills in this area without any archaeological investigation. Thus, the choice of Usambe as the location for

this investigation became timely and apt.

Consequently, the research was directed towards the contribution of new and more data for the study of the occupational and/or settlement history of the Tiv people through the archaeological investigation of Bako and Kpe Hills. There have been several archaeological investigations in the South-eastern Tivland and a good percentage of it took place in part of Usambe district, with particular emphasis on Ibinda hills. However, these efforts did not cover the entire archaeological sites in the area. This is because in the Usambe district alone, there are several archaeological sites like Ibinda, Kpe, and Bako amongst others that demands archaeological engagement. Therefore, this research became highly

significant and its result has contributed new/more archaeological evidence needed for the establishment of a complete archaeological record on the occupational and/or settlement history of the Tiv people.

### **Research Methodology**

Ethnoarchaeological method was employed in carrying out this research. Ethnoarchaeology is a term used to describe studies of contemporary societies undertaken in order to see how material culture relates to other aspects of society such as social, ideological, economic, environmental, and technical (Shaw & Jameson, 1999). The term is considered as a sub-discipline of anthropology, encompassing all the theoretical and methodological aspects of comparing ethnographic and archaeological data including the use of the ethnographic analogy and archaeological ethnography (Stile, 1977, cited from Itanyi & Okonkwo, 2010). The interfaces between ethnography and archaeology reflect the potency that "the past" holds for living peoples and amount to much more than ethnography's "traditional" role of supplying archaeologists with additional sources of data for the purpose of interpretation and/or explanation of past cultural phenomena (Edgeworth 2006; Meskell & Pels 2005; cited from Castañeda & Matthews, 2008).

Therefore, ethnoarchaeological approach was adopted for the purpose of understanding the processes by which the archaeological materials recovered on the various sites were made, used/discarded, and also to test the degree of the cultural continuity amongst the extinct and the extant

Usambe/Tiv people in the area. Also, secondary sources like books, journal and unpublished thesis/dissertations were used to corroborate field data for the purpose of clarity. More so, tables, charts, and figures were used in the presentation and analysis of data for the purpose of clarity and to achieve a logical conclusion.

Consequently, the approach helped in providing direct historical analogies that assisted in answering the question about the relationship between Usambe people and their material world; past material culture and the natural/social environment of the people, how such relations influenced changes amongst the past Usambe people, and the impact of these changes on both the extinct and extant Usambe people/societies.

### **Archaeological Survey**

The archaeological survey of Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin led to the identification of past cultural evidence such as potsherds, stone materials (like grindstones and a stone ball), and architectural remains (such as relics of granaries, huts/houses and fortified stone walls). Thus, detail about the past cultural record is presented as follows.

### **Pottery Remains**

Pottery making in Nigeria, is believed to be an indigenous craft. The craft is no doubt one tradition embraced in all parts of the country starting from the prehistoric period when man became sedentary (Sempil, 1969). The value of pottery remains to archaeology cannot be measured only by the role it plays in this part of the world where climatic conditions inhibit the preservation of organic archaeological

materials. The value can also be seen in the fact that, since pottery cannot be easily destroyed by natural means, potsherds become so valuable to the archaeologists, who may find in them the only evidence of some extinct group of people (Billington, 1962).

Thus, a total of 230 potsherds were collected during the survey of Bako-

vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin hills and studied. Out of the number, 82 were collected from Bako-vesen, 40 from Bako-chuku, 38 from Kpe-sha, and 70 from Kpe-shin hills respectively (see figure 2). The potsherds were classified and analysed as given below.

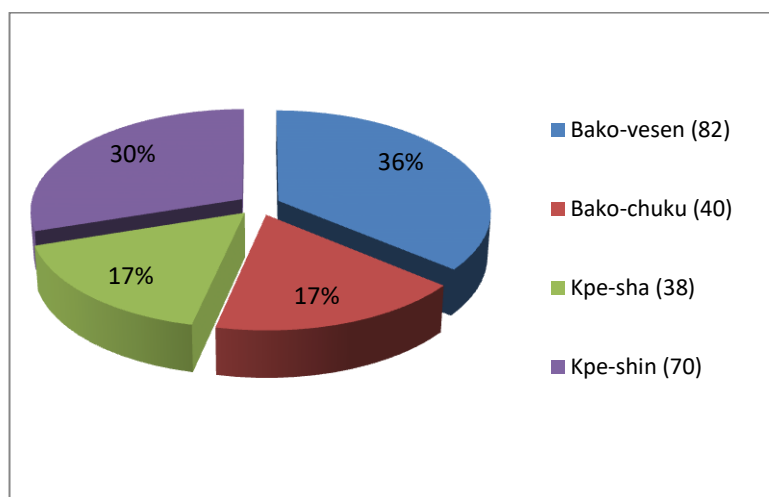


Figure 2: Pie chart of Collected Potsherds from Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin Hills

Thus, a comparative analysis of the potsherds from the various sites indicates that they had similar surface treatments, rim formations, paste characteristics and decorative motifs. They were two rims analysed and grouped as those of bowls. The rims were collected from Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin hills and were measured to be

18cm and 19cm in diameters, while their thickness were measured to be 9mm and 16mm. Apart from the two rims, all the other rim forms collected were of pots and indicated high similarity in their workability. The rims had diameters that ranged from 9cm to 27cm and thicknesses of 7mm to 1cm.

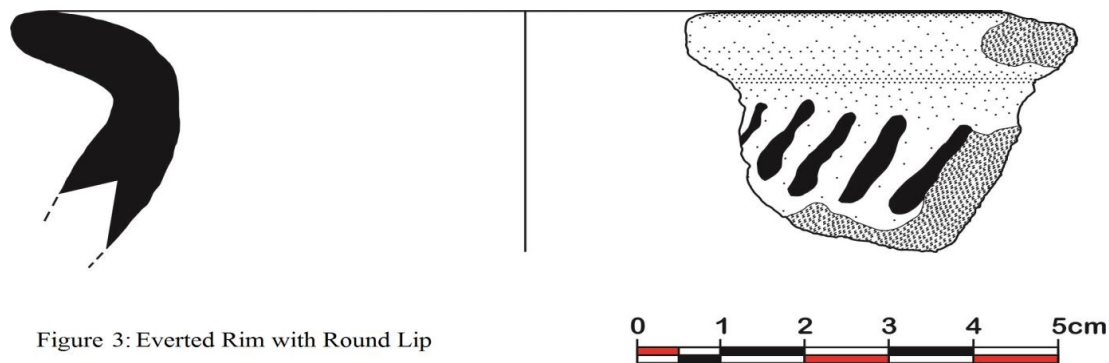


Figure 3: Everted Rim with Round Lip

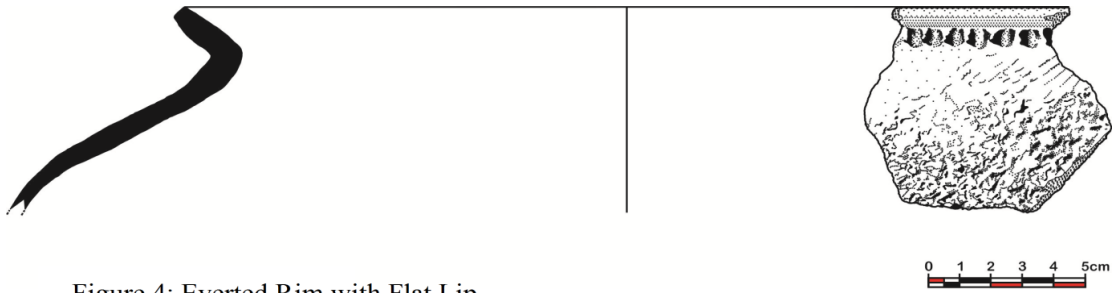


Figure 4: Everted Rim with Flat Lip

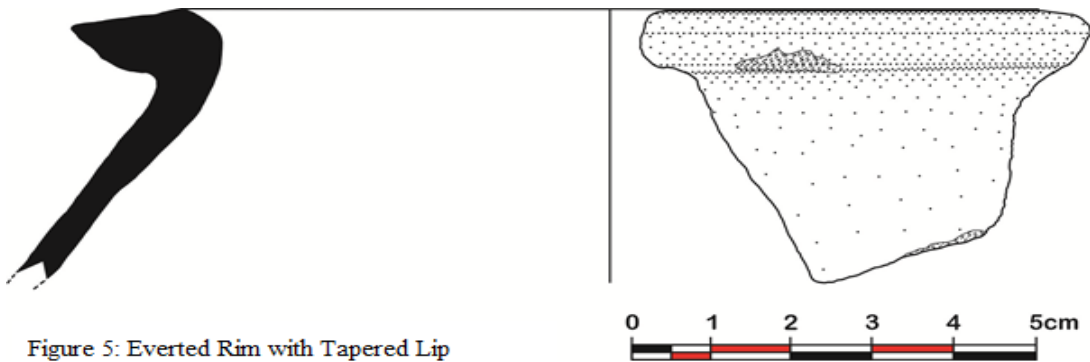


Figure 5: Everted Rim with Tapered Lip

Therefore, figures 3, 4 and 5 above are a sample representation of the rim forms collected from Bako and Kpe hills. While figure 6 below is an illustration of the rim form that was classified as belonging to a bowl.



Figure 6: Bowl Rim from Kpe-sha Hill

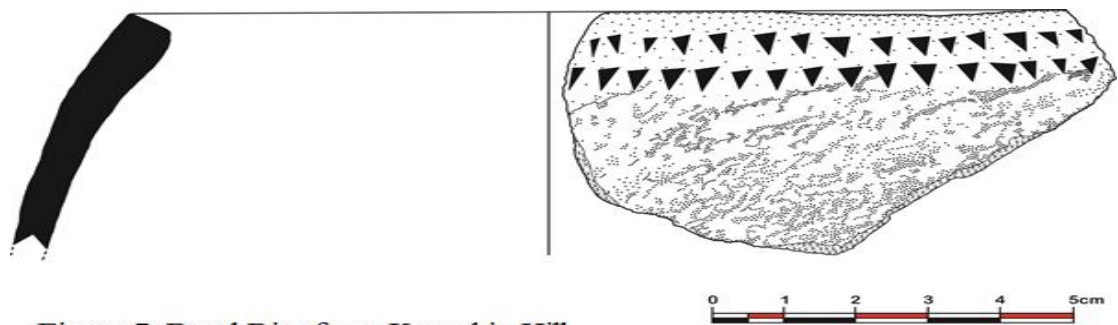


Figure 7: Bowl Rim from Kpe-shin Hill

Also, the decorative motifs on the potsherds collected from the four sites overlapped greatly. Though some of the decorations were absent in other sites, majority of them appeared in all the four sites as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of Comparative Analysis of Decorative Motifs of Potsherds from Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin

S/No	Decorative motifs	Bako-vesen	Bako-chuku	Kpe-sha	Kpe-shin
1	Grooves	Available	Available	Not Available	Not Available
2	Incision	Available	Available	Available	Available
3	Notching	Available	Available	Available	Not Available
4	Stamping	Available	Not Available	Available	Not Available
5	Chevron	Not Available	Available	Not Available	Not Available
6	Herringbone	Available	Not Available	Available	Available
7	Cord roulettes	Not Available	Not Available	Available	Not Available
8	Cuneiform stamps	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	Available
9	Punctures	Available	Available	Not Available	Available
10	Braided cord roulettes	Not Available	Not Available	Available	Not Available
11	Twisted cord roulettes	Available	Available	Available	Available
12	Folded strip roulettes	Available	Available	Not Available	Not Available
13	Braided strip roulettes	Available	Available	Not Available	Not Available
14	Cross-braided strip roulettes	Available	Available	Available	Not Available
15	Eroded string roulettes	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	Available

The various decorations presented in table 1 above are hereby represented in pictorial form as follows.



Plate 1: Channel of grooves



Plate 2: Incision



Plate 3: Cross braided strip roulettes



Plate 4: Braided strip roulette in criss-crossed line pattern



Plate 5: Twisted cord roulette



Plate 6: Braided cord roulettes



Plate 7: Punctures with zigzag incision



Plate 8: Notching with braided strip roulettes

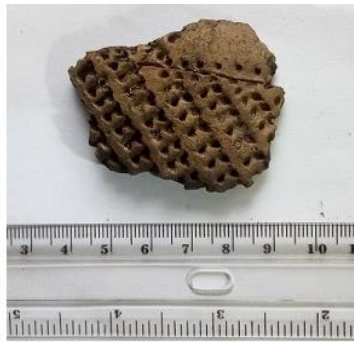


Plate 9: Stamping with horizontal incision



Plate 10: Cross-braided strip roulettes with herringbone



Plate 11: Chevron with folded strip roulettes



Plate 12: Cuneiform stamps with eroded string roulettes

Consequently, a study on pottery tradition both in the extinct and extant Usambe Communities enabled the researcher to support the established fact that there is a clear cultural continuity amongst the people of the two societies (extinct and extant) in Tivland (Ogundele 2006; Nomishan, 2018).

Oral traditions collected during the research also posits that, the pottery material remains and other cultural indicators identified on the hills of Usambe were made and used by the past Tiv generations that settled on the hills (Jiki, Pers. Comm., 2013). Thus, the abundance of potsherds on the hilltops reveals a well-established society, observed to have achieved such height of cultural development using an advanced scientific and/or

technological know-how (Nomishan, 2018).

### Stone Artefacts

The stone artefacts identified during the research were basically domestic stone objects; a stone ball, lower and upper grindstones. The stone ball was identified on Kpe-shin hill, the closest hill to the clustered settlement of Achia. According to oral traditions, the stone ball was used for grinding herbs and some soup ingredients amongst others. It was also revealed that stone balls were used to manipulate the drum sound by placing and removing the stone at regular and appropriate intervals to produce a desired sound (Jiki, Pers. Comm., 2019). The grindstones on the other hand were of irregular shapes. Some had depression on their tops,



explaining how intensive they were used, while others were flat or had insignificant depression on their tops,

suggestive of how less intensive they were put to use (see plate, 13).



Plate 13: Some of lower grinding stone in the study area

#### **Relics of house foundations**

The presence of these features on Bako and Kpe hills is an indication that Usambe/Tiv people lived a sedentary life style. Thus, thirty-eight house foundations of great similarities were identified on Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin hills. These similarities were seen in their construction materials and sizes. They were constructed using broken

rocks/stones and had average diameters ranging from 3m to 4m. All the structures were rounded in shape.

Oral traditions and ethnographic information in Usambe community indicate that, these houses were built to completion using mud block, a mixture of mud and grasses, and roofed with bamboo and woven grasses.



Plate 14: Relics of house foundations from Bako and Kpe Hills

#### Relics of Granary Foundations

In the archaeological survey of Bako-vesen and Kpe-sha hills, 13 granary foundations were identified. The granary foundations also exhibited similarities in terms of sizes and materials used in their construction. Their sizes range from 1.5m to 2.8m in

diameter. The granaries on Bako-vesen hill are scattered around the sloped north western part of the hill, while on Kpe-sha hill, the granaries were found at the central part of the old settlement.



Plate 15: Relics of Granary Foundations from Bako and Kpe Hills

### Relic of a Water Cistern

A water cistern is a hole or shaft that is excavated, drilled, bored, or cut into the earth so as to tap a supply of water or other substances (Driscoll 1986; Raymond 1995). In the course of the archaeological survey of Kpe-sha hill, a water cistern was identified.

Oral traditions also posited that, the cistern is believed to have been a source of water to the past inhabitants of the Kpe-sha hill. It was however observed that some streams ran on the sides of the hill but could only be

accessed through a difficult stress or burden of moving down the hill sides. This must have influenced the deliberate digging of the water cistern on the hill to aid easy access to water during wet seasons. More so, there exist some rivers in the area that supported the cultural development of the early Usambe/Tiv people. These rivers include Mkomon, Tuum, Amire-tamen as well as Katsina-ala, and their tributaries.



Plate 16: Relics of a water cistern from Kpe Hill

### Ruins of Fortified Stone Walls

Fortified stone walls were built in the past based on the security consciousness of a group of people. According to oral traditions, the early Tiv groups built fortified stone walls on the hills to prevent constant attacks from their enemies known as the "Bushmen" (*Atoatiev*). These *Atoatiev* include *Iyon*, *Ugee*, *Ukwese* amongst

others (Akiga, 1939; Gbor, 1974; Orkar, 1979; Makar, 1994; Gundu, 1999; Aboh, 2005; Dzugba, 2007; Ndera, 2009, 2013). It is therefore probable that the past inhabitants of Usambe/Tiv land understood security strategies and utilized them by making good use of their environmental provision.



Plate 17: Ruins of fortified stone walls from Bako and Kpe Hills

Table 2: Summary of finds and features from Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin hills.

S/N	Find/Feature	Bako-vesen	Bako-chuku	Kpe-sha	Kpe-shin	Quantity
1	Potsherds	82	40	38	70	230
2	Stone Ball				1	1
3	Grindstones	6	4	8	6	24
4	Granary Foundation	11		2		13
5	House foundation	23	4	2	7	36
6	Water Cistern			1		1
7	Fortified Stone Wall	1	1	1	1	6

### Discussion

Archaeology has undoubtedly assumed the scientific role of investigating past human culture and behaviour, from origins of humans to the present (Hussaini, Nomishan & Haruna, 2018; Itanyi, 2018). This is usually achieved through the examination of material remains of previous human societies. These remains include fossils (petrified

organic materials like preserved bones of humans and animals), food remains, the ruins of buildings, and other human artefacts such as tools, pottery and jewellery amongst others (Itanyi, 2018). Thus, in this investigation, several artefacts like relics of buildings, fortified stone walls, stone tools, a water cistern and pottery remains were identified and studied.

Therefore, studies on the cultural material remains identified during the investigation have revealed important information concerning the past cultural practices of the Usambe/Tiv people. For instance, the presence of pottery material remains on Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin hills indicates that clay soil was available in the past settlements and the people also had the knowledge of pottery making/made and used same (see Nomishan, 2018). Just as reported by Folorunso (1993), it would be paramount to states that, pottery objects may have largely been used by the past inhabitants of these archaeological sites in several ways like fetching and storage of water, cooking, storage of farm produce, eating, and ritual practices amongst other uses.

Also, the grindstones identified on the various hills were used for grinding of such things like grains, soup ingredients, herbs, and clay amongst others (see Folorunso, 1993). Thus, the presence of potsherds in the various sites investigated further confirms the fact that people once inhabited such places and were able to manipulate their environmental provisions for their daily needs.

More so, it was also observed that, there were concentrations of potsherds around some of the structures, which suggest that the structures could have been used as kitchens. This is to support Folorunso (1993), who argued that factors that should be considered in deciding whether a feature is a kitchen on the archaeological site should include the presence of grindstones and concentration of pottery. Similarly, many of the house foundations identified on all the hills

were used as sleeping huts and rest places as well as ritual houses amongst others. Though the foundations of the huts/houses were constructed using rocks/stones, one cannot clearly states what constituted the role materials used in building the structures to completion. However, information from ethnographic survey indicates that, the foundations of a lot of houses in the area is done using stones, and build with mud blocks to completion, while the roofing is done with bamboo and woven grasses. The traditional house foundations in the contemporary Usambe/Tiv communities are round in shape, same as those on the hills (See Ogundele, 2005).

As stated earlier, the granaries on Bako-vesen hill, were scattered around the steep sloped north western part of the settlement while those on Kpe-sha hill, were found at the central part of the ancient settlement. This must have been because of the people's quest for adequate security; since enemies could not access Bako-vesen settlement from the steep sloped part of the hill, just as it was practically difficult to access the granaries been in the middle of the Kpe-sha settlement.

The Oral traditions of the Usambe/Tiv people also claims that granaries served as places in which the people stored their farm produce like grains and tubers. This point was also substantiated with ethnographic information on the study of storage of farm produce in the contemporary Usambe community. However, this culture has also been affected by modernization which has necessitated innovation from granaries to store houses.

Also, the oral traditions of the people claims that, the early Tiv groups built fortified stone walls on the hills to prevent constant attacks from their enemies known as the "Bushmen" (*Atoatiev*). These *Atoatiev* include *Iyon*, *Ugee*, and *Ukwese* amongst others. Seemingly, the interface between Tiv people and these hostile and crude groups during the early days must have influenced their galvanization into defensive people ready to repel possible attacks from the *Atoatiev* (Bohannan & Bohannan, 1954). The massive defensive walls identified on the hills of Usambe were built with rock boulders and are basically seen at the steady sloped parts of the hills, leaving the steep sloped parts unfortified. This is because it is highly impossible to easily access the hills from such steep sloped areas. Therefore, this research has established that, the ancient Tiv people who lived in this area understood security strategies and utilized them.

Furthermore, the people were able to also manage the natural/environmental resources at their disposal judiciously. This has been revealed through the identification and further studies on the water cistern on Kpe-sha hill. As explained earlier, the cistern was dug and used as a water reservoir to hold rain water, in order to escape the stress of going down the hill side to fetch water in the wet seasons.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

This archaeological research has helped in the understanding of the cultural achievements of the past Usambe/Tiv people through the

investigation of Bako and Kpe hills. The cultural material evidence identified on the various hills were made using the available environmental resources like hills, stones, soil, plants, animals and water amongst others. The presence of human imprints/archaeological potentials on all the sites have largely proven the claims of oral traditions that people once lived and developed sophisticated cultural practices on the Usambe hills.

More so, the empirical data collected during this research indicate that Bako-vesen, Bako-chuku, Kpe-sha and Kpe-shin amongst other hills in the south-eastern Tivland have great antiquity that should be preserved for future generations. Also, harmonised data from the archaeological survey and ethnographic studies have revealed a considerable level of cultural continuity amongst the extinct and extant Usambe/Tiv people.

As stated earlier, previous researches in this area have been limited to Ibinda hill, with rigorous archaeological investigation in the recent time. The only work outside Ibinda hill was that of Gundu (1999) which partly involved a reconnaissance of hills in Usambe community. All the other sites in Usambe did not enjoy this privilege until the beginning of research in the area by the present researcher in 2014. The research is still on-going and has so far covered archaeological survey of Kpe and Bako hills, leaving Ngokugh and others hills uninvestigated.

Therefore, more and sustained archaeological investigations that will include excavation should be sponsored in the Usambe area. This should also include the entire south

eastern Tivland and areas down to the Nigeria-Cameroon border in order to discover, preserve, protect and promote the cultural heritage of the Tiv of Central Nigeria. Thus if these sites are rigorously researched and packaged properly, they can promise a robust cultural tourism in the area (Nomishan, et al., 2020).

Also, the government and other cultural heritage stakeholders in the Nigeria should properly educated the leaders and members of these communities on how to protect and preserve these historical sites. This is because the sites are presently facing wanton destruction from activities such as indiscriminate falling of trees for timbers (popularly known as Madrid in the area). This has resulted in the creation of paths for vehicles that pack these timbers from the hills to nearby towns like Adikpo and Jato-Aka where they are sold to Chinese companies. This is in addition to other human/natural threats like farming, grazing and erosion amongst others.

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