LEGON JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES

VOLUME 27, NO. 1 (2016)

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E-ISSN: 2458 – 746X

ISSN: 0855-1502

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Felix Y. T. Longi
A Closer Look at the Akan Relativiser

Kofi Busia Abrefa
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Abstract
This paper provides an alternative viewpoint on the length and tone of the relativiser in Akan. The relativiser has been analysed as a long vowel with either a high-low tone (HL) (Saah, 2010) or a mid-low tone (McCracken, 2013). However, in this paper, we posit an underlying short vowel with a low tone (L) for the relativiser. We further show that it receives a high tone (H) from an adjacent H; making it a syllable with a contour tone at the phonetic level (i.e. â). The contour tone then affects the length of the relativiser at the phonetic level, making it slightly longer than its original length.

Keywords: relative clause, relativiser, tone bearing unit, contour tone, vowel length

Akan relative clauses (RCs) have received considerable attention from both native and non-native speakers of the language. Notable among them are Christaller (1875), Balmer & Grant (1929), Welmers (1946), Schachter (1973), Saah (1994; I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the anonymous assessors for their very useful comments and suggestion which have contributed immensely to the shape of this paper. I am also indebted to the following people for reading through the earlier manuscript for me: Ms. Juliet Oppong-Asare, Ms. Augusta Pokua Owusu and Ms. Rachel Thompson. I am also very grateful to the following people from whom the data for this paper came: Mr. Okofo Asenso and Mr. Emmanuel Asubonteng (Asante), Mr. Alexander Peter Hope and Mr. Lawrence Bosisiwa (Fante), and Miss Patience Oware and Miss Irene Ofiebea Osae (Akuapem). I also wish to thank Dr. Emmanuel Ofori and Mr. Lawrence Bosisiwa for helping with the recordings and the measurement of the sounds.

2 Akan is a Kwa language of the Niger-Congo family with about eleven (11) dialects including Asante, Akuapem and Fante; three of the eleven dialects that have achieved literary status (Dolphyne, 1988, p. xi). Of these three, Akuapem and Asante are jointly referred to as Twi.
2010), Osam (1997), Boadi (2005), Fiedler & Schwarz (2005) and McCracken (2013). Though RCs have been studied extensively in the language, some issues still remain unresolved. Some of these issues include the form of the relativiser, the co-referential pronouns, the final clause determiner, etc. In this paper, we pay particular attention to the form of the relativiser in Akan with supporting data from the three major dialects that have achieved literary status, namely, Asante, Akuapem and Fante. The Autosegmental Phonology is the framework adopted for the analysis of the data, and Praat is used for the measurement of the duration of the relativiser.

**Relative Clause Defined**

Relative clauses are said to be ‘embedded/subordinate clauses that typically serve as noun modifiers within an NP structure’ (Saah, 2010, p. 91). For Downing (1978), semantically, a relative clause may be characterised as a clause that ‘incorporates, as one of its terms, a nominal which is co-referential with a nominal outside of the clause’ (Downing, 1978, p. 378, cited in Saah, 2010, p. 91). This implies that it is the modifying clause that constitutes the relative clause but not the whole NP. Saah (2010, p. 91) argues:

> whether viewed syntactically or semantically, the typical relative clause usually consists of an initial NP (the antecedent or head) followed by the modifying clause. And together, they make up one complex NP, which can perform any of the grammatical functions in a sentence such as subject and object.

This assertion may not be wholly true since the antecedent is not considered to be part of the relative clause. Additionally, Saah maintains that the RC is an embedded clause that serves as a noun modifier; thus the head noun cannot be said to be part of the RC.

Though RCs could be found in almost every language, they come in different forms in different languages. For instance,
in English, relative clauses are formed by means of relative pronouns like **who, which, that** usually introducing the clause. Some of these relative pronouns may function as the subject or object of the clause; and sometimes too they are ignored completely. However, in Akan, a relativiser introduces a prototypical relative clause; and this relativiser is not optional like the English relative pronouns except the headless RCs (Boadi, 2005). The relativiser is immediately followed by the clause and enclosed by a determiner (Osam, 1994; Boadi, 2005; Saah, 2009, 2010; Aboh, 2010).

The example below throws more light on this assertion:

1. ãbɔfrá(ну́) ñò- bú- ù kófi nú a-da. child DEF REL 3SG.SUBJ-beat-PST K. DET PERF sleep

‘The child who beat Kofi is asleep.’

In line with the above definition, we can see from example (1) that the head of the NP (Abɔfrá) could be followed by a definite article [ну́], then the relative clause beginning with the relativiser [â] which introduces the relative clause. According to Saah (2010, p. 91), the relativiser marks the beginning of the relative clause, and it selects a sentence or clause as its complement. The relativiser is then followed by the clause, with a spelt out subject [ɔ] which is co-referential with the head or antecedent. What follows next is the verb [bú] with its object [kófi], then the determiner [ну́] which marks the end of the relative clause. In other words, the relativiser and the final determiner set the boundary for the Akan RCs. The rest of the paper focuses on the form of the relativiser.

**Methodology**

The data for this study came from the three Akan dialects that have achieved literary status, namely Akuapem (Ak), Asante (As) and Fante (Fa). To identify the length and tone of the Akan relativiser, an Akan corpus was formed (by introspection) purposely for this study. The sentences were generated by introspection since the researcher is a competent native speaker of

It was evident that the tone of the relativiser after these nouns was different from that of those that end with a high tone. Therefore, in order to get a clearer picture, these words were used to form fourteen (14) sentences; seven (7) of them without a determiner, and their other counterparts with the determiner no. Six (6) native speakers (two (2) for each dialect) were then consulted and asked how they would say these sentences in a natural occurring environment. Four (4) of these native speakers are lecturers from the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, while the other two are former students from the same department. Their utterances were recorded, transcribed and analysed with the help of Praat.

The Form of the Relativiser

Concerning the form of the relativiser, McCracken (2013, p. 3) remarks that ‘there are generally two approaches to describing the phonemic form of the invariant relativiser.’ According to her, while some scholars, such as Christaller (1875), Balmer and Grant (1929), Saah (1994), Osam (1997) as well as Fretheim and Amfo (2008), use the form [a] to represent the relativiser, scholars like Welmers (1946), Schacter (1973), Boadi (2005), Saah (2009) use [a] and Fiedler & Schwarz (2005) use â (McCracken, 2013, p. 3). McCracken (2013), however, remarks that the discrepancy in the representation of the relativiser has brought about the disagreement of the length and tone of the relativiser.

With regard to the length of the Akan relativiser, though most of these scholars (including McCracken) consider it to be a long vowel, after embarking on an acoustic study on the relativiser, McCracken noted that it occurs in an ‘extremely
reduced form’ (McCracken, 2013, p. 3). Our data, however, showed that the Akan relativiser is a short vowel at the underlying level of representation though it is usually lengthened at the phonetic level as is evident from the measurements below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Relativiser</th>
<th>ASANTE</th>
<th>AKUAPEM</th>
<th>FANTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/ without an adjacent H</td>
<td>75 ms</td>
<td>75 ms</td>
<td>111 ms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ with an adjacent H</td>
<td>135 ms</td>
<td>135 ms</td>
<td>165 ms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the table above, in all the three dialects, the duration of the relativiser is shorter in an environment where there is no adjacent H than where there is an adjacent H. For instance, in the Twi dialects, the duration of the relativiser in the absence of an adjacent H is an average of 75 ms while that of the Fante dialect is 111 ms. In the presence of an adjacent H, however, the Twi dialects have an average duration of 125 while the Fante dialect has an average duration of 165 ms. The reason for the differences between the Twi and the Fante dialects could be attributed to the fact that the relativiser seems to assimilate the preceding vowel more in the Fante dialect. This makes the preceding vowels extremely reduced. For instance, though a short vowel for the Fante dialect, per our data, has an average duration of 72 ms the vowels that precede the relativiser have an average duration of 52 ms. And in the presence of the determiner [nó], the relativiser seems almost to assimilate the vowel [o] completely. That may account for why there is a vast difference between the values for the Twi dialects and that of the Fante dialect.

There may be some kind of assimilation in the Twi dialects, as well. For instance, the short vowel in the Twi dialects, per our data, has an average duration of 70 ms, but that of the relativiser is 75 ms. And when it follows the determiner [nó], the average duration increases to 135 ms. In consequence of this, it is difficult to determine whether the increase in the duration of the relativiser is as a result of the tone spreading or vowel
assimilation. Though McCracken (2013, p.6) considered the relativiser to be a long vowel, she was quick to add that ‘raw vowel duration measurements alone were thus not adequate to determine whether the realization of the relativiser as a long vowel was due to phonemic length or due to the vowel quality assimilation of the in no’.

With respect to the tone of the relativiser, though almost all the scholars including Osam (1994), Boadi (2005) and Saah (2009, 2010) submit that it has a High-Low tone (HL), McCracken (2013) asserts that it has a phonemic Mid-Low tone (ML) represented as [a a], though it could have a High-Mid tone (HM) after the determiner ‘no’. This is how she puts it:

Comparing these measurements to the ones from the elicited minimal clause set, I found that the pitch of the relativizer after no in natural discourse was most similar to the results from the minimal clause set; namely, after no the tone of the relativizer is realized as HM. However, when the relativizer occurred in the corpus after other words, its average tone was realized as ML. This indicates that the occurrence of pitch values of more than 200 Hz in the relativizer is most likely assimilation from the preceding high-toned no and is not phonemic. I therefore conclude that the phonemic form of the relativizer is most likely ML, or āà. My measurements of the relativizer in both an elicitation task and a corpus of natural discourse indicate that its phonemic form is āà, a long vowel with falling (ML) tone, and that it is not homophonous with the subjunctive morpheme. Though the relativizer is realized as HM in the environment after no, this is the phonetic influence of high-tone no rather than an underlying phonemic property. (p. 7)

What McCracken (and the earlier scholars) failed to recognise is the fact that sometimes the relativiser does not exhibit HL, HM or ML at all; it rather exhibits L. This happens when there is no presence of H as the examples from our data portray.
2. i) pàpà [à mì- tò- iè ɔ₁ nò] nié. (As)
   fan REL 1SG.SUBJ-buy-PST (3SG.OBJ) DET be.here
   ‘Here is the fan (that) I bought.’

   ii) kóóbì [à ɛ- dá nk"áf nú mú nò] sù pàpà.
   salted tilapia REL 3SG.SUBJ-lie soup DEF inside DET be.big very
   ‘The salted tilapia in the soup is very big.’

   iii) àsèü [à ɛ- gù hò nò] yè mì diá.
   net REL 3SG.SUBJ-lie there DET be 1SG POSS own
   ‘The net over there is mine.’

   iv) àdóì [à ɔ₁- bá- á há nò] yàrì. (That) Ado who came here is sick.

   A. REL 3SG.SUBJ-come-PST here DET be.sick

   v) kófì [à mì- i!nòm ɔ₁ nò] jì-pè dè.
   coffee REL 1SG.SUBJ-PROG-drink (3SG.OBJ) DET NEG be sweet
   ‘The coffee (that) I’m drinking is not sweet.’

   vi) àdàmì [à ɔ₁- di- i kàf nò] yè-è bòní.
   A. REL 3SG.SUBJ-take-PST lead DET do-PST sin
   ‘The first Adam sinned.’

3. i) pàpà [à mì- tò- i ɔ₁ nò] ni.
   fan REL 1SG.SUBJ-buy-PST (3SG.OBJ) DET be.here
   ‘Here is the fan (that) I bought.’

   ii) kóóbì [à ɛ- dá nk"áj nú mú nò] sù pàpà.
   salted tilapia REL 3SG.SUBJ-lie soup DEF inside DET be.big very
   ‘The salted tilapia in the soup is very big.’

   iii) àsèü [à ɛ- gù hò nò] yè mì diá.
   net REL 3SG.SUBJ-lie there DET be 1SG POSS own
   ‘The net over there is mine.’

   iv) àdóì [à ɔ₁- bá- á há nò] yàrì. (That) Ado who came here is sick.

   A. REL 3SG.SUBJ-come-PST here DET be.sick

   v) kófì [à mì- ri- lòm ɔ₁ nò] jì-pè dè.
   coffee REL 1SG.SUBJ-PROG-drink (3SG.OBJ) DET NEG be sweet
   ‘The coffee (that) I’m drinking is not sweet.’

   vi) àdàmì [à ɔ₁- di- i kàf nò] yè-è bòní.
   A. REL 3SG.SUBJ-take-PST lead DET do-PST sin
   ‘The first Adam sinned.’
4. i) páppá, [á mú- tó-i o₁ nō] ní. (Fa)
    fan REL 1SG.SUBJ-buy-PST (3SG.OBJ) DET be.here
    ‘Here is the fan (that) I bought.’

   ii) kōōbi₁ [á ò- dá ŋkwáń nó mú nō] sù pápá
    salted tilapia REL 3SG.SUBJ- lie soup DEF inside DET be.big very
    ‘The salted tilapia in the soup is very big.’

   iii) ásāvù, [á ò- gù hó nō] yè mi l dzi
    net REL 3SG.SUBJ- lie there DET be 1SG POSS own
    ‘The net over there is mine.’

    A. REL 3SG.SUBJ- come-PST here DET be.sick
    ‘(That) Ado who came here is sick.’

   v) kōōbì [á mú- rú- nóm o₁ nō] n- pè ā dew.
    coffee REL 1SG.SUBJ- PROG- drink (3SG.OBJ) DET NEG-be sweet
    ‘The coffee (that) I’m drinking is not sweet.’

   vi) ádám, [á ò- dzi- i kán nō] yè-è bón
    A. REL 3SG.SUBJ- take-PST lead DET do- PST sin
    ‘The first Adam sinned.’

As compared to the following:

5. i) páppá nō, [á mú- tó-i o₁ nō] ní. (As)
    fan REL 1SG.SUBJ- buy-PST (3SG.OBJ) DET be.here
    ‘Here is the fan (that) I bought.’

   ii) kōōbi nō, [á ò- dá ákúntá nō mú nō] sù pápá.
    salted tilapia REL 3SG.SUBJ- lie soup DEF inside DET be.big very
    ‘The salted tilapia in the soup is very big.’

   iii) ásēn nō, [á ò- gù hó nō] yè mi ìfá. (Ak)
    net REL 3SG.SUBJ- lie there DET be 1SG POSS own
    ‘The net over there is mine.’

    A. DEF REL 3SG.SUBJ- come-PST here DET be.sick
    ‘(That) Ado who came here is sick.’

   v) kōōbì nō, [á mú- rú- mú nóm o₁ nō] n- pè ā dew. (Fa)
    coffee REL 1SG.SUBJ- PROG- drink (3SG.OBJ) DET NEG-be sweet
    ‘The coffee (that) I’m drinking is not sweet.’

   vi) ádám nō, [á ò- dzi- i kán nō] yè-è bón
    A. DEF REL 3SG.SUBJ- take-PST lead DET do- PST sin
    ‘The first Adam sinned.’
We can see from the above sentences that though there are no determiners in the examples in (2), (3) and (4), semantically, there are no differences in meaning between these sentences and their counterparts in (5). Interestingly, we can also see that though there are some differences in tone among the dialects, the relativiser has the same tone in all the three dialects. Again, we can see that, in the absence of the definite article, the relativiser has a low tone in all the examples, except (4. i). But as soon as the definite article is introduced, as seen in (5), it changes from a low tone to a contour (high-low) tone. This change in tone could only be attributed to the presence of the adjacent H. In other words, where there is no adjacent H to the relativiser, it has L; but when it follows a H Tone Bearing Unit (TBU) as the examples in (5) depict, it becomes HL. This accounts for why in example (4. i) the relativiser is realised as HL. This is because the Fante word for ‘fan’ ends with a high tone, unlike in the other dialects. Therefore, concerning the tone of the relativiser, we posit an underlying L, which acquires its H from an adjacent H TBU at the phonetic level of representation. In other words, at the underlying level, the relativiser has a phonemic L instead of HL, HM or ML as claimed by the earlier researchers. This is because where there is no adjacent H, we do not hear any other tonal melody than L.

The question that can be asked is: does the relativiser only get its H from the preceding definite article (as claimed by McCracken (2013))? We have already seen from the Fante example in (4. i) that the H does not come from the definite article alone but from any adjacent H. The examples from Asante and Akuapem below also reinforce this assertion.

6. àsēmɩ ã mĩ- kâ-ìɛ ôʋ, nʋ … (As)
message REL 1SG.SUBJ-say (3SG.OBJ) DET
What I said …

---

3 It should also be noted that, even in an emphatic situation, in natural discourse, none of our informers paused after the head noun and put stress on the relativiser alone.
It can be seen from the above examples that the relativiser can receive its H from both nouns and verbs (or nominalised/converted verbs) as evident in examples (6) and (7) respectively. However, McCracken’s claim is that the pitch of the relativiser in examples (6) and (7) is not as high as the one in example (5) due to the presence of the definite article [nó]; hence, her option for ML for the relativiser. It should be noted, however, that Akan does not have a phonemic mid tone. As a result, when a high tone is lower in pitch than a preceding one, it is considered to be a downstepped high tone (see Dolphyne, 1988; Abaka, 2000 for a detailed analysis on the downstepped H in Akan). Therefore, our decision to adopt Fiedler and Schwarz’s (2005) representation [â] at the phonetic level when it receives its H from an adjacent H TBU\(^4\) is appropriate. Let us now look at the graphical representation (Autosegmental representation) of the derivation of the Akan relativiser with the examples in (2.i) and (5.i) repeated here as (8.a) and (8.b) respectively.

8. a. [pàpa à …]  b. [pàpa nò à …]

i. L Underlying Representation  i. L H L

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{pàpa a} \\
\text{pàpa à}
\end{array} \]  \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{pàpa à} \\
\text{pàpa nò a}
\end{array} \]

ii. Spreading of H  ii. L H L

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{pàpa a} \\
\text{pàpa à}
\end{array} \]  \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{pàpa à} \\
\text{pàpa nò a}
\end{array} \]

\(^4\) It should also be noted that tone is not marked in the Akan orthography, so there would not be any problem so far as the form and tone of the relativiser is concerned in the orthography.
iii. Derived output

\[ \text{papa a} \rightarrow [\text{pàpà à}] \quad \text{papa nò a} \rightarrow [\text{pàpà nó à}] \]

From the derivations above, (i) is the underlying representation for the NP ‘fan / the fan’ and the relativiser. We can see that where there is no adjacent H TBU (as in 8a), there is no H-spreading as evident in (8a. ii). However, due to the presence of an adjacent H TBU (i.e. the definite article), the H-spread rule applies in (8b. ii). This process then results in a falling tone (F) for the derived relativiser for (8b) while (8a) remains L. It should, however, be noted that this process is not common in Akan. That is, a process where a tone bearing unit maintains its lexical or original tone together with a spread tone is uncommon in Akan. Usually, when a H spreads to a L TBU in the language, it delinks the L from its TBU for it to become a floating L as exemplified below:

9. a. \[ \text{àsààsí} + à-sá} \rightarrow \text{àsààsí á-lsá} \]
   land PERF-finish
   ‘Land has finished.’

b. \[ \text{àsààsí] + [àsá} \]

i. Underlying Representation
   \[ \text{L H L H a s a a s i a s a} \]

ii. Spreading of H and Delinking of L
    \[ \text{L H L H a s a a s i a s a} \]
We can see from the above derivation that when the H-spread rule is applied, it dislodges the L from its TBU as seen in example (9b. ii). The L therefore becomes a floating tone as evident in (9b. iii). We can, however, see its effect on the last syllable (i.e. it causes the last H to be lower in pitch than the preceding H). This shows that what happens in the case of the relativiser is unusual. Nonetheless, it shall be seen later in the paper that this is not the first time a contour tone has been reported to occur on a single TBU in Akan.

If our assertion is true, what then could be the possible reason for the earlier researchers to consider the relativiser to be a long vowel with HL or ML? The next paragraph addresses this question.

Why the Relativiser was earlier considered to be a Long Vowel with a HL

Apart from the fact that the central determiners in Akan, (i.e. nó [nó], yí and bí) have high tones, most Akan nouns and also end with a high tone. Most of these nouns have the tonal melody LH (including LH!H) as in àbóá [àbóá] ‘an animal’, àbáí [àbáí] ‘government’, ònìpá ‘human’, àsúó [àsúó] ‘river’ and òbófóó [òbófóó] ‘an angel / a messenger’. Some of them also have the melody H!H as in Á!má ‘a name for a Saturday female born’, kó!dóó [kó!dóó] ‘a canoe’ and kwá!éé [kwá!éé] ‘forest’. And a few of the nouns have the melody L as in pàpà ‘fan’, àmànè [àmànè] ‘troubles’ and Æfàrì [Æfàrì] ‘proper noun’. In Abaka’s (2004, 2005, 2006) classification of Akan nouns into six classes according to their tonal melody, only one of them has a tonal melody that ends with L as shown below:
• Class I nouns have underlying LH melody e.g. siká ‘money’
• Class II nouns have underlying H/L̥H/H!H melody e.g. ká!sá ‘speech’
• Class III nouns have underlying L melody e.g. sàkàsàkà ‘centipede’
• Class IV nouns have underlying H melody e.g. pápá ‘good’
• Class V nouns have underlying H-H/L̥H/H-H!H melody e.g. á-dáá’dzi ‘the adaadze plant’
• Class VI nouns have underlying HLH melody e.g. húntûmá ‘dust’

(Abakah, 2010, p. 63)

We can notice from the above classification that apart from Class III nouns with the melody L, none of the noun classes ends with a low tone. However, in addition to the above tonal melodies, the following melodies also exist in the language though they are quite rare: HLH as in ámàné [ámànì]/ébàì [íbàì] ‘herrings’, HL as in Ádàm ‘the name of the first man on earth’ and LHL as in Kwàmè [k̀wààmì] ‘a name of Saturday male born’.

The relative rarity of nouns that end with L might have accounted for why the earlier scholars did not realise the fact that the relativiser is a short vowel with an underlying low tone. In fact, almost all the instances of the data relative to Akan RCs in the literature co-occur with a determiner (usually nó) or with a bare noun that ends with a high tone. And as shown already, adjacent high tones tend to influence the tone of the relativiser.

Additionally, though words from other word classes can head or anchor the relative clause in Akan, most of them end with high tones as well. The nominalised or converted verbs, the adjectives and the adverbs that can anchor the RCs also end with high tones; and therefore influence the relativiser as evident in the examples below:
‘The child’s height (tallness) will help him/her in the future’

We can observe from the above examples that all the words before the relativiser end with a high tone including the proper noun (as seen in (10a)), the verb or converted verb (10b), adverb (10c), the determiner (11a) and the adjective (11b). It is therefore not surprising that the relativiser was previously regarded as a long vowel with a HL melody (underlyingly).

If Akan is said to be a Register Tone Language where the two contrastive tones are said on relatively level pitches (Dolphyne, 1988; Abaka, 2000, etc.), the question then arises: are contour tones on a single TBU allowed in the language? The next section addresses this question.

**Contour Tones in Akan**

Akan is indeed a Register Tone Language. This implies that each syllable or TBU is said on just one level pitch. In this respect, Akan is said to have a low tone, a high tone and an allotone which is popularly referred to as a downstepped high tone (!H) or downstep for short. However, as Abaka (2010, p. 58) remarks, in addition to the H, L and !H, Akan has two contour tones, the rising tone (R) and the falling tone (F). But these rising
and falling tones are produced when two contrastive tones occur contiguously (Dolphyne, 1988; Abaka, 2010). Nevertheless, Abaka (2010, p. 58) asserts that Dolphyne (1988) was the first to report about the presence of a falling tone on a single TBU in Fante. Abaka (2010), however, goes further to give examples of both R and F in Asante. In fact, Abaka (2010) is the first to report on contour tones on a single TBU in Asante.

**Evidence from Some Earlier Studies**

We can get proof from some earlier works in support of our current claim that the relativiser in Akan was, and is underlyingly a short vowel with a L. For instance, commenting on headless (‘free’) RCs like example (14) below, Boadi (2005, pp. 155-156) asserts that ‘the head (of such constructions) may be viewed as being fused with the complementiser (or relative clause marker) àà in surface form as ‘nea’ (that, which, what)’. He adds that through some morphological and phonological rules, the third person pronoun (ɔ̀)nù́ and the relativiser áà are fused together to form the particle nèà [nià] (i.e. nò + àà = nià) as seen below.

12. nea o guáne- è e no a- sán  
   that-who he escape-Past SCP Det Perf-return  
   ‘that one who escaped has returned.’ (Boadi, 2005, p. 155)

This corroborates the fact that Boadi (2005) also considers the relativiser to be a long vowel with a falling tone. Nonetheless, Boadi’s (2005) proposal of some morphophonological rules that fuse nò⁵ and àà together suddenly changed the relativiser from a long vowel with F to a short vowel with L. If we follow this derivation, it confirms that indeed the relativiser is underlyingly, a short vowel with L because the [a] sound in the particle [nià] is a short vowel with a low tone, rather than a long vowel with a falling tone. Surprisingly, Boadi (2005) did not account for the change of tone from falling to low in the particle nèà.

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⁵ The high vowel [ʊ] also changes to [i] through a morphophonological rule according to Boadi (2005).
A similar analysis in support of our assertion could be taken from Ofori (2011). Ofori’s work is about the derived and basic focus marker in Akan. Ofori (2011) views né [nì] as the basic focus verb/copula in Akan, and [nà] as its derived variant. According to him, [nà] is derived from the focus copular ‘ne’ and the relativiser [a]. Thus, for Ofori (2011), example (13b) below is derived from (13a), where the particles [nì] and [a] are fused together to produce [na].

13. a. ɔ̀nó né ɔnìpá ə ɔ̀- bá- à há.
   3SG.EMPH be person REL 3SG.SUBJ-come-PST here
   ‘S/he is the person who came here.’

   b. ɔ̀nó  nà ɔ̀- bá- à há.
   3SG.EMPH FOC 3SG.SUBJ-come-PST here
   ‘S/he is the one who came here.’

However, if this assertion by Ofori (2011) about the derivation of the focus marker is true, then it reinforces the current claim that the relativiser is a short vowel with a low tone since the vowel in the focus marker [nà] is a short vowel with a low tone.

Finally, it could be argued that the perceived long vowel with F for the relativiser is a recent phenomenon. This is because an example cited by Kropp Dakubu (1992, p. 14) suggests that as far back as 1875, Christaller represented the Akan relativiser as a short vowel with L as evident in example (16) below:

14. obí à ókò asú ni.
   person PART he-goes-to water there-is
   ‘There is one that goes for water’
   (Christaller, 1875 cited in Kropp Dakubu, 1992, p. 14)

It is interesting to note that though the TBU preceding the relativiser has H, Christaller still represented the relativiser as a vowel with L. This could possibly mean that during Christaller’s era the relativiser was perceived as a short vowel with a low tone.
Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to look at the length and tone of the relativiser in Akan. Contrary to the earlier claims that the relativiser is phonemically a long vowel with a falling pitch (i.e. [áà]), with empirical evidence from the three major dialects of Akan, we have been able to prove beyond every reasonable doubt that it is phonemically a shot vowel with a low tone; and that it only receives its high tone from an adjacent preceding high tone-bearing unit. And with empirical evidence, we have also shown that in the absence of a preceding H, the relativiser does not have a falling pitch; rather, it has a normal level pitch, even at the phonetic level (i.e. [à]). This implies that there seems to be a correlation between contour tones and the length of the tone-bearing units. Or could it be that the perceived long vowel results from vowel assimilation? It is therefore not surprising that McCracken (2013) also reported that the length of the relativiser is not as long as a prototypical long vowel in Akan. Thus, in phonological terms, we consider /à/ as the phoneme and [â] as the (predictable) variant for the relativiser. Further, with support from earlier works, we have shown that the perceived contour tone of the relativiser might be a recent development. This is because we have seen that as far back as 1875, Christaller did not perceive the tone of the relativiser as a contour tone, even in the context of a preceding high tone. This also implies that contour tones in Akan are a new development, and that, with time, we might see more contour tones on single TBUs in the language.
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Submitted: February 4, 2016 / Published: October 31, 2016
Tackling Africa’s Scientific and Technological Underdevelopment: The Role of the Humanities

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Abstract
One major factor responsible for Africa’s underdevelopment is the continent’s weak scientific and technological capacity. Policy makers have subsequently been focusing on the natural sciences with perfunctory attention being accorded the humanities. Even the academy in Africa reflects this trend. This paper argues for commensurate emphasis to be placed on the capacity of the humanities in order to nurture thinkers and to cultivate the relevant consciousness to counter the complexes that negatively impact the confidence of the African people relative to their capability to create a robust scientific and technological culture.

Keywords: science and technology, humanities, development, Africa, history

Evidence abounds, as the example of Africa clearly confirms, that the availability of vast amounts of natural resources is not conterminous with a successful socio-economic transformation. Indeed, despite its abundant natural wealth, Africa still harbours twenty-five of the thirty poorest countries in the world, with sub-Saharan Africa accounting for thirty-three of the forty-eight of the world’s least developed countries according to data from the United Nations Committee for Development Policy (May, 2016). Clearly, to rectify this paradox of a continent basking in wealth and its citizens wallowing in poverty would require the mastery of science and technology to convert this mineral wealth into tangible goods and commodities that would positively impact the general quality of life of the masses of the
people. In other words, Africa would have to embark on a robust and aggressive science and technology programme in which policy makers, the comity of universities and research institutions would work in focused partnership. In this partnership, priority attention should be on the study of the basic and applied sciences targeting the relevant technologies and innovations that could be applied to indigenous industry and the overall production processes.

While this appears to be the most logical action programme under the prevailing circumstances, it is important to stress the point that this envisaged revolution in science and technology cannot happen in a vacuum. There has to be a commensurate socio-cultural climate and the requisite national consciousness to propel the new dynamics and to usher in the new order. With relevant references to history, classics and literature this paper demonstrates the critical importance of the humanities in creating the overall background environment that would enable a science and technology culture to flourish in Africa.

The Intrinsic and Practical Values of the Humanities: Restating the Main Arguments

This paper proceeds from the argument that using the humanities as an instrument to promote a science and technology culture reinforces their intrinsic as well as their practical value. Fitzgerald (2014) affirms the importance of the study of the humanities among scientists and technologists by citing the example of the curriculum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), one of the world's leading research universities in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (p. 1). Apart from their core studies in advanced technical knowledge and skills, students at MIT are also required to spend some time studying literature, languages, music and history. In these classes, students

learn how individuals, organizations, and nations act on their desires and concerns. They gain historical and cultural
perspectives, and critical thinking skills that help them collaborate with people across the globe, as well as communication skills that enable them to listen, explain, and inspire. They learn that most human situations defy a single correct answer, that life itself is rarely, if ever, as precise as a math problem, as clear as an elegant equation. (p. 11)

In other words, the MIT views ‘the humanities, arts, and social sciences as essential, both for educating great engineers and scientists, and for sustaining … capacity for innovation’ (p. 11).

In addition to the argument above, it is important to stress that humanists are in the forefront in all academic and related endeavours, encouraging critical and analytical thinking as important ingredients for a functioning, cohesive and stable society. The study of other languages and cultures, for example, contributes in preparing the student to fit into a global community. In a robust response to the growing tendency among policy makers and sections of the academic community to deprioritise the humanities, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences published a report in 2013 titled The heart of the matter. The said report restated the inherent essence of the humanities, arguing that ‘the humanities remind us of where we have been and help us envision where we are going. Emphasizing critical perspective and imaginative response, the humanities … foster creativity, appreciation of our communalities and our differences, and knowledge of all kinds’ (p. 11). In its comments on the possibilities and promise of the humanities, another 2013 report of a working group of Harvard College contends that:

Education in the traditional humanistic disciplines that engage philosophical, historical, literary, and artistic works, or that teach students how to write and talk persuasively about such works … can be the scourge of a culture or its greatest hope. Both dangerous and at the same time potentially liberating or redemptive, the humanities can help to clarify one’s sense of purpose or to undermine it, can help
to identify possibilities for greatness in a culture or can artfully destabilize an existing world. An understanding of the power of the humanistic enterprise, therefore, and an understanding of how responsibly to engage it and employ it, should be central aims of any education in the humanities. (p. 40)

The 2013 report of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, alluded to earlier, further identifies three goals which, though specific to the United States, nevertheless have resonance in other socio-cultural settings. The first of the three goals is to educate students in ‘the knowledge, skills, and understanding they will need to thrive in a twenty-first century democracy’. The second is ‘to foster a society that is innovative, competitive and strong’, and the third is ‘to equip the nation for leadership in an interconnected world’. The report is emphatic in its conclusion that ‘these goals cannot be achieved by science alone’ (p. 8).

Humanists in Africa have also been drawing attention to the need to prioritise the humanities in the continental development agenda. The Forum on the Humanities in Africa of the African Humanities Program (2014) has voiced concern over how policy makers and even sections of the academia have deprioritised the humanities. It makes a case for this trend to be reversed arguing that ‘no knowledge-led development strategy can succeed without a solid core of humanistic understanding and humane values’ (p. 3). It further reiterates the practical value of the humanistic sciences, especially their ability to encourage creative, analytical and critical thinking, and also to nurture a questing and questioning spirit. In consequence of these arguments, it makes recommendations to national and higher education policymakers, specifically stressing the need to ‘value the concrete contributions of history, languages, culture, and the arts, and other humanities disciplines as an essential component of a comprehensive system of higher education for the betterment of the nation and continent’ (p. 3). It also asks policy makers to
actively encourage participation in national policy debates by humanities scholars, along with those in other disciplines’ (p. 3)

Pablo (2007) contends that ‘it requires that the humanities, besides continuing to do what they have done very well for millennia—interpret the past, imagine the future, explore the possible, test and enrich the present—, also insert themselves in the real-world …’ (p. 174).

Shula (2000) also argues:

We cannot afford not to be concerned with the humanities, for it is in the humanities, more than anywhere else, where we are able to think alternatives, to ponder on where we have come from and where we are going, that we come to reflect on what it means to be human; where—in the words of Coetzee and Bunting, we learn ‘to deal with and manipulate different cultural symbols, operate in diverse social settings and develop complex notions of identity and citizenship’. (p. 227)

Falola (2012) extends the argument further by stating that ‘creating, managing, and solving underdevelopment is largely a human concern. And this is precisely where the humanities come to the fore as they generate greater imagination, thereby creating more intellectual stimulation and creativity, encouraging broader reflection on the future of society’ (p. 32).

These arguments in defence of the humanities confirm not only the intrinsic value of the related disciplines, but equally importantly, they reassert their inherent potential to impact practically the efforts at transforming society. Anchored on the fundamental thrusts of these arguments, this paper goes further to place special emphasis on the capacity of the humanities to contribute to the mobilisation of national and continental effort directed at tackling Africa’s crisis of underdevelopment, with particular reference to the continent’s quest for scientific and technological transformation.
The Disconnect between Awareness and Commitment: A Brief Evaluation of the Political Responses to Science and Technology in Africa

Without exception, African political leadership has over the years been stressing the need to pay greater attention to science and technology. Research institutions, and in some cases separate ministries, have been created devoted solely to matters relating to science, technology and research. Educational institutions have also been urged to give priority attention to science education. At the Pan-African level, the centrality of science and technology to the continent’s development is probably best illustrated, albeit symbolically, by the setting aside of 30th June as the continent’s science and technology day by the then Organisation of African Unity. This is to enable the focusing of attention on the need to accord science and technology the necessary seriousness, recognising their importance in the continent’s struggle to liquidate underdevelopment and its associated inimical effects on the citizenry.

In more concrete terms, the urgency of embracing science and technology has continually been stressed in various Pan-African concept documents such as the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980, the Kilimanjaro Declaration of 1987 and the Addis Ababa Declaration of 1988. The Lagos Plan of Action of 1980, in particular, stated in its preamble the commitment of member states to ‘put science and technology in the service of development by reinforcing the autonomous capacity of our countries in this field’ (p.4). Member states were thus urged to:

- adopt measures to ensure the development of an adequate science and technology base and the appropriate application of science and technology in spear-heading development in agriculture; transport and communications; industry, including agro-allied industries; health and sanitation; energy, education and manpower development, housing, urban development and environment. (p. 34)
Unfortunately, much of the African political response to this problem has not gone beyond statements of commitment and the creation of largely superficial administrative structures. In other words, the gravity of the situation does not seem to elicit the corresponding levels of urgency on the part of the African political leadership to match rhetoric with concrete and practical action. For example, of the fourteen stated objectives of the African Union, the promotion of science and technology is in the thirteenth position. And despite the provision in the Lagos Plan of Action which urged member states to ensure that by 1990 they would have mobilised one percent of their GDP for the development of their scientific and technological capabilities, hardly any member state has thus far met this target.

This is in spite of the fact that countries with similar problems in the past, but which have managed to break out of the cocoon of industrial stagnation, have all accorded science and technology priority attention in terms of allocation of resources. This is especially so with regard to the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs), such as Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. For example, concerning the national expenditures on Research and Development and the number of researchers per a million inhabitants, Ogbu (2004) points out that ‘the NICs spend US $66 per inhabitant while China spends $17, India $11 and Africa $6. Sub-Saharan Africa has 113 researchers per million population compared to China’s 454, India’s 151 and NICs’ 595’ (p. 2).

Clearly, such a casual approach to a science and technology agenda does not portend optimism for any successful resolution of the crisis of industrial stagnation. And to turn the continent’s fortunes around would require the mobilisation of the best of Africa’s minds including those that are better equipped with the relevant knowledge about the experiences in history, and how to apply those experiences to African contemporary exigencies.
Complementing Scientific Revolution with the Cultivation of the Right Background Consciousness through the Humanities

The argument has been made that African political leadership and policy shapers rightly perceive the natural sciences and the technologies that flow from them as not only critical to national development, but also a fundamental determinant of economic progress and national productive capacity and output. A 1992 report of a presidential committee which was tasked to review Ghana’s education reforms made the following argument.

A key to the future socio-economic development of Ghana lies in the development of science and technology education. Ghana has growing need for a large number of scientists, engineers and technicians to bring about technological innovation required for her development and for future development of science and technology. With the doubling of science and technology knowledge and its pervading effect on every aspect of life, it has become very urgent for all citizens to be literate in science to enable them to understand and utilise science and technology. (p. 214-215)

With particular reference to the curricula of universities and analogous institutions, the report further states:

Tertiary institutions are mandated, *inter alia*, to emphasise programmes that are of special relevance to national development. In general, every programme is relevant in the context of total national development. Some courses may be more critical than others to national development priorities and human resource needs at different points in time. Such courses will need greater attention in terms of emphasis and funding. For the current needs of the country, science, technology and ICT should be emphasised in the curriculum of tertiary institutions. (p. 122)
On its part, *The University of Ghana Strategic Plan 2014-2024* provides further illustration of this tilting focus towards the sciences. Of the nine priority areas of the said Strategic Plan, research is listed as the first, and with special emphasis placed on the natural sciences. This prioritisation is anchored on the argument that ‘the application of new technologies drawn from evidence-based research in areas such as agriculture and manufacturing has transformed many economies’ (p. 12). The role of the other disciplines outside the domain of the natural sciences is captured in the second priority area under ‘Teaching and Learning’ where concepts, such as ‘leadership development’ and ‘thought leaders’ are mentioned.

In emphasising the urgency of giving priority to the creation of the requisite science and technology infrastructure, the Lagos Plan of Action laments the ‘ineffective linkage pattern of research and development and national production activity, in particular the persistent orientation towards research of general interest and free knowledge’ (p. 36). If the meaning of what the Plan of Action refers to as ‘research of general interest and free knowledge’ is stretched far enough, the inevitable conclusion is that the disciplines in the humanities, more than any other, are those that are being alluded to. While not denying the pivotal role of science and technology in this endeavour, it is important to stress that in the collective drive to mobilise national brainpower for the pursuit of socio-economic and technological transformation, the humanities, far from merely being preoccupied with knowledge of general interest or with the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, could offer practical responses to pressing societal challenges.

In the last few decades, for example, the synergy among the three great revolutions in quantum mechanics, computer and bio-technology has unleashed a tidal wave of scientific discoveries enabling scientists to increasingly acquire almost God-like attributes of manipulating nature almost at will. The bio-molecular revolution, for instance, has opened up possibilities to grow human organs in test tubes. There are further possibilities of
reengineering the genetic code, including the human one, in order to produce made-to-order living things. These possibilities open up very profound challenges which the implicated scientific disciplines cannot handle. If, for example, these advances in science succeed in increasing life expectancy exponentially to an average of two hundred years and more, then some fundamentals of the understanding of time by humans, anchored on current paradigms, will have to change. The concept of youth and old age will also have to be redefined. Even more critically, humankind will have to figure out what to do with the extra time associated with the extended longevity of life, and the corresponding Malthusian intricacies that may arise.

Added to these complications is the exponential growth in material comfort that comes with the practical applications of science and technology, and the gross inequalities between the techno-haves and the techno-have-nots that this would engender. This extended techno-divide would mean that inequalities would grow to the point of extreme obscenity, where a small fraction of the world’s population would appropriate almost all the benefits of these scientific advances, while the majority populations in other areas would continue to lack the most basic means of survival, such as potable water. Even more profound will be the further complications with inequalities if the techno-haves, who are already highly advanced economically, tear further away from the rest of the global pack by further enhancing their mental abilities through the genetic engineering of super intelligent brains. These are challenges that require contemplation and reflection in order to prevent, or to provide the necessary antidotes against the consequences emanating from a collision between science and the self-destructive impulses of humankind. These anticipated challenges would require the critical intervention of humanists.
The Humanities and the Creation of the Relevant Background Consciousness

The successful consolidation of a science and technology culture in Africa will be contingent upon the nature of the background social environment and the consciousness that goes with it. In other words, it is important not to lose sight of the critical importance of the background environment necessary to create the requisite consciousness amenable to a science and technology culture. Marx (1977) argues that ‘it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.’ (p. 131). And the social being is set within the context of a concrete material mode of production which, when it changes also engenders a corresponding change in the level of consciousness. For example, the feudal mode of production would have a corresponding level of social consciousness specific to that mode of production, just as capitalism would also have its associated level of consciousness specific to it. Under conditions of neo-colonial dependency there is a corresponding neo-colonial consciousness, the consequence of which is an obfuscation of the awareness among the captive populations of the real causes of their overall underdevelopment and what they can do to alter the status quo.

In Africa, the more-than four centuries of slavery which effectively reduced the African people to the status of sub-humans, colonial rule of over a century and the several decades of neo-colonial domination have all combined to create and sustain a consciousness inherently deleterious to the aspirations of the African people for socio-economic emancipation. While slavery largely fed on the racist premise that the African was subhuman, colonialism placed emphasis on what it deemed the benightedness of the African people who needed to be civilised. The overall subliminal effect of these racist prejudices is the creation of a system of complexes which has ingrained itself in the collective consciousness of Africans, making many of them to accept the view that they are an inferior people. Their superficial understanding of the realities of the world around them tends to reinforce these complexes. All
around, there is the ubiquitous presence of the marvels of technological achievements, including the airplanes, space exploration, computers, mobile phones and the biotechnological revolution. In all these developments driven by the human genius, it seems Africa is a mere bystander.

Against the background of the overall failure to mount a robust counter-offensive against these prejudices, the narrative about the African milieu not being capable of matching the levels of socio-economic and cultural development of the advanced industrialised countries has tended to aggravate an already precarious situation. Even more debilitating is the fact that the protest voices of those who reject this thesis about the racially determined techno-divide as unscientific, are most often drowned by what seems at face value to be evidence in support of this hegemonic theory.

The response, therefore, should be the deliberate cultivation of a counter-consciousness to challenge this dominant stereotype. This can be done by mobilising all the instruments available in the art of mental programming with the objective of boosting the requisite confidence in the African people about their capabilities. Aspects of this mental programming could be taken up by specific disciplines in the humanities.

**Restoring Optimism through History and the African Technological Heritage**

The consciousness of a people and especially the awareness of their history are proportional to their ability to understand and make sense of the moment and of contemporary exigencies. Therefore, history, or the people’s awareness of their heritage, is an important instrument in the battle to create the right type of consciousness commensurate with the demands of the time, especially with regard to restoring their self-esteem and confidence in themselves and their capabilities. According to Sweeting and Edmond (1989),
Heritage ... is how a people have used their talent to create a history that gives them memories that they can respect, and use to command the respect of other people. The ultimate purpose of heritage, and heritage teaching, is to use a people’s talent to develop an awareness and a pride in themselves so that they can become a better instrument for living together with other people. (p. 5)

Aspects of the despondency associated with the narrative about Africa's perceived technological inabilities could be tackled by emphasising the historical dimension of the problem. Students of African history, especially the history told by Africans themselves, will know that this techno divide has not always been like that throughout history. Franklin (1947) argues that ‘the blacks from Nubia had helped to construct the great sphinxes, pyramids, and public buildings of Egypt. They had helped to perfect the political organization of the country’ (p. 8). Indeed ‘as early as 2000 B.C.,’ Foster (1954) says, ‘the Negro Ra Nahesi sat upon the Egyptian throne’ (p. 16). Diop (1974) argues that the name by which the Ancient Egyptians called their country was *Kemit*, which meant ‘black’ in the language they spoke. ‘The interpretation according to which *Kemit* designates the black soil of Egypt, rather than the black man and, by extension, the black race of the country of the Blacks, stems from gratuitous distortion by minds aware of what an exact interpretation of this word would imply (p. 7). Herodotus, the Fifth Century B.C. Greek historian known as ‘the Father of History’ confirms that ‘the Egyptians of his time had dark skins and woolly hair’ (Foster, 1954, p. 17). Du Bois (1947), for his part, asserts: ‘We conclude, therefore, that the Egyptians were Negroid and not only that, but by tradition they believed themselves descended not from the whites or the yellows, but from the black peoples of the South’ (p. 106).

Obenga (1973) makes similar arguments. But perhaps the most incontrovertible evidence of Ancient Egypt being black African is provided by the scientific testing of skin pigmentation.
Commenting on a paper presented by Cheikh Anta Diop at a 1974 UNESCO conference in Cairo, Nabudere (2007) writes:

Diop reported that he had succeeded in developing a melanin dosage test which was scientifically able to determine the skin colour of the ancient Egyptians. What he required for testing, of course, were the skin remains of the ancient Egyptians. Because of the hostility and obstructive behaviour of the Egyptian bureaucracy guarding the museums, Diop encountered great difficulty in testing the mummies. Yet even with the small samples that he was able to obtain, he demonstrated conclusively that Ramses I had been a black Pharaoh. (p. 16).

Even after it had been ruined by successive invasions, Egypt, which had been the cradle of civilisation for ten thousand years, long continued ‘to initiate the younger Mediterranean peoples (Greeks and Romans, among others) into the enlightenment of civilization. Throughout Antiquity it would remain the classic land where the Mediterranean peoples went on pilgrimage to drink at the fount of scientific, religious, moral, and social knowledge, the most ancient such knowledge that mankind had acquired.’ (Diop, 1974, p. 10)

Nkrumah (1973) also makes an incursion into history to demonstrate Africa’s glorious past, with specific reference to the ancient Ghana Empire. He argues that:

long before England had assumed any importance, long even before her people had united into a nation, our ancestors had attained a great empire … which stretched from Timbuktu to Bamako, and even as far as to the Atlantic. It is said that lawyers and scholars were much respected in that empire and that the inhabitants of Ghana wore garments of wool, cotton, silk and velvet. (pp. 107-108)

If the African people of yonder years could achieve such pioneering feats of sophistication, what then is responsible for
Africa’s retardation in almost every sphere of human progress today? History, once again, provides the answer. After several millennia of existence, the ancient Egyptians drifted further into the interior of the continent where they settled to form the embryos of future African empires. Separated by long periods of isolation and enormous distances, the emergent empires were practically severed from the cradle of civilization, whence they originated. This situation was made worse by foreign invasions of Egypt and the latter’s subsequent decline. The geography and the general environment of their new habitat in the interior of the continent impinged negatively on the scientific creativity of the migrant people from Kemit. According to Diop (1974),

“Adaptation to the narrow, fertile Nile Valley required expert technique in irrigation and dams, precise calculations to foresee the inundations of the Nile and to deduce their economic and social consequences. It also required the invention of geometry to delimit property after the floods obliterated boundary lines. By the same token, the terrain in long flat strips required the transformation of the paleo-Negritic hoe into a plow, first drawn by men, subsequently by animals. Indispensable as all that was for the Negro’s material existence in the Nile Valley, it became equally superfluous in the new living conditions in the interior. With economic resources assured by means that did not require perpetual inventions, the Negro became progressively indifferent to material progress. It was under these new conditions that the encounter with Europe took place”. (p. 23)

This encounter with Europe further exacerbated the post-Kemit crisis of the African people, and one clear consequence of this is the collective amnesia among Africans in relation to their past civilisational, organisational and technological efflorescence. The attendant ‘climate of alienation’, Diop (1974) argues, ‘finally deeply affected the personality of the Negro, especially the educated Black who had had an opportunity to become conscious
of world opinion about him and his people.’ (p. 25). Diop further laments that such historical rootlessness makes the educated Black lose ‘confidence in his own possibilities and in those of his race’, and this is to such an extent that despite the validity of the evidence he, Diop, has consistently presented about the black African origins of ancient Egyptian civilization, ‘it will not be astonishing if some of us are still unable to believe that Blacks really played the earliest civilizing role in the world’ (p. 25).

Another consequence of the African encounter with Europe was the instance where the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century passed Africa by, but flourished in Europe. A very important factor which accounted for this missed opportunity was the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which was a direct offshoot of the European encounter. The four centuries of slavery not only depleted the continent of a critical segment of its most mentally and physically productive population, but also ensured that the pervasive chaos and instability of the period did not allow for the smooth-flowing development continuum of society. This normally should allow one generation to transmit to another the achievements of its labour and other endeavours in the process of harnessing nature and the environment. The attendant chaos and instability associated with the slave raids and the constant movements of whole populations in panic exodus to escape or avoid such raids, all combined to prevent the Industrial Revolution from diffusing into Africa.

Further to the argument above, it is also important to emphasise the point that despite the traumatic legacy of slavery African Americans especially, have made spectacular contributions to the early and contemporary scientific and technological development of the United States of America, and the history of America’s industrial and technological transformation, for example, would not be complete without the notable contributions of engineers and scientists of African descent. Forster (1954) confirms this:
In the world of invention and science the Negro has come rapidly to the fore. Negroes are credited with nearly 5,000 patents... They have produced a number of well-known scientists, especially in the fields of biology, chemistry and medicine. The most outstanding of these scholars were E. E. Just and the world-renowned George Washington Carver. The latter genius made fundamental industrial and agricultural researches into the potentialities of the sweet potato, peanut, and other agricultural products, which have added vastly to the wealth of the South. President Truman proclaimed January 5, 1946, as George Washington Carver Day, and a new three-cent stamp was issued in his honor. (p. 514)

At the outbreak of the Second World War, the United States of America recruited the best of the world’s most renowned physicists to develop the atom bomb under the Manhattan Project led by J. Robert Oppenheimer. In this elite group of geniuses were twelve African American scientists, notable among whom were Lloyd Quarterman, Earnest Wilkens and William Knox. Quarterman was later to be ‘specifically honored by the U.S. Secretary of War for “work essential to the production of the Atomic Bomb, thereby contributing to the successful conclusion to World War II’’ (Malerbo, 2005, p. 26).

These feats and moments of African scientific and technological ingenuity have to be disseminated among the masses of the African people in a most robust manner, and across the entire curriculum of the educational system. Though onerous, this responsibility should be shouldered by Africa’s historians, anthropologists, political scientists, literary figures and other related academics. They have to endeavour to carry the masses of the people along in a concerted effort to combat the climate of resignation and despondency which negatively affects the self-confidence of the African people. This self-confidence has been especially undermined because there is a missing link in the African people's collective understanding and appreciation of their history. This missing link blurs the relationship between cause and
effect relative to the continent’s underdevelopment. And when the link between cause and effect is missing or blurred, the victims are left bewildered or resigned to the prevailing status quo partly because they lack the vital tools or background knowledge that would enable them to make sense of the moment.

In other words, knowledge of these historical antecedents should help in creating the alternative consciousness which should convince the generality of Africans that the present scientific and technological underachievement is not embedded in the DNA of the African, but rather, it is a result of the peculiar circumstances of Africa's history. This fact, as well as some very critical questions whose answers lie outside the purview of the natural sciences, needs to be addressed in tandem with any surge in Africa's scientific and technological renaissance.

**Africa's Technological Retardation: Perspectives from the Classics**

Classical Greek history and civilisation offer some very insightful and analogous perspectives, relative to Africa with regard to the asymmetry between available talent and the lack of technological advancements. For example, it is a puzzling tinge of irony that some of the important technological inventions of the early eighteenth century Industrial Revolution did not happen a couple of millennia earlier in ancient Greece which was famous for its impressive stock of astute thinkers endowed with extraordinary mental prowess, such as Pythagoras, Euclid, Archimedes.

The explanation for this lies partly in the social structure of society as well as the prevalent mode of production, and the technology associated with it. Under the slave mode of production, for example, the majority slave population was compelled, by the use of routine force, to provide for the comfort and indulgence of the upper class of slave masters. This means that many technical minds may well have conceived modules of certain machines, but there probably would not have been any
need for them at the time, nor the incentive to produce them. According to Larsen (1977),

The Greek philosophers, studying and analysing all aspects of life, hardly ever questioned this state of affairs. It was generally accepted as the ‘natural’ or ‘normal’ condition of a large part of mankind that they must toil for the few. Therefore, a shortage of ‘labour’ or ‘energy’ in our modern sense was never a problem – when a job had to be done, the slaves just had to do it, and if they found it strenuous they were whipped until it was done. Human effort, life, or health was regarded as expendable as long as only the slaves were concerned. Why, then, should cultured and educated men rack their brains to invent labour-saving machines? (p. 20)

The irony of the incongruity between available talent and technological retardation also applies to the period up to the collapse of the Roman Empire generally referred to as the Middle Ages. Here too, the class structure of society played an equally decisive role. The class that appropriated the wealth from those who actually produced it, namely the class of peasants and craftsmen, condemning the latter to a life of penury, ensured that ‘this concentration on the art of exploitation, rather than production, left them unaware of obvious deficiencies in production methods and devoid of the knowledge to effect improvements’ (Lilley, 1977, p. 37). Similarly, such technical minds may have also existed among the slave population, but since they had no stake in the fortunes of the exploitative system, this probably stifled the relevant initiative. What all these mean is that under certain circumstances, the urge to innovate is stifled and development of technology stagnates in spite of the potential availability of the relevant skills or scientific minds. On the basis of the experiences of Roman and Greek antiquity alluded to above, there is ample evidence that contemporary African reality may be experiencing a similar phenomenon where there is clearly an asymmetry, just as in ancient Rome and Greece, between available talent and the continent’s technological lethargy.
Examples abound with regard to the outstanding mental and intellectual capacities of African scientists and engineers, both on the continent and in the Diaspora. Francis Allotey is world famous for this work on the structure of the atom, and for his widely acclaimed theory known as ‘Allotey formalism’. Apart from a growing number of African-Americans working in prestigious technology departments of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) of the United States of America, many Africans from the continent have also worked their way to high profile engineering engagements at this celebrated American space agency. They include Ave Kludze, Cheikh Modibo Diarra and Ashitey Trebi-Ollenu. If at the individual level, Africans have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate exceptional brilliance in science and technology, then what is responsible for the continent’s technological retardation? Part of the answer to this question, just as it was in the case of ancient Greece, lies in the structure of African postcolonial society.

In many instances, the departing colonial powers carefully groomed in Africa an elite political and intellectual class into whose hands they bequeathed nominal independence. In return, members of this new elite were expected to keep their countries friendly to the former conqueror in Machiavellian reciprocity. Acquiescence with the status quo led to complacency and lack of vision on the part of the neo-colonial elite, thus rendering them oblivious of the real causes of the continent’s underdevelopment and technological retardation. This acquiescence, to a very large extent, is also a deliberate choice by the elite as the least line of resistance, the alternative of which would have been confrontation with the status quo and the powers that sustain it. The elite were, and still are either not prepared or were or are unwilling to contemplate this progressive and life-changing alternative. Another major reason for this complacency is the defence of their elite class interests, which are guaranteed by their acquiescence with the neo-colonial status quo. This allows them to use their privileged positions to appropriate to themselves a
disproportionate share of the national wealth produced mainly by the working class and peasantry who routinely pay the price for, and also bear the losses of, the cyclical crises.

With their class interests thus guaranteed, the political and intellectual elite have developed a lethargic and complacent attitude towards national scientific and technological transformation. The cumulative effect of this prevailing neo-colonial arrangement is that the continent’s technological stagnation would continue to persist. What the foregoing analyses mean therefore, is that Africa stands condemned to repeat the historical errors of the ancient Greeks and Romans, because the relevant lessons emanating from those experiences have not been learnt.

**Literature and the Spirit of African Technological Consciousness**

The struggle for an African technological revolution should entail a parallel struggle for continent’s soul. And art, with particular emphasis on literature, can facilitate this process. Writing on the significance of mobilising the forces of art for the cause of a revolution, and with specific reference to the October 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia, Trotsky argued that not even a successful solution of the problems of food, clothing, shelter and literacy would signify the complete victory of the revolution. Rather, for this to happen, ‘Only a movement of scientific thought on a national scale and the development of a new art would signify that the historic seed has not only grown into a plant, but has even flowered. In this sense, the development of art is the highest test of the vitality and significance of each epoch (Siegel, 1970, p. 208).

In peaceful as well as in tumultuous times, citizens look up to writers to express the pulse of the moment. When Europhone African literature burst upon the world literary scene, its dominant themes were colonialism and the clash of African and European cultures. Later themes were incorporated, and these included postcolonial disillusionment, corruption and other subjects,
generally lacking an inspirational content of the kind urgently required by a society struggling to rebuild itself from the ruins of colonial plunder. There was little in this literature which provided the roadmap for the transformation of society beyond just playing victim of an inherently iniquitous world. Yet, as Marx (1969) pointed out more than a century ago, philosophers have only been explaining the world, but the main point, however, is to change it. Literature with its powerful tools of imagination, reasoning and inspiration can help greatly in achieving this.

Therefore, in the context of any technological revolution, literature cannot remain indifferent to the exigencies of the times. Its instrumental essence should be amplified to include its potential of being enlisted in the struggle for the technological transformation of the continent. This point can be illustrated with a couple of instances in two works of African literature in which a subliminal insinuation of the subject matter of technology can be discerned. It should be possible to stretch the commentary on these episodes along a tangent aimed at inculcating in readers the relevant awareness and consciousness directed at demystifying science and technology and making the quest for their mastery an integral part of the agenda of the literature of liberation.

In Achebe’s *Things fall apart*, the reader is told about Okonkwo’s ‘rusty gun made by a clever blacksmith who had come to live in Umuofia long ago’ (p. 27). The motif of the gun is to help illustrate the explosive temperament of Okonkwo who in an angry reaction to a casual murmur by his wife about his poor hunting skills, fires the gun at her, narrowly missing his target. What should capture the imagination of a technology-minded reader is the hint at the skill of the craftsman, the blacksmith who made the gun. It was the Europeans who introduced the gun into Africa as a weapon of preferred resort in their quest to dominate the native population. The African smith, the intelligent empirical engineer, had observed this lethal contraption, studied it very carefully, and succeeded in replicating it. In the analysis of the literary elements of this novel, it would be useful to delve into the technical ingenuity of ingenious African craftsmen and women.
Their vocation was part of a local industry involving skills in iron mining and smelting, which according to July (1976) and Hopkins (1975), were not only quite developed in that area but could be traced to as early as 500 BC.

In Mongo Beti’s *The poor Christ of Bomba*, Reverend Father Drumont’s cook, Zacharie, interrupts a conversation between the Father and a local catechist and offers an unsolicited answer to the Father’s earlier question about the reasons why the natives are turning away from religion after having previously trooped to his Catholic mission. According to Zacharie, those who first responded to the Father’s call had done so because they believed they were going to be taught the secrets behind the power of the White race as embodied in the magic of its airplanes, railways, phonographs, automobiles, sewing machines and the like. In Zacharie’s view, instead of teaching the local people how to make all these, the Reverend Father spent all his time sermonising about God, the soul and eternal life. He went on to tell Reverend Father Drumont that the Supreme Being, the soul, soteriology and after-life immortality were concepts that the natives knew long before the Whites set foot on African soil, and so by dwelling solely on these spiritual elements, the natives were suspicious that the Whites (including the priest) were hiding something from them.

This particular conversation is a concentrated summary of the role technology played in mesmerising the native populations into succumbing to European power. The colonialists knew this. They also knew that to perpetuate their domination, they needed to monopolise technology by hiding its secrets from the natives. Even colonised children who eventually ended up in universities had little to show for their effort in this area. It would therefore be useful also to link this literary rendition of Zacharie’s encounter with Father Drumont to aspects of the reality of the African experience in contemporary times where technology continues to be used as an instrument of economic and, ultimately, political control. For example, today foreign multinational companies located in the former colonies detach their research and
development departments from the production location. These departments are invariably ensconced in the home countries of the parent companies far from the sight of local African engineers and scientists who, like the clever blacksmith in Achebe’s *Things fall apart*, could observe, study and probably eventually replicate such technologies locally. Further, Zacharie’s apt observation highlights the proprietary and innate impulse of the few, reminiscent of the colonialist presence in Africa, to monopolise technology acquisition and use.

All these moments alluded to above in the works of African literature reinforce the latter’s manifest versatility in responding to the legitimate aspirations of the African people. This includes, as has been argued all along, the potential of literature, together with the generality of the humanities, to assist in galvanising the scientific and technological transformation of the continent. In the special circumstances of Africa, the synergy and balance between these broad spheres of academic preoccupation are of critical importance.

**Conclusion**

There is no denying the fact that the pivot of the struggle against Africa’s technological underdevelopment should necessarily be the pure sciences in both their theoretical and practical dimensions. Success in this endeavour would be a major tectonic shift, and the momentum to sustain this would require the effort of many actors apart from the scientists and technologists. As this paper has argued, success in this endeavour would require the development of a new consciousness to provide an inspirational background to negate the debilitating complexes about the abilities of the African, and in the process instil in the African, just as the Japanese and the Chinese did at corresponding times in their histories, the confidence that what the Europeans and the North Americans have done, Africans are also capable of doing. This would necessarily involve the active participation of humanists, and the speed of Africa’s advance on the science and
technology front would be largely proportional to the effort expended in the relevant disciplines in the humanities.

This paper has relied mainly on aspects of history, classics and literature to demonstrate the great potential of the humanities to disseminate and nurture the type of consciousness commensurate with a functional scientific and technological culture. Collectively, humanists, in their diverse disciplines, can proffer alternative interpretations of reality in tandem with a scientifically and technologically advanced vision of Africa. They can achieve this by creating the relevant themes, symbols, heroes and slogans cast in languages accessible to the masses of the people, and capable of inspiring confidence in the African people that they have what it takes to match the levels of scientific and technological development of the advanced industrialised countries. At various moments in their historical trajectories, the Russians, Japanese and Chinese propelled their scientific, industrial and technological growth by deliberately embarking on a programme of conscious mind management directed at creating and sustaining a spirit of national confidence and liberation in consonance with set national scientific and technological objectives. It is important, therefore, for Africa's political leadership and policy shapers to understand that the continent’s quest to overcome its stunted scientific and technological development cannot be a function of only the natural sciences. The humanities have a very critically positive role to play in this renaissance as well.
References


Submitted: October 19, 2015/ Published: October 31, 2016
‘On the Empire of Money’: The Representation of Money in Arab-Islamic Culture

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Abstract
This paper is premised on the assumption that scholarly studies on al-Māl (money) and its role in human-lives have largely been seen to be the exclusive preserve of social science scholars. This has consequently led to the elision of other perspectives, particularly the cultural, on the category. This paper therefore attempts to fill that gap. It begins with a review of the literal meanings of al-Māl in Muslim and non-Muslim cultures, the jurisprudential construction of the concept and insightful perspectives from, among others, C. Turner, W. Muhammad and M. Plessner. Using works of Abī Tayyib al-Mutannabī and Aḥmad Shawqī as cultural sites, the paper subsequently anchors its discussion of humanity’s notions of money on three axes: money as a necessity, money as a sociological referent and money as the essence of existence.

Keywords: al-Māl, Bayt al-Māl, Qurʾān, Arab-Islamic culture, literature

1 An original version of this paper was presented at an International Thematic Workshop on ‘Mal’ (Money) which was held between 8-10 December, 2014 at International Islamic University Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The authors are extremely grateful for the suggestions of the anonymous reviewers of this paper.
The poor person is (usually) considered to be more deceitful than the lightning of the mirage...; he is shunned on arrival, and nobody asks of him if he is absent; (in fact) his presence is detested...; if he gets angry he is scoffed at; shaking him by the hand vitiates ablution; his recitation (of the Qur’ān) invalidates prayers.

AbdulRahīm, Muhammad (2000, p.10)

“When there is money in your hand and not in your heart, it will not harm you even if it is a lot, (but) when money is in your heart, it will harm you even if there is none in your hands.”

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (p.5)

Studies on money and monetary transactions, particularly as they relate to Islam or the Qur’ān, are circumscribed, in the main, by two approaches: the jurisprudential and the economic. In the first, contemporary scholars in Islam usually approach the Qur’ān in search of verses which talk about money, notably in relation to marriage, inheritance, divorce and other matters pertaining to human social intercourse where money operates as intervening decimal. It is customary for such scholars to make use of arguments and analyses of early scholars in the field, particularly the four popular schools of Islamic jurisprudence, namely Imām Abū Hanīfah, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi‘ī and Imām Hanbalī schools of jurisprudence. The second approach to money among contemporary Muslims scholars is largely that of the Muslim economists who are usually interested in the Qur’ānic perspective on wealth, poverty reduction and public finance, among others. It is axiomatic therefore, that these studies have paid little attention, if any at all, to the cultural construction, depiction and representation of money in Arab-Islamic tradition. This paper attempts to fill that gap.

It privileges a reading of money which excludes the grammar of the economists and the ‘mathematics’ of the financial analyst in order to show how Arab-Muslims have thought and written about money as a locus of the lived and the experienced. Using the Qur’ānic framework as its point of departure, the paper engages the following questions: what exactly does the word al-
Māl signify and what implications does it have in Arab-Islamic culture? How might the works of two Arab poets, namely Abu Tayyib al-Mutannabī (d. 965 C.E) and Aḥmad Shawqī (d.1932) as well as the insightful commentaries of early Arab-Muslim poets-sages and thinkers function in elaborating and expounding upon our understanding of the category of money in the contemporary world? These questions are formulated based on our conviction that money is not and cannot just be viewed as an ordinary symbol of commercial or financial transaction. Rather, it is an item or measurement of value which is encoded with strong cultural significations. Our study of representative samples of al-Mut-annabī’s and al-Shawqī’s works is therefore meant to provide insights into some of the extremely rich perspectives on the description of money in Arab-Islamic culture.

Linguistic and Jurisprudential Definitions of al-Māl (Money)

Any attempt to trace the origin of money in Euro-American cultural tradition could be extremely challenging for the inquirer. The word is said to have originated from the temple of Hera, at Olympia in Ancient Greece (Meikle, 1994, p.26). Unlike the case in Arab-Islamic tradition, the definition of the word ‘money’ in Western culture hardly excites the imagination. Money is money and money becomes money simply because everybody refers to it as such; it is accepted as a unit of measurement, a medium of exchange, a storehouse of wealth and is declared a legal tender by a constituted authority (Meikle, p.26). The ‘empire of money’ in the form of coins or notes is said to have begun when the world got tired of using barter. Aristotle says ‘when the inhabitants of one country became more dependent on those of another, and they imported what they needed and exported what they had too much of, money necessarily came into use’ (Aristotle, Politics)².

² For more on Aristotle’s Politics, see: http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.1one.html
However, in Arab-Islamic tradition, reference to the word ‘money’ usually calls attention to a number of signifiers with extremely rich significations. Money, in Arab-Islamicate culture, is known as al-Māl, al-Nuqūd, al-Fulūs, al-’Umlah, Dirham and Dinār (Ibn Manzūr, 1955, p. 635) among others. Each of these designations, unlike the case in Western culture, refers to money as wealth, coin, currencies and as property respectively. In this paper, the word Māl shall be our operative point of reference simply because it is the word mostly used in the Qur’ān. But what is the etymology of the word in Arab-Islamic culture? Contrary to Pressner's suggestion that the word ‘Māl’ comprises two Arabic letters (Plessner, 1936, p. 205; cited in Turner, 2006, pp. 58-83), the word is actually derived from a collocation of three Arabic alphabets: mim (م) + alif (ا) lam (ل) = Māl, which means anything that belongs to anyone. Arab grammarians and linguists are not, however, unlike in other instances, completely in agreement over the origin of the word. It has been suggested that the word derives from the root mawwala, one of whose meanings is ‘to finance’ (Ba’alabakī, 1977, p. 1143). For his part, Ibn Manzūr (p. 635) states the the word Māl refers to that which is commonly known and which can be owned. His suggestion resonates with that of Ibn al-Athīr (n.d., 70) who contends that the word refers to anything that one owns. Constant references to ‘that which is owned’ are meant to call attention to the fact that in the pre-Islamic era, the Arabs used the term Māl to refer only to gold and silver. Its scale of reference was later expanded to include things owned physically, particularly camels (p. 70).

While linguistic definitions and approaches to the word Māl are eclectic, those of the jurisprudential are no less engaging. All the traditional fiqh scholars and revered legists have different perspectives on the word. Whereas the Hanafis say Māl must be something which exists physically and is desirable (Muhammad, 1999, p. 361), Ibn ʿAbidīn affirms it as whatever human instinct
is inclined to and whatever is also capable of being stored for future use (Al-Suyūṭī, 1983, p. 327). For the Mālikis, as represented here by al-Shātibī, Māl is anything over which ownership is exercised and which the owner is free to enjoy (Al-Shātibī, n.d, p. 17). The Shāfi‘ī school defines Māl as that which gives benefit; al-Suyūṭī (1983, p. 363) asserts that the word refers to anything that is both valuable and exchangeable, and whose owner is entitled to compensation in the event of its destruction (p.383). For their part, the Hanbalis define Māl as things from which benefit accrues and which are capable of being used in any circumstances (p.328). No matter the tenor and texture of their opinions, it is clear that all the above definitions are reactive to the extremely engaging reference to Māl in the Qur‘ān. In other words, if jurisprudential definitions of and references to the word Māl are as diverse as is evident here, it is actually an extension of its multifarious richness in its portrayal in the Qur‘ān.

**al-Māl in the Qur‘ān and During the Prophetic Era**

Hardly is there a divine book in which Māl enjoys a huge patronage as the last testament, the glorious Qur‘ān. In the latter, reference to money, whether in the singular (al-Māl), the plural (al-Amwāl, as definite and indefinite articles (m‘arifah and nakrah) or in appositive cases (mudāf) occurs in no less than eighty six (86) times (Turner, 2006, p. 58). Nonetheless, we must situate our discussion, even if briefly, in an historical context. In other words, the dialectics we read about in the Qur‘ānic descriptions of money are largely due to the important role the latter played in the Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century. During the period, the city of Makkah was headed by the Qurayshi clan, an aristocracy which installed itself as the sole authority over the economic, political and religious affairs of the people of the era and the peninsula. Central to the formation and the preservation of the Makkan aristocratic hegemony during the period was the acquisition of material wealth. The longer the caravan of camels, horses and donkeys which departed the precincts of Makkah with hides, raisings and silver bars and
returned with large number of slaves and big quantities of perfumes, oils and other manufactured products from distant cities such as Damascus and Cairo, the higher the status of their owners in aristocratic circles (Ibn Kathīr, n.d, p. 170). Thus, one of the earliest references to money in the Qur’ān is dedicated to the portrayal of this trend among the Arabs. In chapters 102 and 107 of the Qur’ān which are appropriately titled al-\(\text{Takkāthur}\) and al-\(\text{Mā’ūn}\), the pursuit of wealth in utter disregard of the essence of human existence is deprecated. The first reference to money in the Qur’ān is that whose pursuit for personal and selfish reasons, not for the provision of comfort for the less-privileged in the society, is described as the anti-thesis of its divinely sanctioned purpose in creation (Quran 107, 3-7).

The migration of the Prophet to Madīnah in 622 C.E later functioned in increasing the Quranic patronage of the category of money. Whereas during its Makkan phase, reference to money could be described as admonitory or reprobatory in that the Qur’ān only calls attention to the evils inherent in the excessive pursuit of wealth and the neglect of the poor and orphans, the Madinite experience, however, is more engaging. Here, the Qur’ān goes into more detail in establishing what more may be described as the philosophy of money in Islam. In addition to the establishment of principles and regulations that would thenceforth guide the acquisition of money in Muslim societies, the Qur’ān goes further to set ethical standards for its usage. The perceptive reader of the Qur’ān would equally discover that the Qur’ān does not just set the standard and establish the principles, it equally interlaces what may be described as the legal with the ethical; it tells stories of peoples and nations which failed to follow divine instructions on account of 'the evil' of money and consequently suffered perdition and destruction. Such is the story of Qārūn (Q.29, 79); such are the lessons in the story of people in whose culture, just like the Makkans, the authority of money predominates.

For example, when a leader was appointed for such people they chorused in complete disapproval:
Their Prophet said to them: ‘God hath appointed Talut as king over you.’ They said: ‘How can he exercise authority over us when we are better fitted than he to exercise authority, and he is not even gifted, with wealth (Māl) in abundance?’ He said: ‘God hath chosen him above you, and hath gifted him abundantly with knowledge and bodily prowess: God granteth His authority to whom He pleaseth. God carethfor all, and He knoweth all things.’ (Q. 2, 247)

Evident in the above is the valorisation of wealth as the prerequisite for political leadership and earthly authority in such communities. Thus Talūt is deemed not qualified for the position because of his lowly material status; he is considered not suitable enough as a candidate for the kingdom simply because he lacks wealth in abundance. Thus, for such people, the most important criterion for leadership is not the possession of leadership skills but the possession of conspicuous wealth. In other words, human societies across the world and throughout the ages usually arrogate authority to those who have more wealth than others. It is usual for the wealthy to consider themselves to be sovereign. To be wealthy, in traditional aristocratic societies, is to see the poor as an estate; to be endowed more than others in monetary matters is to see oneself as the Lord of the Manor. Thorstein Veblen, one of the earliest thinkers on the role of money in human lives asserts:

Man has not only lost his volition in the field of economic arrangement, he has permitted money to mould his modes of thought, his sense of values, even his manner of expression…Instead of being a machine for doing quickly and commodiously what would be done, though less quickly and commodiously, without it, the use of money exerts a distinct and independent influence of its own upon our wants as consumers, upon our skill as planners, upon our methods as producers and upon our ideals as citizens…In any society in which success is measured in terms of money our native propensity towards emulation takes on a pecuniary twist. We cultivate the manners of the rich. We
indulge in social frivolities and keep pace with the changing styles. (cited in Ahmad, 1970, p.217)

It then becomes pertinent in the divine scheme as embodied by the Qur’ān that the excessive pursuit of money is reprobated in the most potent manner. In order to achieve this, and in order to redirect human life towards a nobler path, the Almighty provides copious prescriptions for humanity on Māl. Thus man is admonished:

Money and all other earthly possessions are tests from the Almighty to His creation: know ye that your possessions and your progeny are but a trial: and that it is Allah with whom lies your highest reward. (Q8, 28)

The new epistemology of money, if it may be described as such, instituted by the Qur’ān, consequent upon the establishment of the Islamic state in Madīnah, witnessed the introduction of Zakāt (alms giving) as an important pillar of faith (Q9, 60). This led to the emergence of new structures and systems which are dedicated to its administration. Thus, for the first time in its annals and indeed in the history of humanity, was established a ‘house of money’, Bayt al-Māl (Imamuddin, 1997, p. 129). Building upon the pillars established by Prophet Muhammad and the first Khalīfah, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the second Caliph, ‘Umar ibn Al-Khaṭāb (d. 644 AD) established the Bayt al-Māl (BM) to serve as a storehouse or clearing house for state revenues and the distribution of stipends that were accruable to the Muslim troops who were then engaged in a number of expeditions in defence of the Muslim state (Hitti, 1970, p. 139). Up till the end of the reign of the fourth Caliph, ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661 AD), it can be argued that there was large-scale compliance with the Quranic legislations on the acquisition and usage of personal and public wealth. The 'empire of money' remained within the control of the Muslim Ummah; it was ‘in their hands not in their hearts.’
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Māl in the Caliphate Era and Beyond

Without prejudice to the credence lent to the reign of the third Caliph in Islam, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (644-656 AD) to its emergence, it has been established that it was Mu‘awiyah ibn Ābī Sufyān who actually founded the Umayyad suzerainty consequent upon the civil war witnessed by the early Muslims in 661 CE. He it was, who made Damascus, the capital of the new Muslim caliphate. It was Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān who started the monarchical system of government in Islam. He is the one who ‘took’ Muslim history from its austere and extremely Spartan phase to the luxurious and opulence life of the city (Hitti, 1970, p. 189).

During his reign and that of his successors, money began to play similar roles hitherto condemned by the Qur’ān. The BM became a private property which the ruler of the caliphate and his household could appropriate without recourse to the law. Curiously, however, it was equally during the reign of the Umayyad rulers that the first coin was printed in the history of Islam. The most exemplary of the Umayyad rulers and one whose administration of public wealth remains incomparable, however, is ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdul Azīz (d. 720 CE). As soon as he ascended to power, ‘Abdul Azīz restructured the BM and introduced new fiscal policies the centre-point of which was the promotion of the welfare of the masses. Historians and biographers of this noble ruler have detailed instances during which citizens of the caliphate became so prosperous that no use was found to ask for money from the BM. This is because there was nobody anymore to receive aid from the government. When the news was brought to him, he was said to have instructed the viceroy of Iraq, ´Abdul-Hamid ibn ´Abdul-Rahman, thus: ‘Search for whoever borrowed money for other than foolishness and extravagance purpose, and pay off their debt.’ The report the caliph received at the end of it all was that: ‘I have helped every person I found to marry, but there is still money in the Bayt al-Māl’ (Ibn ‘Asākir, 1995, p. 170).

In line with the Umayyad experience, the Abbasid rulers' approach to money and public treasury was largely not in
compliance with the standards set in the early period of Islam. Some of them, including Abu Ja’afar al-Mansūr, operated an extremely strict financial regime which put the masses in dire conditions (Hitti, p.189). Other rulers, such as al-Mahdy and Hārūn al-Rāshīd (Hitti, p.297), brought the prosperity witnessed by the Islamic empire down to the doorsteps of the citizens of the state. The wide experience the Muslim world had acquired in the administration of money either, as a public or private property during these eras, had prepared them for the establishment of conventional banks during the modern period.

Thus in 1907, the Egyptian industrialist, Muhammad Talaat Harb Pasha, published a book in which he demanded the establishment of what he termed a national bank that would be financed solely by Egyptians. Pasha probably had the classical history of money in Islam in mind. But he was certain of one thing though: the necessity for Egyptians to retrieve their economic-political history from the stranglehold of the British colonialists (Pasha, 1921, p. 295). His tenacity and doggedness in the pursuit of that noble aim eventually came into fruition in 1920 when Bank Misr, probably the first of its kind in the Arab world, was inaugurated. On that occasion, the whole Arab world, particularly the Egyptians, celebrated the event with pomp and pageantry (Tignor, 1977, p. 161). It was a landmark in their annals. The Shakespeare of the Arab world and the Leader of modern Egyptian cultural stream, Ahmad Shawqī (1868-1932), composed the following poem titled ‘Wait at the counties and ponder the empire of money’ to mark the occasion. It reads in part as follows:

قدّر رجالّا أُداولاها بإجمال
وائفّل رّكاب القوافي في جوانبها
وان الناس مّاذ خلقو خيال تمثال
ولا في جوانب زمّم المنزل البالي
والمال مّاذ كان تمثال يطاف به
يا طالباً لمعالي الملك مختهد
بالعلم والمال بيني الناس ملكهم
لم ينّ ملك على جهل وفّال
هاتوا الرجال وهاتوا المال واحتثداوا
رّأياً لرأي ومقاهاً لمنقال
هذا هو الحجر الوضي بنيكم
كأنّا بناء قربين بيتهم العادي
أودعّهم الحبّ أرضًا ذات إعلال
داراً إذا نزلت فيها وداً عنكم

Pause by the kingdoms and behold the empire of money
Remember men who have all took turns to administer it.

Let the composers of poetry congregate by its side
Not around the design of the imagined houses.

Money, since its existence, is like a statue
Human beings, since their creation, have been worshippers of statues.

O! Ye who earnestly seek the lofty office of the king
You can either reach it through knowledge or money.

It is with knowledge and wealth that people build their kingdom
No kingdom is ever built on ignorance or poverty.

Bring forward the men and money and gather together
Ideas with ideas, weight against weight.

This is the shining stone among you
Build (a house) the same way the Quraysh built its lofty house.

A house in which were your treasures to be kept
(It would be as if) you had planted a seed on a fertile land.

(In it lies) the long-standing hopes of Egypt
Would you be stingy on Egypt with your hope?
Build (this nation) therefore by the blessings of Allah and seize (the opportunities)
That Allah has provided of fortunes and favours.
(Shawqī, 1998, p. 55)

By composing a poem on the establishment of Bank Misr
and in eulogizing the role of money in human existence, Shawqī awakens the interred bones of poets whose imagination was
sharpened against the fissures and disjuncture which money, known as Māl, usually occasioned; he forces a recapitulation of the Arab’s cultural trajectory in which money serves as a fountain for literary productivity. The poem titled ‘Wait at the counties and ponder the empire of money’, sends us back to that extremely engaging cultural terrain where we must ponder the meaning and, indeed the ‘meaning of the meaning’ (Al-Jurjānī. 1959, p. 31) of money in Arab-Islamic culture. Here, aside from other possibilities, at least three readings of money are implicated in Arabs’ cultural history. These include its construction as an existential necessity, as a sociological referent, and perhaps the uncanny of all, its description as the essence of human existence.

Money as an Existential Necessity

When money, in Arab-Islamic culture, is seen as an existential necessity, its acquisition becomes a noble act, particularly for Muslims. In fact, the Almighty Allah alludes to this in many portions of the Qur’ān. For example, money is considered one of the earthly treasures the acquisition of which is permissible for believers (Q18, 46). But in the same breadth, they are reminded that their wealth is a test from the Almighty for which they shall be called to account on the day of resurrection (Q8, 28). Consequently, humanity is encouraged to spend wealth ceaselessly in pursuit of divine redemption (Q2, 177). The rich are admonished to spend their wealth on kith and kin, for the promotion of the welfare of the Ummah. Prophet Muhammad exemplifies this further when he says:

لا خير فيمن لا يحب المال ليصل به رحمه، ويؤدي به أمانته، ويستغنى به عن خلق ربه

There is no goodness in he who detests money with which he can keep his kin together, take care of his trust and be free from (asking) the creatures of His lord.
He is also reported to have said:

إنك إن تذر ورثتك أغنياء خير من أن تذرهم عالة يتكفّفون الناس

‘Should you leave your heirs in wealth is better than to leave them poor and as burden on the people’
(Ibn Asākīr, 1995, p. 103)

Thus in Arab-Islamic tradition, money is ordinarily deemed to be a means towards an end; a facilitator of the good life and one of the means by which human life on terrestrial earth can be led in consonance with the divine will. In effect, the possession of moderate wealth, in Islamic weltanschauung, is seemingly the norm while poverty is the exception. It can be said that the ‘empire of money’ has a long history; it is one in which companions of the Prophet, such as ‘Abdul-Rahmān bn. ‘Awf (Ibn Sa’ad, 2013, p.97), stood out as an example.

Further, a reader of Arabs’ cultural history would be fascinated by the copious references to money as a necessity of life right from the early Islamic period. Apart from exhibiting great industry and excellent business acumen such that millionaires emerged from amongst their midst, those who lived and worked with the Prophet of Islam equally composed poems in praise of money. Such is the case with the fourth caliph, ‘Alī bn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661) who is said to have composed the following lines:

بلوت صروف الدهر ستين حَجّة
وَجَرَبْتُ حاليه من العسر واليسر
فلَم أر بعد الدين خيراً من الغنى
ولم أر بعد الكفر شرّاً من الفقر

I have encountered the vicissitudes of life for sixty years And I have experienced its two stations (i.e., adversity and prosperity)
In all I have not seen anything better than wealth after religion
Nor did I see anything worse than poverty after unbelief.
(‘AbdulRahīm, 2000, p. 65)

The above lines possibly capture the position of the majority of the companions of the Prophet in relation to the acquisition of wealth by men and the purpose to which riches should be put. It may also be assumed that when Shawqi stated in the first line of the poem: ‘Pause by the kingdoms and behold the empire of money/Remember men who have all took turn to manage it’, he was probably referring to that golden era which produced the first generation of Muslims. It was an era which witnessed the emergence of men whose management of the wealth in their possession was tempered by a keen consciousness of God.

**Money as a Sociological Referent**

With regard to money as a sociological referent, this finds ample illustration in Shiabudin al-Ibshīhī’s compendium entitled *al-Mustatraf fī kulli Fannin Mustadhraf*. According to him, it is possible to classify humanity in terms of how it views or relates to money into five groups. (Al-Ibshīhī, 1942, p. 49). Four of the classifications include *al-Mutmi‘ūn* (the covetous), *al-Mubriti‘ūn* (the devious), *al-Muhtarifūn* (those desirous of belonging to the class of the wealthy) and *al-Muntasimīn* (the hypocrites) (p. 49). The first category, i.e. that of the covetous, is very relevant to this discussion. According to Al-Ibshīhī, these are men and women who usually patronise the wealthy and meet the latter with broad smiles and excessive praise. Their goal is usually that of currying favours; their main desire is to partake of the wealth in the hands of the wealthy. It is probably these people that al-‘Abbas, son of ‘Abdul-Mutallib, had in mind when he is reported to have said:

الناس لصاحب المال ألزم من الشعاع للشمس، وهو عندهم أعزب من الماء، وأرفع من السماء، وأحلى من الشهد، وأزكى من الورد، خطوه صواب، وسيتائه حسنات، وقوله مقبول، يرفع مجلسه ولا يمل حديثه...

People are more attracted to the wealthy person than the ray to the Sun; (to them) he is more satiating than water, loftier than the heavens, sweeter than the honey, purer than the rose; his errors are (deemed) to be right, his evils are considered to be goodness, his speech is usually accepted; his sitting is usually elevated; no one gets tired of speech. (‘Abdulrahîm, p. 7)

Perhaps in no other era does Al-‘Abbâs’ exemplification of the character of al-Mutmi‘ûn more pertinent than that of the ‘Abbasid. It is the latter that produced two major characters who have each bequeathed such uncanny and unrivalled legacies to the world with particular reference to money. The first of these characters is Sayf al-Dawlah (d. 967), the king, and the second is his court poet, Abî Tayyib al-Mutannabî. The former established, as it were, an ‘empire of money’, while the latter bequeathed a literary heritage to the world which was hinged solely on the patronage of wealthy. Thus, money and poetry became ‘bedfellows’; on the one hand the king spent money lavishly on the court poets in order to earn their praise and on the other, poets such as al-Mutannabî composed beautiful poems in praise of the kings for his accomplishments and as a way of enjoying more patronage of the wealthy and the powerful. In one of his panegyrics on Sayf Dawlah, al-Mutannabî says:

فلا ينحلل في المجد مالك كله
فينحل مجد كان بالمال عقده
ودبه تدبير الذي المجد كله
إذا حارب الأعداء والمال زنده
فلا مجد في الدنيا لمن قلّ ماله
ولا مال في الدنيا لمن قلّ مجده
وفي الناس من يرضى بميسور عيشه
ومركوبه رجلاه والثوب جلده

Honour cannot be diminished by the (vastness) of your wealth
Such that that honour which is held together by wealth now wanes

He managed it (his wealth) like the one in whose hands lies honour
Even when he fought the enemy money (became) his hammer

Indeed there is no honour in the world for a man with little wealth
And there is no wealth in the world for he who has no honour

Some people are contented with little provisions of life
Their rides are their legs while their clothes are their skin (al-Mutannabī, 1983, p.65).

In this poem, al-Mutannabī, following the footsteps set by his forebears such as Abul-‘Alā al-Ma’arī and Abû Nuwās, engages in doubling and coupling; he uses the opportunity afforded him by his patron, Sayfū al-Dawlah, to sing the praise of the king in order to stress the importance of money in human life. He equally pictures how Sayfū al-Dawlah deploys money as a weapon to confront his enemies on the battlefield. This prefigures Aḥmad Shawqī’s perspective that it is with ‘knowledge and wealth that people build their kingdom’ and that ‘no kingdom is ever built on ignorance or adversity’. A wise man once counseled his son as follows:

بني عليك بطلب العلم وجمع المال، فإن الناس طائفتان: خاصة وعامّة، فالخاصّة تكرمك لأجل العلم والعامة تكرمك لأجل المال

My son, it is incumbent on you to acquire knowledge and gather wealth; this is because people of two categories: the elite and the masses. The elite would honour you because of your knowledge while the masses would honour you because of the wealth (in your possession). (Shawqi, 1998, p. 8)
While the above may be true that knowledge and wealth constitute foundations for the establishment of earthly empires, in al-Mutannabī’s world, however, it is wealth and honour that are pre-eminent. For him, wealth and honour are elements of equal weight such that to possess one is to possess the other; or rather, the possession of one is useless in the absence of the other. Perhaps this explains why those in authority in the medieval Muslim world, after having come into possession of wealth, spent part of that wealth on poets through whose panegyrics they desired to gain honour.

Again in the characteristic Mutannabīan world, the deployment of money as a weapon with which one could gain wealth and honour in the society can only become tentative once it enters into that mythical realm where imagination interplays with reality. In a work titled ‘Hot Conversations with al-Mutannabī’, we read of the following exchanges between him and his ‘interlocutor’:

The Questioner: What did Sayf al-Dawlah give you and what did you give him in return?”
Al-Mutannabī: ‘I gave him history; he gave me honour’

(Al-Hamud, 2006)³

Thus in al-Mutannabī’s world, while money is important and essential it is actually a means towards other ends. It is presumed to be the key with which doors are opened in human societies. In another poem, Aḥmad Shawqī alludes to this when he says:

المال حلل كل غير محلل
حتى زواج الشيب بالابكار

³ See www.shathaaya.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-9773.html
Money has somehow legitimized every unlawful act
Including the marriage of the elderly to the young ones
You actually did not get married to that young girl
Actually it is youthfulness and beauty that have been sold for money (Shawqī, 1998, p. 252)

Here, Aḥmad Shawqī touches on a feature of a traditional Arab-Islamic society as a whole, i.e., the marriage of young girls to men who are as old as their fathers, a practice considered a redemptive strategy for men’s masculine powers. In such societies, the more women a man has in his harem, the more his status is elevated in the society. But Shawqī appears to argue for the contrary: that in instances where such marriages take place, parents of the bride are usually interested in the money that the groom would offer them in order to get their consent. Thus we find the line which reads ‘You actually did not get married to that young girl’ highly instructive. The poet in Shawqī creates the persona of the groom in order to engage him in a dialogue. He addresses the character of an imaginary groom and confronts him with the evil of what he considers unwarranted commoditization of young girls in the Egyptian society of the mid-20th century. Though Shawqī’s addressee is the elderly bride-groom, the latter is actually a metaphor for all men across cultures and civilisations who engage in similar acts. As far as he is concerned, all marriages between young girls and men who are old enough to be their fathers are nothing but the heinous commoditisation of beauty and youthfulness.

**Money as the Essence of Existence**

It is now time to go back to the third spectrum in this widening geography of the ‘empire of money’. This relates to the notion among a section of humankind that the possession of wealth or money is in itself not the means but the end; that money
is actually the essence of creation and existence. It is probably this reading of money in human existence which Aḥmad Shawqī suggests when he says that ‘money, since its existence, is like a statue circumambulated/and mankind, since its creation, have been worshippers of statues’ (p. 287). Here, Shawqī’s comparison of money to statues is very instructive. But even more instructive is his suggestion that humanity, since primordial times has always worshipped statues. In other words, whenever money becomes an end in itself but not a means to nobler ends, it becomes an idol. Shawqī’s reference to money as a statue becomes all the more engaging when he says that humanity has been known since ages to circumambulate around such statues. The circumambulation referenced here should not be seen literally but rather as a metaphor for the lofty position money occupies in humanity’s scale of reference; it is an allegory for the way humanity now uses money as measurement for its values. Ahmad alludes to this when he says:

Our sense of beauty already carries the dollar mark. The costlier a thing is the handsomer it looks. And this is not confined to things only. Anyone earning Rs. 1,500/- per month is inferior to the one earning Rs. 2,000/ per month just as he in turn is measurably inferior to another one making Rs. 2,500/- per month. Personal and creative values are entirely secondary in significance, and, in fact, even these are put in the money scale to measure their worth. If we wish to applaud the emotional qualities of a man, we say he has a heart of gold and when we wish to praise the smile of a graceful woman we call it a million-dollar smile. However true it may be, it is very difficult for us to agree that all the dollars that there are anywhere cannot measure the value of a sunny smile on even the least gifted of human faces. (Ahmad, 1970, p.217)

Ahmad proceeds to refer to humanity’s obsession with money as occultic. He says: ‘the cult of mammon, to which we find ourselves attached, has already so distorted our values, and
entangled our vision, that a peculiar impoverishment of the spirit reigns supreme over our arts, our literature, our poetry, our architecture’ (Ahmad, p. 222). ‘Were it not for piety’, al-Ḥarīrī posits, ‘I would say its (money) power is inimitable’ (Al-Shirshī, 1952, p. 70).

It is interesting to note that al-Ḥarīrī’s thesis on the ‘inimitable’ power of money resonates with that of non-Muslim thinkers such as Karl Marx who said, way back in 1844:

Money is the supreme good, therefore its possessor is good ... It is the visible divinity - the transformation of all human and natural properties into their contraries, the universal confounding and distorting of things: impossibilities are soldered together by it. It is the common whore, the common procurer of people and nations ... It transforms fidelity into infidelity, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, servant into master, master into servant, idiocy into intelligence, and intelligence into idiocy (Cribbs, 2009, p. 461).

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to shed some light on the constructions of money in Arab-Islamic culture. The paper uses the glorious Quran, which could be described as the *locus classicus* of Arabic literary heritage, as its main point of reference. It is evident from its analyses of the Quranic and jurisprudential descriptions that references to money in the Quranic framework are meant for specific purposes. These include the provision of guidance and legislations on its acquisition and appropriation. The paper proceeded thereafter to trace the trajectories in Muslims' experience of money across histories. It is evident from the excursus that right from the Makkan era up till the onset of modern period, the possession of money (wealth), across cultures and civilisations, has always been seen as an existential necessity, a means by which men’s social placement can be enhanced in the society and as, in extreme cases, the essence of existence. This explains why it has been invested with such powers that are far
beyond the imagination of specialists in economics or numismatics. Given this reading, money could be described as an enigma. Or like the knife in one’s hand, it is innocent of the end to which it is put.
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Submitted: February 18, 2016 / Published: October 31, 2016
Marriage, Sexuality and Moral Responsibility among the Tongu Mafi People of Ghana

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Abstract
Marriage is considered a very important institution in traditional societies in Africa. It has moral and social responsibilities. Beyond the social function, this paper makes the claim that notions of marriage life, sexuality and moral responsibility have their foundations in indigenous soteriological beliefs and worldviews. A cultural and religious analysis of connubial practices of the Tongu Mafi people of Ghana reveals that marriage rites and responsibilities are not defined without reference to soteriological beliefs and worldviews of the people. The paper concludes that sanctions and corrective rituals against breaches of moral responsibility relating to marriage and sexuality usually have soteriological implications.

Keywords: marriage, sexuality, responsibility, soteriology, beliefs

It is often said among the Mafi people in Ghana that moral responsibility can be best assessed within the arena of the institution of marriage. The Mafi people are a section of the Ewe-grouping referred to as the Tongu people. The Tongu people have settlements along both sides of the Lower Volta River in the southeastern part of Ghana. The Mafi people are predominantly settled

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1 The author expresses his sincerest gratitude to the African Humanities Program of the American Council of Learned Societies (AHP-ACLS) and the University of Ghana, Legon for providing funds for this research.
in the present Central Tongu District of the Volta Region even though some of their settlements can be found in parts of Ho West, South and North Tongu Districts in the same administrative region. As part of the larger Ewe community, the Tongu Mafi people share a lot in common in terms of social, cultural and religious values and practices with the larger Ewe community. However, the Tongu Mafi people have some beliefs and worldviews that are distinct and peculiar to them. The soteriological beliefs and ambitions of the Tongu Mafi as well as their conceptualisation of evil differ in details from those of the other Ewe-groupings. In Mafi thought, persons who attain the status of an ancestor or at least join the ancestors at the ancestral home are considered to have attained salvation. Therefore, the soteriological ambition of the Tongu Mafi average adult is to be an ancestor or at least join the ancestors in the hereafter. In addition, in Mafi metaphysics, salvation can also be experienced in the present existence. Salvation in the present life is captured in the expression *dagbe*. The etymological meaning of *dagbe* (de-agbe) is ‘to redeem life’ and a ‘redeemed life’ has the connotation of abundant life. *Dagbe* or salvation in the present existence therefore corresponds to abundant life. It is a life devoid of evil and all its manifestations (Gaba, 1978, p. 392).

In Mafi philosophical thought, the qualification for attainment of salvation in both the hereafter and present existence is explained in the context of their conceptualisation of evil. Like many other ethnic groupings in Ghana, the conditions for ancestorship include living up to an old age with children, dying a natural death and living an exemplary life (Sarpong, 1971, p. 3; Dzobo, 1985, pp. 334-340). In Mafi culture, however, living an exemplary life is first and foremost living a life devoid of evil. Evil in Mafi thought is defined as the destruction or doing something that could affect the sanctity of life. Life is considered the highest value and whatever promotes and protects the sanctity of life is considered good while anything that affects it negatively is considered evil (Meyer, 1999, pp. 85-86; Ahortor, 2015, pp. 101-102). In this sense, to use spiritual or physical means to kill
or destroy life is evil and the perpetrators are denied entry into the ancestral home and denied salvation. At the same time, their dead bodies are cremated as a punitive mortuary rite. These evildoers may be seen at times as prospering in life but they are never regarded as experiencing *dagbe* or salvation in the present existence (Gaba, 1978, p. 395). The realisation of salvation in both the hereafter and the present life is facilitated through rituals, especially, those that aim at preventing and overcoming the presence and effects of evil in the society. Thus conceived, ritual practices form an integral part of the cultural practices of the people.

An investigation into the socio-cultural and connubial practices of the Tongu Mafi people shows that the rituals relating to marriage, sexuality, procreation and marriage life, on the one hand, reveal different modes and attempts by which the Tongu Mafi people hedged in ethical values they cherish; and on the other, the rituals and other practices underscore how soteriological ambitions can conceptually affect individual and communal moral praxis. The moral responsibility of the married couple, family and for that matter the society thus comes clear in the arena of the institution of marriage and it flows from soteriological ambitions.

This paper identifies and analyses connubial practices of the Tongu Mafi people of Ghana. It also explores the intersections of marriage, sexuality and moral responsibility and how they are grounded in the soteriological beliefs and worldviews of the people. The framework for this study is traditional concepts and practices regarding evil. In Mafi thought, the images of evil are often presented as life-threatening. The notion of evil then seems to dictate the outlook of life and serves as a measure for moral praxis. This framework supports the view of Meyer (1999) that ‘Ewe ethics can be glimpsed through the analysis of these particular images of evil’ (p. 88). This paper is based on a phenomenological study of the Tongu Mafi people of Ghana, mainly through interviews with purposively selected opinion leaders and observation of routine socio-cultural practices of the people. This is part of data gathered from fieldwork conducted...
between 2010 and 2014 for a PhD study. It was primarily an investigation into soteriological beliefs and ethical values of the Tongu Mafi people.

Many scholars have written about marriage in Africa. Mbiti (1969) has noted that ‘for the African peoples, marriage is the focus of existence’ (p. 130). Many scholars have therefore devoted their writing to the types of marriages and the significance of marriage to the survival of the family and society in general. Gyekye (1996) noted that marriage is an important cultural value in the African society (pp. 76-92). Nukunya (2003) identified and examined ‘three generally accepted essential elements’ of marriage in Ghanaian societies (pp. 42-48). These are the marriage payment, handing over of the bride to the bridegroom and the marriage ceremony. In all these, procreation, marriage responsibilities and prohibitions in the social set-up are considered in the light of their social functions. Beyond the social functions, this paper, using the experience of the Tongu Mafi people of Ghana, explores the intersections of marriage, sexuality and responsibility and locates the foundations in the soteriological beliefs of the people.

Marriage among the Mafi People

A Mafi person can marry a person of his or her choice within or outside the Mafi society. But within the social set-up, there are permissible and non-permissible marriages. There are no restrictions to exogamous marriages. But as pointed out by Nukunya (2003), ‘among the Tongu Ewe also marriages within the clan are encouraged but here very closely related members of the clan are preferred as marriage partners’ (p. 20). Among the Tongu Mafi people, the preference is fomesro or ‘kinship marriage’. It is within this non-exogamous marriage set-up that the rules for permissible and non-permissible marriages are outlined. Outside the permissible marriage order are the prohibited marriages. Because such marriages are not allowed, sexual relationships are equally forbidden (Nukunya, 1969, p. 67). Any
such sexual relationship is considered evil. The categories for which sex and marriage are forbidden are as follow:

1. Father and daughter; including adopted daughters, daughters of one’s wife fathered by other men and this, whether the wife is alive or deceased.
2. Mother and son; including adopted sons, sons of one’s husband born to him by other women, whether this husband is alive or deceased.
3. Children of the same parents, including adopted siblings, step brothers and sisters.
4. Grandparents and grandchildren.
5. Uncle/Aunt and niece/nephew.
7. Even in polygamous marriage, marriage to two sisters is prohibited. In the case of twin sisters, it is permissible but according to discussants it is rare in practice.
8. One cannot marry the brother’s wife when the brother is alive, even when they are separated or divorced. However, after the death of an elder brother, a younger brother can marry the deceased’s wife.

As stated earlier, the prohibition also entails that sexual relationships in these categories be avoided. To have sex within the prohibited categories constitutes incest. Incest is an evil act and persons involved must be sanctioned for breaching sexual prohibitions. Even if the act is kept secret, it is believed that the offenders will be spiritually punished. If they are identified, rituals must be performed to cleanse them and prevent eventual deaths in the family. One of the visible symptoms of the consequences of incest is described by Nukunya (1969) as ‘a fatal pulmonary disease’ (p. 69). This appears as very severe fits of hiccups.

Apart from the pulmonary disease, an incestuous person can suffer from other incurable diseases. When diviners are consulted on problems of incurable diseases, the revelations sometimes turn out to be consequences of incestuous acts committed by the patients. In most cases of incest, diviners are reluctant to announce what they see but require from the victims a confession. While the cause of the pulmonary disease is believed
to be spiritual in Mafi thought, the start of the disease is mostly traced to social interactions. For instance, if a man has sexual intercourse with two sisters, knowingly or unknowingly, anytime one of the sisters gets sick and is visited by the other sister, it will also lead to the patient getting the pulmonary disease. Similarly, any sexual affair between persons in the prohibited categories of marriage would expose them to an attack of the disease when one of them gets sick and the other visits him or her. The cultural norm of the people imposes on them to always be socially interactive by visiting one’s kin, handshaking and sympathising with others in their troubles. This norm and social practice expose victims of social misconduct, advertently or inadvertently, to the dreaded pulmonary disease. This makes incest a real threat. The base line is that incest is an evil act and the consequent attack of pulmonary disease a threat to life so when they are identified in the community, urgent steps are taken to correct the anomaly by performing the appropriate rituals.

Marriage among the Mafi Ewe in the past seemed to be a never ending-process. The search for partners, preparations for the marriage and obligations of the married couple were not limited to specific time and the ramifications of marriage were evoked even after death. My discussants distinguished three concepts of marriages in Mafi traditional communities. These are nyanunanaatsu or ‘betrothal marriage’, ahiasrodede or ‘concubine marriage’ and ahosrodede or ‘widow marriage’. The ideal form of marriage practices for the Mafi people has for a long time been betrothal marriage. Normally, the lady is betrothed to the man at a tender age, sometimes even below the age of five years. This is not a mere expression of wish; families concerned with the marriage proposal must reach a mutual agreement which will later be customarily sealed with drinks. By this mutual agreement, the man and his family share the responsibility of the upbringing of the woman with her parents or family. In Mafi thought, it is explained that everyone is at liberty to marry a person of his or her choice and individuals have the freewill to accept or reject advice. However, in marriage, for instance, the youth are
trained to obey and accept the good counsel of their parents. The youth then are obliged to accept choices made on their behalf by parents, without signs or expressions of reservation.

Moral consideration seems to be the most influential factor for opting for betrothal marriage among the Mafi people. A would-be spouse is expected to be of the high moral standard of the Mafi people. Both the man and the woman are expected to be of good character, respectful, hardworking and judged to be living a responsible life. Some people would do everything to avoid marrying from a family even perceived to have members who are noted for what the Mafi people consider evil acts. The moral standard of the individual is important but time is taken to scrutinise the family as a unit of the social structure and how this unit conforms to the norms and moral standards of the people.

A woman who is betrothed to a reputable person in the society commands the respect of the people. As explained by a discussant, betrothed ladies are normally protected from unnecessary advances of other men. It was possible in the past, without any special identification of the ladies, because the community was usually small with members knowing one another and participating in all communal activities. But at the same time, the woman also has the moral obligation to remain chaste until she is married off to the man. As betrothed couples are not wives and husbands until they are properly married, they are prevented from sexual relationship until after marriage. People may also offer or accept proposals for the betrothal marriage of their children in appreciation of honours and other services gained from the suitors. But it is also a fact that a girl may be betrothed to a man to settle debts owed by her parents to the suitor or the parents of the suitor. These cases can be regarded as objectification of women but it seems this concept of reification does not simply find place in Mafi thought. This aspect of marriage is simply explained as a factor for social cohesion.

The second type of marriage among the Mafi people is *ahiasrodede* or ‘concubine marriage’. This is considered to be a form of marriage only when parents or families of the couple
recognise or approve of the relationship between the couples. The desire and agreement to be in a marital relationship start with the couple living together as a married couple. The couple informs their parents and normally the man announces the relationship to the parents-in-law with drinks referred to as *namanyaha*. The couple continues to cohabitate until the full customary marriage rites are performed. However, if the man fails to inform the parents of the woman in order to reach a mutual agreement with them, he could be arrested and tried by the elders for unlawfully keeping the woman in his custody. Even in a situation where the parents of the woman are made aware of the relationship between their daughter and the man and the full customary marriage rites have not been performed before any untimely death of the woman, the man will still be held responsible for the failure to perform the full marriage customary rites.

The last of the categories of marriage among the Mafi is *ahosrodede* or ‘widow marriage’. This refers to a remarriage of a widow. Generally, the widow can marry from within the family of the deceased husband or outside this family. There is, however, a kind of preferential marriage for widows in the form of ‘levirate marriage’. The widow is normally betrothed to a younger brother of the deceased but never to an elder brother. A younger brother in traditional thought is qualified to inherit from the elder brother but not the other way round. In cases where there is no uterine younger brother or such a brother is not willing to marry the widow, a suitable man from the family will be required to marry her. A widow is obliged to complete the widowhood rites before she could sleep with a man.

Some explanations are given for widow marriage. Widows are retained in the family to prevent the disintegration of the bonds, earlier established through the marriage of the woman, with the husband’s family. Further, the death of the man should not bring untold hardships to the widow and the children. At the same time, widow marriage ensures that transfer of property or inheritance to other families is avoided. New children raised in this marriage are in the name of the deceased husband and this
keeps the name of the deceased in history. In widow marriage, the moral conduct of the widow in her past marriage can determine the success or failure of the marriage. For a widow to be retained in the deceased husband’s family, she should be proven to be of good character, industrious and most importantly, that she has not committed any evil act against the deceased husband in particular and his family in general. The focus of evil acts against the husband is meant to determine whether the woman is involved in any way in the death of the husband. This is done through nukaka or consultation of the diviner. If she is found guilty, nobody in the family will accept to remarry her.

The process and ceremonies on marriage are elaborate and take a considerable length of time. An important aspect of the marriage rites is the coming together of the families of the couple. Marriage in Mafi, as in almost all African traditional societies, is not just between the marrying couples but between families. After initial agreements between the two families have been made, a day is set for the presentation and acceptance of drinks for the marriage. This is the sign of agreement or recognition of the marriage. Failure on the part of the man in particular to see to the presentation and acceptance of the drinks by the family of the woman would be viewed as unlawfully keeping of the woman in his custody. On the day of the marriage, various members of the family could voice any grievance or offences they might have suffered from the other family. There are elderly persons to give advice to the partners in the marriage, especially on marriage responsibilities and on how to sustain the marriage. This ceremony could be required posthumously from a man who did not perform it in the event of any untimely death of the woman. This should be done before burial and it is metaphorically described as the ‘dawn of burial’.

**Marriage Rites at the Dawn of Burial**

The presentation and acceptance of the drinks for marriage have implications in terms of belief in soteriology and determination of responsible persons. In terms of soteriology, people are obliged to
perform posthumous marriage rites for deceased persons. Posthumous marriage rites involve all the requirements of marriage with extra fines because they serve a punitive purpose. Traditionally in Mafi, it is husbands who are responsible for the performance of marriage rites. Therefore, the need for posthumous marriage rites can be traced to the attitude of the male spouse at the beginning of his union with the woman. There are broadly two categories of people who will require posthumous marriage rites. The first category is a woman whose husband did not perform the marriage rites before the death of the woman. In the case of these kinds of deceased persons, the posthumous marriage rites become highly necessary if the woman dies in the custody of the man. The man must necessarily inform the family of the woman about the untimely death of his partner and arrange for means to return the corpse to the family to initiate burial ceremonies. A man may come from the same community as the deceased, be closely related to the deceased’s family, may have helped the deceased and relatives and even may have started the process of marriage rites but the fact that the process was not completed could call for posthumous marriage rites. The assumption on the part of the man that the parents of the deceased partner might be aware of their relationship would not be accepted as an excuse.

The second category of deceased persons that require marriage rites are persons – both male and female – whose father did not perform marriage rites for their mother in her life time. Because of the children sired, the man has no choice but to perform the posthumous marriage rites in order not to lose the paternity of the children. A man cannot perform any mortuary rites for a child got from a woman not married to the man in accordance with the traditional standards, custom and tradition of the people. While it appears that the need to restore deceased persons back to the family and the assertion of paternity would oblige a man to embrace posthumous marriage rites for his partner, there are other social and ethical reasons for the belief and practice of posthumous marriage in Mafi traditional society. One social conduct that undermines social cohesion in traditional societies is
the undermining of the respect, dignity and integrity of the individual and/or the family. Families that do not keep to the cultural standards of the society could be taken for granted. For the sake of social cohesion, a family could be very reluctant to separate partners who have not performed the marriage rites. The woman’s family may advise their daughter to persuade her husband to do the right thing while others could inform the man politely and informally about the need to perform the rites. However, if the woman passes on, the man has the most difficult task of redeeming the image of the woman’s family. The physical and social manifestation of the sullied image of families can be discerned from insinuations and other derogatory remarks about children of parents who could not perform marriage rites. They may be taunted as hasiviwo ‘concubine children’ to mean illegitimate children. In Mafi parlance, this is derogatory and offensive.

In the social set-up, different mechanisms are employed to hold members responsible and accountable for certain values. The institution of marriage is held in such high esteem that the mechanisms for upholding the values inherent in the institution are made known to every member of the society. A condition for asserting and exhibiting marriage responsibility is the performance of the marriage rite. It is true that people, and for that matter, marriage partners are held responsible for the upbringing of their children, and men in particular for their wives, but the reaction to an individual caring for wives and children without initially performing the marriage rite is always negative. Such a person is considered irresponsible because the cost for caring for wives and children would surely be more demanding than the performance of the marriage rite. Proper marriage as symbolised in the performance of rites that can be used as a tool to hold individual members of the society responsible for the common good. In some cases, some members of the family of the deceased woman could refuse to co-operate with husbands of their daughters. This is an indirect way of indicating to the man that he is irresponsible. Therefore, to demonstrate one’s social
responsibility, gain the respect and integrity accorded married persons and also demonstrate maturity, a man must consider paying his *ahaga* bride price or bride worth even before taking the woman into his custody.

It equally behoves the prospective bride to ensure that her marriage partner performs the marriage rite. The woman could be ridiculed by her detractors, some family members and some people in the husband’s family. In order to provoke separation, disgruntled members of the man’s family may constantly taunt or remind the woman that her presence in their family is illegitimate. This occurs mostly in homes where the man is quite well-to-do or the family members are expecting the man to marry a particular woman of their choice. This attitude towards women from other families can be well appreciated if one considers the non-exogamous nature of marriage among the Tongu Mafi people. It is therefore the responsibility also of the woman to legitimise her presence within the family of the partner by convincing him to perform the rites. The last resort of the mechanisms worked out to ensure that the responsibility of performing marriage rites is not abused blatantly is the insistence on posthumous marriage rites. This also highlights the corporate responsibility that society imposes on families. It is incumbent on family heads to ensure that members of his family act in accordance with the norms of the society. The parents and family of the deceased man, who has failed to perform the marriage rites in his lifetime, are held responsible for the omission of their son.

There is a sense in which the reconstruction of social identity is linked with marriage rites. In African traditional societies, the family can also serve as the basic unit of the social organisation. The families are identifiable with certain features yet organically integrated with one another to form clans and society. Some peculiar character traits and vocation can be identified with certain families. But generally, family identity can be constructed through naming. Therefore, to reconstruct identity, people may change their names. In the experience of the Tongu Mafi people, it is often the practice that the woman’s family gives a name to a
child whose father has not performed the marriage rite, especially when the child is not in the custody of the father. In the course of this research, some students who have their names changed were interviewed. The recurring reason for the change of name was that their former names were given by their mothers’ families. Their new names were the ones from their paternal families. Many of them affirmed that their mothers, and in some cases, their fathers had died. There were a few who indicated that their fathers were alive but they were brought up by the family of their mother. They changed their names from those given by the maternal family to that of the paternal family when their fathers accepted the responsibility to care for them. In this category of people, when they were asked, ‘What kind of responsibility has your father accepted to do now?’, the answers are generally that he has accepted to pay for their school fees and provide for their uniforms. As a matter of interest, many of these pupils and students interviewed were still living with their mothers or the families of their mothers. In a strict traditional practice, however, the father must necessarily pay for the *ahaga* or the final bride price or bride worth with a penalty before he can change the name of the child or take him or her into his custody.

The reconstruction of identities to belong especially to the paternal families can also be explained within the framework of the notion of inheritance. Tongu Mafi is a patriarchal and patrilineal society. In the traditional worldview of the people, the social identity of the individual or a group is linked up also with the notion of inheritance. The true sense of belonging to a family or a clan is to some extent woven around the right to inheritance. The individual can inherit the property of the father or through paternal lines. If a person has no claim to inheritance, the social standing and identity of such a person becomes questionable. In Mafi people’s cultural practices, members of the family traced through maternal lines do not have the right to inheritance of family property. In this case, for example, a child cannot claim the mother’s portion of land even though the mother might have inherited it from the paternal family. The child can have it only
when it is given generously by the family. The property of the paternal family is often considered insufficient for the members. Hence, there is the saying among the Mafi people that *etor nu metuna ame abe enor nu ene o* meaning ‘the father’s property (to be shared) is never enough as compared to the mother’s property’. It is to the effect that only the humble and respectful child who can benefit from property in the maternal family. A child born out of illegitimate marriage can be denied the right to inheritance in both the paternal and maternal families. A responsible man, and for that matter his family, must foresee how and what his progenies could lose or be denied inheritance if marriages are not legitimised. In this respect, the family head reminds and ensures that members of the family live up to their responsibilities, especially those relating to marriage. The family head would not hesitate to perform posthumous marriage rites to forestall any possible denial of inheritance in the future. Two different but interrelated scenarios can be used to explain further the notion of inheritance and how they affect the practice of posthumous marriage rites. In one instance, parents, especially fathers, could be compelled to perform late marriage rites or posthumous rites because the deceased family member is well-to-do. In the second case, family members may consider posthumous marriage rite in order to claim the body and property of a rich deceased member. In both cases, the decisive consideration centres on the performance of marriage rites. In a situation where it is declared that the deceased person in question has a father, who did not perform marriage rite for the deceased’s mother, the maternal family will lay claim to the property of the deceased.

The fact is also that the social identity of the individual or a group in the Tongu Mafi society is not limited to the world of the living or present world but extends to the world of spirits. As such, in a situation where a deceased person is buried by the wrong family, all efforts would be marshalled by the rightful family to exhume and rebury the body in the proper family cemetery. The claim to the body goes with the claim to the deceased’s property. A man’s family will consider all options including posthumous
marriage rite to avoid any possible litigation and embarrassment. The notion that there is salvation when one joins the ancestors or gets to the ancestral home in the hereafter guides the living in the performances of their obligations so that access to the ancestors would not be denied them. Performing marriage rites should not be a barrier to the lofty belief of joining the ancestors or experiencing salvation after death. If a person is buried in a wrong cemetery, the soul of that person will not be at peace over there and will return to haunt the family until the right thing has been done. The proper performance of marriage rites therefore facilitates peaceful co-existence between the worlds of the living and the dead.

Mortuary rituals among the Tongu Mafi are meant to facilitate the peaceful transition of the dead to the spirit world. They accord the deceased great sense of respect and dignity. One such ritual for a deceased married man revolves around the widow. A man who has failed to perform the marriage rites of the woman in his life time could not have the widow to perform the rituals during and after his burial. Usually, it is the family of the woman who will prevent her from honouring the deceased with those rites. The alternative for the deceased’s family is to resort to posthumous marriage rites in the name of the deceased. In this regard, the upright Mafi citizen shuns any acts which can bring about disrespect and indignity to oneself and community, before or after death, and therefore, regards the performance of marriage rites as a moral obligation.

**Sexuality and Procreation in Mafi Thought**

The moral codes of the Mafi people normally have something to do with the concepts of life and evil. Sexuality and procreation are explained in the context of sustaining life and preventing evil in the society. These concepts influence morality in marriage. The practice of polygamy is not a moral issue in the traditional philosophy of the Mafi people. Similarly, prostitution is never regarded as a threat to life or considered evil except that the practice is not cherished. On sexuality, there are taboos on
places for having sexual intercourse (Nelson-Adjakpey, 1982, pp. 88-89). It is a taboo to have sex in the bush, in the farm or on the ground. These acts are considered a desecration of the earth. There is no earth deity in Mafi society but in prayers or libation, the earth is personified and deified. To the extent that the earth is viewed as sacred, these sexual misconducts as well as the unlawful spilling of blood and unauthorised activities at the cemeteries are considered desecration of the purity of the earth. Permission must be sought, through libation, from the earth and ancestors before any activity, such as burial or exhumation of corpses, is undertaken in the cemetery. Acts of sexual misconduct could lead to drought, famine and pestilence in the society unless purificatory rites are performed to cleanse the land of the desecration. Even married couples could not engage in these sexual misconducts. The institution of marriage then is a platform for expressing responsible sexuality and procreation to sustain life and society and guarantee harmony between the physical and spiritual realms.

As stated earlier, procreation is a moral obligation for persons considered adults and for married couples in particular. An individual or a couple could not decide to avoid giving birth. Divorce is usually not challenged if the reason is lack of procreation. Before a married partner would seek divorce, he or she might have been convinced that efforts to remedy barrenness or infertility through known avenues had failed. Most of the time, it is the women who are blamed for non-procreation. Although there are no statistics on divorce based on non-procreation, it is believed that women are quicker to divorce on these grounds than men. The difference is that male partners have the option to marry other women while the woman has the options of either staying in the marriage or asking for divorce. Infertility, impotence and barrenness are all perceived as evil because they are considered threats to life. Procreation is understood as the foundation for the sustenance of society and it is a moral obligation for every member of the society to contribute to this goal. Procreation therefore influences the sexual life of the Mafi people. For this reason, any marriage practices that will not lead to procreation are abhorred.
and considered evil in Mafi culture. In this regard, homosexuality is evil and unaccepted in Mafi society. In fact, except in modern and descriptive phraseology, there is no term for homosexuality in Mafi parlance. Similarly, zoophilia and necrophilia are abhorred and regarded as taboos. The practice of homosexuality, bestiality and necrophilia are all considered counter-productive to procreation, desecration of the institution of marriage and threat to life and society. A morally responsible person should not engage in any of these abhorred and abominable practices. So important is childbearing that there is a punitive mortuary rite for both adult men and women who fail to procreate irrespective of the cause of failure.

It is a fact that science and medical care have made significant impact on traditional outlook and broadened knowledge on reproductive health in Mafi society. However, in traditional belief system and worldviews, there is no recognition for the scientific explanations of infertility or barrenness as the basis for putting aside punitive post-mortem rites for non-procreation by adults. Thus, known scientific causes of non-procreation have, so far, not changed traditional worldviews on the moral obligation for every adult to procreate. While family planning and use of contraceptives may not raise any serious moral arguments, they may be considered negative in Mafi metaphysics if they lead to non-procreation by the average adult before any untimely death. Most often, the known scientific causes of non-procreation are subjected or traced to spiritual causations. Remarkably, it has never been the case for an individual to justify his or her inability to procreate. Neither have the rituals any gender discrimination.

On the other hand, there is no justification for abortion in Mafi thought. The emphasis is on induced abortion. The act of induced abortion is considered immoral, evil and ought not to be done on any condition. Since induced abortion is actually regarded as a destruction of life, the perpetrators, after death, are cremated as a punishment. The basis of this punitive and dissuasive mortuary rite is the failure of the individual to hold sacrosanct the
moral obligation to procreate and sustain both family and society. Not only the individuals who caused induced abortion are held responsible for the perceived evil act, but all accomplices, including men, who were aware of and were in position to warn the perpetrators of the consequences of the act but failed to do so. It is for this reason that elderly persons in the family, particularly parents in their private or intimate discussions with their children would advise them on the soteriological implications of choices the children make in their sexual life. Thus in marriage life, sexuality, procreation and moral responsibilities are anchored on soteriological ambitions.

Moral Responsibility and Respect for Human Personality in Marriage

In Mafi social and cultural practices, one form of outlook on morality is the individual and communal sense of responsibility. In Mafi thought, what a responsible person should do is self-evident; these are acts that promote peace, harmony and life, and they are internalised through socialisation processes right from childhood. Therefore, it is expected of every citizen to exhibit a sense of responsibility towards societal expectations. In the early stages of the process of marriage, parents and families would confidentially inquire from their children about their prospective suitors, asking: ‘Do you know the person? Is he or she a responsible person?’ It does not mean the parents are not aware of the character of the suitor but that they would like their children themselves to assess the sense of responsibility being exhibited by the suitor. It is also to remind the children that it would not be worthwhile to marry a morally irresponsible person who might also block her soteriological ambitions.

Further, married people have the responsibility to bring up their children according to the norms and traditions of the society. It is also the responsibility of the whole society to mould the character of children and inculcate discipline into them, even if parents tend to take the lead in exercising this responsibility. Apart from caring for their children, adults have the responsibility of
supporting and caring for their aged parents. Married couples have the responsibility for the upkeep of the family. Women are mostly involved in domestic chores and are traditionally considered housewives. However, in childhood, both boys and girls are taught cooking responsibilities. Similarly, both boys and girls are introduced to farming in the agrarian settlements in the society. It is also a mark of responsibility for an adult citizen to be industrious and at the same time to own property. Both men and women can own property. They can decide on what to do with their property without restriction. However, society frowns upon ‘evil’ means of acquiring wealth or property. It is in this sense that some sources of wealth or acquired property are described as gafodi or ‘dirty money’. Akpasusasa (i.e. the act of seeking wealth spiritually although the wealth manifests physically) is one form of ‘dirty money’ and source of wealth. It is also believed that a greedy person can spiritually tap into the sources of livelihood of other members of the society thereby destroying the tapped resources. For instance, it is believed that yields of crops can be transferred from the farm of an innocent person into the crops of the evil person through spiritual manipulation. Similarly, ‘spiritual tapping’ can be done to livestock.

To acquire wealth or property through these means is considered evil, irresponsible, and therefore, a threat to the well-being and life of members of the society. These evildoers are also punished with cremation after death. For the average Mafi person therefore, a morally responsible person, in order to achieve his/her soteriological goal of joining the ancestors, must refrain from these evil acts in spite of the pressures that marriage and family responsibilities may place on individuals. As a mark of moral responsibility, members of the community are to show bubu or respect for themselves and others. Respect must be shown in language or utterances, action and if possible in thought. Children are trained to internalise the use of mede kuku ‘I beg’ or ‘please’ in their discourse with parents or elderly persons. Mafi people support this value with the maxim, kukudevi wo me wui ne o, meaning ‘a child who pleads (for mercy or forgiveness) is never
killed’. A person who does not use courteous expression as part of his or her rhetoric could easily be discerned as a disrespectful person or one who has not acquired good moral training. It is understood in Mafi thought that a responsible person is normally a respectful person. Respect is only an aspect of showing responsibility.

In the family settings and in society in general, thoughts, utterances and actions of citizens must be kept within the bounds of courtesy and mutual respect for the personality and dignity of each other. The acknowledged respect for one another governs the behaviour of married couples, members of the family and the entire society. Behaviour which is normally not accepted in marriage life and family unit cannot also be accepted in the larger society. For cohesion in both the family and larger society, responsibility is placed on each member of the society to respect the personality and dignity of others. The sanctions for any violation of respect for the dignity of a person tend to be religious. They could be remedied if detected early or they could result in an untimely death. Furthermore, in marriage settings, the respect for oneself and others enjoins married couples and other family members to avoid animosity. In this sense, expressions of hatred and ill-feeling towards others, even if suppressed, as well as the exchange of vitriolic expressions are considered abominable acts for these could bring about spiritual sicknesses that would eventually lead to untimely deaths. It is again a mark of disrespect to others to use obscene and offensive language, especially, references to infirmities or disabilities and female genitalia as insults. These have religious sanctions. The overriding moral principle is for everyone in the society, especially married couples in their family units, to avoid evil acts. The moral responsibility to avoid evil is conceptually founded on traditional belief and worldview that evil acts conceptually affect soteriological ambitions.
Contemporary Dynamics

Issues of marriage, sexuality and moral responsibility in contemporary societies may not be the same as they had been in traditional societies in the distant or immediate past. The advent of Christianity and the new frame it has provided on marriage, morality and notions of salvation serve as a factor of change. Christian practices have been widely adopted and these span the diverse departments of life including the various stages of life. In addition, formal education is often used to reinforce moral values entailed in Christian practices. It is also important to recognise the dispersal of Mafi citizens to other parts of the country for better economic opportunities by reason of the diversified economy of the country. As a result, citizens who have migrated to other parts of the country often sever ties with their homeland and the cultural values of their forebears. The cultural and religious encounters between Mafi society and the outside world could account for the changed dynamics in outlooks on marriage and moral responsibility. With cultural and religious encounters, some traditional practices and values have been abandoned, others toned down, new ones adopted, and in some cases blended. These have led to different levels of collaboration between different religions and cultural norms. The collaboration between Christians and traditionalists becomes clear on occasions of marriage and funeral ceremonies. The blending of moral values entailed in these ceremonies has perhaps been a significant unifying factor for the various religions.

However, based on the resilience of core indigenous beliefs and worldviews, moral values on marriage, sexuality and responsibility have been sustained. The pillar of the sustenance has been soteriological ambitions. At least, in the experience of the Tongu Mafi people of Ghana, practices and norms hinging on core indigenous beliefs and worldviews are quite resilient. Even in the face of globalisation, modifications to practices do not necessarily dislocate indigenous beliefs and practices. The ambition to join the ancestors or be one of them just by living a good life and the alternate post-mortem punitive rites leading to a
dislocation of the soul in the ancestral home for being evil therefore affect individual choices in moral decision-making. This also seems to affect outlooks on life. For the Mafi person, and this can be said of many Ghanaians, blending of cultural values and adoption of new practices to deal with present challenges do not amount to a rejection of indigenous beliefs and worldviews. This has been the basis of creative hybridity in Mafi thought and practices.

Conclusion

As an institution and an integral part of individual and communal life and praxis, marriage can be described as a platform for the display of maximum moral obligation and responsibility among the Tongu Mafi people. In marriage then, the couple should exhibit the highest standard of responsibility to establish good esteem for themselves, family and society. What ought to be done or not done is founded on the moral responsibility to protect human life. Therefore, outlooks on marriage, sexuality, procreation and mutual respect by the couple and the upbringing of the child must all necessarily be in tune with the moral imperative of protecting human life. This would, however, not mean that the true exercise of moral responsibility is a preserve of only the married. It is required of all members of the society.

In Mafi metaphysics, beliefs and worldviews, the moral value of protecting the sanctity of life is couched in two moral principles: living a good life and avoiding evil. Living a good life translates into doing things that will not harm or negatively affect human life and the sanctity of life. On the other hand, avoiding evil is understood as desisting from acts and thoughts that can adversely affect or destroy human life, either by physical or spiritual means. Evil in Mafi philosophy is defined as what can destroy or maim the quality of human life. These two moral principles must be observed simultaneously in life. The emphasis on these moral principles is important for it constitutes the foundation of soteriological concerns of the Tongu Mafi people.
While the social function of marriage is obvious in Mafi society, a critical analysis of the connubial practices reveals its interconnection with soteriological beliefs and ambitions. For this reason, sanctions against breaches of moral obligation and responsibility on marriage and sexuality, especially those that are life-threatening, tend to be religious. They also have soteriological implications. The average Tongu Mafi adult who understands his or her cultural values would certainly aspire to be an ancestor or at least attain salvation by getting into the ancestral home. Some of the post-mortem rites are not merely punitive but an attempt to prevent the souls of such evil persons from ever getting to the ancestral home and at the same time redirect them to their assigned section of the spirit world. Therefore, the average and discerning Tongu Mafi person in his or her moral decision-making on choices of marriage life, sexuality, procreation and taking care of the child would not overlook the soteriological concerns in life.
References


Submitted: March 21, 2016/ Published: October 31, 2016
Mother Tongue Eclipsing in the Linguistic Repertoire of Yoruba/English Bilingual Children in Nigeria

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Abstract
This paper examines a trend in Nigeria whereby children of Yoruba-speaking parents acquire English as their First Language and Yoruba as their second language. It assesses the socio-cultural implications of this practice on the country’s socio-political development. Forty school children and their parents were purposively selected and administered questionnaires aimed at eliciting their language preferences in different domains. The results showed that English was the preferred language used by the children in eight out of the twelve domains of language use. The paper concluded by recommending that indigenous languages be used for legislation, administration, and education in Nigeria.

Keywords: bilingualism, domain, Yoruba, language policy, mother tongue

The institutionalization of English as Nigeria’s official language and language of education is a major consequence of Nigeria’s colonial history, multi-ethnicity, and multilingualism. While the choice of English as the country’s official language seemed logical, inexpensive, and convenient at the time of the nation’s independence in 1960, a critical look at what obtains in developed nations and emerging economies across the globe

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ljh.v27i1.5
shows that the time is ripe to revisit this choice. According to Egbe (2014, p. 58), the institutionalized use of English in Nigeria has contributed to the decline in the use and development of most indigenous Nigerian languages. Indeed, the rate at which English, in partnership with Pidgin, is strangulating and snuffing the life out of indigenous Nigerian languages has reached alarming dimensions in many southwestern Nigerian cities.

Aside from English being the language of opportunity and achievement in Nigeria, the language is also the country’s official and national language. This reality has resulted in the predilection by many educated Nigerian parents to propel their children towards the mastery of English at the expense of their native languages. According to Setati (2008, p. 106), it is “the preferred language for schools and businesses, as it is a passport to social goods, tertiary education, fulfilling jobs, and positions of influence and power.” Notwithstanding Nigeria’s National Policy on Education (2004) which stipulates that “the medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first three years,” English has taken over, not only in many nursery and primary schools in Nigeria, but also in many homes. Consequently, many Yoruba city children acquire English as their first language (L1), thereby effectively displacing their mother tongue(s) or the language of the immediate environment (LIE).

This linguistic experience can be described as “subtractive bilingualism” instead of “additive bilingualism”, which is the ideal as it enables children to acquire both English and the language of the immediate environment (LIE) simultaneously. For Cummins (2000, p. 246), cited by Phaahla (2014, p. 35), additive bilingualism occurs when the L1 of a child “continues to be developed and the first culture to be valued while the L2 is added”. In subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, the second language is used at the expense of the first language and culture; not only does the L2 displace the L1, but it also eclipses the child’s culture.

The children used as respondents for this study grew up in a peculiar speech community where many parents speak Yoruba,
the LIE and mother tongue of southwestern Nigeria, between themselves, but switch to English when communicating with their children. This trend started with the educated elite and it is now being mimicked by the lower classes in the Yoruba-English bilingual speech community. Although Yoruba is one of Nigeria’s three major languages (the other two being Hausa in the North and Igbo in the south-east and south-south), a good number of Yoruba parents refuse to expose their wards to the language apparently because they believe it is in the children’s best interest not to do so. Indeed, too many Nigerian children and youths are generally not keen on using their indigenous language. Most of the members of this group of Nigerians are incapable of reading and writing in their native language. According to Soneye (2003, p. 9), Nigerian youths “sometimes feign ignorance of their native tongue and confirm that ignorance with pomp and pageantry”. Isola (2000) also bemoans the relegation of the Nigerian native languages when he observes that only few Nigerians can converse in the mother tongue for a reasonable length of time without (un)consciously or embarrassingly code-mixing and code-switching.

For Omego (2014, p. 148), in a bilingual or multilingual family, “a child develops a ‘first’ language rather than a mother tongue.” Soneye and Ayoola (2015, p. 120) observed that the use of the LIE by children is almost a taboo in many homes and nursery-primary schools in Lagos, a major southwestern Nigerian metropolis and the former capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In their words,

Children from lower-middle class and middle class homes often have access to satellite television, computer games, Playstations, cartoons, videos, storybooks, and other educative materials most of which are usually produced in English. The consequence of this is that the children (and wards) of educated elites, more often than not, use English naturally amongst themselves when they are at play. (Soneye & Ayoola, 2015, p. 120).
Moderately-educated parents, adults, teachers, and pastors, as an
unwritten rule, opt for English when communicating with pre-
school and primary school-age children. This is the pivot on which
many southwestern Nigerian nursery-primary schools base their
practice of using English instead of the children’s native languages
or LIE to teach pre-school and school-age children. This situation
has led to a huge imbalance in Nigerian bilingualism to the extent
that many educated Nigerians are not fluent in their native
language. This paper examines the growing preference for the use
of English by Yoruba-speaking Nigerian parents for their children
and assesses the implications of this practice on the development
of the children as Nigerians or Africans. It also draws attention to
the implications of this practice on the future of indigenous
Nigerian languages.

**Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

Adegbite (2010, p. 48) observes that “a human being
without competence in his or her mother tongue is deprived and
dehumanized.” He attributes Nigeria’s language problem to lack
of a comprehensive language policy. In his view, where there is a
policy, it is either not well formulated or well-implemented
(Adegbite, p. 42). In his assessment of what he describes as the
“overuse” of English and “underuse” of the mother tongue in the
linguistic repertoire of Nigerians, Adegbite blames “elitist
interests” for the “inferior status” of the mother tongue in Nigeria
(See also Oyelaran, 1988; Oyesakin, 1992; Oyetade, 2001;
Bamgbose, 2006). This explains why many Nigerian parents,
especially those in southwestern Nigeria, “forbid their children
from speaking the native language at home,” even when both
parents speak the language to each other (Adegbite, 2010, p. 37).
He further observes that less educated parents in the lower classes,
who are often incapable of speaking good English, emulate this
practice in their homes. Very much like other respected Nigerian
linguists and scholars before him (e.g. Essien, 2003, 2006;
Fafunwa, 1982; Bamgbose, 1990; Afolayan, 1994, 2001; Jibril,
2007), Adegbite asserts that Nigeria has very little chance of
survival in the globalized economy if she fails to give primacy to the development and use of the mother tongue in the educational and socio-political spheres (Adegbite, p. 41). He continues:

in addition to the need for government authorised long-term sustained efforts, a combined effort of individuals and groups to promote, develop and utilize the language resources of the nation appropriately, through micro- and macro-policies, planning and action measures, is a *sine qua non* of qualitative and quantitative education, positive socio-cultural dynamism, creative technology, vibrant economy, social justice, medical innovations and political sovereignty (Adegbite, p. 41).

The above can be summarized by Essien’s observation that the power of developed nations is rooted in their ability to develop their languages and utilize them gainfully (Essien, 2003; 2006).

Like Adegbite, Nnolim (2007) notes that the current status enjoyed by the English language in Nigeria has an adverse effect on Nigerian child. He argues that the continued education of Nigerian children in a foreign language will continue to produce children and adults who can neither read nor write in their indigenous languages. According to him, no matter how indigenized, “vernacularized”, or “pidginized” English is adapted in Nigeria, its undiluted use as the nation’s official language at all levels of government means “perpetual bondage to a foreign power” (p. 3). Nnolim further suggests that for Nigeria to develop its indigenous technology and make its mark as an independent nation, the present role of the English language will have to be de-emphasized and the indigenous Nigerian languages given greater prominence. Notwithstanding Adegbite and Nnolim’s Africanist ideologies and idealistic arguments in favor of the mother tongue, their views run at cross-purposes with the dream of parents for their children. This latter view is captured accurately by Baker (1998) who argues that in a country where opportunities for
improving one’s life are minimal, insisting on education in the country’s dominant official language becomes the order of the day because it empowers children to utilize available opportunities better.

According to an empirical study carried out by OlaOlorun et al (2013, p. 35), parental attitudes towards the mother tongue or the LIE largely determine the choice of English as their children’s L1. The study investigated parental attitude to the mother tongue in relation to their choice of English as their children’s L1 and how this had influenced the children’s negative perception of their mother tongue. According to them, contrary to the parent’s expectation, such children often perform poorly even in the English Language paper in public examinations. Reacting to the widespread practice of relegating the mother tongue to the background in most southwestern Nigerian private nursery-primary schools, OlaOlorun et al (2013, p. 36) argue that enforcing the Nigerian National Policy of Education (Federal Ministry of Education, 2004) is in the best interest of the children and the nation as a whole. They predict that this move will meet with some resistance from parents who prefer that their children are taught in English, on the one hand; and private school proprietors whose phenomenal success was built on thwarting the policy, on the other hand. OlaOlorun et al and other Nigerian linguists and educators who champion the cause of adopting the mother tongue as the language of education in Nigeria tend to gloss over the fact that most major Nigerian cities, including those in southwestern Nigeria such as Lagos Ibadan, Osogbo, Ado-Ekiti, and Akure, have a good mix of Hausa, Igbo, Ijaw, and other Nigerian nationals who do not speak Yoruba fluently. While it will be impracticable to teach the children of such residents in their parents’ language, there is the challenge of imposing the LIE as the language of education on the children of such citizens in a country that takes pride in the intermingling of people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

In their investigation of the domains of language use and choice by the Kinubi-speaking community in Kibera, Kenya,
Adams, Matu, and Ongarora (2012, p. 99) observe that in spite of Kenya’s linguistic diversity, Kinubi, a minority language in the country, has remained the natural choice in most homes in the Kinubi-speaking community. According to them, the Kinubi indigenous group has retained and maintained the richness of their linguistic heritage over the years, in spite of the dominance of English and Kiswahili in Kenya. The three researchers referred to the sociolinguistic notion of “domain” used by Fishman (1972) that different settings characteristically call for the use of different languages in a multilingual society. Domain, according to Egbe (2014, pp. 56-57), refers to “institutional contexts in which one language is more likely to be appropriate than another and are to be seen as constellations of other factors such as topic, location and participants”. According to Adams, Matu, and Ongarora (2012, p. 99), the home is the “anchor” domain; other domains are social events, cultural events, education, business matters, travel, writing, neighborhood, religion and so on. In the case of the Kinubi-speaking community, the home, neighborhood, religion, and business matters are the key domains in operation (Adams, Matu & Ongarora, 2012, p. 103). The reality on the ground in southwestern Nigerian cities is that English, the language of Britain and the US, the dream-countries of many southwestern Nigerians, has so penetrated most of the domains of language use in the region. Consequently, one cannot use what obtains in the Kinubi-speaking community in Kenya to generalize for Yoruba-speaking cities in southwestern Nigeria.

Webb (2012) also examines the impact of the English language on the teaching experience of teachers in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, who are compelled to teach mainly in English, a language that is not their home language. The study reports how multilingual teachers are encouraged to write poetry in their home languages about their perceptions of the dominance of English in their lives in order to elicit their inner voices on language conflicts and contradictions in their classrooms. The poetry collated in the study revealed the teachers’ perception of English as a powerful and dominant outsider that subordinates the home languages.
Webb argues that the fact that school teachers in Eastern Cape are under compulsion to teach in English does not establish excellent performance of their pupils in terms of the acquisition of English; even if they are taught through the medium of English from the outset. According to him, the pupils they teach become culturally disintegrated, such that serious social and educational problems occur. The reason being that they lack native (or native-like) competence in both the L1 and L2 which is detrimental to their cognitive development and academic performance. And lastly, such children are often incapable of expressing deep indigenous thoughts and nuances of meaning in the foreign language (2012:c).

Omego (2014) undertook a study on the patterns of language acquisition exhibited by children born in multilingual environments. His study attempted to ascertain the influence of the child’s immediate environment on the acquisition of a second language and the ultimate effect of this acquisition on the child’s native language. He argued that “language as a living organism grows if it is being spoken, but dies if people stop speaking it” (p. 148). He observed that so long as African environments do not favor the use of indigenous languages in homes, schools, and businesses, the future of African indigenous languages is very bleak (p. 148). In a study that centers on predicting the future of the English Language in Nigeria, Egbe (2014, p. 53) discusses Nigerian university undergraduates most preferred language for communication and interaction at home. The main languages in question are English, indigenous Nigerian languages and Nigerian Pidgin. Egbe explains that language choice and preference arise when a speaker in a bilingual or multilingual geo-political domain has competence in more than one language being spoken in his/her environment and has to choose when to use any of the languages in his or her daily interactions. Citing Adams, Matu and Ongarora (2012, p. 100), he asserts that people who are proficient in two or more languages often make a choice as to when and where to use any of the languages in their repertoire. The choices such speakers make can be explained by their attitude to the language (Egbe, 2014, p. 53). His paper concludes that the new generation of
Nigerians prefers the use of English as first language in a non-host second language context and that this group of Nigerians is advancing in the direction of “monolingual English-only proficiency”. This conclusion resonates with the present authors’ observations with respect to primary school pupils who speak English only in almost all domains of language use in the southwestern Nigerian Yoruba/English bilingual community.

Scholars, such as Fafunwa (1982) and Afolayan (1994; 2001), have demonstrated the cognitive advantage of educating children in their mother tongue through the “Ife Six-year Primary Project”. Other Nigerian linguists and educators, such as Bamgbose (1990), Essien (2003), Nnolim (2007), Jibril (2007), and Adegbite (2010), have all argued in favor of encouraging the use of Nigerian mother tongues in education and governance. Scholars like OlaOlorun et al (2013) have highlighted the negative attitude of parents towards the use of the mother tongue by Nigerian primary school pupils, while Egbe (2014) has shown that Nigerian tertiary institution students’ preference for English as L1 over their mother tongue. In spite of the compelling research findings and sound arguments in favor of using the mother tongue in many more domains in Nigeria, the new generation of southwestern Nigerian children seems to be advancing towards English-only proficiency. While most studies have focused on Nigerian authorities, schools, and grownups for empirical data on the challenges confronting the use of the mother tongue in Nigeria, this study seeks to establish why the mother tongue is becoming increasingly unpopular with Yoruba/English bilingual children. This is with a view to describing the roles played by parents and schools in the declining use of the mother tongue by primary school children in Nigerian cities where Yoruba is the dominant language. This is the knowledge gap the study intends to fill.

**Research Methodology**

The study is a qualitative research that investigated the preferred linguistic choices of a homogenous group of Yoruba/English bilingual children and their parents, all of whom are of
Yoruba extraction, in different domains of language use. The children’s parents had to be involved both for ethical reasons and the purpose of validating the children’s responses in view of the children’s tender age. The study, which focused on urban centers, sought to know why children of Yoruba extraction spoke English naturally instead of Yoruba in domains outside the classroom or school environment. Hence the study sought to answer the research question: why do some Yoruba/English bilingual children acquire English as their First Language (L1) and Yoruba as their Second Language (L2). Data was gathered from Yoruba/English bilingual communities in three southwestern Nigerian cities, namely Lagos, Ibadan, and Ile-Ife. These cities were chosen because English and Yoruba are used freely by many residents and the population has a good mix of people with diverse educational, linguistic, and socio-cultural backgrounds.

Data was collected through the participant observation method and the administration of questionnaire. Participant observation enabled the researchers to identify children who spoke English amongst themselves in natural situations outside the school environment. Forty children, all of Yoruba extraction aged between eight and ten (8 and 10) years old, who were observed to be speaking English naturally amongst themselves at play, were purposively selected as respondents for the study. The term “children”, in this study, refers to pre-school and primary school pupils whose age falls between three (3) and ten (10) years old. This age bracket, according to Osanyin (2002), is crucial to the individual’s intellectual, emotional, social, and physical development. This is the stage at which children are most impressionable and the foundation for the development of their basic language skills is laid.

Two sets of questionnaire were designed for the study: Questionnaire A was for the children’s parents; Questionnaire B was for the children. The children’s parents were contacted for the family’s participation in the study. After their willingness had been obtained, the parents were administered Questionnaire A, while the children were administered Questionnaire B. The
questionnaire sought to elicit the language(s) used for communication by the children and their parents in different domains, such as at home, leisure or play, and during religious activities. It also sought to know the language of the children’s reading materials and favorite television programs. This was with a view to identifying the reasons for the children’s preference of English over Yoruba. The responses to the questions in the two questionnaires were collated and this formed the basis for the ensuing discussion on the children’s language preference. The results were used to elicit the implications of the study after which recommendations were made and conclusions drawn.

Findings and Discussion

This section, which centers on data analysis, supplies answers to the research question: why do some Yoruba/English bilingual children acquire English as their L1 and Yoruba as their L2? Forty parents and forty children duly filled in and returned the questionnaires making a total of 80 respondents in all. The summary of the responses of both groups are presented in Figures 1 and 2 below. The data analysis opens with a summary of the parents’ responses in Figure 1 below:
A cursory glance at Figure 1 above shows that English is the preferred language (medium of communication) in eight out of the twelve domains presented to the parents. Using simple percentage, one notices that the parents’ language preference for their children can be summarized as follows: English = 66.6%; Indigenous Language = 33.3%. While 60% of the parents agreed that they use their mother tongue to communicate with each other, 70% of them admitted that they use both English and their mother tongue to communicate with their children in the home environment. 95% of the parents admitted to making their children attend schools where English is the sole medium of instruction and the only language permitted in the school environment. 92.5% of them observed that their children’s favorite television programs are broadcast in English and 82.5% admitted that their children’s leisure reading materials are also written in English. Only 35% of
the parents admitted that Yoruba is taught as a school subject in their children’s school. In view of the above scenario, it is not surprising that the parents indicated that 87.5% of their children speak English instead of Yoruba while at play with their peers in the community.

Aside from the dominance of English usage in the school and home environments, 68.5% of parents responded that it is the language used for teaching their children in churches and mosques. It did not come as a surprise, therefore, that 71.9% of the parents admitted that their children are more fluent in English than Yoruba. In sum, it can be deduced from the general response of the parents that the children did not have sufficient exposure to their parents’ native language to make them develop fluency in it. It is therefore safe to conjecture from the above that some Yoruba/English bilingual parents place English above Yoruba; hence their choice of English for interacting with their children at home.

Figure 2, below, summarizes the response of the children and it largely corroborates the response of the parents in Figure 1.
Figure 2: Language Preference of Yoruba/English Bilingual Children

Figure 2 reveals a dismal picture of the use of Yoruba by the Yoruba/English bilingual children who served as the main source of data for this study. In spite of the fact that all their parents were of Yoruba extraction and notwithstanding the children’s ethnic origin, 68.2% of them claimed that they were more fluent in English than Yoruba; 28.95% claimed to be fluent in both English and Yoruba, while only 2.63% claimed to be more fluent in Yoruba. This response is further reinforced by the dominance of English in the children’s response in respect of other domains of language use. According to them, English is the language used for communicating with them in 92.5% of their homes. They also declared that the language of their favorite reading materials is 100% English and that they speak only English when at play with friends. They indicated that the language of their favorite television program is 97.5% English, while the medium of teaching in their churches or mosques is 80% English. The summary of the above is that the main avenues for...
first language (or mother tongue) learning and reinforcement available to the children such as interaction at home, leisure reading activity, audio-visual media, religious activities, and playground activities are mostly in English. It is only natural to expect Yoruba/English bilingual children to have preference for English in their linguistic repertoire.

The findings also revealed that while all the children were taught English as a school subject, only 25% of them claimed that they were taught Yoruba as a school subject. The children also claimed that the medium of instruction in the churches and mosques they attended was mainly English (80%), except in a few instances where both English and Yoruba were used simultaneously. Perhaps, mention could be made at this juncture of the fact that the multilingual mix of the membership of religious associations in southwestern Nigerian cities often makes it an uphill task for many churches and mosques to adopt Yoruba for teaching the children and for worship. In sum, the findings of the study revealed that the children surveyed chose English over Yoruba because it is the dominant language in most of the domains of linguistic opportunities available to them. Another reason for the children’s preference for English is the prevailing multilingual context of many southwestern Nigerian cities that play host to millions of Nigerians from other parts of the country. Unlike most of Northern Nigeria where Hausa is the lingua franca and much of the southeast and south-south Nigeria where Pidgin dominates, the lingua franca in southwestern Nigeria is a mixture of standard/non-standard English and Nigerian Pidgin.

Implications of Findings

A major finding of the study is that the psychological, linguistic, and situational contexts of Lagos, Ibadan, and Ile-Ife, all in Nigeria, representing different points on the continuum of urbanization in the Yoruba/English bilingual southwestern Nigerian community, generally favor the choice of English over Yoruba by Yoruba children. This implies that if the situation is not reversed, succeeding generations of Yoruba children and youths
who grow up in urban and suburban Yoruba/English bilingual cities and towns in southwestern Nigeria are likely to select English instead of Yoruba as their L1. This development will effectively point Yoruba in the direction of irrelevance, probable extinction, and death in less than one hundred years. A corollary of this implication is that if Yoruba, or any other indigenous Nigerian language for that matter, is not empowered in its domain to share in (or assume) some of the socio-political and economic functions associated with English, subsequent generations of Nigerians will find their native language moribund and irrelevant; hence more Nigerians, especially those that grow up in cities, will advance in English-only proficiency.

A pertinent question that arises from this study is that if ethnic Yoruba children and youths living in Lagos, Ibadan, and Ile-Ife grow up with English as their L1, what are the chances that native Hausa, Igbo, and people from other ethnic groups resident in southwestern Nigerian cities will learn or use Yoruba? A related question is: if Yoruba, the major language in nine\(^2\) out of Nigeria’s thirty-six states, is being eclipsed by English in a vast geographical domain that plays host to at least a quarter of Nigeria’s 175 million people, the trend has serious implications for the future of Hausa, Igbo, and Nigeria’s over-250 other indigenous languages.

As already observed in this paper, in spite of the sound arguments in favor of using the mother tongue, the reality on the ground is that the new generation of Yoruba/English bilinguals seems more interested in developing their children’s proficiency in English, the world’s foremost global language, than their native language. For the sake of argument, if Yoruba were adopted today and enforced as the language of primary education in the Yoruba-speaking region of Nigeria as recommended by Nigerian linguists and educators (e.g. Afolayan, 1994; Fafunwa, 1982), will such an act not amount to an infringement on the fundamental human

\(^2\) Yoruba is the major language in the following states in Nigeria: Ekiti, Kwara, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, parts of Edo and Kogi states.
rights of Nigerian citizens who may not want the language to be used as their children’s medium of education? The same question can be posed for Hausa, Igbo, or any other Nigerian language that is being put forward as the language of education or as the regional or national language.

The final implication that we wish to draw from the findings of this study is the need for Nigeria to faithfully implement the provisions of its National Policy on Education (2004), which stipulates that the language of the environment shall in the first three years of the primary school be the medium of instruction. Unless this provision is enforced, Nigerian parents will always find reasons why their children should not be educated in a language other than English. This is without prejudice to the fact that Nigeria’s federal structure rests on the foundation of free movement of citizens from one part of the country to another. This scenario raises a few difficult questions.

For instance, what will happen to children whose parents happen to be civil servants or company personnel, are transferred to regions where a language other than their mother tongue has been instituted as the state or regional language or the language of education? If Yoruba, for instance, were adapted as the state language or language of education in Lagos, Oyo, and Osun States, the location of Lagos, Ibadan, and Ile-Ife, respectively, will this decision not have a negative effect on Nigeria’s socio-political integration?

English-speaking Yoruba children grow up with the mindset of second class global citizens who have to spend a lifetime struggling for recognition and acceptability by native speakers of English. It is socio-culturally unsafe for the future leaders of a developing nation like Nigeria to grow up with indifference or disdain for their mother tongue. Such children grow up placing a higher premium on foreign ways of life and overrating foreign cultural values. The inferior status given to Nigerian mother tongues by the Nigerian authorities has serious implications for the children who grow up with the mindset that Nigerian languages do not count. Not only do they run the risk of
losing their identity and sense of loyalty and commitment to Nigeria, but that they will discover too late in life that they are neither accepted as authentic Europeans/Americans nor seen as legitimate Africans.

**Recommendations**

The most significant finding of this study is that the children used as respondents for the study are more fluent in English than Yoruba because parents speak English to them at home, their leisure-reading materials are in English, their favorite television programs are invariably in English, and they attend schools where English is the only language used. This implies that if Yoruba people are sincerely desirous of making their children use their mother tongue, they would do things that would motivate their children to develop interest in the language. For instance, they could sponsor the extensive production and dissemination of books and films that tickle the fancy of different categories of children; encourage the elite class to interact with their children in the language; make their children participate in socio-cultural activities involving the use of Yoruba at the communal level; and institute awards for good performance in Yoruba, among others.

The growing tendency to despise Nigerian mother tongues can be arrested not only by a change of attitude, but by firm legislation. The following are some recommendations:

- The Nigerian National Assembly should enact a law that makes the language of immediate environment (LIE) the language of instruction for all the nine years of Universal Basic Education (UBE) in Nigeria;
- The Nigerian National Assembly should enact a law that would mandate all states and local government councils to conduct all their businesses and keep all their records primarily in the LIE as approved by their respective state Houses of Assembly;
- State Houses of Assembly and Local Government Legislatures should identify the LIEs in their domain and legislate on the aspects of social and public life where each language will be used;
• Examination bodies in Nigeria should be compelled to come up with a time table for the conduct of all their examinations in the three major Nigerian languages by year 2025;
• The primary language for conducting the affairs of law enforcement agencies, such as the Police and Civil Defense Corps, and all Magistrate Courts in all states of the Nigerian Federation should be the LIE;
• Every state should establish a Bureau of Translation that will take charge of promptly translating text books, world classic literary texts, leisure reading materials, educative videos and materials of interest to young people into as many indigenous Nigerian languages as possible.

Conclusion

Nigeria has to brace up to the challenge of nationhood and nation-building by anchoring its educational, social, and economic values on its indigenous languages. The arguments that have been used for the elevation of English as Nigeria’s national/official language can equally be deployed for its relegation. The death of an indigenous language is tantamount to the death of a civilization and the loss of the culture and identity of a people. The widely held notion that the English language is so inextricably tied to the destiny of Nigeria and that it cannot be replaced by indigenous Nigerian languages as the country’s official language and language of education is a fallacy. No matter how good Nigerians are in their use of English, it is not in their collective or individual interest to uphold a foreign language to the detriment of their native languages.

The consequence of the apathy towards the use of indigenous languages for instruction in southwestern Nigerian primary schools is that an increasing number of Yoruba children are growing up without communicative competence in their native language. This assertion also applies to children from other parts of the country with similar experiences. The paradox whereby children born of Yoruba parents, living in southwestern Nigerian cities and attending school there acquire English as L1 and Yoruba as L2 calls for a decisive review and firm enforcement. Although
it requires much investment and determination to enact and enforce laws on using indigenous Nigerian languages, it is in the best interest of Nigeria to raise the status of its indigenous languages by using them for serious activities, such as education, governance, and business, at least in their primary domains. With this, children and youths will be compelled to acquire their native language and subsequently discover the value one’s native language adds to one’s cognitive and socio-cultural development.
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**Submitted:** December 28, 2015 / **Published:** October 31, 2016
Religion, Psychology and Globalisation Process: Attitudinal Appraisal

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Abstract
A key consequence of globalisation is the integrative approach to reality whereby emphasis is placed on interdependence. Religion being an expression of human culture is equally affected by this cultural revolution. The main objective of this paper is to examine how religious affiliation, among Christians, influences attitudes towards the application of psychological sciences to the assuagement of human suffering. The sociological theory of structural functionalism was deployed to explain attitudinal appraisal. Ethnographic methodology, through quantitative analysis of administered questionnaire, was also used. The study reveals that religious tenets largely shape attitudinal appraisal and redefine the borders of globalisation’s metanarratives.

Keywords: globalisation process, psychological sciences, religious affiliation, pastoral care, attitudinal appraisal

The symbiotic relationship between culture and religion is widely studied in sociology of religion from various perspectives. Changing patterns in Christianity and its religious cultures within Nigerian society, as regards psychology and pastoral counselling, are at the centre of this study. Scholars of religion are interested in these developments as they seek to give phenomenological and theoretical interpretations to the way in which a religion responds to changing cultural patterns in a given society (Duke, 2014, p. 49).

There are multidimensional approaches to the study of religion. This is because human understanding of things that pertain to ultimate realities permeates almost all the facets of life.
Thus, Jonte-Pace and Parsons (2001) maintain that dialogue between psychology and religion has revolutionised the field of psychology of religion thereby improving the totality of the well-being of human persons (p.3). In a related study, Kinnvall (2004) examines how globalisation has shaped religion and the politics of global security after 9/11 terrorists attack (pp. 741-742). In addition, Agara and Osawe (2012) indicate that modernism and globalisation render every totalising ideology as expressed in terrorism baseless because interconnectedness remains one of the benefits of civilisation (p. 183). For her part, Nanda examines the impact of globalisation on the Hindu population in India and observes that this phenomenon is not just improving religiosity but also deepening ethnic nationalism (2011, p.2). Ogbonnaya (2013) also reports that the transformation of the world through Internet technologies has heightened religious extremism and international insecurity in some radicalised communities around the world (p. 62). However, there is no written evidence that the changing patterns in religion, psychology and globalisation among Christians in Nigeria have been investigated. Hence, this study intends to fill this knowledge gap by appraising the attitudinal changes among members of selected Christian churches with regard to how developments in psychology and globalisation shape their existence in the society and their perspectives on religion.

The contemporary process of globalisation is a dominant social factor that is shaping cultural patterns within the society. It has encouraged intensive interrelationships among cultures and a deeper interest in how religious patterns are changing. The process of globalisation has, more than ever, overtly influenced the interdependence that drives the integrative approach to scientific investigations because it highlights interconnectivity and relatedness. This work investigates the relationship between psychological sciences and the practice of Christianity as well as how globalisation processes affect this integration among young Nigerians. Therefore, its concluding remarks will articulate these appraisals. Attitudinal appraisal is an important aspect of social psychology that aids the understanding of behavioural patterns. Greenwald (1989) describes attitudes as predispositions of human beings to respond to certain stimuli with particular responses.
They designate cognitive, affective and behavioural responses to certain stimuli. Attitudes reinforce themselves and with time, become enduring systems of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings and assessment of tendencies towards social objects (p. 6). These explanations indicate that diverse stimuli are responsible for building one’s attitude towards something or someone. Furthermore, after a period of time, one’s attitude towards an important object or subject in a person’s life often controls significantly his or her behaviour towards other realities. This study is divided into seven sections: (1) Introduction, (2) Understanding Contemporary Globalisation, (3) Social Theory of Structural Functionalism, (4) Religion and Psychological Sciences: Patterns of Emerging Partnership, (5) Methodology (6) Research Data: Analysis and Discussion and (7) Conclusion.

Understanding Contemporary Globalisation

Globalisation remains the distillation of cultural experiences shaped by human civilisations for more intensive interrelationships. Definitely, these experiences have historical antecedents. Ugwuanyi and Agwu (2012) support this claim in their work by highlighting three eras of globalisation: archaic, proto, and modern (pp. 80-81). According to them, archaic globalisation predates the 16th century (C.E) civilisation and it articulates commercial links between economic powers that shaped empires. Proto-globalisation embraces international relationships in the 16th and 17th centuries; this phase is characterised by maritime explorations and the ‘discovery’ of other parts of the world, colonisation of ‘new’ worlds and global economic integration processes. Modern globalisation was anticipated by scientific discoveries of preceding centuries and inaugurated in the 19th century with the birth of industrialisation and neo-imperialism. It was truncated by the two world wars of the twentieth century that hampered for a while economic exploitations of other nations and the expansionist agenda of the more powerful nations. As a result of this belligerent hiatus, the framework of international commerce and co-operation was developed with the help of international institutions led by the United States and European nations so that the desires of domineering nations would not annihilate the weaker ones.
anymore.

Various theories view contemporary globalisation as a product of modern technology and the mass sharing of cultural civilisations, driving the new international systems and world order towards the progress of the world. Though the term ‘globalisation’ is new, the thinking, theorising and praxis of global interconnectedness have been part and parcel of human history. Thomas Eriksen argues that the German Philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) is the first theorist of globalisation who, with his philosophy of connectedness as emerging consciousness, saw the future of human progress as a movement towards a global community under the guidance of Weltgeist: the world-spirit. In the light of this Hegelian Weltgeist, Eriksen (2007) views the contemporary perspectives on globalisation that delineate the possibilities within a new global community (p. 1). But if Hegelian Weltgeist is solely interpreted as Western culture and/or civilisations, Eriksen’s proposition can hardly be accepted wholly because globalisation is not westernisation of other cultures and civilisations. It involves much more than that. Contemporary globalisation process involves give-and-take on the ‘highways’ of modern technological/communication systems. It is gradually becoming another metanarrative of this age.

Metanarratives are totalising or all-encompassing discourses that explain every other small story concerning human existence. The instrumentality of language metanarratives attempts to organise knowledge in such a way that it sustains social interactions and cohesion in the society. Russell (2011) argues that Lyotard identified two metanarratives in the modern European history, namely: the emancipatory narrative of progress and the speculative narrative of unity of all knowledge. He goes on to show why for Lyotard metanarratives are a definitive feature of modernity characterised by order, reason, stability and progress in favour of humankind (2011, pp. 699-700). As the fruit of modernisation, globalisation makes the latter to overlap with the former. And in line with modernity, globalisation thrives through the practicality of its metanarratives. Lewellen (2002) stresses this idea as follows:
The metanarrative of globalization would go something like this: Globalization is impacting people everywhere by erasing local boundaries and transforming identities. Restrictive categories like tribal, peasant, community, local, and even culture are giving way to terms that emphasize blending, plasticity, and on-going identity-construction: ethnic, hybrid, creole, national, and transnational. (p. 234)

The transformation of identity as stated in the above citation is a very complex process of assimilation and conflict. This is because the interface of cultures is sometimes threatened by some sort of resistance on the part of recipients/victims for various reasons. Yet, the osmotic penetration of one culture by the other through the membrane of media technology cannot be resisted for too long. Therefore, globalisation process is a complex and transnational reality of exchange that can be lopsided at times because of the power play involved.

The dialectics of globalisation shows that although this process transforms cultures, certain groups of people suffer isolation, exclusion or exploitation because of its operations. This occurs in every society as long as there is disparity between the rich and the poor, professionals and laymen, the powerful and the weak, the schooled and the unschooled. For this very reason, some are excluded from the benefits of the globalising process. This is evident, for example, in the demographics that show those who can use or have access to the Internet and those who cannot.

Since the present human condition is shaped by its pasts, globalisation is the product of past human endeavours and historical situations that are sustaining a process of cultural revolution and are redefining the vision and identity of contemporary world based on the logic of co-operation, progress and integration towards the wellbeing of humankind. This emerging system of social interactions affects the organisation of the society in so many ways. Thus it cannot be gainsaid that globalisation influences all facets of human life: cultural, political, religious, economical, educational, etc. From this flows the ongoing worldwide symbiosis of cultural civilisations.

The writer agrees with the opinion of Mozaffari (2002)
which holds that for every civilisation there is an explicit world view driven by cultural systems and a coherent historical framework (p. 26). From this viewpoint, it can be seen that the contemporary understanding of globalisation is strongly driven by the spirit of connectivity, mediated through powerful technologies of information and the immensity of multiculturalism that are changing human interactions and relationships in the society. These technologies have expanded the media of globalisation through the Internet system, mass culture, writing, printing and mechanisation. For these reasons, Mott IV (2004) asserts that globalisation is not limited to commerce and economics, but extends to culture, politics, religion, ecology, language, information and every sphere of human life (p. 179).

Nonetheless, globalisation affects cultures, peoples and nations of the world differently. It has created opportunities of gain and dominance of some at the expense of many others who are exploited by it. For example, the United States of America has benefitted from the financial systems of globalisation more than any other nation while Chinese volume of trade is growing higher with ‘made in China goods’ flooding the global market. Sheri et al (2011) explain further:

Although globalization has transformed the cultures and life practices in all countries, the flow of resources, wealth and sociocultural practices between countries is asymmetrical. For instance, the United States has been a major exporter of pop culture, and China has been a main beneficiary of global trade. A productive way to begin the scientific study of the relationship between globalization and psychology is to examine the similarities and differences in the lay perceptions and appraisals of globalization and social change across nations (p. 664).

The network of social changes that arises from globalisation has compressed the world and intensified the consciousness of interconnectedness. Despite all this, Eriksen (2007) states that the force of homogeneity implicit in the globalisation process has not extinguished heterogeneity of its recipients, be it in the spheres of religion, business practices or sub-cultural practices. Consequently, globalisation creates tension between and within
cultural groups (p. 4). This notwithstanding, it remains a beneficial process for our time.

In summary, Eriksen (2007) describes contemporary globalisation as a process that entails both the intensification and awareness of transnational connectedness. It is largely driven by technological and economic processes in a multidimensional way so much that every facet of human life is affected. The multidimensional character of globalisation is expressed in its homogenic and heterogenic effects that reverberate across all spheres of human life and geographical boundaries. From the foregoing, it can be deduced that this concept is wider than westernisation, neo-imperialism, transnational capitalism and commercialism. Finally, as experienced in the past 30 years, contemporary globalisation is marked by distinctive traits enhanced through mass communication technology and the global spread of capitalism (p. 14).

The above is just a terse and descriptive expositions of the concept designated as globalisation. From the foregoing, it can be said that globalisation is so pervasive that it is gradually becoming a cultural metaphor and stimulus that will shape studies on structural framework in contemporary sociology. According to Kövecses (2002), a metaphor, from a cognitive linguistic perspective, is a verbal instrument for ‘understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another domain’ (p. 4). Based on this perception, contemporary globalisation process is an emerging cultural metaphor practically drawn from the conceptual domain of historic transnational commerce and its dynamics that are bringing people from all corners of the world together for diverse forms of interactions through the help of mass technology. Hence, Harvey (2000) suggests that the assumption that globalisation is fast becoming a cultural metaphor for contemporary society is premised upon its influence on all spheres of life and emerging societal interactions that shape the society (p. 19). Given that globalisation is an emerging social force, the next section will examine how it is influencing structural frameworks that determine the functions of the society.

**Social Theory of Structural Functionalism**

This paper adopts social theory of structural functionalism
to analyse how the emerging process of globalisation is changing contemporary religious structures and how young people are responding to it across faith denominational circles. Data from the administered questionnaire for this work show receptive and cautious approaches to the application of psychological sciences to the practice of Christianity. Some of the respondents acknowledged that the application of psychology to pastoral care is gradually changing the morphology of contemporary Christian praxis.

Functionalism or structural functionalism is a form of social theory that visualises the society as a complex system wherein the coherent ordering of its social structures and components guarantee its stability. Social theory is descriptively simplified as basic surviving skills within an organised system. This is premised on the assumption that if one knows the operations of an organised system, like the society, and fits into it, the one will live in relative peace and harmony (Lemert, 1999, pp. 1-2). Social theories are constructed modes of looking at the society based on certain assumptions, self-identity and the end of its interactions. Thus these theories present social realities in perspectives and societal variables which necessarily engender modifications. That is why there is, for example, neo-structural functionalism.

There is a general consensus among scholars of sociology that Auguste Comte (1798-1857), a French philosopher and sociologist, laid the groundwork for the importance of social integration, especially when the society is undergoing rapid change. This integration is necessary because when social realities change, the adjustment to its social structures will facilitate the process of integration of all into the main fabric of the society, thereby reducing dysfunctional backlash. Herbert Spencer (1820-1901) and Emile Durkheim (1857-1917) built upon Comte’s ideas. The success of their work led to the emergence of sociology as a distinct field in the sphere of social science. But it was Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) who popularised the structural-functional paradigm of social theory while Robert Merton (1910-2003) emphasised the role of agency that was lacking in the former’s views (Macionis, 2005, pp. 14-15).

Henslin (2005) explains that Robert Merton’s logic of
structural functionalism does not only visualise the society as an organism but also aids the understanding of changes that take place in human communities. Hence, the adjustments in social structures should be viewed as serving two functions: manifest and latent. The manifest functions are the ones that the society can predict and control whereas the latent ones are not directly intended. Hence, for every intended or pre-emptory adjustment to social structures, there are always positive or negative unintended effects (p. 13). For example, as the Chinese government relaxes its one-child-one family policy with a view to taking care of its aging population, future economic growth and other related issues, other social institutions will be affected by this programme and unintended results will follow.

For Martin (2009), social structures are analytic constructs that build relationships among active agents in the society. It is these relationships that constitute social institutions (p. 17). The family, marriage, religion, health, economy, politics, etc., are but few examples of social structures and institutions that perform vital functions within the society. According to the structural functional theory, each member of the society is shaped by these institutions; therefore, human behaviours are structurally patterned. One of the goals of governments is the alteration of the functions of these institutions according to their vision of the society. Nock (1987) mentions that since structuralism presents the society as a complex organism that should always be kept stable, the dysfunction or change in even one of its social structures will reverberate in other spheres of social life – be it at the macro or micro levels (p. 12). At this juncture, it is pertinent to ask: what are the implications of this theory on the influence of globalisation within the society? The (practical) responses to this question will be examined later in the section on questionnaire data analysis. What follows now is an overview of the partnership between religion and psychological sciences.

**Religion and Psychological Sciences: Patterns of Emerging Partnership**

The relationship between the practice of religion and psychological sciences has moved from sheer antagonism to
constructive integration. Many reasons account for this development, prominent among which is the globalising effect of knowledge and interdisciplinary studies. Clinical psychology has been the major domain for integration because it treats people with various problems traceable to the mind. Yet Gorsuch (2002) cautions that there are some areas of clinical psychology that ought not to be integrated with the practice of religion because the latter involves values and ethics (p. 111). Perhaps, it is because of this or other reasons that some Christians suggest that psychology, viewed as a ‘profane’ science, has nothing to contribute to the practice of religion or spirituality.

Meaning of Psychology and Christian Spirituality

Morphologically speaking, the term ‘psychology’ is a compound word. It is derived from two Greek words: psyche (mind) and logos (knowledge or study). Hence, etymologically, psychological sciences are directed towards a study of the mind. The mind is considered by many to be the seat of human actions and interactions. Based on this postulate, psychology becomes the scientific inquiry into human behaviour within its immediate context. From the literal meaning of psychology, it can be seen that this scientific study deals with human interiority (the mind), precisely as the ‘foundation’ of human actions. As such, it has much to do with spirituality that richly engages with the non-corporeal aspect of the human person (Ruffing, 2011, p. 308). This definition of psychology excludes the studies of animal behaviour given that spirituality concerns human beings only.

As personality science, psychology provides a lot of resources that aid a better understanding of the human person and his/her integral wellbeing. The discoveries in the field of developmental psychology, experimental psychology, analytical psychology, psychoanalysis, clinical psychology, transpersonal psychology and other related branches of personality science have dug into observable human experiences, thereby offering possible explanations to behaviours that were hitherto considered paranormal or abnormal. In this wise, one is able to make a distinction between spirit possession and psychotic pathologies: groundless or reasonable fear, vision or hallucination, depression or spiritual darkness and psychological or spiritual trauma.
Transpersonal psychology claims to integrate the spiritual realm and transcendental being with the scientific study of human behaviour. Specialists in this area affirm that human beings relate with the Supreme Being or God and this relationship influences every religious adherent. Against this backdrop, Sutich (1969) submits that transpersonal psychologists hardly describe religious experience in the early Freudian sense as illusion or childhood neurosis. Rather, they see the human experience of the divine as the sacralisation of earthly existence: a medium through which human beings encounter the transcendent (p. 15). With this relational understanding of psychology, the possibility of integrating spirituality with the scientific study of human behaviour as conditioned by the immediate context and other environmental factors becomes clear.

Psychology and the developments in personality types have enhanced the understanding of human behaviours as well as interpretations of their actions. This progress is enhancing self-knowledge which in turn benefits the choice of spirituality that suits one’s personality. Personality psychology indicates that every human being is different and this individual difference enables a better understanding of human nature (Meyers, 1993, p. 29). Therefore, the scientific study of human behaviour will be of an immense benefit to spirituality and the society. Notton and Jacobs (2001) agree that many psychotherapists and counsellors make use of the Enneagram personality types in helping their clients solve some of life’s enigmas. This is very useful for spiritual development because knowledge of self is crucial to growth in the spirit (p. 100).

With respect to spirituality, it is worth noting that religion is a cultural concept etymologically derived from two Latin words: re and ligare. Re is a prefix which connotes something done again and again, while ligare means to bind oneself to another. Hence, from its Latin root, religion denotes binding oneself again and again to a divine being through prayers, value based praxis, sacrifices and acts of faith. This etymological approach does not, however, exhaust the meaning of religion. For his part, Macionis (2005) writes that religion concerns realities that transcend the boundaries of human knowledge and as a social institution, involves beliefs and practices concerning the concept
of the sacred (p. 489). Spirituality has to do with personal and relational dimension to value-laden interactions with the sacred that is informed by narratives, myths, revelation and sacred texts. Additionally, spirituality is as ‘an individual's inner life, his ideals, attitudes, thoughts, feelings and prayers towards the Divine, and about how he expresses these in his daily way of life’ (Schreurs, 2002, p. 25). Consequently, Duke (2014) argues that the functional dimension of religion can be regarded as existential spirituality because it demonstrates how religious beliefs regulate the details of the everyday life of adherents (p. 50).

According to the adherents of the Christian faith, Christian spirituality is centred on the person of Jesus Christ acclaimed as God, the meaning and goal of human existence. As a corollary, Christian spirituality is informed by the human experience of the God of Jesus Christ, Christian scriptures and traditions. Given that the relationship between God and human beings as well as among the latter is observable, a scientific study of Christian spirituality is possible. To this effect, Schneiders (2011) states that:

Christian spirituality as an academic discipline studies the lived experience of Christian faith, the subjective appropriation of faith and living of discipleship in their individual and corporate actualization(s)....[It is] the experience of conscious involvement in the project of life-integration through self-transcendence toward the horizon of ultimate value one perceives....This life of faith and discipleship constitutes the existential phenomenon that Christian spirituality as discipline studies. (p. 16)

The experience of Christian faith becomes a life-long process by means of which the faithful integrate the values taught by Jesus Christ through the mystery of His incarnation. Since they believe that the deposit of this experience lies within the ecclesial community, Christian spirituality is not a mere personal journey. It needs the support and discerning guidance of the Church wherein one identifies himself or herself as a member. One can observe varieties of Christian experiences that shape particular denominations’ expression of faith in Jesus Christ; this will undoubtedly influence how psychological sciences are integrated.
From this flows the plurality in Christian spirituality: Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Pentecostal, etc. The questionnaire for this study was given to Christians from the Roman Catholic, African Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal traditions. African Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals belong to indigenous charismatic-like movements. According to Kalu (2008), ‘Each of the indigenous group designates itself by its ministerial emphasis, such as evangelicalism, deliverance, intercession, fellowship… theological emphasis such as prosperity, holiness, witchcraft cleansing, spiritual warfare, prophecy’ (p.15).

Members from the Roman Catholic, African Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches were selected for this study because of the following reasons. Firstly, the research wanted to establish if difference in doctrinal beliefs between mainline churches (like the Roman Catholic Church) and African Independent churches (like the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches) significantly influence how both groups respond to the developments in psychological sciences and the culture of globalisation. For this reason, Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians (who fall under the mainline churches) were not given the questionnaire. Secondly, the mainline churches have a firmer institutional control of charismatic initiatives while the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches exercise lesser restraint on how vibrant Pentecostal-like programmes are utilised. Consequently, this work is interested in discovering how these different mind-sets shape the application of psychology-based-aids and the globalisation apparatus to the pastoral environment.

Remarkably, Schneiders (2011) avers that the main focus of Christian spirituality as a field of study is the experience of the spiritual life as human experience (p. 18). This means that a scientific study of Christian spirituality is not confessional; consequently, anybody can be engaged in it. A believer needs to bracket his or her faith and rather concentrate on the experiences of those who attempt to replicate in their lives the teachings of Jesus Christ. These experiences ought to transform the life of those who practice this religion. Since the expected transformation is observable in one’s quality of life and the betterment of the society at large, sciences that aim at improving the quality of
human life are not counter-productive to Christian spirituality. So the question is: what are the contributions of psychology to Christian spirituality?

**Contributions of Psychological Sciences to Christian Spirituality**

Firstly, psychology has contributed to a better understanding of human personality. Meyer-Briggs’ personality and Enneagram programmes are key psychological tools for describing, improving upon and remedying personality types. Since self-understanding is crucial to relating with God and others, personality psychology is important for spiritual growth. Based on this, growth in Christian spirituality will benefit much from a proper understanding of the self through the help of psychological sciences. For example, introverts and extroverts will be encouraged to take on spiritual exercises that suit their personality types with a view to overcoming unnecessary conflicts caused by lack of self-understanding. An introvert who is more drawn to meditative prayers will be encouraged to do more of that rather than being worried about his or her inability with respect to vocal prayers.

Secondly, the field of psychoanalysis has unveiled the relationship between the subconscious and human actions. By probing into the subconscious, psychoanalytic techniques have diagnosed and resolved some human problems. It is possible to manage anxiety-related problems by probing into the human subconscious self. This approach is very helpful when dealing with psychotic issues. By means of this approach, Christian ministers or pastoral agents are able to make a distinction between diabolical/spiritual cases and clinically psycho-somatic illness. When this is done, diabolical cases will be hardly confused with clinical pathologies and vice-versa.

Thirdly, social psychology is of immense help when one considers the management of people in Christian communities. Since human beings are informed and formed by various social factors that influence their perception of themselves and the world, dissemination of the faith on which Christian spirituality is built calls for an average knowledge of social psychology. This will help Christian ministers to be acquainted with the cultural taboos.
of their environment and consequently, dialogue with the community using the values of the gospel. When this is done, unnecessary conflicts between the people and Christian faith will be averted.

Fourthly, developments in guidance and counselling are fruits of extensive research in the field of psychology. These developments are therapeutic to the human person and invariably beneficial to spiritual growth. Marriage counselling sessions that are faith-based have much to benefit from scientific developments in the field of psychology. For example, a technical knowledge of these counselling tools will benefit marriage counsellors as they deal with marital crises. The addition of these techniques to scriptural resources will enrich the help made available to married couples in times of need.

Fifthly, Plante (2011) describes how clinical psychology deals with the assessment, management and treatment of mental pathologies induced by stress or imbalance of organic substances in the body (p. 50). Sometimes, a mental sickness presents itself as a spiritual problem. For example, depression can be misdiagnosed as spiritual darkness. Additionally, psychological trauma apparently looks like spiritual trauma. When, at the crossroads of uncertain diagnosis, knowledge of clinical psychology will prove helpful to clear these doubts in order to help those who are afflicted with one kind of mental illness or the other.

Sixthly, Lartey (2003) proposes an intercultural approach to counselling that places a high premium on cultural sensibilities when one is attending to the pastoral needs of people in traditional African societies. According to him, this method of counselling explores the complex web of relationships and cultural influences within the African society as a condition for the application of Christian convictions to the problems of those who are both African and Christian (pp. 154-158). In addition, Lartey (2013) developed this intercultural approach to counselling in his post-colonial perspectives on pastoral theology. In this work, he uses a diagram to explain that every experience should be analysed in its situation before breaking down the theological context wherein such an occurrence falls. Further, before arriving at any pastoral action, the theology should be critiqued (p. 5). The merit of this approach lies, inter alia, in its accentuation of the particularity of
every pastoral challenge, psychological or otherwise.

**Methodology**

As observed earlier, globalisation has an enormous impact upon social structures of contemporary society. The functional implications of this cultural phenomenon for structural functionalism are evident because they have changed the patterns of governance, religious faith and its communication: family life, interdisciplinary interactions, commerce, pattern of pastoral approach, etc. Since the interest of this research is on how young Christians are adapting to trends in pastoral care that integrates religious practice with psychological sciences in the light of globalisation, the quota sampling technique was used in the distribution of questionnaire.

Quota sampling is one of the research methods for quantitative analysis in the social sciences. It is used when major research variables are of interest to the researcher. De Vaus (2002) explains that the principal aim of this quantitative research method is arriving at a representative sampling, without random selection, given that the quotas of particular types of subjects have already been mapped out beforehand (p. 90). For this work, the age bracket of the young people (between 17 and 29 years) was chosen. The age specification of these young adults is informed by the studies of Sefton-Green (1998, p. 91) and Taft (2007, p. 206). In addition, the characteristics of the sample quotas are young Christians who belong to various Christian denominations. Most of them do not have a highly professional understanding of globalisation and psychological sciences though show reasonable commitment to the praxis of Christian faith. Given the homogeneous nature of such groups and the small sample size of the respondents used for the study, Suen and Ary (1989) suggest that sample statistics will fairly represent the population parameter under investigation (pp. 46-47).

The questionnaire was administered to young Christians in Calabar Municipality, Cross River State in Nigeria. A total of 250 copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the target audience but 172 were returned. 34.6 per cent of the respondents were male while 65.4 per cent represented the female gender. Concerning the financial status of the respondents’ families it was noticed that 24.
2 per cent came from the upper income class, 48.4 per cent came from the middle-income class, and 27.4 per cent belonged to the lower income class. It was otherwise observed that the financial status of their families did not have any significant influence on how they make use of the Internet and social network platforms. Most of them were conversant with Internet-related products.

**Research Data: Analysis and Discussion**

On lay perceptions of globalisation and psychological sciences, 68.2 per cent of them associate the former with the use of the Internet for social and religious benefits while 31.8 per cent extended it to include commerce and politics. As regards a non-professional understanding of psychological sciences, 56.2 per cent showed an average knowledge of psychology with bias for guidance and counselling, while 38.1 per cent demonstrated an elementary awareness of this subject, 5.7 per cent indicated skilled knowledge of psychology. These data suggest that the respondents had a fair knowledge of the key variables on the questionnaire.

In addition, the section on religion and psychological sciences brought to the fore the useful practice of applying psychological sciences to pastoral approaches with a view to solving human problems. Some inquiries on this subject were as follows: ‘Is there any relationship between psychological sciences and Christian spirituality?’ 97.8 per cent said yes there is, while 2.2 per cent considered psychological sciences to be profane studies that should not be allowed to desacralise the Christian faith. An interesting twist to this question was observed in some of the responses given. About 28 per cent of those who said ‘yes’ added that the relationship between the two fields of studies should be directed by the Word of God. Further scrutiny confirmed that those who made up this percentage belonged to the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal traditions wherein the sola scriptura principle is pronounced. Even though they did not state how this would be achieved, this response indicates how a particular religious attitude variegates the relationship between psychological sciences and Christian spirituality among its traditions.

In the same vein, another question was asked: ‘Do you think that the knowledge of psychotherapy can aid pastoral
work of Church ministers? If yes, how?’ 94.3 per cent of the respondents said ‘yes’. But some of them were wary of the kind of help that psychotherapy would give; perhaps it was because of their non-professional or limited knowledge of the subject. This welcome integration still generated some tension that made some of them to remark: ‘but the solution of psychotherapy is not supreme,’ still others; ‘the Bible remains supreme,’ etc. Here again, one notices that the global trend of complementarity vis-à-vis the link between psychology and Christian faith is not homogenous within the small group of young people who constituted the respondents. This analysis agrees with what was observed above on how closed cultural groups resist the grand narratives of globalisation that threaten their comfort zone, which, in this instance, can be identified as the primacy of Christian faith in all issues of life. Furthermore, this small percentage of respondents reflected a similar thought pattern when asked: ‘Do you think that those engaged in healing ministry need to be grounded in clinical psychology so that they may better distinguish spiritual problems from psychological ones? The response was that they did not need such help because those engaged in healing ministry would always be guided by the Spirit. It seems that this group of respondents does not have much knowledge of the symbiotic relationship between the two disciplines under consideration or they allowed their faith to be dominantly implicated in their response.

One of the benefits of contemporary globalising processes is the availability of information to those who have access to its media. These pieces of information can go a long way to saving lives and ignorance of them, even as a non-professional can be very costly and sometimes fatal. In view of this, the following question was asked: ‘Are you aware of instances whereby mental health issues which could have been treated by psychologists or psychiatric personnel were taken to pastoral agents as spiritual cases?’ 60 per cent of the respondents stated that they were aware of incorrect diagnosis which could have been averted if relevant information had been available even at a layman’s level. One of the respondents stated that this had happened to his brother; because of this, he cautioned against the rush to spiritualise human problems.
On another note, an integrative application of psychology to pastoral needs of Christian communities demands professionalism for its effective utilisation. Obviously, the Internet cannot truly give this help. This leads the researcher to one of the limits of the globalising process. It also reminds those who are over-dependent on this modern cultural process that when it comes to professionalism, much more needs to be done so that the lives of others may not be at risk because of inadequate knowledge and skills. Even when one is well prepared, the tension between strict adherence to psychological principles and what the Christian faith says may also arise. Hence the following question was asked: ‘Does professionalism imply that a Christian psychologist or psychotherapist should bracket his or her faith for an unbiased application of the benefits of this field to the Christian community?’ 94.3 per cent said one can be a Christian psychological scientist without any inner tensions. But the 5.7 per cent of respondents who demonstrated professional knowledge of psychological sciences stated that there are a lot of conflicts in the mind of a psychotherapist who wants to be faithful to the principles of psychotherapy. These arise because of areas of irreconcilability between psychotherapy and some aspects of the Christian faith. In some instances, they declare that there is no connection between psychological sciences and the Christian faith. Nevertheless, they all agree that one can still allow his or her Christian faith to influence professional practice in the area of psychology. On another note, they argue that the availability of reading materials through the World Wide Web has revolutionised the study of psychological sciences on the basis that research findings published by internationally reputable bodies can be accessed from anywhere on the globe. Since focus group discussion was also used, it is noteworthy to observe that one of the respondents went as far as making this totalising statement: ‘A contemporary psychologist cannot thrive without the assistance of globalisation.’

Interestingly, the use of Global System for Mobile communication (GSM) has revolutionised contemporary processes of globalisation. This technology efficiently enhances connectivity and actual time communication in nano-seconds. It is instrumental in solving human problems in many ways. But the
privacy of what is communicated through this system cannot be guaranteed. Consequently, this seems to limit its adequacy as a trusted instrument vis-à-vis certain pastoral aids. Pastoral counselling through GSM-mediated services unites globalisation processes, psychological sciences and Christian praxis in a unique way. It is gradually becoming a trendy tool for worship, prayers, pastoral care and counselling among the so-called non-traditional Christian communities. About 96 per cent of the respondents appraised positively the use of Internet telephone services and GSM technologies for counselling members of the Christian communities who are in need.

The boundary of this trend is shifting to accommodate praying with people in need through the GSM technology. The respondents were asked: ‘Are you comfortable with the emerging trend of on-line or GSM-mediated prayer sessions?’ 69 per cent of these young Christians saw nothing strange with the pastor praying with/for a church member via the GSM phone. Some were of the opinion that no privacy is breached when this is done because the prayers in question are directed to God. In addition, others said that GSM technologies aid communication and interactions and therefore, making use of them for prayers means that the sacralisation of modern technology has been achieved in some way. 31 per cent of those who considered this pastoral practice weird stated that the privacy of such solemn moments is gravely compromised. They stressed that since distance is not a barrier to divine intervention and prayers are not principally offered for the psychological satisfaction of church members, pastoral agents can still offer prayers for them in private. On this matter, it was noticed that there was no significant difference between the opinion of respondents from the Roman Catholic, Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches. These data show that young people across denominations exhibited similar behavioural patterns as regards the use of GSM technologies in pastoral care.

**Conclusion**

This study aimed at exploring the attitudinal appraisal of young Christians on the relationship between the psychological sciences and the globalisation process in pastoral contexts.
Concerning how contemporary processes of globalisation influence how young Christians respond to psychological sciences, the following appraisals are significant. (1) This research shows that even though a small percentage of the respondents showed a professional understanding of concepts like globalisation and psychological sciences, the entire group grasped the fundamentals of the main subjects of this inquiry. Therefore, their lay or non-professional knowledge of these key concepts did not have any negative effects on responses gathered.

(2) A cross section of young Christians in the Calabar municipality was strongly homogenous in their attitude towards the relationship between psychological sciences and Christian spirituality. According to the data collated, 97.8 per cent of them agreed positively on the integration of the findings of these sciences with Christian resources in solving human problems. Nevertheless, the particularity of their Christian traditions evinced heterogeneity as regards the place of the Bible in this discourse. Here, the points of convergence and divergence highlight the complexity of the globalisation process and its impact on social interactions.

(3) A reasonable percentage of the respondents were critical of globalisation’s grand narrative as regards the solution of human problems. This attitude made them to subordinate psychological sciences to Christian religion no matter how beneficial the former might be to the latter. This caution should be expected because integration of A and B does not dissolve their differences and distinctiveness.

(4) The Christian religion as one of the social structures in the society is underdoing gradual change at the grassroots. This study indicates that the contemporary generation of young people are re-thinking and reshaping the art of prayer as a means of meeting human needs. The change in attitude towards the use of GSM technologies to meet the immediate needs of the people shows their swift sacralisation of an aspect of the globalisation process. There is the need for a thorough assessment of this emerging attitude, through faith-based normative standards so that young Christians might not be carried away by what is trending.

Finally, the fact that discoveries and benefits made in the field of psychological sciences are pastorally useful in alleviating
human problems cannot be denied. Nonetheless, when dealing with specialised professions, such as psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, guidance and counselling, proper preparations are needed. Consequently, the church communities need to invest in the training of its pastoral agents so that they can meet the psychological needs of their congregation and others outside their religious groups. On a related note, the critical approach to the integration of psychological sciences with Christian religion should not be exaggerated. Hence, greater awareness is needed on the possibilities and limitations of this process of integration. In addition, contextualisation provides information on the background for every human reality, event or happening. Based on this, the intercultural approach to pastoral counselling proposed by Lartey (2003) will help indigenous charismatic-like churches, the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian denominations to be more sensitive to how African cultural beliefs condition the psychological needs of the people. And this can make a significant difference to pastoral care in Africa.
References


Submitted: April 19, 2016/ Published: October 31, 2016
The Significance of the Level Tone in Ghanaian English: Evidence from Spoken Discourse

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Abstract
In Brazil’s (1985, 1997) discourse intonation model, the level tone is used by speakers to make choices that do not have any real communicative significance within the context of interaction. According to the model, a speaker assigns the level tone in ritualized, unplanned, preplanned, prerecorded, formulaic language, and in reading out. The current study investigates the functions of the level tone in Ghanaian English using Brazil’s discourse intonation framework. Data consisting of 13 hours of conversations recorded from 200 Ghanaians were subjected to both auditory and acoustic analyses. Results show that Ghanaians perform other communicative functions with the level tone in addition to what the model posits. Based on the results, it is argued that the level tone performs significant communicative functions similar to the falling or rising tones in Ghanaian English.

Key words: level tone, oblique orientation, significance, discourse intonation, Ghanaian English

This paper examines the significance of the level tone in Ghanaian English discourse using Brazil’s discourse intonation framework (1985, 1997). In everyday English interactions, speakers use intonation to serve important communicative functions. The particular functions depend on intonational choices that speakers make. For instance, it can be used to indicate information structure, show discourse functions, perform speech act functions, and perform interactive functions (Chun, 2002). Apart from these functions, intonation also has a pragmatic function in that it communicates sociolinguistic information about
differences in the status of speakers, and whether there is any social distance between them. This sociolinguistic information helps to establish cooperation between interlocutors (Brazil, 1997; Clennell, 1997; Pickering, 2001). Although intonation carries a heavy communicative load, its use may not always help to achieve the desired results. Thus, if not used appropriately, it may cause serious communication breakdown (Gumperz, 1982; Pickering, 1999, 2001).

Accordingly, Clennell (1997) argues that the wrong use of intonation in interactions involving native speakers (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs) may result in serious communication breakdown because “(a) the propositional content (essential information) of the message may not be fully grasped, (b) the illocutionary force (pragmatic meaning) of utterances may be misunderstood, and (c) inter-speaker co-operation and conversational management may be poorly controlled” (p. 118). The effect of this is that over time, the NS listener becomes bored with the NNS and eventually abandons the interaction entirely. Apart from marking prominence, Brazil notes that speakers can use intonation by relying on tone choice or key choice. This study focuses on tone choice and the use of tone, which comprises falling, rising or level tone. Specifically, it is restricted to the use of the level tone by speakers of Ghanaian English.

Although tones are important, NNSs have been found to differ markedly from NSs in the use of tones in discourse, and this has the tendency to cause miscommunication. For example, Hewings (1995) compared the intonation choices of British English speakers with those of advanced Indonesian, Greek, and Korean English learners and found out that the learners made use of more level tones and falling tones at points where their British counterparts might prefer rising tones. From this, he concluded that the use of falling tones can communicate deliberate rudeness or animosity. Similar to Hewings’ research on L2 learners, the data analyzed for the present study suggest that Ghanaians use the level tone in ways that are both similar to as well as different from how native speakers may use it. These differences notwithstanding, the level tone is significant in Ghanaian English discourse because like the falling or rising tones, speakers use it to convey important pragmatic information which listeners
process with understanding. The next section discusses the theoretical framework adopted for the study and describes the use of the level tone in English discourse. The third section presents a description of the procedure used to collect and analyze the results. The fourth section discusses the results obtained from the analysis and the final section concludes the paper.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is discourse intonation, proposed by Brazil (1985, 1997). According to Brazil, the discourse approach to the study of intonation is crucial because intonation carries significant communicative and pragmatic functions that help interlocutors to understand the message encoded in any communicative process. The choices that speakers make are not linked to grammar or attitude, but to the communicative value of the interaction that both speaker and listener share. With reference to this approach, Brazil (1995) suggests that “the communicative value of intonation is related to the purpose that a particular piece of language is serving in some ongoing, interactive event” (p. 240). The ongoing interactive event is centered on a state of convergence between the discourse partners. This state of convergence is “the continuous negotiation toward a roughly mutual state of understanding in the immediate and constantly changing world of naturally occurring spoken discourse that allows for successful communication between participants” (Pickering, 2009, p. 240).

In effect, interlocutors keep negotiating a common ground, that is, the background by which new information is added, and this also depends largely on the context of interaction. This context is determined by the real-time assessment of shared and unshared knowledge between the speaker and hearer. Consequently, all intonation choices arise from the context in which they occur, and not outside of it. The choices therefore present the “here and now” meaning of whatever participants say and show participants’ “present” communicative value. There are two pitch choices available to speakers to select from and assign on the prominent syllable(s) within the tone unit. These are pitch movement (or tone choice) and pitch height (or key/termination choice). These choices are used to project both “referential and
non-referential information” (Pickering, 2009, p. 240), and this information is interpreted by listeners based on their understanding. Brazil’s model makes use of three tone types; falling, rising, and level tones.

Discourse Intonation and Oblique Orientation
In Brazil’s model, speakers can create two main types of orientation by exploiting the tonal composition of falling, rising, or level tones. These are direct and oblique orientation. In direct orientation, speakers select tones so that their listeners can understand whether the information is new or recoverable. The use of falling tones to project new information or the use of rising tones to project old information results in direct orientation. It is direct because the combination focuses on how both speakers and listeners assess the information within the context of interaction. Thus, speakers orient towards their listeners to achieve a state of convergence between them. In oblique orientation, on the other hand, speakers employ a combination of falling and level tones. The orientation is oblique because speakers temporarily withdraw from the context of interaction and focus on the language specimen itself rather than their listeners. In this sense, speakers suspend the interpersonal aspect of the discourse and concentrate on what is in the discourse, thereby announcing a linguistic item that is generic (Cauldwell, 2003).

There are different conditions under which speakers may orient obliquely towards their listeners. One such condition is the use of formulaic or ritualized language. In this instance, speakers, mostly teachers, use the level tone to give orders in the classroom. For example, the utterance

(1) // stop WRITing // PUT your PENS down // LOOK this WAY

(Brazil, 1997, p. 138)

shows a teacher using “constructed language”, communicating the idea as “these are not my words addressed particularly to you on this occasion; they are rather a routine performance whose
appropriateness to our present situation we both recognize” (Brazil, 1997, p. 136). For Brazil, example (1) represents a situation where both teacher and students are “in a world of time-honoured and well-understood procedures” (Brazil, 1997, p. 138). Another use of the level tone occurs in the classroom with the “template technique” (Brazil, 1997, p. 138). In this technique, teachers start with an utterance and in a bid to solicit information from them, do not finish with the answer but allow students to supply it. An example is shown in (2):

(2) (i) Teacher: // ➔ the CApital of MALI IS // ……
(ii) Pupil: // p BAMako //
(iii) Teacher: // p GOOD //,

Online linguistic planning is another condition under which level tones can be used. When we speak, the words do not always flow easily. Sometimes, we need to stop for a while to think or plan what to say next. In the course of this, some speakers may like to fill the silent spaces so that their listeners will not take the silence as the end of their utterances. The fillers that are used consist mostly of hesitations. Example (3) illustrates some of these fillers.

(3) // ➔UH //, // ➔ UM //, // ➔AND //

Another condition under which speakers may employ oblique orientation is when they read out, which is also called reading intonation (Brazil, Coulthard, & Johns, 1980). In this particular activity, similar to the views held by Brazil (1997), Brazil, et al. (1980) assert that speakers can either read as if they were speaking or they can stand outside of it saying “this is what the text says” (p. 83). For this reason, speakers are said to place the linguistic organization of the text over and above the relationship between their tone choices and the state of convergence between them and their listeners. This is illustrated in example 4 below:

(4) // ➔ what i KNOW of THIS was // [0.25] // ➔ UH // ➔ the GOVernment actually PLANNED// ➔ to exPAND
infrastructures// but unFORtunately // [0.78] // ➔ he LOST power // [0.61] // ➔ and UHM // [0.16] // ➔ our NEXT government // [0.90] // ➔ THOUGHT // [0.82] // ➔ exPAn ding infras-infrastructure won’t be the case // ➔ so he HAS to // [0.33] // ➔ bring it BACK //

In this conversation, a speaker recounts a known fact that one government established senior high school (SHS) and another government came and increased the number of years that students will spend in school. He adds that the latter government had the intention of increasing facilities in the schools, but unfortunately, it lost the election. This information provided here is not new; that is, it is not the speaker’s own words, rather, it is public knowledge. Thus, while he speaks, he only reads what is in existence. The tonal composition is largely level, with only 3 falling tones. Two of the falling tones accomplish important functions. The first sets off a point of adding increments (cf. O’Grady, 2010; Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Walker, 2004), a way of grammatically extending his prior units. For instance, there is a point of completion on the tone unit government actually planned to expand infrastructure. He then starts another utterance but unfortunately, he lost power while the second closes the entire utterance.

In sum, the level tone is used by both native and non-native speakers to perform different functions in English discourse. It has also shown that while speakers choose some tones (e.g. falling and rising), they may also opt for a combination of level and falling tones to create an oblique orientation, showing that they are planning what to say, using ritualized or formulaic language, or reading out a text. It is thus argued that if the level tone can be used in any of these circumstances, then speakers of Ghanaian English, the variety of English spoken in Ghana, can be expected to use it under some or all of the conditions outlined above.

Although there have been some important studies on the pronunciation of Ghanaian English (e.g. Adjaye, 2005; Koranteng, 1992, 2006) and its peculiarities, none of these discuss the use or function of the level tone in this variety. The present study is therefore significant in that it is the first comprehensive study that applies Brazil’s theory to examine the level tone in

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Ghanaian English. It is recognized that there are various varieties of Ghanaian English. However, the present study focuses on the variety that Sey (1973) refers to as *Educated Ghanaian English*. The results contribute to the understanding of how Ghanaians use this particular tone in their everyday interactions. The results also increase our understanding of the features of Ghanaian English pronunciation. Apart from these, the study contributes to the ongoing discussion of the linguistic features of Englishes, especially those in the outer circle (Kachru, 1996), and lead to a better understanding of world Englishes. The study seeks to answer the following research questions:

(a) What functions does the level tone perform in Ghanaian English discourse?

(b) Based on the functions, what is the significance of the level tone in Ghanaian English discourse?

Data and Methodology

Research Design

The research design adopted for the present study is qualitative in nature. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2002), a qualitative research design provides a deeper analysis and allows the researcher to show a richer and an in-depth understanding of how people make meaning of their situation or interpret phenomena. Since the study involves the identification and interpretation of an intonational pattern, a simple analytical descriptive method was employed.

Population and Sampling

Best and Kahn (2006) observe that population is a group of individuals that have one or more features in common and are of interest to the researcher. Creswell (2013) also notes that the population should be the group of interest to the researcher to which he/she would like the results to be generalizable. The entire population for the study comprised all students of the public university where the research took place. However, since it was not possible to work with the entire population, only one group of students was selected. Thus, the sample for the study comprised
students studying Ghanaian languages in this university. A simple random sampling was used to select the participants. This is because each of the students had an independent and equal chance of being selected. In all, 200 speakers of Ghanaian English were recruited for this study. These were students of a public university in Ghana who speak and study all the major Ghanaian languages at the university level. The participants were made up of 100 males and 100 females aged between 18 and 40 years. The languages studied by these students constitute about 96% of the entire Ghanaian population (Ghana Statistical Service, GSS 2012). The languages these students speak and study are Akan, Ewe, GaDangme, Nzema, Dagbani, Gonja, Dagaare, Gurene, and Kasem (see Table 1).

All participants are fluent in their native languages and use English as a second language because they all indicated that they started learning English when they entered primary school at age 6, after they had already started speaking their native languages. Students were chosen based on the fact that they have had (and continue to have) instruction in English at all levels of their education and use it also for different classroom strategies, e.g. in pair /group work or conversations. As regards their English proficiency levels, participants rated it as between intermediate to high. Although all the participants were recruited verbally, precautions were taken to ensure that only students of Ghanaian languages participated in the study, thereby excluding English or French students in order to prevent them from carrying over their knowledge of English or French intonation systems into the conversations. Again, no participant had any speech or hearing impairment that could have affected the quality of data obtained. The number of students and their languages are presented in Table 1.
### Table 1

**Number of students and their languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Akan</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
<th>GaDangme</th>
<th>Dagbani</th>
<th>Gonja</th>
<th>Nzema</th>
<th>Dagaare</th>
<th>Kaseem</th>
<th>Gurene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Data Collection**

This study is part of a larger study on the discoursal functions of intonation in Ghanaian English. Because the students were 18 years and above, their consent was sought directly from them. After they had agreed to take part by signing the consent form, they were asked to provide short biographic data. These included their level of proficiency in English and other Ghanaian languages that they spoke. They were then grouped according to their languages. Each group consisted of five people and altogether, 40 groups were created. Each person took part only once in the conversation to ensure that there was no duplication. The members of each group sat around a large conference table in a quiet room. The recordings were done on campus. However, the room chosen was isolated from all the other classrooms. The room was originally created for Home Science practical work, but the programme is no longer offered in the university so it is used as a resource room for students with disabilities. It is open only when it is time for examinations these students may use it for the writing of papers. Because of its location within the school, the room is very quiet at all times. In fact, it was actually based on the quietness that it was selected for the recordings. All recordings took place in the morning between 8 am and 11 am for seven days. Once the group members had indicated their readiness, they were presented with a prompt on an issue of national interest, which is the duration of senior high school (SHS) education.

The rationale for choosing the topic was to solicit the views of students, albeit in an informal manner. The students who took part in the study belonged to 2 main categories; those who did a 3-year SHS and those who did a 4-year SHS. As such, they
were better placed to share their experiences than those who belong only to the 3-year or 4-year duration. Participation was voluntary, and no student was coerced or enticed with any form of reward. Once they had read through the prompt and understood it, the recording began. The data were collected with a Sound Grabber II PZM Condenser Microphone connected to an Olympus digital voice recorder and placed in the middle of the table around which they sat. There was no other person except the participants left in the room. The room was very quiet to enable the microphone to capture only the voices of the participants, and not any outside noise. This also produced high-quality recordings. Each recording session lasted 20 minutes. In total, 13 hours 20 minutes of data were obtained from all 40 groups.

**Data Analysis**

The data were transcribed using both auditory and acoustic means. First, the data were played back to facilitate orthographic transcription\(^3\) and for prominent syllables to be marked. After the orthographic transcription, the data were transferred onto the computerized speech laboratory (CSL) for acoustic analysis. The utterances were segmented into tone units using Brazil’s criteria. Although there are different features that may be used to demarcate tone unit boundaries (DuBois et al., 1992), Brazil’s model recognizes pitch movement, pause, or coherent contour as phonetic features for the segmentation of tone units. In the present study, tone units were separated from one another using pause structure, a distinct pitch movement, or a coherent contour whenever they were present within the data. This also resulted in the presence of incomplete tone units and multiple prominent syllables in the data. The tone unit segmentation was followed by fundamental frequency (pitch) measurement for all prominent syllables identified and pause duration measures. Lastly, tones (pitch movement) were identified and marked on all the prominent syllables.

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\(^3\) Transcription Conventions are shown in Appendix A
Test of Reliability

After the analysis, samples of the transcriptions (25%) were independently cross-checked for tests of transcriber reliability. This was to assess the level of agreement in order to ensure that tone units, prominent syllables, and pitch movements were properly marked. In consonance with similar studies (e.g. Cheng, Greaves, & Warren, 2008), the samples were rigorously checked and rechecked by a trained phonetician with 15 years of experience who has worked extensively with the systems within Brazil’s model. The transcriber agreement was 89% for prominent syllables and 90% for tone marking. These figures are very good because it is not easy for trained listeners to establish agreement in intonation marking (Cauldwell & Allen, 1997).

Results and Discussion

There were 9841 tones identified in the entire data. Out of these, 2088 level tones representing 21% of the total number of tones. Table 2 is a summary of the distribution of tones in the data for all the 200 participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone choice</th>
<th>Fall</th>
<th>Rise</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>7554</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>2088</td>
<td>9841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows a predominance of falling tones. However, the present discussion will limit itself to the occurrence of level tones, which has the second highest number in terms of frequency. The analysis for the present study revealed that the level tone used is similar to the systems proposed in Brazil’s model (e.g. in reading intonation, preplanning/hesitation) and different from what might be expected (e.g. in retelling). The following sections present instances where Ghanaian English speakers used the level tone similar to the proposed systems in the model and follow with a discussion of the level tone in ways that present an exception or difference to the systems in the model.
Level Tones and Oblique Orientation

As already indicated, the level tone is mainly employed in oblique orientation. That is to say that, instead of packaging their utterances to reflect either as part of the common ground or an addition to it, they rather focus more on the language material that they have. Thus, the choices they make do not have any communicative significance within the context of interaction. The level tone was used in the following ways:

Lists: The analysis revealed that speakers used the level tone in the construction of lists. According to Schiffrin (1994), a list represents a way in which a speaker organizes a category into items that are the same in some ways, but different in other ways. Items in a list in English have a fixed pattern. For example, Bowler and Parminster (1992) affirm that “the intonation always goes down on the last item (to show that the list is finished), and up on all the items that come before the last (to show that there is more to come)” (p. 30).

Usually, rising tones are employed on items in lists to show their continuative functions. However, there is evidence to suggest that it is not only the rising tone that communicates continuation (or incompleteness) in a list, but also, the level tone does. Within the conversations, speakers marked non-final items in lists with the level tone until they got to the end where they assigned the falling tone to show finality. Figure 1 illustrates instances where speakers used the level tone on lists.
In Figure 1, speaker 1 assigns a level tone to the items in the list, that is, proficiency, academics, and results. Similar instances are also shown with speakers 1 (different from the first speaker 1) and 2 listing the items English, Social Studies, Maths, and Science. In all the examples, we notice that the speakers use the level tone on the items that come before the last one and then assign a falling tone to the last item to show finality. This use of the level tone is a way of showing continuity (Cauldwell, 2003), that is, there is more to come, akin to the use of the rising tone on list. In this particular use, the level tone, rather than being ritualistic, shows a similarity with what might be expected in inner circle Englishes. For example, the level tone has been found to be ritualistic in lists (Cauldwell & Hewings, 1996). Cauldwell and Hewings observe, for example, that the train station announcer has repeated the same words in the announcement so often that he no longer bothers about perceiving them as new or old information. They cite the following as exemplified in (5):

5) the train on platform three will call at //➔ Peterborough //➔ Ely // March // and Cambridge // (p. 330)

and note that “... categorizations have become ritualistic, because they have often been said in the same particular context by the same speaker” (p. 330).

**Verbal Planning:** From the analysis, another use of the level tone identified is in verbal planning. Brazil observes that
there are situations where speakers do not achieve encoding and in such cases, this presents a difficulty for them. The difficulty arises from the fact that because speakers keep thinking of what to say next, they encounter momentary coding problems and as a result, tend to use a lot of pauses and pause fillers. According to Brazil (1997), the pauses and fillers are an indication that the speaker is “thinking on his/her feet” (p. 140). This assertion implies that there is a problem with the organization of the message such that the speaker moves away from focusing on the state of convergence between him/her and their listeners, to focusing on the linguistic properties of the utterance itself.

In Figure 2, the speaker assigns level tone to his second tone unit, one and follows it with a pause of [0.38 secs] (line 1) before saying what he actually wants to say. Readers note that the speaker does not want to say one. However, he realizes that he is finding difficulty in continuing. The use of the level tone, together with the substantial pause, is an indication that the speaker is experiencing some momentary coding problems. After the pause, he remembers the word and then produces it appropriately. A similar instance occurs in line 4 where the speaker continues but gets stuck at a point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MOST of them FAILED // ➔ ONE // [0.38] // i ASKED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>some of them // and the er they WHAT they told me was that er //</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[1.19] // ACTually // they LEARNED // i-is not that they did not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>learn they were // ➔ BUT // [0.24] // ➔ they were not able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>FFinish // [0.84] // THEY were not able to FFinish // [0.15]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: An extract showing instances of verbal planning

He appears to have forgotten what he wants to say after but and that results in the [0.24 sec.] pause. The level tone on but signifies that he is having a problem with exactly what to say next. Right after the pause, he is able to produce the statement, but he still employs a level tone to the whole tone unit. A close look at they were not able to finish suggests that the speaker is not sure that he
is saying the right thing, and this is followed with a long pause and then he confirms his utterance with a repetition of the previous tone unit. The confirmation (line 5) also lends credence to the fact that the speaker was unsure of what to say initially.

The last and final extract showing an instance of verbal planning is presented in Figure 3. Here, a speaker starts by signaling that he will tell his colleagues something.

Figure 3: An extract showing instances of verbal planning

As his submission ensues, it becomes obvious that he is still missing some information. This necessitates his use of a pause of [0.38 secs] after now followed by level tones on the second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh tone units. The level tones on we are saying that er four years shows that the speaker has not finished his statement and needs to add more information to complete it. The same can be said of the tone units from the duration or the time to (line 2) but er (line 3).

The whole stretch from the second to the seventh tone unit shows that the speaker is encountering some problems with the exact words to use. Because of the presence of more level tones (10 as compared to 5 falling tones), the whole of the extract appears incomplete as the speaker constantly seems to be looking for the words to finish it. As the speaker struggles to produce the words he also pauses at some points where he might not be
expected to do so. By assigning level tones, the speaker tries to recollect or remember his words, to organize his thoughts and to plan his verbal content so as to complete the utterance.

It is important to note that a speaker may use less number of level tones (Figure 2) as against more (as in Figure 3) to show a process of verbal planning. What is important is the role of the level tones in a particular tone unit, and not necessarily the number. When Figure 2 is compared to Figure 3, one realizes that there are more level tones in 3, but in each case, there is verbal planning taking place. It might appear that the speaker’s pauses are irrelevant; however, this may not be the case. He appears to use the pauses as wait times to allow his listeners to focus their attention on him before he continues talking.

**Hesitation:** Speakers used a lot of hesitation markers in their conversations. These markers are part of a group of filled pauses. In all, the data consisted of both lexical and non-lexical fillers. The lexical fillers are hesitation markers and false start devices. The hesitation markers are *er* and *uh*. Because hesitation markers (and all other filled pauses) “act as points in the stream of speech where speakers dwell (in the sense of wait) for a short time while making a non-word” (Cauldwell, 2013, p. 85), they allow speakers have some time to think while also deciding on what to say next. By their nature, Cauldwell (2013), as well as Pickering (1999), argues that filled pauses “almost always occur with a level tone” (Cauldwell, 2013, p. 85). Following this, all hesitation markers produced as prominent syllables in the data were marked with level tones.

Figure 4 is one instance of the use of hesitation markers by a speaker. In a manner similar to verbal planning, speakers produced hesitation markers when speaking. There are hesitation markers in lines 2, 4, and 5 and in all cases, they appear as the only syllables in their respective tone units. The hesitation marker in line 2 is preceded by a pause which is “a common occurrence” (Cauldwell, 2013, p. 85).

Both the pause and the hesitation marker are a way of helping the speaker to *buy* himself some time to decide on what to say next. The other markers (lines 4 and 5) have vowel lengthening on them. This lengthening is also to allow the speaker enough time to think of what to say, although it slows down the
entire tone unit. The more a speaker lengthens the word, the more time he/she has to plan the next word.

What actually happens is that the rhythm is suddenly interrupted, the speed is slowed to enable the speaker wait and think about something before proceeding with the discourse. In other words, the speaker uses the pause and the lengthening as a “stepping stone” (Cauldwell, 2013, p. 85). Cauldwell observes that a filler serves as a stepping stone “where the rhythm is interrupted, the speed slows and the speaker dwells on a word which is advancing the discourse” (p. 86).

Reading Intonation: As already indicated, the level tone is used in reading intonation. This is another way by which speakers orient obliquely to their listeners. Brazil, Coulthard, and Johns (1980) argue that speakers can either perform reading as if they were speaking or stand outside of it saying “this is what the text says” (p. 83), thereby reading out the text. In this circumstance, speakers place the linguistic organization of the text over and above the relationship between their tone choices and the state of convergence between them and their listeners. An instance of such reading is found in Figure 5.

In the extract, the speaker adopts a reading intonation to provide information as if reading from a text. She basically reads the government’s vision for establishing the junior high school (JHS) assigning more level tone (8) and fewer falling tones (3) and

---

**Figure 4: An extract showing hesitation markers**

1. there has been the NEW // reFORM // [1.12] // of THESE er what //
2. [0.20] // ER // Jhs // [0.25][hh] // AND // [0.21] // and the
3. RATIO nale beHIND this // [0.10] // jhs was DIFF erent from THOSE //
4. // ER :: // [0.13] // OLDen TIME // [0.51][hh] // [0.15] // the
5. person CAN acquire some SKILLS // [1.84] // TO be // ER :: //
6. // Able to dePEND // on himSELF // [1.76] //
rising tones (2). It should be noted that it is not only level tones that are employed in oblique orientation, but the presence of multiple prominences also results in oblique orientation.

The speaker’s opening statement the reason why there is wholesale is because we assume that er the child erm will learn something breaks at wholesale with a falling tone, and then completes the utterance with a level tone at something. The use of the rising tone is to remind (Cauldwell, 2003) her colleagues of the rationale for the new educational reform. Three (3) of the 8 level tones are marked on hesitations due to the fact that she may be encountering momentary coding problems. The effect of the heavy presence of level tone is that the speaker is only recounting what is already in existence, and not a statement she is making by herself.

Figure 6 represents another instance of reading intonation. In this extract, the speaker adopts a lecturing tone on the rationale for establishing both the JHS and SHS. Again, this is common knowledge, and so she presents it as if she was reading a pre-recorded message. She combines more level tones (13) with falling tones (9) to show an oblique orientation to the material.
The extract also shows that eight tone units occur with hesitations, indicating that the speaker does a lot of online verbal planning in her utterance.

**Level Tones and Retelling:** In this particular use of the level tone, speakers show an exception to what might be expected within the model. Typically, speakers use the falling tone to project new information or to signal that you don’t know this, I am telling you. However, the analysis showed that it is not only the falling tone that speakers used for this function, but also, the level tone, especially in instances where the information has already been provided and it is being repeated. Thus, they retell or recount personal experiences or to communicate their views on an issue. I argue that while speakers read known facts using a combination of falling (and sometimes rising tones) and level tones as might be expected in inner circle contexts, the combination of these same tones creates an oblique orientation in retelling where on the

**Figure 6: An extract exemplifying reading intonation**

1 //่วย in SOME way i don’t aGREE with you //รก there has been the NEW
2 //➡️ reFORM // [1.12] //➡️ of THESE รง what // [0.20] //➡️ ER //➡️ Jhs
3 [0.25][hh] //➡️ AND // [0.21] //➡️ and the RATIONa:le beHIND this //
4 [0.10] //➡️ jhs was DIFFerent from THOSE // รก ER // [0.13] //➡️
5 OLDen // รก TIME // [0.51][hh] //➡️ NOW// [0.16] //รก the SETting up
6 of the // [0.31] //➡️ Jhs er the BAsic level // [0.29] //➡️ is to TRAIN //➡️
7 and eQUI:P the child //รก so that Even at the basic level // [0.15] //➡️the
8 person CAN acquire some SKILLS // [1.84] //➡️ TO be //➡️ ER //➡️
9 Able to dePEND //รก on himSELF // [1.76] //รก you underSTAND me //
contrary, a combination of falling and rising tones might be expected in native Englishes.

Figure 7 is a typical example of an oblique orientation in a *telling* discourse. In the previous conversation, the speaker argued in favor of the four-year SHS program because he believed that students would have ample time to learn. His argument was countered by other speakers and they disagreed, claiming that the three-year program was better than the four-year period. The conversation continued, and this same speaker takes the floor again and adopts a lecturing tone to voice his opinion. His first utterance starts on a falling tone. The typical oblique orientation is felt where there is a level tone at a potential completion point: *I beg to differ, I beg to differ in this your argument*. He then assigns a falling tone on *years* at an actual completion point, *and three years is three years*.

```
1 // معدل // [0.28] // معدل I beg to differ THIS your ARgument
2 // [0.19] // معدل in FACT my sister // [0.12] // معدل i will NOT // معدل aGREE to
3 what you’re saying // [0.80] // معدل beCAUSE // [0.78] // معدل FOUR years
4 is four years // [0.72] // معدل and THREE years is three YEARS // [1.27] // معدل
5 NOW // [0.25] // معدل there are SOME SCHOOLS // [0.11] // معدل WHERE
6 there are Even // [0.68] // معدل ER about // [0.39] // معدل a school which is
7 supposed to have about er TEN teachers // [0.84] // معدل they are FEW // [0.42]
8 // معدل SO IN this case // [0.33] // معدل STUdents will HAVE to str // [0.15] // معدل
9 // معدل i mean DO their maximum BEST // [1.04] // معدل to LEARN // [0.51] // معدل
10 // معدل NOW // [0.19] // معدل IT means they ARE overSTREtching them //
```

The rest of the presentation is organized with more falling tones on nuclear syllables, an indication that the utterance is a *telling* one, until he completes his utterances. However, the presence of level tones (8 out of 20) shows that the speaker orient s more towards the text rather than to his listeners.
Figure 8 represents another speaker who makes heavy use of level tones in retelling. The exchange starts with one of the speakers suggesting that four years are enough for the students. He further argues that the students will have sufficient time to finish the syllabus and also be able to understand the subjects better than if they go for three years. Another speaker refuses this assertion and adds that it is not enough to enroll people in school without providing the necessary facilities. To this end, she urges the government to consider improving on existing facilities as well as providing new ones.

The speaker adds that she believes that while the extension may be useful for some schools, it may be problematic for others because schools in the rural areas suffer in terms of staffing, accommodation, and other logistics. There are more proclaiming tones (12), suggesting that this speaker is telling something to people who might have no knowledge of such facts. However, her use of level tones (6) shows that she is orienting more towards the material than thinking about how her listeners will interpret the
information. For instance, there is a level tone at a potential completion point, *get classrooms for all the three this things*, an indication that the speaker could have stopped at this point of the utterance. With this usage, it can be argued that the speaker completes her statement using a level tone, rather than a falling tone as might be expected. At an actual completion point *at times they get more infrastructure than the rural areas*, the speaker assigns a falling tone.

Finally, an example of retelling is presented in Figure 9. In the conversation prior to this, a speaker said that the government has not done anything substantial to support the four-year SHS program.

```
// 📺 SOMEthing someTHING that i try to // [0.67] // 📺 DIGEST // and i realize that // [1.18] // 📺 UNDer NO circumstance // → will a governMENt // [140] // → COME apart from // [0.42] // → the TWO [0.57] // 📺 political PARties // → we’ve been exPERiencing // → LEFT and right // [hh] // → IF the left COMES then the right // [0.70] // 📺 GETS to minority and what have you i realize that // [0.24] // 📺 IF // 📺 any political PARty being the THIRD ONE // → that will come IN // → there will be ern ANOTHER // [0.42] // 📺 DIfferent reFORM // 📺 as far as our educational system is concerned beCAUSE // [1.49] // 📺 it GOES down into the good books of this country // 📺 THAT// [0.28] // 📺 this political party was ABle to // [0.38] // → CHANGE our educational // → SYStem from THIS to THAT // [0.40] // 📺 AND to them is a PLUS // [0.24] // 📺 on their SIDE // [0.40] // 📺 and when they are GOing to // [0.24] // 📺 er campaign it is that oh when we came we were able to DO this //
```

*Figure 9: An extract exemplifying a telling discourse*
He lamented the state of schools and claimed that the syllabi for the three-year program were not modified when the one year was added. He added that students had to learn the core subjects for two years before they started learning the electives. In his opinion, students should be allowed to go to school for only three years because they will excel without an additional year. The other speakers agreed with him and the conversation ensued. At this point, another speaker takes the floor and makes his submission. He suggests that politicians are all the same and so there is no need to worry about them. He says that the two parties will continue to rule the country, and that the presence of a third party will not change the political landscape. To him, every political party always wants to score cheap political points with their decisions.

The number of falling tones (15) in this extract is more than the number of level tones (11). This concentration of falling tones, coupled with the information (mostly assertions), indicates that this speaker is proclaiming something, an expectation that he will orient directly to his listeners. However, his mode of delivery suggests that he appears to be more interested in the language of his message than in his listeners. For instance, his opening statement something something that i try to digest ends on a level tone at the two political parties we’ve been experiencing left and right. After this, the second statement concludes with a falling tone on able to change our educational system from this to that, exhibiting typical features of oblique orientation, that is, level tones, as well as multiple prominent syllables, in some tone units (Brazil, 1997).

From the utterances (Figures 7, 8, 9), it can be seen that the number of level tones in each case is smaller than that of falling tones. For example, there are 40% of all tones in Figure 7, 33% in Figure 8, and 42% in Figure 9, respectively. As a result, one may be tempted to assume that the level tones do not contribute anything. However, this is not the case. In fact, one realizes that in most places where level tones occur, the speakers mean to provide some information, and not merely on hesitation or for verbal planning. Based on this, Figures 7, 8, and 9 are shown to illustrate how different speakers used the level tone to retell given information.
The significance of the level tone

The analysis has revealed that there are ways in which speakers of Ghanaian English use the level tone to perform functions similarly to the systems proposed in Brazil’s model. These include its use in lists. In this instance, speakers use it a continuative tone, similar to the rising tone. Verbal planning is another instance in which speakers make use of level tone. Here, they use the level tone to serve as wait time, especially in cases where they encounter difficulty in producing the exact words for the continuation of their utterances. Most often (though not in all cases) the words that are assigned level tones occur with some substantial amount of pause before or after the word. As in verbal planning, speakers also assigned level one to hesitation markers (lexical filled pauses) so as to allow them some time to think of what to say next. The final instance in which speakers use the level tone similar to the model in reading intonation. With this use, they produced their utterances the same way they read out text from a book, an indication that they are not producing the words by themselves, but are just reproducing common knowledge that all participants can relate to.

The analysis also showed that speakers use the level tone to perform functions in places where mostly falling (and to some extent) rising tones might normally be expected in Brazil’s model. The activity in this instance can be termed retelling because speakers clearly show they are providing information which has already been provided. When this happens, the speaker is expected to use a combination of rising and falling tones, not level tones. Although they used a lot of falling tones in such instances, the presence of a fair amount of level tones in these extracts created the impression that the speakers were orienting obliquely, rather than directly, towards their listeners.

It is interesting to note that a high frequency of level tones in utterances may not be peculiar to Ghanaian English alone. It has been found to perform important communicative functions just like the falling and rising tones in some nativized varieties, such as Singapore and Malaysia Englishes (Goh, 1994, 1998, 2005), and learner varieties such as English spoken in Indonesia (Hewings, 1995). For instance, Goh (2005) argues that all intonational choices have accompanying communicative purpose.
in Singapore English, and the level tone is no exception. She further observes that the selection of the level tone depends on what meaning speakers wish to convey. On the basis of this finding, she concludes that the systems within Brazil’s model do not always have the same communicative value for the English spoken in Singapore. The findings from the analysis in the present study confirm Goh’s assertion that the level tone is more than just a linguistic construct.

**Conclusion**

The study has revealed that the level tone is used in Ghanaian English to perform functions in consonance with Brazil’s model as well to perform functions differently from what might be expected in the model. While the uses that meet expectation may not present any new evidence in this variety of English, the level tone in retelling information suggests that it is significant. It shows that it is not always that the level tone has little communicative value, that “the speaker is not making a genuine attempt at communicating” (Goh, 2005, p. 109), but that it can be used in place of the falling or rising tone. The choice of level tone in such instances suggests that speakers’ communicative intent may be different from what Brazil’s model proposes. In fact, during interactions, these speakers make moment-by-moment decisions about their speech and the meaning their listeners derive from it. In conclusion, it is argued that in Ghanaian English, the level tone is highly significant just like the falling and rising tones, and that Ghanaians may not always use it to perform the same functions as the proposed systems in Brazil’s discourse intonation model.
References


Appendix A

Transcription Conventions
Tone unit boundaries // //
Onset syllables UPPERCASE
Nuclear syllable UPPERCASE
Lengthening : /::
Length of pause [ ]
Tone
Overlap [
Breath hh

Submitted: May 29, 2016/Published: October 31, 2016
Colonial Conflicts in Contemporary Northern Ghana: A Historical Prognosis of the British Colonial Factor in the Nawuri-Gonja and Mamprusi-Kusasi Conflicts

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Abstract
Northern Ghana has witnessed phenomenal increases in armed conflicts over the past three decades. Many of these conflicts are ‘colonial conflicts’ rooted in colonial policies, but some others have no reference to colonialism as they are occasioned by endogenous factors. The Kusasi-Mamprusi and Nawuri-Gonja conflicts are colonial conflicts whose historical roots are traceable to colonialism in Northern Ghana. This paper interrogates the British-sponsored political conferences held prior to the introduction of indirect rule in Northern Ghana, with special focus on the Mamprusi and Gonja conferences. The paper argues that the conferences sowed the seeds of the post-colonial Mamprusi-Kusasi and Gonja-Nawuri conflicts.

Keywords: British colonialism, conferences, ethnic conflict, chieftaincy, Northern Ghana

This study focuses on the Nawuri-Gonja and Kusasi-Mamprusi ethnic tensions within the broader picture of ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana. Geographically, Northern Ghana comprises present-day Northern, Upper-East and Upper-West
Regions and constitutes an area with different ethnic groups and traditional political systems. Historically, Northern Ghana was made up of the autochthones of the Nawuri, Konkomba, Nafelba, Vagla, Nchumuru, Komba, Mo, Tampluma, Sisala, Basari, among others, and the relative ‘newcomers’ such as, the Mole-Dagbani, Wala and the Gonja. Other notable ethnic groups in Northern Ghana include the Frafra, Bimoba, Busansi, Talensi, Bisa, Kusasi, Kasena, Bulsa, Anufo (Chakosi), Dagarba and Lobi. Culturally and linguistically, Northern Ghana is pluralistic though Rattray (1932, p.1) regards the region as a more or less ‘homogeneous cultural and – to a lesser extent – linguistic area, rather than a mosaic comprising of a welter of tongues and divergent cultures.’ Generally, the pre-colonial political relations of these diverse ethnic groups in Northern Ghana were cordial, though some of the relations were in the form of overlord-subject, conqueror-conquered and landowners-landless arrangements.

It is common knowledge that since the last decade of the Twentieth Century, Africa has, for various reasons, experienced phenomenal increases in armed conflict with destructive consequences. Many sub-regions of the continent have been enmeshed in civil wars and other forms of conflict, putting them in a state of turmoil and anarchy. In the West African sub-region, Liberia, Sierra Leone, La Côte d’Ivoire (The Ivory Coast) and Mali have been embroiled in conflicts in the last thirty years due to struggle for political space and power. While these countries were being torn apart by the scourge of conflicts, Ghana enjoyed relative peace and political stability, attracting the designation, ‘the oasis of peace in West Africa.’ However, the general assumption that Ghana is an oasis of peace is simplistic for it fails to critically interrogate the political situation in Northern Ghana. Over the past four decades, Northern Ghana has been in a state of turmoil as it continues to grapple with armed ethnic and religious conflicts. Since 1980, various parts of Northern Ghana have witnessed intermittent eruptions of inter-ethnic conflicts, which led to phenomenal destructions to lives and properties. In the Northern Region alone, there have been wars between the Nanumba and the Konkomba in 1981, 1994 and 1995; between the Bimoba and the Konkomba in 1984, 1986 and 1989; between the Nawuri and the Gonja in 1991 and 1992; and between the
Konkomba, the Nawuri, the Bassari and the Nchumuru, on the one hand, and the Gonja on the other in 1992. In the Upper-East Region, there have been intermittent outbreaks of war between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi over the past two decades. This paper attempts to examine the conundrum of ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana with special focus on the Kusasi-Mamprusi and Nawuri-Gonja conflicts. By dissecting the antecedents of the conflicts, the paper argues that the Kusasi-Mamprusi and the Nawuri-Gonja conflicts are ‘colonial conflicts’: the colonial system of the British created the structures of the conflicts (Brukum, 2001). This study focuses on the Nawuri-Gonja and the Kusasi-Mamprusi conflicts for two main reasons. In the first place, unlike most conflicts in Northern Ghana, the Nawuri-Gonja and the Kusasi-Mamprusi conflicts have defied attempts to resolve them, thus protracting and perpetuating them. Secondly, while the causes of these conflicts are rooted in colonial policies, the conflicts have not only found expressions and furnace in the post-colonial periods but also have been recurrent.

**Understanding Armed Conflicts in Africa**

Studies have posited conflicts in Africa within different theoretical contexts. Until the end of the Cold War, conflicts in Africa were seen as un-extinguished bushfires from the Cold War. Wars and conflicts in African history during the Cold War were generally seen by many scholars as a monopolised phenomenon of the Super Powers. This proposition was anchored on the view that every conflict in Africa was, in a way, shaped by the ideological struggle between the East and the West, and that the chief protagonists – the United States and the Soviet Union – fought wars by proxy in Africa (Richards, 2005). There was also the contention that the Super Power balance of nuclear terror kept the lid on many local conflicts, but once the Cold War competition ended, endemic hostilities reasserted themselves, and this saw the upsurge of ethnic conflicts in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s as a reaction to events in Eastern Europe (Richards, 2005). The collapse of the old order in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s thus had a tremendous impact on the fragile nation-states of Africa.
Scholarship has also linked conflicts in Africa to colonialism. The argument, according to Lentz and Nugent (2000), is that prior to colonisation,

Africans belonged simultaneously to a bewildering variety of social networks – nuclear and extended families, lineages, age sets, secret societies, village communities, diasporas, chiefdoms, states and empires. Loyalties and identities were complex, flexible and relatively amorphous, and certainly did not add up to clearly demarcated tribes living in well-defined and bounded territories. These multiple identities ... continued into the colonial period. (p. 5)

Many historians attribute the causes of armed post-independence conflicts in Africa to colonialism. They argue that the invention of ethnic groups was a product of colonial policy, though they acknowledge the fact that ethnicity in Africa was ‘nourished by the active participation of African actors who moulded political and cultural traditions in accordance with their own self-interest’ (Lentz & Nugent, 2000, p. 5). This argument stresses the disparate nature of African societies as one of the sources of conflicts on the continent. The view is that conflicts in Africa are an inevitable consequence of the multi-ethnic nature of African states which necessarily leads to a clash of identities and cultures. Ethnic pluralism in Africa creates conflict structures and conditions for the mobilisation of ethnic and cultural resources for violent conflict (Richards, 2005, pp. 1-25). This argument has been used by some scholars to dissect conflicts in post-colonial Northern Ghana. Scholars, such as Skalnik (1983, 1989), Bombande (2007) and Brukum (2001, 2007), have pointed to the complicity of the colonial enterprise in contemporary conflicts in Northern Ghana. The thrust of their argument is that the colonial enterprise imposed notions of state and state power on Northern Ghana without taking cognizance of the conceptual differences in outlook between centralised and non-centralised societies. They further argue that colonialism, with its policy of indirect rule, was the major cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana because it created lots of antagonisms, grievances and festering relations between ethnic groups. Finally, they argue that in some instances state actors of
the colonial regime themselves have fomented or condoned war. The above interpretation of conflicts in Africa is significant to this paper because it gives clues that ‘ethnic pluralism in Northern Ghana creates an environment for constant engagement of rival ethnic interests’ (Mbowura, 2014, pp. 1505-1506). In addition, it helps to understand the extent to which interactions between the state and societies in Northern Ghana generate rival interests among the societies to secure public resources from those in authority at the political centre, and how that could produce conflicts among the rival societies.

This paper is placed within the broader argument of the complicity of the colonial government in conflicts in Africa. It argues that the colonial policy of indirect rule with its attendant traditional political structures and relations sowed seeds of conflict between the Nawuri and the Gonja, and the Kusasi and the Mamprusi of Northern Ghana alike. Unlike existing literature (Skalnik, 1983, 1989; Bombande, 2007; Brukum, 2001, 2007) on the complicity of the colonial governments in Africa which focuses on the general colonial super-structure, this paper focuses on colonial policy framework which turned hitherto independent societies of the Nawuri and the Kusasi into subjects of the Gonja and the Mamprusi, respectively.
Map of Ghana showing the three Northern regions.
(Source: Researchgate.net   Accessed on October 13, 2016)

**Methodology**

This study adopted the orthodox approach to historical enquiry that combines archival research with published materials and historical memories. Data for the paper were qualitative derived from systematic enquiry, which were analysed and interpreted to understand the colonial phenomenon and factor in contemporary conflicts in Northern Ghana. The study made a wide use of primary sources obtained from a corpus of first-hand or...
original data on colonialism, Northern Ghana and conflicts. By and large, the study made use of primary documents in the Public Records Administration and Archival Division (PRAAD) in Accra and Tamale. Use was also made of primary materials, such as reports of committees of enquiry. Finally, data were carefully gleaned from a variety of monographs, books, articles and public memories on colonialism, Northern Ghana, conflicts, Nawuri-Gonja and Kusasi-Mamprusi relations.

From The Pre-colonial Situation to the Colonial Era

Bawku, located in the north-easternmost corner of Ghana, has been at the centre of the Mamprusi-Kusasi imbroglio. Available historical evidence indicates that the Kusasi were the autochthones of Bawku and its environs, and that the Mamprusi met the Kusasi already inhabiting the area when they arrived (Hilton, 1962). The area also attracted the arrival of the Bimoba, Bisa and Busansi. The commercial importance of Bawku which served as a catalyst for the penetration of people of different ethnic background to the area cannot be underestimated. Existing narratives (Hilton, 1962; Drucker-Brown, 1995; Amadu, 2002; Lund, 2003; Awedoba, 2009) on the history of Bawku suggest that in the pre-colonial times the town was a market centre which later, during the colonial era, also grew into a busy trading post near two international borders, Togo to the East and Burkina Faso (former Upper Volta) to the North, though Benin (former Dahomey) and Niger also were not too distant. By its strategic geographical location and its vibrant commercial activities, Bawku became a polyglot of immigrants from other parts of Africa, who settled in the town to take advantage of economic opportunities there. These immigrants came to join the Kusasi, Mamprusi, Busanga, Bisa and the Bimoba already well established in the area (Syme, 1932).

Narratives (Drucker-Brown, 1995; Lund, 2003; Awedoba, 2009) on the primordial beginnings of the Mamprusi-Kusasi conflict link it to the contest for the Bawku Skin though the issue of allodial land rights cannot be completely ruled out. In their book *African Political Systems*, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940) categorised the political systems in Africa into two – states with centralised authority and the uncentralised ones whose features of
government are defined in local lineage rather than in administrative terms. Scholars, largely anthropologists, have applied these classifications to societies in Northern Ghana. The Mole-Dagbani, Gonja and Wala have been described as centralised, that is, societies with systems of government by which jurisdiction is territorial and based on chieftaincy with a paramount chief serving as the repository of authority. On the other hand, the rest of the societies in Northern Ghana, including the Kusasi, were described as non-centralised societies, lacking in the territorial unit defined by administrative terms and the notion of chieftaincy.

The general conception is that the Mamprusi immigrated into Bawku with advanced ideas of chieftaincy, and that chieftaincy was an established institution among the Mamprusi long before the imposition of colonial rule. The Mamprusi had a hierarchy of chiefs or ‘Na’ with the Nayiri as overlord and the tendanas operating alongside the Na. As secular rulers, the Nayiri and his sub-chiefs enforced law and order through adjudication of cases. Contrarily, Kusasi society prior to contacts with the Mamprusi and the imposition of colonial rule, was said to be non-centralised, though recent scholarship (Tuuray, 1982; Mbowura, 2013a) shows that it was inappropriate to describe the political systems of some of the ethnic groups as acephalous as there is evidence of the historicity of the institution of chieftaincy or the concept of political leadership among them. The Kusasi did not acknowledge a centralised political authority headed by one individual as supreme ruler manipulating a centre of power that consisted of a court and council of elders. Their societies were headed by tendanas (earth priests) who were spiritual leaders and assisted by different clan and family heads. They offered sacrifices to the land gods to secure their sources of livelihood and their authority did not go beyond imposing spiritual and moral sanctions on wrongdoers. In spite of these differences in political organisation, the two groups lived peacefully prior to colonial intrusion. The tendanas operated alongside the Mamprusi chiefs playing different roles, and there was no evidence of Mamprusi suzerainty over the Kusasi or inhabitants of Bawku and its environs (Syme, 1932).
The conflict structures of the Kusasi-Mamprusi and Nawuri-Gonja were created by the colonial authorities, but there is a dichotomy between the issues of dispute. The Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict was triggered by a chieftaincy dispute, but that of the Nawuri and the Gonja erupted over allodial land rights to Kpandai and its environs. In the Kpandai area, as is the case of other Ghanaian societies, the modes of measuring allodial land rights are embedded in the historical traditions of the people. By right of autochthony and autonomy, allodial land rights in the Kpandai area in the pre-colonial period resided in the Nawuri. However, the area’s encounters with the colonial enterprise led to the evolution of new constructs of allodial rights in land, which challenged established traditions and provided the opportunity for the immigrant Gonja community to appropriate land (Mbowura, 2012).

In the early pre-colonial period, Kpandai and its environs in Northern Ghana were inhabited by the Nawuri (the autochthones) and the Gonja (the immigrants). The Nawuri claim autochthony and trace their origins to the Afram Plains and Larteh-Akuapem in Southern Ghana (Mbowura, 2012). The Gonja, on the other hand, claim descent from Ndewura Jakpa and his invading founders of the Gonja kingdom and trace their origins to Mande in present-day Mali (Braimah & Goody, 1967). Narratives on Nawuri-Gonja encounters in the pre-colonial period suggest that the Gonja peacefully entered the Kpandai area in the seventeenth century as immigrants; they did not arrive as invaders as was characteristic of Gonja penetration into most parts of Northern Ghana (Ampiah, 1991; Maasole, 2006; Awedoba, 2009; Mbowura 2002, 2012;). The narratives further suggest that prior to the Gonja arrival, the Kpandai area was long inhabited by the Nawuri, and that the Gonja neither conquered the Nawuri nor did the two groups fight each other in the pre-colonial period. On the contrary, the two ethnic groups co-existed as political allies (Ampiah, 1991; Mbowura, 2002; Awedoba, 2009). This politically symbiotic relationship between the Nawuri and the Gonja was destroyed by the German and British colonial enterprise, and from its ruins emerged a subject-overlord relation between the two ethnic groups. For the sake of political expediency, the colonial authorities invested political authority in
the Kpandai area in the Gonja in contravention of history, customs and tradition (Mbowura, 2012, 2013, 2014). The creation of Gonja authority over the Nawuri as a colonial agency gave a new face to Nawuri-Gonja encounters. In the pre-colonial period, the notions of the boundaries of political authority and allodial land rights in most parts of Northern Ghana were intertwined. Applying this notion to their colonially-created political authority, the Gonja began to claim and exercise allodial land rights in the Kpandai area. The attendant consequence of the Gonja posture was the emergence of conflicting claims to allodial land rights in the Kpandai area between them and the Nawuri. Both ethnic groups used history as ‘weapons’ to advance their claims.

**Colonial Reconfiguration of States and the Building of Conflict Structures in Bawku**

Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century, the British consolidated their occupation of Bawku and Mamprugu\(^1\) with the establishment of administrative stations in both areas. The arrival of the British and their hasty endorsement of the existing political arrangement as told by the Nayiri enabled the Mamprusi to consummate their political suzerainty over the Kusasi. British colonialism, looking for easy and convenient ways to administer the vast territories they had acquired by 1900, initially administered their territories directly, but in the 1930s adopted the indirect rule system which enabled them to govern through the existing traditional rulers or leaders. Given the prevailing misconception that the lands occupied by the Kusasi, Busansi and Frafra were all part of the Mamprugu territory, the British colonial administration not only endorsed the six Mamprusi chiefs appointed by the Nayiri in the Kusasi area, but also appointed new canton chiefs in areas where none existed, some of whom were Kusasi (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/2/214). The introduction of indirect rule in the 1930s necessitated the implementation of the amalgamation system. To this end, political conferences were held to reconfigure states and societies in Northern Ghana. By far,

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\(^1\) The terms **Mamprugu, Mamprusi** and **Mampruli** are terms used to refer to the state, ethnic group and language of the Mamprusi of Northern Ghana, respectively.
the Kusasi Conference of March 1931 and the Mamprusi Conference of December 1932 were the most important as they had significant consequences on Mamprusi-Kusasi relations (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198).

Events before and during the Kusasi Conference of March 1931 appeared to have been manipulated or stage-managed by the colonial administration and the Nayiri to guarantee a certain predetermined outcome, that is the election of the Mamprusi Bawku chief as head chief of all Kusasi. As part of the colonial administration’s policy to support chiefs who were of good behaviour and promote the evolution of a strong Mamprusi state, it popularised the Bawku chief (who later became the Bawku Naba after the conference) for thirty (30) years. This support for the Bawku chief dates back to 1910 when the Nayiri, Na Awibiga, hinted that the chief was being groomed to become the head of all chiefs in the Kusasi District (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/277), an idea which received the backing of the colonial administration. Consequently, the Bawku chief was treated as superior to his colleagues even before the Kusasi Conference of 1931, a position other Kusasi chiefs accepted voluntarily or compulsorily. This affected the thinking of the Acting District Commissioner at the time, who warned against electing any other person than the Bawku chief (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198).

Following the refusal of the Kusenaba, Naba Ayebo (an ethnic Kusasi), to be elected paramount chief of the Kusasi Traditional Area, the lot fell on the Bawku Na (a Mamprusi), much to the relief and excitement of the District Commissioner, who presided over the conference (Hilton, 1962; Akologo, 1996; PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198). His election was confirmed and blessed by the Nayiri in that same year. As part of the new arrangements, it was decided that henceforth only the Bawku Naba would be installed by the Nayiri and he would in turn install the other five Mamprusi chiefs as well as the newly created set of (12) Kusasi canton chiefs. A new hierarchy was thus created in 1931. Out of the nineteen chiefs in attendance, fourteen of them

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Bawku Naba is the paramount chief of the Bawku Traditional Area. The Nayiri is the paramount chief of the Mamprusi while the Kusenaba is the chief of one of the seventeen cantons in the Bawku Traditional Area.
were ethnic Kusasi, but a Mamprusi was elected as the Bawku Naba for a number of reasons. First of all, they understood that electing a resident Mamprusi chief as Bawku Naba would please the colonial administration and the Nayiri and guarantee them continued enjoyment of their positions with their associated perquisites. Again, the chiefs stood to benefit from the election of a Bawku-based head chief with power to enskin without the necessity of their travelling to Nalerigu\(^3\) for investiture at the Nayiri’s palace, a tradition which involved a great deal of cost and personal sacrifice (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198). Besides, having made Bawku the principal town since their arrival there, the British colonial authorities found it uncongenial and politically inexpedient to have the head chief living somewhere else since that could create administrative problems. Furthermore, the colonial administration and the Nayiri supported the Bawku Naba because they trusted him to promote the ultimate objective of restructuring the Mamprusi state (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198).

**Implications of the Changes**

As previously stated, the changes initiated at the conferences were varied and significant for two reasons. Firstly, the elective principle replaced the appointive method which hitherto was exercised solely by the Nayiri. From March 1931, it became the practice for all the chiefs to be elected by their headsmen and *tendanas* before they were confirmed by the investing authority (Bawku Naba). This elective principle was used as a basis and reference point for challenging the Nayiri’s exercise of the appointive principle in the choice of Yeremea as Bawku Naba in 1957. The unsuccessful Mamprusi princes questioned the process of Yeremea’s nomination describing it as being at variance with established practices in vogue since the 1931 Conference (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/2/138).

Furthermore, the Bawku Naba who was previously equal in rank to the other 17 chiefs was elevated above his colleagues to the position of head chief with the authority to install the other

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\(^3\) Nalerigu is the capital of the Mamprugu state, which is also the seat of the Nayiri, the paramount chief of the Mamprusi..
chiefs in Kusasi. This in itself had various implications and ramifications. The installation fees which used to be paid to the Nayiri would henceforth be claimed by the Bawku Naba. Besides, the other chiefs in Kusasi were relieved of the burden of trekking to the Nayiri’s court in Nalerigu for installation which entailed much more expenses. In addition, this detachment also reduced the frequent contact between the Nayiri and his subjects and consequently, undermined his authority as he no longer dealt directly with them.

The Kusasi Conference was followed by the Mamprusi Conference of 1932 which ratified the decisions of the Kusasi Conference and led to the establishment of vague relationships between chiefs and certain ethnic groups for purposes of political expediency. These superficial arrangements created unnatural superior-subordinate hierarchical relations and their attendant problems which resulted in tensions and eventual clashes in the 1950s. The Bawku Naba was also later elevated to the status of a divisional chief under the Nayiri thus integrating and effectively subordinating the Kusasi into the Mamprusi kingdom for the first time. It is the resistance of the Kusasi to this status quo and the determination of the Mamprusi to maintain it that set the stage for ethnic frictions.

By the 1932 arrangement, the Kusasi became subordinates and occupied marginal and irrelevant positions in the British colonial administrative structure and the general scheme of things. The statuses of chiefs were in many cases elevated beyond what traditional systems assigned them. The crucial role chiefs played in the direct and indirect rule system necessitated the creation of chieftaincy where none existed or the recognition of the authority of a chief even if the basis for the exercise of the chief’s powers was unjustifiable. The creation of eighteen cantonal chiefs that included the chief of Kusasi, who were all subordinated to the Mamprusi Bawku Naba, now a sub-chief of the Nayiri, was the brain-child of British colonial administrative restructuring confirmed at the Mamprusi Conference of 1932.

In the case of Bawku, specifically, the Mamprusi hegemony was recognised as the colonial government accepted the Mamprusi Bawku Naba as primus inter pares after the Kusasi Conference of March 1931. Less than a decade after the British
sponsored political conferences and amalgamations, the unforeseen consequences of the changes made in 1931 and 1932 became manifest as the Nayiri began to contemplate a reversal to the previous arrangement whereby he directly installed all 18 canton chiefs in Kusasi, an idea which was a recipe for conflict.

Two major reasons explain why the Nayiri had a change in disposition towards the colonial power structure established in Bawku and its environs. In the first place, two years after the Kusasi Conference of 1931, the revenue accruing to the Nayiri’s treasury decreased drastically. In 1933, the Nayiri complained that he was not receiving substantial revenue from the Kusasi chiefs as was the case before 1931. He contemplated withdrawing the Bawku Naba’s privilege of enskinning sub-chiefs in Kusasi and activated the argument that his fetish required him to personally enrobe all the sub-chiefs at his palace in Nalerigu, obviously in the hope that those presenting themselves would bring along substantial offerings or gifts besides the statutory installation fees. Furthermore, the Nayiri was beginning to lose his spiritual bond and authority over the sub-chiefs because he no longer frequently interacted with them directly through the personal installation of chiefs.

A reversal to the old order required the absolute approval of the sub-chiefs. However, their position on the matter was unfavourable as all of them unanimously resolved not to revert to the old order. The response of the chief of Sinnebaga vividly illustrated the position of the sub-chiefs as he expressed the optimism that his heirs would continue to enjoy the new political dispensation (PRAAD, Accra, ADM56/1/198). Similarly, the Chief of Binaba expressed disgust at serving two overlords at the same time, the Bawkunaba and the Nayiri (PRAAD, Accra, ADM56/1/198). These events which were a consequence of the 1931 Kusasi Conference and the 1932 amalgamations were suggestive of a growing insubordination by Kusasi canton chiefs to the Nayiri. They also represented a determination by the sub-chiefs to demystify the ancient mystery surrounding the Nayiri’s fetish as a requirement for chiefs holding his ‘Nam’ before they could function successfully and also marked the beginning of challenges to the Nayiri’s authority which culminated in the clashes of 1957.
The political subordination of the Kusasi continued for close to three decades until June 1957 when the situation threatened to boil over. The Kusasi had blamed the British for not only imposing Mamprusi chiefs on them, but also compelling them to recognise the overlordship of the Nayiri. The forced amalgamation of the Kusasi with the Mamprugu Kingdom in 1932 deprived the Kusasi of their traditional autonomy and provided the Mamprusi with a historical justification for perpetuating the master-subordinate relationship long after the exit of the British colonial administration in 1957. Though the Kusasi found no suitable opportunity for expressing their frustration until after independence, the Kusasi feelings of suppression between 1932 and 1957 set the stage for the post-independence clashes. Mamprusi-Kusasi relations began to take a turn for the worse after the 1932 political amalgamations which subjugated the Kusasi to the Mamprusi. Kusasi sources affirm that the Mamprusi began to treat the Kusasi with disdain after the 1932 Conference which made them subjects (Akologo, 1996). This treatment ranged from taxation, tribute payment and forced labour to marginalisation. Contribution by subjects towards the reception of official guests was a common legitimate practice throughout the protectorate. Apart from the Government approved taxes, the Kusasi were required to send a percentage of their annual harvest to the Bawku Naba. Such cases of abuse of the system and highhandedness became widespread throughout the Northern Territories. Some forms of taxation or tribute had been paid by some Kusasi to the Nayiri prior to 1931, but such payments had been limited to Mamprusi chiefs in the Kusasi area and Kusasi chiefs holding the Mamprusi ‘Nam’ (chiefship) from the Nayiri (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/198).

Again, in the exercise of his duty to mobilise labour for public works, the Bawku Naba abused his authority by diverting labourers, mostly Kusasi, to work on his farm and perform other domestic duties (Nachinaba, 2002). Before 1932, the Kusasi, of their own volition, occasionally assisted the Bawku Naba on his farm. After 1932, this was done under some compulsion. This abuse of authority, coupled with the marginalisation of the Kusasi, became their major grievance, thus creating tension between the
two ethnic groups, tension which finally degenerated into a number of armed conflicts in the post-colonial era.

Subordinating the Nawuri to the Gonja: the German and British Factors

Unlike the situation of the Kusasi in Bawku, the reconfiguration of political structures initiated by the British in Kpandai and its environs had its antecedents in German political policy. The area was under German colonial administration and administered as an enclave of German Togoland between 1899 and 1914. In configuring administrative territories, German colonial authorities included the Kpandai area in the Kete-Krachi District, which comprised the Krachi, Nanumba, Nawuri, Nchumuru, Achode and Adele traditional areas. The principle of political expediency forced the German colonial authorities to interfere in the traditional norms and patterns of traditional observance in the Kpandai area. Using the ‘warrant’ system as a basis of investing traditional rulers with paramount power, the German colonial authorities made an immigrant Gonja the paramount ruler of the Kpandai area. As was the case of the warrant chiefs in Eastern Nigeria under British rule, the Germans, instead of recognising the Nawuri paramount chief, ignored history but rather issued a ‘warrant’ to Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu (the Gonja head chief in the Kpandai area) to exercise authority in the Kpandai area that he had never exercised before (Dixon, 1955). This was because the Germans considered the Nawuri to be unenlightened, primitive, poor and incapable of evolving an effective political administration (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1621). By contrast, Mahama Karatu who was literate in Arabic, was described as enlightened and an ‘experienced man who had travelled much in the course of trade’ (Braimah & Goody, 1967, p. 70). In short, by the stroke of a pen and against history and tradition, the Germans made the Kanankulaiwura the repository of traditional authority in the Kpandai and subordinated the Nawuriwura to him. The result was that Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu and his successors were regarded by the Germans and later the British as overlords and superior to Nawuri chiefs (Mbowura, 2012).
In 1919 the Kpandai area came under British colonial administration following the partition of German Togoland between France and Britain after the end of World War I. Initially, the entire Kete-Krachi District was placed under the Asante Province, but was later carved out from Asante Province in 1923 and added to the Northern Territories due to problems of poor communication and transportation network (Bening, 1999; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/3/53).

The Yapei Conferences

In 1923, 1930 and 1932, respectively, three conferences were held at Yapei to draft a scheme for the introduction of indirect rule in the Gonja kingdom. Unlike the Kusasi case, no separate conferences were held for the Nawuri and the Gonja; neither did the Nawuri attend the Yapei Conferences (Mbowura, 2012). The 1923 Yapei Conference marked the first attempt by the British colonial authorities to bring the Gonja together as a united people. Prior to the conference, the central authority of the Gonja (the Yabumwura) was weak. The conference was attended by Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu, who used the opportunity to meet with other Gonja chiefs for the first time. The discussions at the conference had forebodings for the Kpandai area (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/324). The first was Gonja claims to Nchumuru which prefigured their intentions towards the Kpandai area. They demanded the inclusion of Nchumuru lands in the Gonja District, which were at the time in the Kete-Krachi District (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1380). Though the Gonja chiefs did not lay direct claim to Nawuri lands in the Kpandai area, it signaled their intentions to appropriate territories in the Kete-Krachi District with some historical connection, however tenuous, to the Gonja kingdom.

In May 1930 the colonial authorities convened another conference at Yapei to draft modes of succession and a constitution for Gonja. It was organised under the auspices of Duncan Johnstone, the Acting Commissioner for Southern Province, and was attended by a number of Gonja chiefs, including the Kanankulaiwura, Mahama Karatu. One of the key issues raised in connection with the 1930 Conference was about representation for the Nawuri and the Nchumuru as distinct
groups. One account states that the Gonja opposed it, maintaining that the Nawuri representation was through the Kanankulaiwura (Ampiah, 1991).

In effect, the Gonja insisted that the Nawuri had no autonomy. Another account maintains that the Nawuri sent their representatives to the conference, though their names did not appear in the records of the proceedings (Ampiah, 1991, Part II, p. 22; PRAAD, Accra : ADM 11/1/1380). The Nawuri dispute that and also maintain that they were not invited to the 1930 conference at all; nor did they attend or send representatives to it. The 1930 Conference drew up a constitution to formalise the lines of succession to the Yagbum Skin of the Gonja. It also constituted the Gonja District, leading to the creation of a ‘new Gonja kingdom’ under British colonial rule. Sovereign societies such as those of the Nawuri and the Nchumuru were brought under the newly constituted Gonja kingdom (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1380). As a follow-up to the 1930 Conference, another conference was held at Yapei in 1932 which discussed the fiscal policy of the Gonja District. In attendance was Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu, invited in his capacity as the overlord of the Kpandai area (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1380).

The Yapei Conferences laid the foundation for the Nawuri-Gonja conflict as they sanctioned the inclusion of the Kpandai area into the Gonja District or kingdom. By endorsing the integration of the Kpandai area into the Gonja kingdom in the interest of administrative expediency, the conferences laid the foundation for Gonja appropriation of the allodial land rights to Nawuri lands in the Kpandai area. In addition, it consigned the Nawuri to a subject status and made the Gonja rulers over them. Thus the fate of the Nawuri in all issues concerning their land and administration were placed entirely in the hands of Gonja chiefs. As political overlords, the Gonja claimed allodial land rights to Nawuri land in the Kpandai area, leading to a protracted dispute over allodial land rights between the Nawuri and the Gonja, a dispute which reached a crescendo when the two ethnic groups took to arms in 1991 and 1992.

The conferences gave considerable power to the Yabumwura and his sub-chiefs over areas in the same manner that subjects brought under Gonja rule. It bestowed on the Gonja ruling
class a considerable amount of power, which allowed them to exercise a measure of their ‘old jurisdiction and settle civil and criminal cases in their own courts’ (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1380). The conferences did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Nawuri chiefs in the Kpandai area as they were not recognised by the colonial government. The result was that well into the 1990s, the Gonja refused to recognised chieftaincy as it existed among the Nawuri (Ampiah, 1991; Mbowura, 2013). Nawuri effort, in the colonial and post-colonial periods, for their political leaders to be recognised as ‘chiefs’ by the central government, the local government structure and the Gonja was unsuccessful. This left the door to conflict wide open and hence, the outbreak of war between the two ethnic groups in 1991 and 1992.

The conferences also empowered Gonja chiefs to collect taxes from the Nawuri and impose tributes on them (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1380). Since the 1930s, the Gonja have imposed tributes of all types on the Nawuri. These took the form of cash, foodstuff, baskets of fish, hind legs of animals and labour services (Dixon, 1955; Ampiah, 1991). Indeed, the ‘labour tax’ demanded by the Kanankulaiwura caused a lot of discontent among the Nawuri as it turned them from legitimate owners of their territory to serfs, and was one of their main grievances against the Gonja (Ampiah, 1991). It was these payments of taxes that gave an economic dimension to the wrangles between the Nawuri and the Gonja, which subsequently degenerated into open hostilities between them in 1991 and 1992.

**Conclusion**

The study has established that in the pre-colonial period, Bawku was a buoyant commercial centre, and it was inhabited by the Kusasi and immigrants such as the Mamprusi, Busanga and the Bimoba. There was no record of conflict between the ethnic groups. There was political harmony in Bawku in the pre-colonial period as all the ethnic groups lived in peace. Similarly, there was peace and tranquility in the Kpandai area in the pre-colonial period as both the Nawuri and the Gonja immigrants lived in harmony and co-existed as political allies. There were no traces of wars between the autochthones and the immigrants of the two
respective areas, nor was there any evidence of Mamprusi and Gonja conquest of the Kusasi and the Nawuri in the pre-colonial period, respectively.

In the 1930s, the British colonial authorities applied the policy of amalgamation to the disparate societies and fluid ethnic groups in Northern Ghana in order to create convenient administrative structures for the workability of the indirect rule system. The Nawuri and the Kusasi were amalgamated with the Gonja and the Mamprusi, respectively. Prior to the amalgamation of societies and states in Northern Ghana, various conferences were convened by the colonial authorities for the various ethnic groups and traditional states. Whereas separate conferences were held for the Kusasi in 1931 and the Mamprusi in 1932, no similar conferences were convened for the Nawuri. Instead, three conferences were held successively for the Gonja which culminated in the amalgamation of Nawuri territory with the Gonja kingdom. The amalgamation of the Kusasi and the Nawuri to the Mamprusi and the Gonja, respectively, created different jurisdictional disputes. While the amalgamation policy created a chieftaincy dispute between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi in Bawku, it created a dispute over allodial land rights in the Kpandai area between the Nawuri and the Gonja. The products of these disputes were the armed conflicts which erupted in the post-colonial period between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi in Bawku over the Bawku Naba Skin, and between the Nawuri and the Gonja in the Kpandai area over allodial land rights.

This paper provided readers and policy-makers a perspective on the colonial creation of the Kusasi-Mamprusi and the Nawuri-Gonja conflicts in Northern Ghana. Its insight into the colonial responsibility for the conflicts provides an intellectual resource for readers and adequately equips policy-makers with the knowledge of the antecedents of the conflict to help them work out tangible solutions to pre-empt the recurrence of these conflicts.
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Submitted: February 12, 2016  /Published: October 31, 2016
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