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NIGERIAN AIR FORCE AND PEACE SUPPORT OPERATION IN AFRICA

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NIGERIAN AIR FORCE AND PEACE SUPPORT OPERATION IN AFRICA

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Abstract

This article highlights the contributions of the Nigeria Air Force (NAF) to Nigeria's Peace Keeping Operations (PKOs) abroad, especially those occurring in Africa. The central argument of the article is that, although the defence of Nigeria's territorial airspace remains the primary reason for the establishment and existence of the Nigerian Air Force, the organization has made considerable efforts in productively deploying its growing air power in furtherance of international peace and security through the instrumentality of Peace Support Operations (PSOs) around the world. Yet the NAF's contributions have been negatively affected by several factors, including the absence of a national strategic framework which means that Nigeria participated in such operations without clear political and economic objectives, as well as limited capability of the NAF, caused by the small size of its air fleet and weaponry. This, in turn, affected not only NAF's capacity to fly men and supplies but also its combat readiness. To overcome such challenges the paper recommends that the Nigeria government adopt a national PSO policy and increase its funding of NAF to boost its level of equipment and combat readiness. This can be complemented by pressing the UN and other major world powers to support any future PSOs financially.

Key words: Africa, Nigeria, Air Force, Airpower, Peace Keeping, Peace Support Operations.

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1. Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War and the emergence of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the world has witnessed a rising amount of violent conflict, especially armed conflicts occurring within a state (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Accordingly, the international community have busied itself with findings ways of managing it (Doyle& Sambanis, 2006; Francis, 2006; Holt & Shanahan, 2005). One of the most widely accepted mechanisms for restoring peace in conflict areas is what is known as Peace Support Operations (PSOs). These usually involve member countries of the UN contributing various resources like military personnel, equipments, funds and other humanitarian assistance which will then be deployed to the trouble spot under a unified command. UN PSOs have taken place in virtually every region of the world including Africa, Asia, and Europe, with varying degrees of contributions by member countries of the UN, among them is Nigeria.

From a minor contributor of troops in 1960-1964 when it provided its first UN peacekeepers to Congo (ONUC), Nigeria emerged one of the leading contributors to PSOs in the world by early 1990s (Chigozie & Ituma, 2015:1). In fulfilment of its foreign policy objectives which revolves around the promotion world peace, Nigeria has contributed troops, policy advisers, civilian experts, funds and material resources in support of PSOs, especially operations being carried out under the banner of the UN and relevant regional bodies like AU and ECOWAS within Africa (Adeniyi, 2015). (See Appendix I for more international contributions.)

The most celebrated cases were the UN missions in Somalia and Sudan, and the ECOWAS led missions in Liberia. In the Liberia case, Nigeria was not only the initiator of the intervention, but also the dominant contributor of troops and material resources. For instance, as at 1987, her contributions to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), an interventionist mediation force created to bring an end to the protracted Liberian civil war, was

estimated at 8 billion USD (Hamman & Omojuwa, 2014:43). This is separate from the cost associated with having a large number of lost and maimed soldiers.

Although members of the three services of the Nigerian Armed Forces, comprising of the Army, Navy and Air Force participated in these PKOs or PSOs, very little credit have been given to the Air Force. Existing literature has tended to emphasize the role of the Nigerian Army which is seen as a force to be reckoned with, when it comes to global PSOs (Oni, 2002; Pani, 2012:16). It is however, difficult to produce or sustain any successfully military intervention without a corresponding degree of airpower. Although air forces do not operate and secure ground like the army, their participation during PSOs revealed remarkable contributions in assisting the ground forces conduct PSOs to maintain peace. For instance, the role of air forces in combat and tactical airlift operations can reduce significantly the casualty rate and combat stress usually experienced by the ground forces during peace enforcements. Similarly, the aircraft's capability of conducting deep air interdiction, close air support, as well as insertion and extraction of troops in hostile environment, make air power and indeed air forces desirable during PSOs (Pani, 2012:7).

It is against that background that this article seeks to highlight the contributions of the Nigeria Air force (NAF) to Nigeria's PKOs abroad, especially those occurring in Africa. The central argument of this paper is that, although the defence of Nigeria's territorial airspace remains the primary reason for the establishment and existence of NAF (FGN, 2006:23), the organization has made considerable efforts in productively deploying its growing air power in furtherance of international peace and security through the instrumentality of PSOs around the world.

The rest of the chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides some clarifications on the concepts of Air Power and PSOs. The second section is on the role of the UN and troop contributing states as actors

in the maintenance of international peace and security. In the fourth section, we find an examination of the specific contributions of NAF in PSOs in some countries, looking particularly at the role in the areas of airlifting of troops and materials, surveillance, reconnaissance and air strikes/bombardment either in support of ground forces or alone. The fourth section provide a concluding remarks.

2. Conceptualizing Air Power and Peace Support Operations (PSOs)

As the title of this work suggests, two concepts are key to the analysis contained in this article. These are Air Power and PSOs. This section therefore attempts to clarify their meaning, in order to facilitate their usage in this article. We will begin with Airpower, and then turn later to PSOs.

2.1 Air Power

The concept of air power has been used in a varieties of ways in contemporary military and strategic studies. For instance, Forrest sees it as the unique war fighting advantages afforded by the ability of aircraft to operate in the vertical dimension (Forrest, 2012:1). Further search through the internet reveal the following definitions by some nations: Australia – National air power is the total ability of a nation to achieve its objectives through the air domain and encompasses all elements of civilian and military aviation; USA – the ability to project military power or influence through the control and exploitation of air, space and cyberspace to achieve strategic, operational or tactical objectives; Netherlands – The ability to, within or from the air, achieve or contribute to military or political objectives; Turkey – The synergistic application of air, space, and information systems to project

global strategic military power; and Germany - Air Power is the totality of all possible effects, which can be developed or threatened in Air Operations by the employment of air warfare objects (Bruce, 2017).

However a more comprehensive definition was provided by the Royal Air Force, which defines air power as ‘the ability to project power from the air and space to influence the behaviour of people or the course of events’. The term ‘air power’ encapsulates the way in which the behaviour of individuals, groups and states, or the course of events, can be influenced as a result of the military use of air and space (Royal Air Force, p.1) According to the Royal Air Force, Air power has three main characteristics. The first is *Speed*, corresponding to the rapid arrival and build-up of aircraft near or in trouble spots and provide a visible sign of presence and intent. Modern air operations are also extremely flexible and can be switched between attack, defence and support depending on the needs of the moment. The second is *Height*, which suggests that Air power is less vulnerable to enemy fire when compared with land and sea forces. The third characteristics is *Reach* which implies that air operations can also be conducted from bases far away from the opponent's military forces.

According to the Royal Air Force, also, these characteristics can be combined to increase the effectiveness of air operations. For example, reconnaissance requires reach and height for high-level missions while transport aircraft use speed and reach to move force and equipment rapidly from home bases to deployed operations.

2.1 Peace Support Operations (PSOs)

The term PSOs encompasses a very wide range of both civilian and military measures employed to strengthen peace, halt armed conflicts and to prevent armed conflict reigniting (Gow & Dandeecker, 1995:19). Or, as Johnston puts it, its an “organized international assistance initiatives to

support the maintenance, monitoring and building of peace and prevention of resurgent violent conflict” (Johnston, N, cited in Pani, 2012: 25). It can also be viewed as a ‘Multi-functional operations involving military forces and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies aimed at resolving conflict and restoring peace (Pani, 2012:xviii). In essence, PSOs, constitute one effective set of strategies adopted by humanity to prevent or manage wars and conflicts. It involves carefully designed plans, policies and actions geared towards preventing, managing and resolving conflicts as well as restoring and maintaining peace in a conflict environment. PSOs was originally developed as a means of dealing with inter-state conflicts but has been applied to resolve intra-state conflicts and civil wars with the military remaining as the backbone.

PSOs as a concept is sometimes used interchangeably with another two close related terms, PKOs and Peace Enforcement Operations (PEOs). As Kirgis (cited in Fred Agwu 2007:23) noted, “peacekeeping consists essentially of observer missions and lightly armed forces monitoring ceasefires, operating in an essentially static mode with the consent of the parties involved. It does not envisage involvement in an ongoing conflict and in some places can be adopted before any conflict breaks out”. Seen from that angle, peacekeeping is thus, a peaceful third party intervention which operates with a set of guiding principles that include the consent of the parties to the conflict, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence (Ngwube, 2013:79). Also, PKOs are generally undertaken under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. PEOs, on the other hand, are coercive in nature and undertaken under UN Chapter VII of the UN Charter when the consent of any of the major parties to the conflict is uncertain. They are designed to maintain and re-establish peace or enforce the terms specified in the mandate (Pani, 2012:27).

The major difference between these concepts and PSOs lies in the fact that PSOs are much more complex and multi-dimensional efforts involving a

range of activities such as the use of force, dialogue, humanitarian work and infrastructural and institutional reconstruction to meet the demands of different conflicts. These will require the participation of both military forces as well as civilian experts. While the civilian experts focus on non-military activities (negotiation, humanitarian work and infrastructural and institutional reconstruction), the Military officers in PSOs will undertake other variety of military related tasks, such as maintenance of security, peace enforcement, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants (Pani, 2012:4).

3. UN Charter, Maintenance of International Peace and Role of Troop Contributing Nations

The UN was founded in 1945 by representatives of 51 nations, with the mandate of maintaining international peace and security. This mandate which was contained in Article 1 of its Charter provided a platform for launching future PKOs. Although conflicts have been part of the international system even before its birth, efforts to manage it only became more institutionalized following the formation of the UN. Prior to the emergence of the UN there were other methods for resolving conflicts and maintaining international security. However these methods were essentially localised in geographical scope and were enforced by a collection of few powerful states (Gonul, 2008:1). The emergence of the UN thus transformed PSOs from a localized and sporadic affair into a major preoccupation of the international community.

Indeed, since its establishment, the UN has organized and managed PSOs in a number of countries affected by conflict (Congo, Lebanon, Palestine, Kosovo etc.) in fulfilment of its primary responsibility. With the explosion in the number of states and territories affected by conflict, and the increasing shift from traditional conflict between states to intra-state conflicts, these

operations have also grown in their scale and complexities. For instance, modern PSOs now go beyond mere military intervention to promoting state reconstruction in countries affected by conflict. Yet, even though the tasks of peace keeping have become increasingly complex and varied in response to the changing nature of conflicts around the world, military personnel and the armed forces remain the backbone of contemporary PSOs.

One of the major challenges facing the UN in the area of PSOs has to do with the fact that the organization lacks a standing army that could be deployed to trouble spots. This means, it has to rely on the military capabilities and resources of its member states, notably the five permanent members of the Security Council (US, Britain, France, China and Russia). However, rivalry among these nations and opposition from their respective populations against foreign interventions has often weakened the ability of the UN to plan and execute PSOs in a timely and efficient manner. This has forced the UN to turn to some regional powers such as India, Pakistan, and Nigeria for troops.

Despite persisting domestic security and economic challenges, Nigeria has emerged one of the leading contributors to international PSOs, especially those managed by the UN (Lebanon 1978-1982) or occurring in Africa (Liberia, Somalia, Sudan). As already noted, the Nigerian armed forces, comprising of the Army, Navy and Air Force, have intervened successfully in several international conflicts, in pursuit of her dynamic foreign policy which emphasizes the maintenance of international peace and security. Consequently many studies have been carried out on the role of the Nigerian Armed Forces in PSOs around the world. Unfortunately most of these studies have tended to focus narrowly on the ground forces, that is, the army (Okoosi, 1997; Vogt & Ekoko, 1993). The contributions of Nigerian Air Force (NAF) or even the Navy have tended to be down played or ignored completely. Yet the involvement of these other arms of the military, especially the Air Force, has been very crucial to many PSO missions (Akogou, 2009). The analysis that

follows, therefore, reviews the role of the NAF in some selected recent UN backed PSOs (Somalia and Sudan) and one sponsored by the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). This is done with a view to ascertaining the level of contribution made by the NAF to the successful execution of the operations. Some challenges encountered during the operations are also highlighted. The analysis begins with an evaluation of NAF in PSOs in Liberia. This is then followed by a review of NAF contributions to the PSOs in Somalia and Sudan in that order.

4. The Contributions of NAF in Peace Support Operations in Africa

The NAF was established by an Act of Parliament on 8 August 1964 with the responsibility of providing close support for the ground based and sea borne forces in all phases of operations and to ensure the territorial integrity of a united Nigeria (Okanlawon, 2007: 88). Because its birth came after Nigeria took part in her first PSOs in the Congo in the 60s, the task of airlifting Nigeria's contingent then was undertaken by foreign air forces. NAF's however got its first opportunity to participate in PSOs during the 1970s, with airlift missions for the Nigerian Army units in Lebanon. Several years after that, NAF did not carry out any other major peace keeping operations (PKOs) outside the country due to poor equipment. However, with the introduction of the C-130 Hercules (C-130H) aircraft into NAF inventory in early 1980s, NAF was able to airlift Nigerian forces on PSOs in Chad (AU). Since then, the NAF has been participating in PSOs in support of Nigerian PSO efforts (Pani, 2012: 7). These efforts have been more evident in the cases of Nigeria's PSOs missions Liberia, Somalia and Sudan which are discussed in subsequent pages.

4.1 Liberia

Any good appreciation of the peace support roles of NAF in Liberia cannot be possible without a previous understanding of the causes and nature of the Liberian civil war which started in 1989. For that reason, this section will begin with a brief overview of the causes of the civil war. After that, we will then go ahead to review of the contributions of NAF during the ECOMOG PSOs in Liberia and some of the challenges arising from those contributions.

4.1.1 Causes and nature of the Liberian civil war

The Liberia war can be traced to several factors which began in 1980 when Samuel Doe led a coup d'état that overthrew the elected government of William R. Tolbert, becoming the first Liberian President of non Americo-Liberian descent (Gerdes, 2013; Huband, 1998; Moran, 2008). After the coup, Doe established a military regime. Understandably, Doe enjoyed early support from a large number of indigenous Liberian tribes who had hitherto been excluded from power. Soon, however, Doe began to clamp down on opposition, fuelled by his paranoia of a counter-coup attempt against him which became increasingly intense as he attempted to consolidate his tenuous hold on power (Wikipedia, 2017)

Amidst political instability Doe, held elections in 1985 in which he won by a very slim margin. However, the elections were widely considered fraudulent and denounced by several opposition figures. This paved the way to further coup attempts, including one unsuccessful coup by a former military leader, Thomas Quiwonkpa. Doe was also accused of preferential treatment of his own group, the Krahn and large-scale government crackdowns against other tribes such as the Gio and Mano tribes, fuelling ethnic tensions and conflicts. Things became worse in December 1989, when a former government minister Charles Taylor, moved into the country from

neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire to start an armed uprising intended to topple the Doe government.

During the civil war that ensued, armed factions were formed around two figures: Mr. Taylor and a former soldier with the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Prince Yormie Johnson. Johnson had earlier in July 1990, split from the main rebel leader, Taylor, and formed the Independent National Patriotic Front (INPFL). Despite the presence of ECOWAS (mainly Ghanaian) troops, Johnson and his forces were able to attack and over-ran the Liberia capital Monrovia in 1990, and executed President Doe. After the elimination of Doe, both factions battled for control of Monrovia for several months leaving heavy casualties on all sides, including among the civilian populations. This prompted Nigeria to intervene and begin peace negotiations that led to a ceasefire in 1995. Although the ceasefire was broken the next year, a final peace agreement was soon achieved, leading to new national elections in July 1997 where Taylor was elected President.

Nigeria's intervention began in August 1990, when ECOWAS agreed to deploy a joint force, known as the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), to Liberia under Nigerian leadership. The mission later included troops from non-ECOWAS countries, including Uganda and Tanzania. ECOMOG's objectives were to impose a cease-fire; help Liberians establish an interim government until elections could be held; stop the killing of innocent civilians; and ensure the safe evacuation of foreign nationals. ECOMOG also sought to prevent the conflict from spreading into neighbouring states, which share a complex history of state, economic, and ethno-linguistic social relations with Liberia, such as Sierra Leone and Guinea. The Measures became necessary after ECOWAS leaders attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade Doe to resign and go into exile. Doe had rejected their offer despite being besieged in his mansion.

The force comprising some 4,000 troops from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, the Gambia and Guinea arrived at the Freeport of Monrovia on August

24, 1990. (Pani, 2012: 6). Within seven years, ECOMOG forces were able to successfully restore peace, as demonstrated by the election of Taylor as President . This peace was however temporary shattered following the commencement of a second civil war in 1999. That war however ended in October 2003, when ECOWAS intervened to stop the rebel siege on Monrovia and exiled Charles Taylor to Nigeria. Taylor was replaced by the National Transitional Government of Liberia following pressure from the international community. He was subsequently arrested in 2006 and taken to The Hague to face trial for war crimes. Taylor's successor, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, was inaugurated in January 2006, by then more than 250,000 people had been killed and nearly a million displaced (Wikipedia, 2017).

The civil war in Liberia was significant for two reasons. First, it served as an important example of a new type of external intervention – intervention by a sub-regional organization. Second, it led to a re-examination by African leaders, of the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of states (Hamman & Omojuwa, 2014:43). However, our objective in this section will be limited to assessing the specific role played by NAF in facilitating the operations of the Nigerian Armed Forces in Liberia specifically, and the ECOMOG troops in general.

4.1.2 NAF participation in Liberia

The NAF participated actively in the PSOs in Liberia in several ways including combat operations in support of ground forces and by providing airlift for troops, logistics and humanitarian supplies. Its employment of air power which is a key attribute of air forces also provided swift response in support of ECOMOG operations in the conduct of search and rescue operations: casualty evacuation and reconnaissance during ECOMOG operations.

The first type of contributions was in the area of combat operations. Here the NAF supported ECOMOG PSOs by providing close air support and air

interdiction using Alpha Jets (A-Jet) to destroy artillery pieces, trucks and other military arsenals belonging to the NPFL, the main rebel group in Liberia (Okanlawon, 2007). As Pani observed, the devastating effect of NAF air strikes on the rebel positions and war arsenals and the air superiority enjoyed by ECOMOG forces, compelled the belligerents to seek for peaceful resolution of the protracted conflict in Liberia (Pani, 2012:8). This was also validated by Olurin when he stated, “the disruption of the transportation ring was the decisive blow that eventually forced the NPFL into a ceasefire agreement with the ECOMOG forces” (cited in Pani, 2012). Additionally, the C-130H aircraft and Super Puma helicopter conducted intensive tactical airlift operations in support of ECOMOG forces in Liberia and Sierra Leone and these contributions brought to fore the importance of the NAF’s utilisation of its aerial resources in future PSOs (Pani, 2012).

A second type of contributions by the NAF concern the airlift of troops and logistics. As ably documented by Sule (2013) and Okanlawon (2007), the NAF played a key role in the transportation of logistics, supply of materiel and transportation of troops over short distances within operational areas. C-130 military transport planes were used for the airlift of units to mission areas during ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Most of the perishable rations were also transported from Nigeria to the mission area by the NAF. This role helped to maintain the fighting efficiency of units during the PSO. C-130’s were also used for troop rotation on completion of their missions (Sule, 2013; Okanlawon, 2007).

The third area of vital contributions by the NAF relates to casualty evacuation of serious cases during the operation was accomplished using NAF Super Puma helicopters. The NAF C-130’s were also used to convey the remains of dead Nigerian peacekeepers back to Nigeria (Sule, 2013).

The fourth major contributions of the NAF to the Liberian operations involved air reconnaissance operations. This was undertaken by visual observation and detection methods such as air photography, radar, infra-red,

electronic and acoustic devices. The operations were used to obtain information about activities and resources of potential adversaries. Dornier 228 light transport aircraft were fitted with special equipment and instruments to perform these tasks. During the ECOMOG operations, Alpha Jets were also used for patrolling over rebel held areas to provide visual information of their activities and, at times, to interdict targets of opportunity on the ground (Sule, 2013).

4.1.3 Challenges encountered by NAF in the Liberian operations

The ECOMOG operations in Liberia revealed the vast contributions of the NAF as a veritable tool for the prosecution of modern PSOs. At the same time, NAF's participation was also buffeted by a number of challenges. First, the platforms in the inventory of NAF were insufficient for sustaining units in these operations. For instance, the NAF C-130 transport planes which were employed by NAF turned out to be insufficient for transporting large numbers of Nigerian troops and logistics to PSOs. As for the A-Jets, the pilot to aircraft average was 5:1, a far cry from the world's average 3:1. This implied that the aircraft holding, as well as pilots to man them were grossly inadequate for the task assigned (Okanlawon, 2007: 96). Indeed, to quote Okanlawo, offensive air supports in ECOMOG were adjudged successful, but the success was achieved at great cost and risk to the pilots, many of whom exhibited combat fatigue. It was just raw courage (Okanlawon, 2007: 96).

This challenge actually forced the Nigerian Government into using commercial airlines for conveying troops for subsequent PSOs (Ibid.). The implication is that the benefits which the government could derive from PSOs in terms of being reimbursed by the UN for initial troop deployment and semi-annual troop rotation transportation costs were lost.

4.2 NAF and PSOs in Somalia

A discussion of the peace support roles of NAF in Somalia must be preceded by a brief description of the history and causes of the civil war which started in the early 90s. It is only by doing so that one can adequately grapple with the reality of the said contributions. Consequently this section will begin with a brief analysis of the causes of the civil war, followed by a review of the contributions of NAF during the PSOs and some of the challenges arising from those contributions.

4.2.1 Causes and nature of the Somali civil war

The causes of the Somali civil war are largely traced to the policies of Siad Barre, President of the Somali from 1969–91. In 1970 Barre declared Somalia a socialist state, renamed the country, Somalia Democratic Republic, disbanded the parliament and the Supreme Court and suspended the constitution. In the following years most of the modern economy of the country was nationalized. For a while, it seemed Siad Barre was making concerted effort to rid the state of every vestiges of the clan system through his regime's conscious adoption of 'scientific socialism'. The regime did this through his SRSP (Somalia Revolutionary Socialist Party) which replaced the Supreme Revolutionary Council. Barre attempted to reconcile the official state ideology with the official state religion by adapting Marxist precepts to local circumstances. Emphasis was placed on the Muslim principles of social progress, equality and justice, which the government argued formed the core of scientific socialism and its own accent on self-sufficiency, public participation and popular control, as well as direct ownership of the means of production. While the SRSP encouraged private investment on a limited scale, the administration's overall direction was essentially communist (wikipedia, 2017b). In the course of time, the regime deepened relations with the Soviet Union (SU), in exchange for arms and aids. Unfortunately, the influx of

military weaponry and advisers from the Soviet Union was one of the forces that undermined the stability of Somalia (Clark, 1993). Natural disasters also played a role. For instance, a drought in 1974 and 1975 caused widespread starvation fuelling unrest.

The 70s saw persisting Ethiopian incursions into Somalia. In mid 1977, ethnic Somalis in the Ogaden region organized an 'Ogadeni guerrilla campaign' to end Ethiopian rule in the area, this move was supported by Somalia through arms and men. On Ethiopia's part, its firm grip on the region had been weakened by the turmoil and intensifying Eritrean war. The Somalis captured most of the Ogaden by late 1977, but Ethiopia, aided by Cuba and the Soviets, reasserted control over the region in early 1978, as Somalia's army suffered heavy losses. Subsequent fighting resulted in a humanitarian crisis of humongous proportion resulting in close to 2 million homeless persons. The US gave both humanitarian and military aid to Somalia and was in turn granted use of the naval facilities at Berbera, previously a Soviet base. It is important to highlight the shifting alliances as a result of political change in Ethiopia. The ascendance to power of Mengistu Haile-Miriam in Ethiopia was an important turning point in events in the region. While, Somalia was once allied to the Soviets, the Soviets reluctance to provide it further support and its sympathy with the Ethiopians occasioned a political shift that led the Barre regime to look to the US for military assistance. The US saw this as a good opportunity to counteract Soviet expansionist tendencies and checkmate the spread of socialism. The US military aid to Barre would eventually total over \$200million while economic assistance would exceed \$500million' (Clark, 1993). Somalia's friendship with the SU and its later partnership with the US enabled it to build one of the largest army in Africa (wikipedia, 2017a). Hence, Somalia and Ethiopia became fertile grounds for cold war contestations by proxy. Nonetheless, Ethiopia's defence against Somalia's onslaught took a new twist as Soviet and Cuban assistance provided Ethiopia

with a renewed vigour to stem Somalia's attack resulting in a humiliating defeat for Somalia.

The war with Ethiopia had dire consequences for the internal stability of Somalia (Hull & Svensson, 2008). Apart from Somalia's humiliation by Ethiopia, half a million people including refugees and guerrillas streamed across the border into Somalia carrying with them modern weapons and native resentments against a regime that had been wildly brutal and discriminatory. Barre's preference for members of his Marehan clan for promotion into governmental positions was an additional cause of the fragmentation and disintegration that soon overwhelmed Somalia. A coup attempt in 1978 and the formation of the Somali National Movement in 1981 among the Isaq clan were some of the early symptoms of disunity, and internal fragmentation. Frequent raids by members of the Isaq clan were aimed at undermining the authority of the Barre regime. In the years that followed, Somalia witnessed proliferation of militia groups, many of which were supported or encouraged by Ethiopia (wikipedia, 2017b). Later, aggrieved or marginalized groups coalesced against government forces, leading to a prolonged war.

In 1988, Somalia entered into a peace accord with Ethiopia that ended hostilities between them as well as a mutual agreement that both parties would refrain from supporting insurgency in the other's territory. But crisis festered in spite of attempts by Barre to appease insurgent groups. As the government's base of control depleted, by 1989 only Mogadishu and portions of Hargeysa and Berbera were firmly under government control. In 1990, the insurgent groups formed a united front against the government and eventually forced Barre to flee the country. He was later granted Asylum in Lagos where he died in 1995 amidst chaos in his country.

After the departure of Barre, the coalition that overthrew him became rife with divisions. In the North, the Isaq clan formed an independent Somaliland Republic which was not recognized by the UN and AU. While in the South

Ali Mahdi Mohammed, a wealthy businessman, declared himself President and created a new government. There were other parallel governments created by other clans. The years that followed were marked by in factional fighting in which about 50,000 people were killed, and an estimated 300,000 dying of starvation. As James Bishop, the United States last ambassador to Somalia explained, there was ‘competition for water, pasturage, and... cattle. It is a competition that used to be fought out with arrows and sabers. Now it is fought out with AK-47s’ (wikipedia, 2017a).

On December 9, 1992, a contingent of U.S. Marines landed near Mogadishu, the vanguard of a 37,000 strong UN peacekeeping force (United Nations Task Force, UNITAF) designed to restore order. This 37,000 was supposed to include 28,000 US troops. The scale of humanitarian crisis had prompted the UN Security Council to authorize the PKOs. International agencies soon resumed food distribution and other humanitarian aid, interrupted in 1993 by sporadic outbreaks of violence. At the end of their assignment in mid 1993 the UNITAF was replaced with United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM1) with the mandate to quell political violence, protect UN relief supplies, and ensure that food aid was distributed throughout Somalia (UPMUNCXLIII, 2009). UNOSOM's use of force was limited to self-defense. Although originally welcomed by both sides, this mission was soon disregarded by the warring factions. In response, the US decided to remove the war-lord Mohamed Farah Aidid. This action resulted in widespread anger among his supporters. And in reaction, his militia attacked Pakistan Army troops attached to UNOSOM II in June 1993 in Mogadishu inflicting over 80 casualties. In June 1993, two US helicopter were also shot down during a food aid mission killing 18 U.S soldiers. The uproar caused by this incidence forced the US and other western countries to leave Somalia. The UN initially attempted to fill the vacuum created by these departures by seeking contributions from African countries but had to exit

Somalia completely in March 3 1995 having suffered significant casualties, and with the rule of government still not restored.

In August 1996, Aidid himself was killed in Mogadishu. But this did not have any effect on the civil war which continued to claim innocent lives, just as many Somalia residents left the country in search of asylum. For instance, at the end of 2009, about 678,000 were under the responsibility of the UNHCR, constituting the third largest refugee group after Iraq and Afghanistan, respectively. An estimated 132,000 people left in 2009 alone, and another 300,000 were displaced internally (wikipedia, 2017b). The external interventions, notably the UNISOM1, were undermined by an excessive military focus, because neither disarmament nor integration of elements of the warring factions was on the agenda. Moreover the pattern of execution of the relief distribution revolved around the area of Central and South Somalia, thus forcing internally displaced persons to move to these areas where food can be accessed, but where they were vulnerable to attacks (Laderach & Stork, 1993).

Anarchy persisted till 2000 when Somali clan leaders finally met to elect a new President, Abdulkassim Salat Hassan, who would at last bring some order to Somalia. The new government failed just one year later, in 2001, when Somali clan leaders vowed to create a second government in opposition to the first. After several attempt to constitute or form a government for Somalia, the fourteenth attempt culminated in the inauguration of the Transitional Federal Parliament in Kenya in August, 2004. The TFP elects the President and Prime Minister, and has the authority to propose and pass laws. It is also in charge of governance and administration of Mogadishu. Most of the warring factions were represented in the TFP. However, just as events seemed to be following a positive path, in 2006, the Islamic Courts Union, one of the armed groups assumed control of much of the southern part of the country and promptly imposed Shari'a law. But the Transitional Federal Government was able to reassert its authority through the assistance of the

international community. On January 8, 2007, TFG President and founder Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, a former colonel in the Somali Army and decorated war hero, entered Mogadishu for the first time since being elected to office. This enabled his government to relocate to Villa Somalia in the capital from its interim location in Baidoa, marking the first time since the fall of the Barre that the federal government controlled most of the country (Wikipedia, 2017a).

This however could not end the crisis. On December 29 2008, President Yusuf Ahmed announced his resignation citing his inability to solve the country's seventeen years conflict. He was succeeded by the speaker of the Parliament. On January 31, 2010 the leader of the ARS- Alliance for the Reliberation of Somalia – Sheikh Ahmad was elected to the Presidency and the parliament was reorganized with two hundred officials from the moderate Islamist opposition. The government announced the operation of Islamic Law in a bid to reach out to Islamist, apart from other important governance reforms. But such a move did not appeal to the Al-Shabab network who accused the new president of attempting to secularize the new government (UPMUNC XLIII).

In late 2008, Ethiopia which had assisted the TFG in warding off Islamist attacks announced that it would leave Somalia and proceeded to do so in the early months of 2009. The departure of the Ethiopians enabled the AU, under the umbrella of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), to intervene on January 19, 2007 when AU's Peace and Security Council decided to authorize the deployment of AMISOM. The mission was designed to be a temporary initiative, "with the clear understanding that the mission will evolve to a UN operation" (Hull & Svensson, 2008). The mandate of AMISOM included to support Somali leaders in their effort to stabilize the country and the furtherance of dialogue and reconciliation; facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance and create conducive conditions for long-term stabilization, reconstruction and development in Somalia (ibid.).

Most analysts believe that AMISOM have generally performed below expectation. According to Hull & Svensson (2008), AMISOM's ability had been hampered by lack of resources and the failure to deploy sufficient troops, a predicament AMISOM shares with other AU missions, most notably AMIS, and many PSOs in general. For instance out of the 8000 peacekeepers promised only 3000 were on ground at the end of 2008 (ibid.: p29). Nigeria said it will only send troops with the financial assistance of the US. A volatile security environment, ongoing conflict, and a slow reconciliation process, in combination with the delays in deploying AMISOM, also affected the operations. Thirdly, AMISOM's mandate did not also include a clear authority to protect civilians making it difficult for peacekeepers to control attacks on civilians and prevent a surge of refugees. (ibid.: 27.) Nevertheless, the mission still managed to perform some limited tasks successfully, especially in the area of military and humanitarian operations. (ibid.). The section that follows examines the role of NAF in those successes.

4.2.2 Contributions of NAF to the Somalia PSOs

Quite unlike what happened in the Liberian PSOs, NAF did not play any major or direct role in the Nigerian PSOs taking place in Somalia. This is explained by two main reasons. The first one is the limited capability of the NAF, caused by the small size of its air fleet and weaponry which in turn affected not only its capacity to fly men, logistics and humanitarian supplies to the war-torn country, but also its combat readiness (Akogu, 2009; Agbeje, 2009)). The second reason was due to the fact that Nigeria's overall military involvement in Somalia was very minimal. Nigeria's involvement in Somalia could be discussed from two broad perspectives, diplomatic-humanitarian Intervention and military engagement.

With respect to the first, i.e. diplomatic-humanitarian intervention, Nigeria's involvement in the Somali conflict began with the granting of a 'temporary asylum' to Gen. Mohammed Siad Barra, after he was toppled in

January 1992 amidst a civil war in his country. Before then, Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, Major Gen Ike Nwachukwu had led peace mission to Somalia to reconcile the parties to the conflict. This effort took place whilst Gen Ibrahim Babangida served as OAU chairman (The Guardian, May 18, 1992:1). The Somali leader eventually arrived Nigeria on May 17, 1992 with 62 members of his family and aids. The decision to welcome the deposed Somali leader was widely criticised in Nigeria but the Federal Military Government explained that his arrival in Nigeria will pave way for the external resolution of the conflict. Nigeria has also taken steps to support the humanitarian needs of the Somali people. Few months after the Somali leader arrived Nigeria, precisely in August 1992, Nigeria sent a ship load of relief materials, containing food, clothing, and medical supplies to Somalia (The Guardian, August 12, 1992:1)

In the area of military engagement, Nigeria's military involvement in Somalia started on February 3 1993, when 660 Nigerian army officers and soldiers left Lagos to join UN peace keepers force named "Operation Restore Peace" in Somalia. The troops led by Lt. Col. Olagunsoye Oyinlola comprised 39 officers and 621 soldiers and were drawn from the 245 Reconnaissance (Recce) Battalion, Ikeja Military Cantonment, Lagos. Ironically they were airlifted by a United States Galaxy camouflage aircraft. According to the then Army spokesman, Col. Fred Chijuka, Nigeria will pay the US for the airlift. The Nigerian troops were to stay for six months under a UN mandate, UNOSOM, and were programmed to take over from the US which initiated the peace operation but decided to withdraw (The Guardian, February 4, 1999:28). The decision to involve a foreign air force in the airlifting of Nigerian troops to Somalia underscores the reality of the small size of NAF air fleet, which not only affected its capacity to fly men and supplies to war zones but also its combat readiness if deployed to any war zone. Fortunately, subsequent events did not permit any such deployment.

In September 16, 1993, several Nigeria troops were killed in an ambush laid by one of the warring factions. This incident, question of funding and the intransigence of the warring parties in the Somali conflict precipitated the departure of the Nigerians, so that by March 2007, only 1600 Ugandan force remained in Somalia (The Guardian, September 21, 2007:21). With the intervention of the AU under the AMISOM programme the number of troops subsequently increased in the years that followed. In December 2008 3,200 AU troops were in Mogadishu (The Guardian, December 15, 2008:10). This number rose to 3,500 in March 2009, mainly from Uganda and Burundi (The Guardian March 26 2009:11). This however still fell far short of the number of troops required to do the job. Indeed, the AU itself had agreed on 8,000 peace-keepers. Appeals by the AU for more African troops did not attract much support. In November 2007, the press reported that Nigeria was preparing to send 700 troops to Somalia as part of AU peace keeping force (Auta & Umar, 2007). This promise never materialized as Nigeria failed to secure foreign financial assistance to prosecute the plan.

4.3 NAF and the Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in Sudan

Again before proceeding to discuss the peace support roles of NAF in Sudan, we first offer a brief description of the causes of the civil war in Sudan. This will enable us to adequately grapple with the reality of the NAF contributions in the peace efforts. Consequently we will begin with a brief discussion of the causes of the civil war. This is then followed by an assessment of the role of the NAF.

4.3.1 Causes of the Sudanese conflicts

Sudan's history has been marked by a succession of civil wars. These conflicts which affected many parts of the country resulted to multiple deaths, injuries, and displacement of millions of People. Education and health

services were also disrupted, livelihoods destroyed and development opportunities was squandered. The cost of the economic distortions of rising military expenditure, political instability and the atmosphere of hatred and distrust cannot be counted in monetary terms (El-Battahani, 2004; 2006). The war between the government and southern armed groups (1955-1972 and 1983-2005) has received the most international attention, but a sense of marginalisation has not been a southern phenomenon. Elements of the Beja in the East, the fur in Darfur, the Nuba in Kordofan among many others have been drawn into armed conflict with the Sudanese government or government-backed militias (Janjaweed). Sudan's complex armed conflict has been characterized as a civil war of 'interlocking civil wars'. Equally, its causes are interwoven: economic, resource-based, ethnic, cultural, religious and international dimensions all play a role, some being more important in some parts of the country than others. All are underpinned politically by the state's crisis of legitimacy and its use of power as a vehicle for economic exploitation which drives political elites to compete to control its institutions.

A major cause of these conflicts has been government's policy to institute Islamic law all over the country. Also important was the fact that successions of early post-independence governments were dominated by Arab Muslims who viewed Sudan as a Muslim Arab state. So were the problems of factionalism and economic stagnation. The Arab-led Khartoum government also reneged on promises to southerners to create a federal system, which led to a mutiny by southern army officers that sparked seventeen years of civil war between 1955 and 1972.

The disaffection in the south over continued marginalization and deprivation saw the emergence of guerrilla fighters since the 1970s, reaching a critical mass in 1983. Former army colonel John Garang de Mabior later formed the Sudan People's Liberation movement/Army (JPLM/A) in Ethiopia and a second civil war broke out. Among the complaints in the SPLM/A manifesto were interference in selection of leadership of southern

region, the unconstitutional dissolution of the regional assemblies and the re-division of the south into three regions. The conflict escalated in southern Sudan when oil was discovered in the region which holds roughly 85% of Sudan's oil deposit.

A regional effort to find peace (the IGAD talks), which brought a unified north and unified south, alienated those who felt marginalized by their rulers and emboldened them to take up arms. These sentiments contributed significantly to the outbreak of war in Darfur in February 2003 (El-Battahani, 2006) when the rebels from western Darfur region of Sudan launched an uprising demanding representation in government and improved infrastructure in the region. In retaliation, the government recruited Arab militias known as Janjaweed to target the villages of the rebel groups. The conflict in southern Kordofan was also escalated because the new state straddles the border area between north fertile land for agriculture and the only proven oil reserves in northern Sudan. Fighting also erupted in eastern Sudan but was quickly calmed. Following the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) in 2005 between the government of Omar Al-Bashir and the SPLA, a government of national unity was formed, in accordance with the interim constitution whereby a co-vice president position representing the south was created in addition to the northern Sudanese vice-president. This allowed the North and South to split oil deposit equally. Following the Darfur Peace Agreement, the office of Senior Presidential Advisor was allocated to Minni Minnawi, a Zaghawa from the Sudanese Liberation Army. The Peace agreement with the rebel group Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) granted southern Sudan autonomy for six years, to be followed by a referendum about independence in 2011. The two Darfur based opposition groups (Equality Movement and the Liberation and Justice Movement) were also involved in the power-sharing as contained in the CPA.

Following during the period of intense fighting between government forces and southern Sudanese rebels, the UN Security Council had, on the

recommendation of the Secretary-General, established a special mission known as the United Nations Advance Mission in the Sudan (UNAMIS). Created on the basis of resolution 1547 (2004) of 11 June 2004, UNAMIS was mandated to facilitate contacts with the parties concerned and to prepare for the introduction of an envisaged UN peace support operation. Almost immediately, the AU followed suit with its own diplomatic interventions geared towards finding solution to the crisis in Darfur. These interventions culminated in a July 2004 inter-Sudanese peace talks in Abuja. These talks were followed by the deployment of 60 AU military observers and 310 protection troops in Darfur to monitor and observe the compliance of the parties to the Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement signed in N'Djamena on 8 April 2004 by the Government of the Sudan, SLM/A and JEM.

Subsequently, the two separate operations were brought together to form one hybrid mission. There are two reasons why this option was appealing. First it was essential that the work of the UN and the AU in the Sudan be complementary rather than overlapping. Secondly, UNMIS found Sudan a very hostile terrain. After several months, UNMIS was not able to deploy to Darfur due to the Government of the Sudan's steadfast opposition to a PSO undertaken solely by the UN as envisaged in Security Council resolution 1706 of 2006² (UN Peacekeeping Missions). The AU/UN Hybrid operation in Darfur, better known by its acronym UNAMID, was effectively established on 31 July 2007 with the adoption of Security Council resolution 1769. It has the protection of civilians as its core mandate, but is also tasked with contributing to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law, and monitoring and reporting on the situation on the ground. By September 2005, the AU was able to assemble a force of 6000 in Darfur (The Guardian, September, 29, 2005:10). The number rose to 7000 in April 2007 (The Guardian, April 18, 2007:10). Sudan also agreed to let in 3000 UN troops to

compliment AU's efforts. Sudan was requested to allow 17,000-20,000 (AU-UN Hybrid force). This stage was supposed to see the deployment of unlimited air power (helicopters) for the first time since the operation began in 2004. (The Guardian, April 18, 2007:10) In any case, by June 2008 UN-AU peace keepers numbered 9,000, though the UN Security Council had approved 26,000 UN-AU peace-keepers (The Guardian June 5, 2008:10).

4.3.2 Nigeria's involvement in Sudan and the contributions of NAF

Nigeria is one of the principal contributors of troops in the UNAMID operation. According to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations' May 2010 report Nigeria ranks among the four largest troop contributing nations in the UN with 6000 men and women participating in various peace missions. The country is only surpassed by Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. It is important to note that successive administrations in Nigeria have been strongly involved in efforts aimed at finding solutions to the war in Sudan. Nigeria hosted peace conferences twice on the Sudanese civil war. After the Abuja Peace Talks collapsed in July 2004, Nigeria was one of the first nations to offer troops to help halt human misery in Sudan's western Darfur region. At this time Nigeria was the chair (Olusegun Obasanjo) of AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC). The offer was made at the end of AU Summit, where it was agreed that 300 soldiers be sent to protect 60 AU cease-fire observers as well as enforce peace in that area. By this decision Nigeria became one of the first countries to send troops to Darfur under the African Union Mission in Sudan, AMIS, and also had the largest contingent (Human Right Watch, 2006). Rwanda was the next country to offer troops. The Nigerian and Rwandan troops sent in for reconnaissance (The Guardian, July 19, 2004:21). At this time, a Nigerian was head of AU military Observer Mission (Chief Military Observer) (The Guardian, August 31, 2004:1)

From the forgoing, it is clear that while the contributions of Nigeria to PSOs in Somalia have been somewhat limited, its role in Sudan has been

relatively more elaborate. While Nigeria currently maintains little or no military presence in Somalia, she remains a major troop contributor to the PSO in Sudan, particularly in Darfur where there are sizeable contingents of the Nigerian Army and Police (Egunyork, 2011). But what was exactly the role and contributions of the NAF in Nigeria's PSO in Sudan?

NAF role in Sudan took place as part of United Nations –African Union Mission in Darfur (the UNAMID) operations. This took two broad dimensions. The first dimension involved the military airlift of Nigerian contingents and logistics resupply of troops to the mission area. The second role of the NAF involved the presence of NAF personnel in Sudan on humanitarian and military missions. The mission of this NAF contingent in Sudan is basically to provide medical assistance to civilian population and UN troops and personnel.

To begin with airlift of Nigerian contingents and logistics, on August 30, 2004, a contingent of 155 Nigerian troops was airlifted by the NAF from Abuja to Sudan to take part in what was named SAVE LIFE II. The group consisted of 8 officers and 147 soldiers drawn from the Army's infantry with support and units from the corps of engineering, medical, signals and supply and transport. The troops were led by Lt. Col. Abiodun Oluwadare. Their mission was to protect AU observers, and civilians or to render humanitarian assistance (water, medicals and protect civilians and facilities. They were airlifted in a NAF C-130 Transport Hercules (NAF 918) aircraft. At this time, a Nigerian was head of AU military Observer Mission (Chief Military Observer) (The Guardian, August 31, 2004:1.) Again on July 8, 2005, five officers and 137 soldiers were airlifted by the NAF via their base in Kaduna to Sudan to beef up the 680 strong Nigerian contingent already in Sudan. The Nigerian troops were commanded by Col. Iliyasu Isah Abbah (New Nigerian, July 5, 2005:25.) Similarly on August 10, 2005, 1000 Nigerian troops drawn from the 174 battalion based at Odugunyan barracks Ikorodu Lagos were flown to Sudan by the NAF under the AMIS (The Guardian, August 10,

2005:78). Similarly, the NAF have been contributing by providing Heavy Airlift of Equipment, Welfare and Resupply flights in support to Nigerian contingents in Darfur (Egunyork, 2011).

Despite carrying out several airlifting missions, the flight operations of NAF to Sudan, as the case in Somalia, was hampered by the low aircraft serviceability status of the NAF, which meant that Nigeria was only able to deploy only the 1×C-130 aircraft for the operations (Akogu, 2009: 44; Agbeje, 2009). In other words, only the NAF C-130s were involved in the airlift missions (Nigerianairforce.net). According to Agbeje (2009), these aircrafts only shuttle between home base and the mission area also because of a shortage of manpower and ground support equipment. The movement of NAF contingents to the mission areas were in many instances contracted to private airlines to augment the limited aircraft capacity of the NAF C-130 aircraft fleet.

Unfortunately, the NAF has no deployed combat contingent on ground in Sudan, the logistics support missions are purely transport airlift flights operated from home bases in Nigeria. Therefore, no air combat machines or weapons were used (Egunyork, 2011).

The second role of the NAF in Sudan has to do with medical assistance to civilian population and UN troops, through the presence of NAF personnel in Sudan. The mission of the NAF contingent in Sudan is basically to provide medical assistance to civilian population and UN troops and personnel. This is because each participating UN member state was given specific area of assistance. Under this arrangement, Nigerian provides and runs a medical unit known as ‘Nigerian Level 2 Hospital, Darfur’ (Egunyork, 2011). Although the NAF has more of its men in this medical service, its medical work in Darfur has been done in collaboration with the NA and NN (Tri-service). In other words, medical staff has been drawn from the Army, Navy and Air Force to make up the contingent. The Unit has been commanded by various officers (Army, Navy and Air Force), always the most senior at any particular

time. As at mid-2016, the commander of the Nigerian medical team was from the NAF, in person of Air-Commodore Bolajoko.

Due to the fact that the involvement of NAF in UN PSO in Sudan is built around health/medicals, the troops going on this mission are usually drawn from the medical units of the NAF. One of the officers interviewed by us in the course of this research told us that the UN was in charge of airlifting all the Nigerian troops going to Sudan, while NAF was regularly (twice or thrice a month) flying in materials (food, medical supplies etc) to feed the Nigerian troops. According to him, the NAF also flew Nigerian troops who are on pass/short break and want to come home. Overall NAF troops were settled in Darfur (El Janaina) and served all UN personnel in Dafur, as well as Sudanese people (personal communication, May 20, 2011.)

Beside these medical services, and flying Nigerian peacekeepers to Sudan and back, the NAF also provides the PSOs with some senior and competent NAF Officers who served as Liaison Officers, Military Observers and Staff Officers to the two peacekeeping missions in Sudan (Egunyork, 2011).

5. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed Nigeria's participation and role in three international PSOs, namely Liberia, Somalia and Sudan, with specific focus on the contributions of the NAF. The chapter established the following four facts:

One is that air power delivered by air forces has significant impact on the successes of PSOs. Hence, there exists a positive correlation or direct relationship between air force and PSOs (Pani, 2012:29).

Two is that the NAF had played contributing roles towards the realisation of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives which centres around international peace and security, although its level of contribution have differed from

country to country. In Liberia, NAF was central to the success of the ECOMOG led PSOs haven intervened in several ways, including combat operations in support of ground forces; airlift for troops, logistics and humanitarian supplies; conduct of Search and Rescue operations; causality evacuation and reconnaissance missions. This is why this mission, along with Nigeria's intervention in Sierra Leone, is widely seen, not only as the most elaborate, but also the most successful peace keeping operations by Nigeria (personal communication, June 6, 2016). In Sudan, NAF's role was less extensive, but vital, covering two major aspects. The first dimension involved regular airlift of Nigerian contingents and logistics resupply of troops to the mission area. The second dimension involved the deployment of NAF personnel to Sudan (Darfur) to provide humanitarian and military missions. In Somalia, on the other hand, the NAF played little or no direct role in the Nigerian PSOs taking place.

Three, although active participation in PSOs has been costly to Nigeria, especially in the area of human and material losses, it has also brought several positive effects on the country and its armed forces. For instance, the Armed Forces of Nigeria have kept pace with the evolving doctrine of PSO. The participation in PSOs has also helped in projecting Nigeria's image externally. The performance of its troops has been widely acclaimed as her contingents in PSOs have repeatedly earned citations and medals for leadership, bravery, discipline, professional competence and integrity (Sule, 2013:4). Lastly, Nigeria's involvement in numerous PSOs has led to an improvement in the professional capabilities of the country's armed forces through exposure and interaction with troops from other countries (Sule, 2013).

Four, NAF contributions has been negatively affected by several factors. One is the absence of a national strategic framework which means that Nigeria participated in such operations without clear political and economic objectives (Nigerian News Online, 2010). Two is the limited capability of the NAF, caused by the small size of its air fleet and weaponry then. This, in

turn, affected not only NAF's capacity to fly men and supplies but also its combat readiness.

To overcome such challenges in the future, it will be necessary for the Nigeria government to increase the funding to the NAF to boost its level of equipment and combat readiness. This can be complimented by pressing the UN and other major world powers to support any future PSOs financially.

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Notes

1. Group Captain Emmanuel Egunyork, is serving with the African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur as a Liaison Officer. He was involved with the planning of the mission and in his fourth and final year of tour of duty. Before going to Sudan he served with the Air Weapons School, Kainji. The interview took place online and via telephone June 6, 2011.
2. Sergeant Samuel N. N., who served in Sudan between September 2009 and March 2010. He is attached to the NAF Special Operations Group based in Port Harcourt. My interview with him took place on May 20, 2011.

3. Wing Commander Ilorin, O.O. is attached to the Nigerian Air Force base Ikeja. The interview took place in his office on June 6, 2016.
4. This research has been facilitated by a generous research grant provided by the Nigerian Air Force, under the leadership of Air Marshal A. N. Amosun.

APPENDIX I. International Contributions to the PSOs

El-Rufai (2012), cited in Hamman & Omojuwa, (2014), list some of these contributions as follows:

Sending a battalion to Congo (UNOC) 1960-1964; Military observers to new Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1963; battalion to Tanzania by bilateral agreement 1964; Military observers during the India-Pakistan conflict (UNIPOM) 1965-1966; battalion and staff officers to Lebanon (UNIFIL), 1978-1983; battalion and staff officers to Chad (Harmony I, via bilateral agreement) 1981-1982; brigade to Chad (Harmony II, under the auspices of OAU) 1982-1983; military observers during Iran-Iraq conflict (UNIMOG) 1988-1991; division to Liberia (ECOMOG) 1990 to date; military observers for Iraq-Kuwait (UNIKOM) 1991, and to Angola (NAVEMII) 1991-1992; training teams for Sierra Leone (NATNG) 1992-1995; military observers to Namibia (UNTAG) 1989-1990; to western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991; and to Cambodia (UNTAC) 1992-1993. The country also contributed a battalion and staff officers to Somalia (UNOSOM) 1992-1994; battalion and staff officers to the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) 1992; military observers to Mozambique (ONUMOZ) 1992; a battalion to Rwanda; (UNAMIR) 1993; training teams to the Gambia (NATAG) 1993; military observers A ouzo strip (UNASOG) 1994; and to Israel (UNTSO) 1995; Liberia (ECOMOG) 1987; Sierra Leone (ECOMOG) 1996; Somalia, 1993 and Sudan, Darfur (UNAMID) 2003 (Hamman & Omojuwa 2014).

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OF THE TUAREG OF THE AÏR (NIGER).**

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Abstract

From a metaphorical point of view, every being and every creature has a path where his message peregrinates. In their everyday life, the traditional societies in general, and the Tuareg in particular, live off their local institutions in the framework of the initiation of its members to their socio-historic, cultural, pedagogic and philosophic norms. From the semantic, aesthetic, mystic, cathartic and baleful force that cultures concede to the traditionally uttered word, they have formed an archaeology of local “*savoir faire*” and “*savoir être*”, which plays a primordial role, both in the creation of identity, the traditional instruction and the conceptualisation of ideology. At that point, the oral genre revealing the endogenous philosophy, contribute to the emergence of conceptions from codes of the veiled speech to which the access is conditioned by the social milieu and the assigned responsibilities: the word is a lesson and a commitment. The word has its own genre, it is the enunciator of the thought, the collective values and the ancestors’ sageness; thereby the uttered word fulfils didactic, initiatic and politic roles.

Therefore, the status, the art, the performative values of declarative formulas as well as its cathartic virtues, of the uttered word has, for the Tuaregs of the Aïr, also a therapeutical dimension as in the exorcising chants to heal patients from the malicious « Kel Esuf » genies by inaugurating a common space of connectivity and therapy.

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Key words: uttered word, veiled parole, performative value, exorcising chants, Tuaregs of the Aïr, Niger.

1. Introduction

La panoplie des locutions proverbiales qui jalonnent la littérature orale touarègue, était certes peu connue, mais elle constitue une de sources de l'archéologie du savoir émanant de leur mémoire collective. De toute évidence, les sources métalinguistiques, intimement liées à la production orale endogène dont elles charrient la couleur locale, témoignent l'ancrage d'une mémoire collective rattachée à une entité spatiale et un patrimoine culturel immatériel oral dont les formes verbales – grammaticales à travers les figures de style - permettent la fixation de la symbolique contextuelle, thématique, sociologique, ethnographique, géographique voire identitaire. Ainsi, on pourrait, faire ressortir par le biais du stéréotype, de la topique et de la doxa, la littérarité dans le répertoire oral des Touaregs Kel Aïr, et ce sur un plan purement linguistique prônant certaines déclinaisons syntaxiques, sémantiques ainsi que les fonctions qui leur sont dévolues. Partant du postulat selon lequel toute production littéraire, quelle qu'elle soit rayonne dans un espace dont elle est le reflet, il faudra néanmoins explorer son sens et son contenu métaphoriques à travers la rythmicité des figures et expressions qu'elle véhicule, la production orale de l'Aïr est telle qu'elle mérite que l'on s'y attarde afin de mieux saisir non seulement le fonctionnement de ses formules performatives, contextuelles et conversationnelles ainsi que leur symbolique culturellement sociale.

2. Approches conceptuelles et classificatoires

La spécificité de texte de littérature orale relève justement du fait que le texte n'est pas « seul » mais qu'il est « entouré », qu'il est tributaire de la performance, qu'il est indissociable des éléments relevant de la situation d'énonciation et de la façon de le dire, car en dehors de la performance, le texte de littérature orale n'existe pas. (Baumgardt, 2008). Une hypothèse analogue que partage Finnegan (1970:2) cité par Baumgardt, pour qui "there is no mystery about the first and most basic characteristic of oral literature -even though it is constantly overlooked in collections and analyses. This is the significance of the actual performance. Oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion -there is no other way in which it can be realized as a literary product".

Dans le contexte de la valeur performative, il est important de déterminer les caractéristiques essentielles de la parole proférée traditionnelle en lien avec la langue Tamasheq. En effet, si toute culture, toute littérature (orale ou écrite), quelle qu'elle soit s'insère dans un cadre où elle y est « domiciliée », dans la société touarègue où l'élégance est à l'honneur, l'on s'exerce à l'art de la parole depuis la jeunesse dans les assemblées dites « Ahal¹ ». A défaut de ces réunions de galanterie, ce sont les autres styles oraux à l'exemple du conte « *emej* » ou l'expression proverbiale « *eni* » qui prédisposent à l'exercice de l'art oral tout comme l'énigme « *iggi* », les locutions allusives dites en Tamasheq (*tpngalt*, *samal*, *tagennegent*). Toutes ces différentes

¹ Ahal est une assemblée ou réunion qui rassemble jeunes gens et jeunes filles en âge de se marier. L'Ahal se déroule à la tombée du jour. Les jeunes filles sont vêtues et parées de leurs plus beaux bijoux. Les jeunes garçons sont revêtus de leurs accoutrements les plus attraites. On s'assied en rond au creux d'une dune, à l'écart de tentes en alternant garçons et filles et une présidente dirige la séance en veillant aux respects des règles de l'Ahal. Il arrive à des jeunes hommes des campements environnements de parcourir une trentaine de kilomètres à pieds ou à dos de chameaux uniquement pour écouter les échanges (joutes oratoires entre filles et garçons) lors d'Ahal.

virtuosités orales dissimulent les propos sous un lacs serré de métaphores, de litotes et de sous-entendus. Elles revêtent des ressources littéraires et langagières endogènes qui déploient et produisent toute une pléiade du sens des mécanismes multiples et des formes complexes comme le témoigne le conte. En effet, ce récit, en puisant sa poétique dans sa manière d'agencer des procédés stylistiques qui relèvent de la communication courante, est accessible à quiconque se sent apte à prendre la parole face à un auditoire². Hormis l'écriture Tifinagh constituant une référence authentique ayant été léguée par la civilisation berbère et qui fédère la communauté linguistique de Kel Tamasheq, le touareg est une langue berbère³ de l'Afrique saharosahélienne dont les principales variations dialectales émanant du lexique et de la phonétique concernent les dialectes de *tahaggart* (Algérie), *tayprt*, *tawellemmet* (Niger) et *tadghaq* (Mali). A travers la parole violée, ou encore « awal » en Tamasheq, la langue devient et demeure une aile vitale de l'identité culturelle et orale sur laquelle s'appuie à la fois les pratiques artistiques et sacrées ainsi que l'affirmation individuelle et collective des interlocuteurs targuis. Les Kel Tamasheq savent manier le discours oblique indirect si prisé dans la société, un langage dont le sens second est le sens opératoire. La parole voilée « awal » a ainsi valeur pragmatique et esthétique et pour corollaire un bon usage du silence surtout dans la communication qui est le fondement de toute société. Elle est le mode de transmission du message dont le contenu varie en fonction de la forme utilisée. En Afrique en général et chez les Touaregs en particuliers, cette communication était possible et omniprésente à travers les sources orales car jusqu'à une date très récente l'écriture était très peu répandue. Conséquemment, le message de la tradition

² Cf. Naima L.R. & Nadine D. & Ramada E., (1997), in *Littérature orale touarègue : Contes et proverbes*, op.cit., p.14.

³ L'une des quatre ramifications des langues chamito-sémitiques : le sémitique, l'égyptien, le berbère et le couchitique, cf. Cohen (1968), in Naïma L.R. & Nadine D. & Ramada E. (1997), in *Littérature orale touarègue, contes et proverbes*, Paris, L'Harmattan, op.cit., p.9.

orale repose presque essentiellement sur la parole d'où son importance dans tous les domaines de la communication. La parole devient et demeure ainsi le noyau privilégié pour signifier les rapports entre l'homme, ses semblables, son milieu naturel, les abstractions, les évidences à travers le temps et l'espace. Elle est alors, non seulement un lien social et affectif, mais aussi l'épicentre de signification du monde, de la nature ; un répertoire emblématique de la situation de l'homme dans ce monde d'où la double fonction communielle ou phatique de la parole traditionnelle.

2.1 Le statut de la parole proférée traditionnelle en milieu touareg

La littérature du monde touareg a pris ses lettres de noblesse avec Charles de Foucauld (1925-1930) avec la publication du recueil de *Poésies touarègues (dialecte de l'Ahaggar)*, aux éditions Leroux. Ce religieux considéré comme un classique, a mis à jour les champs oraux et la diversité de la littérature touarègue dans ses registres poétiques, thématiques, idéologiques et ses tendances identitaires. Ainsi, dans la société touarègue, il n'est pas convenable de dire les choses trop abruptement, et l'on aime à faire aller son propos en le dissimulant à demi sous un lacis serré de métaphores, de litotes et de sous-entendus. Une figure, quelle qu'elle soit, sera appelée « *samal* » lorsque l'intention du locuteur est d'explicitier son propos, de lui donner un ton plus parlant, et « *tpngalt* » (pénombre) lorsque son intention est au contraire d'en atténuer la clarté. Et s'il n'est pas interdit d'user de « *samal* » à l'occasion, c'est sous le régime de la « *tpngalt* » que le Touareg bien né se doit de s'exprimer, étant entendu que la mise en scène de la parole demeure une affirmation de sa personne : « *la parole désigne la réalité humaine telle qu'elle se fait jour dans l'expression. Non plus fonction psychologique, ni réalité sociale, mais affirmation de la personne, d'ordre morale et métaphysique* ». (Goual, 2009:58). Il existe une autre rhétorique

touarègue (parole voilée) appelée par les Touaregs « *tagennegent* », mot qu'on peut traduire par « l'obscur ». « *C'est le verlan ou le javanais que les jeunes gens s'amuse à utiliser lorsqu'ils veulent rester incompris d'un tiers. Mais la « tpngalt » n'est pas la « tagennegent » ; elle voile tout* ». (Foucauld, 1925:23). Dans la perspective conversationnelle et conceptuelle, la parole se déploie sous un mode allusivement codé, c'est le cas par exemple chez les Touaregs Kel Ferwan, où « *il convient dans la conversation de ne pas dire sa pensée trop abruptement, de la voiler à demi- derrière la litote ou l'allusion. Le mot tngal, fréquemment employé, sert à rendre cette idée* ». (Casajus, 1987:102). Pour certains Touaregs, « parler tamasheq » peut signifier en fait « user de *tpngalt* » et que la question « comprends-tu cette tamasheq ? » équivaut à « comprends-tu une *tpngalt* ? ». Le statut ou l'art de la parole proférée traditionnelle nous est également révélé (e) par ces deux sagesse qui proclament :

1- Ta / tprpgragat / toglet / ta / tpoœamat / ax
 Celle / elle (acc.) blatérer / elle (acc.) dépasser/ celle/ elle (acc.) se
 taire/ lait

Celle qui blatère ne vaut pas en lait celle qui se tait.

Ce proverbe fait l'éloge du silence et de la maîtrise de la parole, deux qualités prisées dans la société touarègue. (La parole est d'argent, le silence est d'or). Cet autre lui est redevable en ce qu'il s'inscrit dans le même ordre d'idées :

2- « Eləs wa jələn iləs ejəs net fawda jahey azzal »,
 « L'homme qui sait parler, son cheval est toujours dans la course »,
 « *Se dit de quelqu'un qui maîtrise l'art de la parole, de manière aussi
 bien positive (savoir se mettre en valeur) que négativement (être
 vaniteux).*

A travers ces aphorismes, les Touaregs se définissent eux-mêmes « *Kel Tamasheq* » et qualifient ceux parmi eux qui excellent dans l'art oratoire de « *Kel awal* » « ceux de la parole ». De même, dans le mécanisme du maniement de la langue, de sa mise en conversation, il existe un intermédiaire, le « messenger » *anāmmazul* qui a un rôle de premier plan car il permet de satisfaire aux conventions de retenue, de pudeur et de respect tous ensemble, *tekarakäyt*: ces conventions interdisent un échange direct entre certains individus, en raison de leur âge, de leur sexe, de leur statut social ou familial ». (Drouin, 1987:82). En tant que forme discursive, caractéristique de la parole, en milieu traditionnel, c'est le terme « *ilps* » « la langue-organe » qui désigne l'idiome parlé (Drouin, 1987:85). Au-delà du statut de la parole voilée et de ses conventions sociales, existe tout un mécanisme de son maniement. Toutefois dans certains milieux *tamasheqs*, on parle également de *tilps* nom féminin pour signifier littéralement la langue maternelle de l'individu.

2.2 L'art de la parole proférée traditionnelle

Chez les Touaregs, les degrés de maniement ainsi que les règles et les codes esthétiques de la parole -proférée traditionnelle - sont socialement (sur) codés, organisés et influent sur le vécu quotidien des interlocuteurs, sur la pratique du rituel, l'art performatif (la gestuelle, l'expression corporelle, la mimique, le regard, les décisions des hommes etc.). Par exemple dans la mise en circulation de la parole, les locuteurs s'attachent à répertorier les mécanismes psychologiques et de réception de celle-ci en fonction des contextes (privés ou publics), des espaces sociaux aussi bien de normes et des expressions. Traditionnellement, dans le cadre de cet exercice, il est dévolu un espace de l'éloquence et de l'initiation à l'art de la parole proférée. Ce sont des espaces exclusivement issus du patrimoine oral communément appelés « *ahal* en *Tamasheq* » qui contribuent ponctuellement à la formation de « *Kel awal* » c'est-à-dire « gens de la parole ». Erigées comme des

véritables cours spéciales ou des écoles traditionnelles d'apprentissage de la parole, c'est au sein de ces assemblées nocturnes (*ahal* ou cours d'amours) qui réunissent jeunes gens et jeunes filles parés de leurs plus beaux atours que s'apprend l'art de la rhétorique voilée d'où l'institutionnalisation de la parole comme bien individuel, collectif et culturel. Les initiés y apprennent à manier la parole ainsi que ses modalités discursives et ses postures corporelles spécifiques, à manipuler la langue, à valoriser le savoir et à le transmettre. Cet apprentissage peut se déployer sous une représentation indirecte d'une figure ou expression de rhétorique à l'exemple d'une métaphore, d'une métonymie, d'un aphorisme, d'une allégorie, etc. Manifestation corporelle ou dispositif de sociabilité ou de critique des mœurs, la parole proférée traditionnelle confronte les locuteurs à des réflexions d'ordre philosophiques, religieuses, psychologiques, sociales et éthiques. C'est pourquoi, chez les Touareg du Niger, le langage courant est émaillé de discours indirect qu'il convient de décrypter. « Le discours sémantiquement indirect est courant, recherché et très prisé. C'est l'« *iggi* », pl. « *iggitän* » (qui désigne tout ce qui n'est pas directement compréhensible et dont le sens réel est dissimulé ». (Drouin, 1987:80). Et, « la capacité à comprendre et à élaborer des « *iggitän* » est révélatrice de l'« intelligence créatrice », « *tpytte* » qui est la qualité première chez un individu. » souligne cet auteur. Signalons à ce propos qu'en dehors de ces domaines particuliers, la parole brute, non contrôlée par les règles d'élaboration ou de codification culturellement admises, représente, une fois émise, une menace, un danger. Dominique Casajus (1987:104) le souligne à propos des Touareg Kel Ferwan : « *autant qu'un manquement aux bonnes manières, l'expression trop directe de la pensée, particulièrement quand elle implique un jugement de valeur, peut aussi être source de danger. [...] Ce pouvoir de la parole est appelé imi n ə ddūnyät, « la bouche des gens, ou « togərshit ».*

Ce danger potentiel que représente toute parole non correctement contrôlée semble être présent dans la plupart des cultures africaines et manifeste une

véritable performativité. Relativement aux formes discursives de la parole proférée traditionnelle et particulièrement lors des situations de communications orales énonciatives, nominales, verbales -celles-ci par exemple, sont appelées en Tamasheq « Takkayt, addpl addpl » (séances ludiques) ou encore mot à mot par le « jeu -jeu », ou « *edawanne* » conversation nocturne, palabre ou encore « pljimat » ou « causerie, échange des propos » (Aghali.Zakara.M.,2010). Lors des séances littéraires traditionnelles spécifiques, les participants s’y initient en se penchant, par exemple sur les figures énigmatiques dénommée « *iggi* » (sing, « *iggitän* » plu), du verbe « *aggu* » (être au -dessus de, dominer, regarder de haut). En outre, le domaine de la structure nominative / énonciative n’est point négligé et en guise d’exemple considérons ce qui suit : « Tera wpr tnpzzu » « L’amour ne s’achète pas ». Pour autant, la valeur performative de la parole proférée traditionnelle fonctionne sous plusieurs modes allusifs à la fois polysémique et sémantique par le truchement des sentences contextuelles et conversationnelles savamment énigmatiques. Quant à la forme logico-discursive de la topique proverbiale, elle est nommée « *oÿÿaw* » (sing, « *oÿÿawan* » plu). Elle se décline ainsi : « *ənnan majeyan* » « *les Touaregs disent* », ou encore : « *ənnan Kel awal* » « *les gens de la parole disent* » : « *ozzawan əlkətteban s abbaməssaw -san* » : « *les proverbes sont des livres qui n’ont pas des propriétaires* » ou « *les proverbes sont des vérités générales appartenant à la mémoire collective* ». Si les proverbes puisent dans une entité spatiale sur fond de l’expérience humaine, il n’en demeure pas moins que, lorsque la sentence « se donne comme une vérité générale puisée dans la sagesse collective, elle revêt l’aspect du proverbe » (Amossy,2006:120). D’après Dominguez, la parémie est bâtie par les « énoncés que l’on attribue au sens commun et dont la forme linguistique peut être variable : proverbe, adage, maxime, locutions proverbiales etc. » (Amossy,2006:112). Parallèlement, on retient d’Aristote que la sentence « est une affirmation portant non pas sur des faits particuliers (...) mais sur des généralités »

(Amossy,2006:120). Il en fait une classification en deux catégories selon l'auteur de la rhétorique : celles « autonomes » et celles dont le sens dépend d'un supplément d'information contenu dans un autre membre de la même sentence liées aux contraintes situationnelles et à l'idéologies partagées par les interactants. Il convient alors de retenir que les proverbes Touaregs sont des paradigmes discursifs descriptifs résultant du champ de leur production orale et dont il faut savoir conceptualiser dans un régime allusif. Leurs degrés de raffinement ainsi que leurs normes de codification sont socialement et culturellement organisés selon les contextes, les thématiques aussi bien leurs fonctions. Les autochtones savent planter, partager et sustenter le décor et la portée socioculturelle et symbolique des formules performatives dans leur environnement quotidien. Culturellement et traditionnellement ancrées dans les consciences individuelles et collectives, ces formules constituent et codifient des supports linguistiques qui servent à l'introduction d'une conversation quotidienne avec autrui. Par exemple dans un contexte relatif à la dispute ou au divorce des époux, le mari qui cherche la réconciliation annonce l'objet de sa visite au moyen de la formule suivante : « Pɣme j adu ekpni pd εsoʔɛl » « *je cherche l'entente et le retour* », plus exactement « *faire revenir ma femme* », car le mot qui signifie « retour » est « pɣqɛl » tandis que « pknu » signifie « *fabriquer* » mais aussi « *s'entendre* » et le substantif est « ekpni » (entente). Se focalisant sur l'énonciation qui prend en charge la doxa , entendue comme le fond culturel , l'espace d'opinion et des croyances, bref, un répertoire commun à une société donnée , ici la confédération de Kel Aïr ; le concept rhétorique antique de doxa perçu alors comme base consensuelle de la communication argumentative , redéployée de nos jours dans l'analyse du discours et les études littéraires sous les appellations de « discours social » , « interdiscours » ou « intertexte » renvoie selon Amossy (2006,:99), à « l'espace discursif global dans lequel s'articule les opinions dominantes et les représentations collectives ». Ces deux acceptions du mot amènent

Amossy (2006) à lier « la notion de « doxa » ou opinion commune d'une part à celles des ensembles discursifs – discours social ou interdiscours – qui la portent, d'autre part aux formes (logico) discursives particulières – topoï (lieux communs) de tous types, idées reçues, stéréotypes etc, - où elle émerge de façon concrète » (Amossy,2006:100). La symbolique de la parole proférée traditionnelle dans le contexte Touareg, sera décryptée sous les auspices de la topique (du grec topos ,topoï au plu ;) extériorisant ainsi la représentation des positions collectives ou plus spécifiquement « un ensemble empirique de collecte, de production et de traitement de l'information à finalité multiple (narrative, descriptive, argumentative) essentiellement pratique fonctionnant dans une communauté relativement homogène dans ses représentations et ses normes. Les topiques expriment une cosmogonie populaire oscillant entre le cognitif et le linguistique ». (Charaudeau Patrick & Maingueneau Dominique, 2002:576). Faudrait-il remarquer que la perception touarègue de la notion de formule performative et de sa métaphore n'est pas sans rappeler le pouvoir authentiquement traditionnel du savoir proverbial décrit par Ruth Amossy (2006) en ces termes : « contrairement à la sentence populaire, le proverbe se définit par son indexation à une sagesse populaire et par sa forme figée. Il apparaît nécessairement comme une citation, et permet au locuteur qui fait appel à lui de se donner la garantie d'un savoir collectif emmagasiné dans un répertoire culturel ». (Amossy, 2006:120-121.).

Dans la confédération de Kel Aïr, les formules d'actualisations des expressions textuelles et proverbiales communes sont rendues acceptables par les instances ou espaces de la parole proférée traditionnelle que l'on dénomme « *awal* en Tamasheq » couverts par la tradition et le patrimoine culturel immatériel oral qui se partagent et se ressource pédagogiquement par l'exercice de la mémoire à la fois individuelle et collective. En effet, dans cet environnement, les formules performatives de forme exclamative, déclarative, interrogative et impérative –(contextuelles et conversationnelles) sont érigées en allégorie de mise en scène de la situation de communication

constitutive et constructive d'une forme de topique populaire. Omniprésentes et multiformes, elles affectent et alimentent les conversations nocturnes, palabre dites « *edawanne* » ou encore « *pljimat* » en langue locale « causerie, échange de propos » sous les traits des formes discursives stéréotypées. En narratologie, celles-ci revêtent des genres qui permettent soit la catégorisation, soit la généralisation des expressions langagières d'un point de vue endogène ou allogène. Sur un plan de vue expressif ou communicationnel, le stéréotype est habituellement considéré comme un procédé littéraire d'identification ou de distanciation, que l'on peut définir, au sens restreint, comme « *une représentation ou une image collective simplifiée et figée des êtres et des choses que nous héritons de notre culture, et qui détermine nos attitudes et nos comportements. Considéré tantôt comme une croyance et tantôt comme une opinion, il relève toujours du préconstruit et s'apparente souvent au préjugé* ». (Diagne, 2005: 121-122). Il faut souligner que certaines formules performatives sont souvent érigées en paraboles revêtues du pouvoir juridictionnel et jouissent d'un espace discursif relevant de l'imaginaire collectif. Paradigmes illustratifs et éléments de structuration des pensées des individus qui ne manquent pas de les employer dans leur conversation quotidienne, celles-ci en apparence plus polysémiques, ressource bien la pensée des Touaregs car elles sont à l'image des graffiti, des formes discursives brèves dont la mémoire collective retient la forme de l'expression et le sens du contenu. A ce titre, le critique sénégalais Mamoussé Diagne (2005), nous informe que le proverbe (auquel nous associons des actes de langage comme la sentence) intervient pour dire une expérience dans sa phase conclusive : « *l'énoncé proverbial est le résultat d'expériences diverses produites en amont, et entre lesquelles il établit un lien. C'est au sens fort du terme, le "fin mot" (on pourrait dire justement : le mot de la fin) d'un processus de sédimentation* ». (Diagne, 2005: 67).

2.3 La valeur performative des formules assertives targuies

Pour circonscrire par exemple, le sens métaphorique des formules assertives de l'espace littéraire touareg, il faut les replacer dans un champ notionnel et thématique voire conceptuel qui prône et s'inscrit soit dans des formes logico de doxa et de topique, plus ou moins sémantiques ou stéréotypées, thématisées sous la forme idéologico-symbolique, soit celles du genre (fondées sur la distinction naturelle ou conventionnelle des sexes), soit de l'esthétique. Tributaire des codes de la parole proférée traditionnelle « *awal* en Tamasheq », et de ses systèmes des normes dont il véhicule le savoir qu'il recèle, le proverbe déploie une sorte de syntaxe, une mise en scène de l'idée, une véritable dramatisation que Mamoussé Diagne a largement étudié dans une partie de son « *critique de la raison orale* », où il analyse l'archéologie du savoir oral. Cette étude ne sera pas reprise ici, il faut simplement souligner, comme on peut s'y attendre, que les formules performatives assorties de la parole proférée traditionnelle dans le champ de production orale de l'univers de Kel Aïr, sont nombreuses. En ce sens, elles sont déployées et fonctionnent selon des procédés littéraires culturellement et fortement polarisés et qui inaugurent de mises en situation de communication, d'information, d'action entre les interlocuteurs avisés. En plus de remplir plusieurs fonctions, elles schématisent et thématisent les rapports sociaux, des évidences, des comportements, des attitudes ritualisées. Celles de Kel Aïr semblent constituées une allégorie renfermant l'archéologie du savoir oral local à la fois individuel et collectif, car selon le parémiologue Crépeau (1975) in *Fabula*, p:285-303): « *le corpus des proverbes d'une société s'inscrit dans l'ensemble des normes conscientes. Il constitue une sorte de manuel du savoir-vivre fondé sur le système des valeurs de la collectivité tyrannique que la loi écrite des civilisations plus complexes. L'intention première de l'énoncé proverbial est la socialisation des membres de la communauté – qu'il ordonne ou interdise une action, qu'il oriente un choix en matière optionnelle*

ou qu'il suggère tout simplement une attitude, il a toujours pour fin de diriger directement ou indirectement le comportement des individus en fonction d'idéaux et des valeurs partagées par tout le groupe ». En plus de revêtir des systèmes d'appartenance culturelle et des espaces d'initiation, l'univers de la parole proférée traditionnelle a ses propres genres qui assurent différentes fonctions qui peuvent être des défis ; un délaissement ; une dérision ; une moquerie ; une morale ; des enseignements, etc.). Ainsi, sous des apparences assertives, de nombreuses expressions populaires ont pour fonction de rappeler au destinataire sa noble filiation et de l'inviter à s'approprier la généalogie de sa descendance ainsi que les valeurs qui lui sont inhérentes : identité, pays, l'espace de filiation, descendance confédérale / tribale, langagière etc. C'est le cas par exemple de cet adage touareg qui dit:

Ma/ jpmmut/ abarkaw/ wa/ jɣar/ akabar

Quoi/ il (acc.) mourir/ veau/ celui/ il (acc.) sécher/ récipient -de-traité

La mort du veau sèche le pot

Se dit pour inciter les enfants à préserver précieusement les liens familiaux.

Par analogie, l'idée de la mort selon la valeur textuelle, contextuelle voire énonciative de la sentence est ici une figuration allégorique et sémantiquement décrite par un processus de symbolisation et de personnification : Elle est traduite par l'image de la mort du veau. Sous un mode implicite, cet aphorisme comme beaucoup d'autres textes targuis empruntent à la filiation fondatrice la reconnaissance de sa place fondamentale ainsi que le poids qu'occupe l'héritage de la tradition familiale dans le maintien et le renforcement de l'ordre social. Si l'espace parental amorcé par le précédent proverbe constitue un tremplin à l'enfant pour l'harmonie familiale, l'acquis que représente les valeurs, les normes, les us, les coutumes de celle-ci, sert des repères à l'enfant dans le cadre de la solidification des liens familiaux. Dans cet espace, le respect et la vénération

des parents et des personnes âgées sont primordiales ainsi que nous l'enseignent ces deux autres sagesses qui disent en substance:

1- Kundaba/ tɔnaja / kpl / tɔdist / pɔnimaýáfan / a / ze / tadmá/ a/ kaj
/ (j) pýáfan/ kaj / du/ (j) pɔniýááfan

Sauf si / tu (acc.) voir / ceux / ventre/ ils (acc.) tenir à qq. / que / donc
/ tu (inacc.) espérer / que toi il (f. participe.) tenir / toi / vers ici / il (f.
parti.) tituber

Sans une parenté soudée, n'espère pas te lier.

Ce proverbe conseille de bien choisir ses relations, d'éviter de frapper à la porte de gens qui ne s'entendent pas entre eux. Cette autre occurrence proverbiale construite sous un mode injonctif s'inscrit dans la même philosophie tant elle évoque sur un plan sémantique et métaphorique des connivences sentimentales voire amoureuses :« Gammay temey as tɔgrawa tɔra tɔrɔza » autrement dit « cherche la parenté si tu trouves l'amour, arrête - toi ». Dans le même ordre d'idées, découvrons cette autre qui dit:

2- Āwa / nāk / ar / āwa / nāk

Oncle maternel / de toi / jusque / oncle maternel / de toi

Ton oncle, c'est ton oncle.

Ce proverbe souligne la place qu'occupe l'oncle maternel dans les relations de parenté chez les Touaregs. Il est à la fois respecté et craint, c'est à lui que l'on recourt dans les moments difficiles.

Au-delà de la peinture ou de la conception du cercle parental, ces aphorismes montrent que la force d'un (e) lignage ou famille réside dans sa capacité à l'union sacrée de ses membres qui le / la compose. De façon explicite, ils soulignent également et implicitement les règles et les vertus en vigueur dans la sphère tribale, familiale, culturelle ou au sein du mélodrame

familial d'Autrui en même temps qu'ils y mettent l'accent sur les relations entre les parents et leur progéniture ainsi que leur filiation fondatrice. A l'image de plusieurs autres sociétés humaines, le monde touareg fonde son organisation et son fonctionnement en fonction de l'âge, du statut et des sexes des individus. L'acte de fondation celui de la perpétuation du lignage socioculturel et idéologique ainsi que son devenir, est conditionné par l'effet de la procréation des progénitures. La conception sociale et symbolique de la filiation fondatrice résulte de cette formule métaphorique à valeur interrogative:

Ma / ze / aùpw / tadant / ar / anzan ?

Quoi / donc/ elle (acc.) enfanter / *boscia senegalensis* / jusque / *fruits de boscia senegalensis*

Qu'enfante *tadant* sinon *azan* ? Ou qu'enfante l'églantier sinon des cynorhodons ?

Se dit pour marquer la filiation et la transmission qui peuvent disparaître à travers le caractère et le comportement d'un enfant, lequel est à l'image de son géniteur tel le rapport d'un arbre à ses fruits. (Tel père, tel fils).

Replacée dans le contexte Tamasheq, cette construction syntaxique même si elle est bâtie autour d'un même noyau verbal « enfanter » dit « arpw en Tamasheq » repose sur un champ sémantique doublement polysémique en même temps qu'elle répond et fait appel à des figures de style en l'occurrence celles de substitution. Dans le premier cas, le verbe « enfanter » attribue par l'entremise de la personnification l'idée ou l'action d'« enfanter » à *tadant* « *boscia senegalensis* » tandis que dans un second cas, dans le registre *tamasheq*, il connote une tournure sémantique sous le mode métonymique, une relation analogique entre le géniteur et sa progéniture, ici par synecdoque le rapport entre l'arbre et ses fruits. Cette sentence n'est -elle pas révélatrice

d'une clef pour comprendre les liens de descendance, d'appartenance qui auraient uni une famille ou tribu – targuie et toute la confédération? Dans une telle éventualité, l'on s'accorderait à la concevoir comme une certaine sacralité et l'attachement au géniteur dont on est issu. Cette dichotomie filiale peut être soulignée par le verbe « enfanter ». Si l'enfant revêt une importance primordiale dans presque toutes les sociétés humaines, en Afrique la stérilité est le problème majeur qui cause inébranlablement de mésentente et d'incompréhension dans les foyers voire de familles. On s'imagine que la personne qui ne procréé pas est habitée par le démon. Ahmadou Kourouma est conscient des problèmes qu'engendre la stérilité en Afrique et son roman *Les Soleils des indépendances* traite le sujet dans tous ses aspects. (Ahmadou, 1970). La stérilité est considérée comme une malédiction divine pour punir la femme ou l'homme ayant péché. Le couple stérile est confronté à un problème sérieux dans la vie conjugale, surtout en Afrique où on donne plusieurs interprétations à l'infertilité. En effet, la venue d'un enfant à la suite d'un mariage est le plus grand cadeau dont Dieu gratifie ses créatures. Kourouma nous montre la désolation de Fama, personnage principal, devant la stérilité de Salimata, son épouse : « *la tranquillité fuyait toujours le cœur et l'esprit de Fama tant que Salimata séchait de la stérilité, tant que l'enfant ne germerait pas* ». (Ahmadou, 1970: 26). Devant une telle situation, on entreprend de consulter les sorciers, les marabouts pour conjurer le mauvais sort. Pour Salimata la stérilité est perçue comme un déchirement profond : « *elle pénètre dans sa maison pour pleurer son malheur et cacher son visage de femme qui n'aura jamais d'enfant... Elle avait le destin mourir stérile* ». (Ahmadou, 1970: 79-80). Considéré comme un don de Dieu, aux yeux de toute la famille qui l'accueille traditionnellement par des berceuses innombrables, l'enfant est le bienvenu car il incarne la virilité pour son père et il garantit la perpétuité de l'arbre généalogique de la famille. Quant à la mère, nous connaissons les liens affectifs et émotionnels avec son enfant. Le champ de production orale issu du contexte touareg, dans ses formes logico

discursives n'occulte pas la distinction des genres et les liens entre l'enfant et ses géniteurs décrits précédemment. En effet, tout genre pour se développer a besoin d'épouser son contraire, le masculin ; et dans la conscience populaire légendairement matriarcat, l'élément féminin est à l'origine de toute chose. C'est peut-être pour cette raison que nombre des genres oraux voire écrits accèdent et véhiculent l'image de la mère (*anna* ou *tamtut* en langue locale), détentrice des droits et biens socioculturels ainsi que des valeurs d'amour, de la souffrance, du travail. Faisant l'objet d'un grand respect tant dans ses fonctions de mère fondatrice de lignée que de sœur ou d'épouse, la figure féminine joue un rôle de premier plan dans la société au vu de sa place et surtout de son pouvoir. Soulignant l'intention et l'attention dont elle jouit, ces locutions proverbiales lui rendent hommage :

1- « *Tamtut azerzəm n karbay n alās* » : la femme est la ceinture du pantalon de l'homme (dans la société traditionnelle, la femme joue un rôle important que le cordon du pantalon).

2- *pnnanet / tʃpmɛaren / taœa / amagal*.

Elles (acc.) dire / femmes -d'âge-mur / peur/ remède

Les vieilles femmes disent : la peur est un remède.

La peur n'est pas négative en soi, elle permet dans certains cas d'agir avec prudence et d'éviter ainsi des situations regrettables. La même idée est exprimée par le proverbe rifain (berbère du Nord du Maroc) : *Wnni itagwdn wa – x -as tatra ymma-s* autrement dit : celui qui connaît la peur ne fera pas verser de larmes à sa mère ». (Bentolila, 1993: 29).

L'image de la mère ainsi que ses métamorphoses ont souvent été l'objet d'une utilisation allégorique pour mettre en lumière aussi bien la douceur et l'amour ressentis envers elle. Cette relation de réciprocité entre la femme et sa progéniture nous a été soulignée par de nombreuses études. On se souviendra sans doute à cet égard des poèmes « femme noire » de Senghor,

tiré de son recueil *Chants d'ombre* (1945), « A ma mère » qui est une dédicace à sa mère par laquelle Camara Laye amorce son chef d'œuvre *l'Enfant Noir* (1953), ainsi que Ken Bugul dans *De l'autre côté du regard* (2003). Tous ces romanciers évoquent avec émotion une première enfance éclairée par les soins dont les entourait la tendresse maternelle et ou féminine : les gestes habituels de la mère se penchant sur l'enfant, guidant ses premiers pas, le geste typique de la femme portant l'enfant sur son dos, ou la bonté, les dévouements attribués à la mère sont décrits avec lyrisme par ces romanciers. La mère est perçue comme source d'un bonheur inégalé, une source de sécurité pour l'enfant et aussi pour la société. Elle est gardienne des trésors culturels et autres valeurs à la fois traditionnelles et modernes. Elle est aussi le don, et a les capacités de perpétuer les vertus honorables, donc la mère participe fondamentalement à l'éducation de l'enfant. La mère est la première qui naît de nous, elle est captivité agréable et diverse. C'est ainsi que certaines mères bercent de leur production musicale et littéraire l'espace-temps de la vie semi-nomade et sédentaire des Touaregs. Par exemple *inzad* (violin) ou « *elewag* » (la flagellation à dos de chameaux), littéralement les fouets, *izalen* (le répertoire de chants oraux traditionnels), les cours d'*ahal* « cours d'amour et d'initiation à l'art poétique de la parole voilée, demeurent de espaces de prédilection du genre féminin. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de rappeler que la métaphore issue de la mythologie touarègue portant sur la figure féminine, demeurant un héritage matriarcal qui jalonne la société touarègue trouve son fondement, son histoire socioculturelle et symbolique dans le sillage de l'épopée de « *Tin-Hinan* » ou celle des tentes. Les ancêtres auxquels les légendes endogènes font remonter l'origine des familles, de tribus, des confédérations et de la société, sont le plus souvent des femmes. Elles y sont les pivots dans les différents démembrements de la dynamique socioculturelle et identitaire. Dans la pratique tant du côté paternel que du côté maternel, la veuve âgée, qui n'a pas contracté le mariage, reste le plus souvent auprès des enfants. La mère trime, protège, éduque, mieux le rôle de

la mère semble déterminant pour un enfant : c'est elle qui le nourrit au sein jusqu'à l'âge de deux ans, le soigne. C'est ainsi que le manque de courtoisie à l'égard d'une femme est un motif de déshonneur masculin confère les chants I à VI de notre corpus oral. Ses qualités, ses fonctions ainsi que ses trésors ne tarissent point. Conseillère, éducatrice, elle dorlote ses progénitures sous sa tente à tour de rôle, et comme toutes les grandes mères du monde, elle aide également sa belle-fille ou sa fille aux travaux domestiques. Incarnant la stabilité, la femme est également le refuge de l'homme. Néanmoins, des liens maternels naissent souvent des problèmes familiaux. C'est le cas par exemple du rôle ambivalent de la belle -mère dans le cadre des relations parentales. Grâce aux seules sources orales et écrites, nous nous apercevons qu'il y a tout un mythe autour de la belle-mère en Afrique généralement. Son image est très souvent caractérisée par un climat de mésestime, de méfiance voire des conflits. Bref, la belle-mère est tout simplement l'incarnation souvent de l'altérité au sein de la nouvelle famille que l'on doit apprivoiser et gérer afin de s'intégrer et de vivre ; enseignement sur lequel insiste la philosophie touarègue :

« teùk / taæaggalt/ tofet/ tpzori »

Mauvaise/ belle-mère/ elle (acc.) être mieux elle/ hyène

« Mieux vaut une hyène qu'une mauvaise belle -mère ».

Cette sentence noue et dénoue toute l'importance que requiert une belle-mère en même temps qu'elle émet une réflexion métaphorique qui illustre la conception et la réalité de celle-ci dans la vie quotidienne et socio familiale. Les relations entre les beaux-parents ne sont pas toujours au bon fixe. Il en est de même dans une famille polygame où l'on évoque soit la méchanceté de la marâtre, soit les conflits entre coépouses créant souvent des situations dramatiques où les enfants sont les victimes. Ainsi, certaines femmes à la mort de leur coépouse, font subir aux enfants de celle-ci toute sorte d'exaction,

de sévices. A ce titre, les maltraitances des orphelines par leur marâtre au conte XXXVI de notre corpus en dit long ainsi que le traduit ce passage : « Après ses funérailles, le père des deux orphelines se précipita afin de prendre une autre épouse. Mais, celle-ci demeura une femme très méchante. Cette nouvelle femme vint habiter chez son mari. Elle eut une fille ayant le même âge que la plus grande des deux orphelines. Quand elle préparait le repas, elle chassait les deux orphelines et appelait sa propre fille pour manger ». Un peu plus loin, on lit, *elle (la marâtre) se résolut de trouver le moyen d'éliminer « Tamoulas » (vache laitière des orphelines)* et Elle dit à son mari que le seul remède à son mal, s'il pouvait exister en ce monde, ne pourrait être que la graisse de « *Tamoulas* », la vache laitière des orphelines ». A travers ce passage, l'on voit bien que la marâtre des orphelines ne se soucie nullement du bien-être de l'enfant. Un enfant qui n'a pas de mère n'a ni nourriture, ni consolation comme l'a pu noter Lylian Kesteloot (1971) dans cette berceuse :

« Calme-toi, je ne te confierai pas à ta marâtre
 « Ta marâtre est très méchante
 « Elle pourrait t'envoyer chercher du bois sec
 « Durant la pluie matinale ». (Kesteloot, 1971: 7).

La conception targuie de la belle-mère est telle qu'elle est respectée et crainte quand elle menace l'équilibre du foyer. Dans ce milieu semi-nomade d'éleveurs où l'hyène est un redoutable ennemi, la mauvaise belle-mère transparait sous le couvert d'un pseudonyme animalier négatif d'un carnivore en l'occurrence l'hyène et qui détient la palme. Dans cet environnement social, les relations d'avec les belles-mères sont habituellement et traditionnellement un point sensible ainsi que le suggère le proverbe cité ci-haut. C'est le cas aussi avec (*Iæulan* en langue locale) (beaux-parents (plu. de *aæggal*) désignent les belles -mères, beaux-pères , gendres et brus dans

un sens classificatoire et concernent les relations entre deux générations, relations de crainte et de respect ainsi que le résume Gast Marceau 18a, 38 : la honte et le respect caractérisent la relation entre les beaux-parents et le gendre ou la belle-fille, empreinte d'interdits (...) en particulier entre le gendre et la belle-mère, ainsi qu'entre le beau-père et la belle-fille (attitude marquée de respect : pas de repas en présence des beaux-parents ; le gendre doit se voiler le visage en présence de la belle-mère ; c'est pourquoi, on appelle la chauve-souris « gendre du soleil » (*aæggal en tafuk*), car elle se cache en présence du soleil comme le gendre devant sa belle-mère. C'est justement pour prévenir et faire face aux graves crises qui peuvent survenir entre beaux-parents et belles-familles qu'à l'instar des autres sociétés africaines, les confédérations tribales de l'Air au nombre trente-quatre, ont entre autres inventé un mécanisme de régulation sous forme ludique : « *emsislam d-enmusuraf* » littéralement les félicitations et le pardon mutuels, sorte de rassemblement qui eut lieu après le mariage traditionnel. Au tour du thé, d'un repas copieux les deux groupes de femmes viennent déguisés à la façon de marionnettes et se livrent à un jeu de connaissance et tournures linguistiques (devinettes, maximes, proverbes...), dont le but est de sensibiliser les deux parties sur d'éventuels différends qui pourraient survenir au cours de la vie du couple et éviter de s'immiscer dans leur vie en prenant partie, tout en se vantant lamentablement, leurs échanges portent essentiellement sur les vicissitudes de la vie. Cette discussion à tournures comiques vise à resserrer les liens de parenté par alliance qui unissent désormais les deux groupes de familles à travers l'union suivant la coutume de leurs progénitures. Tout en sachant bien que la pensée touarègue a toujours considéré les rapports sociaux en particulier ceux liés au voisinage ou de leur continuation dans l'espace -temps comme des valeurs intrinsèques, admettons aussi l'intention moralisatrice que nous rappelle cette autre sagesse très connue :

« eùk / pnarag / jofe£ / eùk / pmeæùan »

Mauvais/ voisin/ il (acc.) préférer / mauvaise / pensée

Mieux vaut une mauvaise pensée qu'un mauvais voisin.

La pensée est éphémère et la relation avec le voisin est durable. Il est préférable de préserver de bons rapports avec le voisinage.

La parole proférée traditionnelle constitue une exploration des rapports entre l'homme, le lien social et affectif, l'amitié et la parole donnée. De même, elle prétend élucider des valeurs nobiliaires traditionnelles qui investissent profondément les comportements quotidiens des individus comme la honte « *takarakit* », la fierté ou la retenue « *ashak* », l'amitié « *timidiwa* », la patience « *tazayder* », etc. Celles-ci sont à l'honneur et alimentent l'imaginaire populaire grâce à la veine proverbiale. Par exemple les vertus cardinales de la patience « *tazayder* » rythment le mode de vie de pasteurs nomades, et c'est sous le mode d'abstraction que nous les professent ce dicton :

« Tezajdert / tpsanwu/ ikadewan »

Patience/ elle (acc.) cuire / pierres

La patience fait cuire les pierres

Se dit pour rassurer quelqu'un qui est impatient de recueillir les fruits de son travail et l'encourager à persévérer et à rester confiant car rappelle un autre dicton bâti sous le couvert de la parataxe : « Tezajdert hallal ibân-npt-haram », littéralement « la patience est licite, son manque est illicite ». En plus des règles et conduites à tenir, c'est au moyen de métaphore et d'allégorie syntaxiques que le pouvoir de la parole proférée traditionnelle « *awal* » établi une relation entre l'individu et son terroir d'attache. L'exemple le plus illustratif est celui découlant de ce proverbe qui fait surgir l'attachement à la terre natale et sa veine nostalgique que l'on ressent :

Tajlalt / mattes

Pintade / mères ses

Pintade parmi les siens

Se dit à l'adresse de quelqu'un qui est attaché à ses origines et qui donne la préférence aux siens au risque d'une ingratitude envers ses bienfaiteurs.

Cette sentence nominale prépositionnelle qui marque l'amour à son terroir, est mise au service d'une autre figure de substitution à savoir la périphrase. Cette ressource littéraire consiste à remplacer un mot par une expression qui le définit (...) ou par des éléments de phrase plus complexes, jouant sur l'implicite. D'un point de vue narratologique spécifiquement oral, ce proverbe est construit dans le Tamasheq sous le mode de la parataxe « *tajlalt/mattes* » et grammaticalement construit sous une forme elliptique - syntaxique « *pintade parmi les siens* » et repose sur la fonction poétique du langage que l'on trouve dans le schéma de la communication de Jakobson. Sur une échelle d'analyse littéraire et stylistique, ce proverbe est construit autour des unités syntaxiques et sémantiques de la phrase « *pintade/parmi /les siens* » qui sont grammaticalement élidées du verbe « *est* » mais qui implicitement inaugurent une périphrase à partir de laquelle résulterait la signification. Il n'y a pas que les relations entre l'homme et son milieu social qui sont proférées par l'oralité. C'est aussi par la parole que les Touaregs expriment leur milieu naturel, leurs enseignements, leurs connaissances, leurs croyances, leurs divertissements, leurs normes, leurs angoisses, soit pour marquer les relations entre l'individu et son entourage soit pour partager dans un élan de solidarité, de générosité, de préoccupations (privée ou collective) :

« *pfuce / ijan / wpr / (j) pggit / afarag* »

Main / un/ ne pas / il (acc.) faire / enclos

Une main ne fait pas l'enclos.

A l'adresse de quelqu'un en difficulté, pour l'inciter à recourir à l'aide des autres. Une variante de ce proverbe est attestée chez les Touaregs de l'Azawagh :

Azpl iyān da wpr iggit afarag « Une seule branche ne fait pas l'enclos ». (Solimane & Walentowitz, 1994: 31).

L'union fait la force.

Sous un mode assertif, cet adage accrédite le sens de la solidarité et sa représentation idéalisée des règles ou normes en vigueur. Ces différentes sentences nous font dire que l'intérêt de particulier (individuel) se trouve souvent incorporer dans l'intérêt collectif. En réalité, ce n'est que dans le cadre d'une situation concrète que la parole voilée devient efficace du point de vue de sa valeur, communicative, informative et performative. En Afrique traditionnelle, la parole proférée revêt un élément sacré conçu pour être donné, reçu et qu'on se doit d'honorer. Hiérarchisée selon un ordre social défini par des codes, elle sert de tremplin qui est utilisé à établir des règles ou normes de bienséance comme l'hospitalité ainsi que le laisse transparaître ces formules performatives :

Amagar/ nak / jalla / nak

Hôte / de/ toi/ Dieu / de toi

Ton hôte, ton Dieu

Se dit pour rappeler les usages de l'hospitalité que tout Touareg se doit de respecter sous peine d'être la risée du groupe. En fait, légendairement et culturellement, l'hospitalité transparaît dans le rite de trois thés successifs offert à l'étranger et demeure intimement liée à la vie nomade comme le stipule cet aphorisme : « *que la tente soit ouverte au voyageur, comme la mosquée l'est au croyant* ». La générosité qui s'y retrouve s'alimente parfois des règles de bienfaisance, des mœurs, des us très connus chez les Touaregs :

Teùk / tpmýpt / tan / awal / jaggen / eùk / elps / wan / edes / jaggen
 Mauvaise / femme/ celle de / parole / il (f. partic.) faire/ mauvais /
 homme / sommeil / il (f. partic.) faire

Le bavardage est à la femme ce que le sommeil est à l'homme.

Ce proverbe rappelle les règles de bienséance qui ont cours dans la société touarègue. Jouant la fonction d'ascenseurs et régulateurs de rappel dont elles sont investies dans la société traditionnelle, les formules performatives y impulsent et exaltent d'autres schèmes socialement reconnus et qui se répandent en fonction de l'âge, du genre et des statuts des individus, tant au plan moral, du conditionnement psychologique, du caractère, des comportements et de la conduite à tenir. Nous nous contentons de ces deux sentences proverbiales qui mentionnent ces accointances ci-énumérées :

Kɛlə / nakk (u) / ar / kɛlə / (p) n/ net
 Autrefois/ moi/ jusque/ autrefois / de / lui
 Autrefois moi, autrefois lui.

Incitation à être humble : la jeunesse, la beauté, la fortune sont éphémères. Chacun a son temps de gloire et de bonheur. Ce proverbe peut être rapproché d'un proverbe berbère des Aït Bouzid de Timoulilt (Maroc Central) : ass- a ãir aspka ãir- k « Aujourd'hui chez moi, demain chez toi ». (Bentolila, 1993: 150)

En d'autres termes, ces aphorismes et dictons représentent l'expérience humaine qui gît au sein de la connaissance des réalités du passé, du futur et du présent et qui nous servent de tremplin dans la résolution des problèmes les plus délicats pour établir une bonne ligne de conduite et de pensée : par l'usage du proverbe, c'est-à-dire par la référence au poids de la tradition, de la culture, de la philosophie, dont nul ne peut contredire impunément la parole ; car « l'invocation même implicite de la tradition dans l'énoncé du

proverbe a , entre autres fonctions, celle de soustraire son propos à la critique en s'abritant derrière le statut de la parole qui fait autorité ». (Diagne, 2006: 77).

Les enseignements ainsi tirés de la parole proférée traditionnelle, sur le plan de l'autorité et de la performance discursive, nous sont résumés dans ce proverbe :

Taüiwat / ta / wa³/4³/arat / a / jaha / amagal

Miel / celle / vieille/ que / il (acc.) être remède

C'est dans le miel vieilli qu'on trouve le remède

Ou encore « as / tpxraka / tpqqpla / eni autrement dit

Quand / tu (inacc.) se tromper / tu (inacc.) retourner / proverbe

Quand tu te trompes, retourne au proverbe : Inciter à se référer au proverbe pour y puiser enseignement et conseil dans une situation jugée difficile.

En plus de souligner l'importance accordée dans la société au recours aux sources anciennes (enseignements), la vieillesse est aussi synonyme de sagesse. En effet, c'est auprès des anciens qu'il faut chercher conseils et solutions. Qui plus est que la jeunesse doit emprunter la voie tracée par les anciens, cette philosophie relate également les valeurs performatives de la parole traditionnelle, et non de moindre, puisqu'il s'agit de sa fonction qui favorise son ancrage endogène. La préoccupation dans ce cas est de l'ordre pédagogique au sens large. En effet, la sagesse explore et expose des conseils pratiques et moralisateurs qui fécondent divers et multiples enseignements judicieux pour qui voulait convaincre son interlocuteur ou en faire bon usage. Ainsi, sur une entité sociale, multiformes et abondantes sont des sentences populaires départ leurs structures sémantiques qui abordent des thèmes universaux où émergent métaphoriquement les élans socioculturels et historiques. Détentriche du pouvoir d'éclairer les consciences populaires en

levant certaines vicissitudes du fonctionnement social ; la parole proférée traditionnelle joue le rôle d'accréditation des propos et se positionne comme une continuité dans la narration. Traditionnellement, la joute verbale a cette capacité d'éclairer les hommes en levant certains voiles du fonctionnement social. Elle y joue le rôle d'accréditation des propos des individus en leur permettant d'étayer une opinion. Elle attire aussi l'attention de l'interlocuteur sur une évidence, un danger ou toute autre réalité dont la méconnaissance pourrait être fatale. Elle véhicule ainsi des conseils pratiques moralisateurs. Elle renvoie à une philosophie, une culture circonscrite dans un espace-temps donné. C'est cette même ambition qui est instituée par la parole proférée dans sa conception de la mort à l'échelle africaine en générale et Tamasheq en particulier. En effet, la problématique de la mort y occupe une dimension philosophique dans de nombreux milieux traditionnels où la mort représente les ancêtres, les esprits protecteurs de la tribu, de la société. C'est ainsi que dans certaines sociétés où la culture traditionnelle est fortement ancrée dans l'esprit des individus, le mort a droit au plus grand respect. On le vénère à travers tant de sacrifices tandis que la mort est perçue comme un long voyage ainsi que le décrète cette poésie pieuse extraite du récit n° XVIII de notre corpus oral intitulé « *La criante du trépas et l'ange tourmenteur* » :

1.ôkik-dû tərteka

Tôt, un jour, tu y succomberas

2.lān-māḍalān-feḷlāk

Sous les pleurs et plaintes amers de tes précieux géniteurs

3.Tanārzamān-izərwān

Se rétrécissent tes veines

4.Tagāṭṭamān-issəyrās

Se déchiquètent tes articulations

5.Tətāqqāl-tassā-tyəswāt

Ton foie étendu devient des ramifications nattées

6. Gǎn-atkəlāt-sənsāt

Qui sans cesse s'entrechoquent et se détrônent » (Extrait du Conte N° XVIII du corpus).

L'enseignement de cette poésie mortuaire thématise l'universelle et l'incontournable figuration ou personnification de l'arrêt de la vie pendant laquelle le commun des mortels très souvent en cortège juge utile et indispensable d'accompagner le mort dans son long voyage sans retour en le ravitaillant, comme nous l'enseignent ces vers suivants :

7. Adǎmǎgruwǎn-lǎllǎn

Les nobles croyants se retrouvent

8. Yəgmatǎn-du-ǎmələli

Pour désigner le plus pieux,

9. Wǎ-yəzəgzanǎn-yǎllah

Celui qui est le plus dévoué à Allah

10. Yəknǎn-asilel-n-ǎmǎn-edǎg-žòkǎy-alwǎllǎ

Répand une dalle d'eau sur ton corps pour le purifier par des ablutions.

11. N-ǎwər-tǎdǎbut-nəglu

Puis l'on est hissé sur le brancard en partance

12. Wǎr-nəssen-dǎ-se-nəkkǎ

Sans savoir où l'on va

13. Təkle-ərbət-rəbət-azzǎl

Départ à l'improviste mêlé d'empressement

14. Zəɣnən-ehǎnən-akey

Ah ! Je vais à mon éternelle demeure ». (Extrait du récit N°XVIII du corpus).

Ainsi, un peu partout dans les sociétés traditionnelles africaines, les hommes communiquent avec les morts parce que leur âme ne quitte jamais la terre des ancêtres. Parfois, on les enterre dans les endroits devenant mystérieux et mystiques à l'exemple de la morale du conte n° XXIII du corpus oral titré *Les écologistes de Maghet Tamgak* qui dit en substance : « les anciens disent que jadis, Maghet fut habitée par des saints ; selon la croyance populaire, leur mémoire protège cet endroit enchanté, où l'abattage des arbres reste impossible, protégés qu'ils sont par des gardiens invisibles ». Parfois aussi, on enterre les morts dans la case qu'ils occupaient avant la mort : « A Dougouba le cimetière aussi avait disparu et les morts continuaient à vivre avec les vivants ; ils étaient enterrés dans les cases » constatait le personnage principal d'un conte de Birago Diop, (1961), dans *Les contes d'Amadou Koumba* (Sarzan, 1961: 178). Dans le même symbolisme mortuaire, le Sergent Keita, personnage principal du conte, a voulu offenser « l'âme des ancêtres morts » et il a été châtié par ces derniers. Devenu fou, il ne fait que clamer que les morts sont toujours avec nous :

« Ceux qui sont morts, ne sont jamais partis
 Ils sont dans l'ombre qui s'éclaire
 Et dans l'ombre qui s'épaissit,
 Les morts ne sont pas sous la terre
 Ils sont dans l'arbre qui frémit,
 Ils sont dans le bois qui gémit,
 Ils sont dans l'eau qui coule,
 Ils sont dans l'eau qui dort,
 Ils sont dans la case, ils sont dans la foule,
 Les morts ne sont pas morts » (Diop, 1961: 180)

Même si la mort nous est prédestinée, elle est pourtant une réalité dure à accepter et nous mesurons à quel point l'homme est impuissant devant cette

œuvre divine. Cette conviction est évoquée dans le récit n° XVIII du corpus, intitulé « *La criante du trépas et l'ange tourmenteur* » aux vers suivants :

1-«Zaynən-ehānən-asrir

Ah ! mon logis est bâti du gravier,

2-Wār təqezān eškarān

Que l'on ne creuse pas d'avec les ongles

3-Aṭṭəqqāzān-igəlžām-tyəzfa-aməzrayān-meḍden

Ce sont les hommes qui la creusent avec des haches et des pioches

4-As-tu-takā-nāmənkāy

J'y vais en étant transporter

5-Wār-ôrgeza-s-idārān

Je n'y vais jamais à pied

6-Wār-ôrgeza-s-ifasān

Je n'y vais ni avec des mains

7-As-tu-takkā-əxleḍa

J'y vais déguiser,

8-Wār-dəs-agəṇā

Sans en être conscient

9-Asəsmälälāyān-feḷli

Quand s'en retournera le cortège funèbre

10-Əsleyi-yərgəgə-yāgən

J'entendis un bruit terrifiant,

11-Nāk-γela-yən-n-āḍu

Moi pensant que ce sont les frémissements du vent arrivant

12-Zaynən-əngalôzānnet

Ah ! ce ne sont que ses anges tourmenteurs

13-Əlāmān gari əd-tyəḍnen amôsān s-əri asərmey

Les anges tourmenteurs se dressent au-dessus de ma tombe,

14-Əngalôzân-əbdadân

S'y tenant debout

15-Tännən-anəyāt-təknă

Ils disent que le dessein est accompli

16-Wăr-ərmeɣa-wâ-môlân

Sans que je n'y voie ce qui est bien ou bon ! » (Extrait du corpus, récit

N° XVIII du corpus).

Cet extrait de la poésie pieuse mortuaire touarègue traduit la douleur éprouvée par tous les humains lorsque survient la mort en même temps qu'il nous émet aussi des réflexions quant à la précarité de notre vie. La mort n'est pas envisagée comme étant la fin de la vie. Cette croyance a sûrement été renforcée avec l'Islam. Ainsi, la langue tamasheq révèle les différentes significations qui lui sont données : quand quelqu'un meurt, les Kel Adagh disent « *Abat* » qui veut dire littéralement : il est perdu » ou « il a disparu », alors que pour les autres êtres, on dit « *ammut* » qui veut dire il est mort. Les morts sont désignés par « *Amassakul* », c'est-à-dire « le voyageur », « *Emihédjidj* » signifiant littéralement « le pèlerin » ; « *Ininmuttan* » qui signifie littéralement les morts, de « in » = (ceux) et « *muttan* », de « *ammat* » = « mourir ». On les désigne aussi par le mot : « *imizaran* », littéralement « les devanciers ». (Mohamed, 2009: 75).

Ainsi, lorsqu'il s'agit pour les Touaregs d'étayer une opinion et surtout d'éprouver l'impuissance humaine face à certaines vicissitudes de la vie, ils font recours aux enseignements de la parole traditionnelle « tpls » à l'exemple de cette sentence proverbiale :

Tamattant / wpr / tpla / amagal

Mort / ne pas / elle (acc.) avoir / remède

A la mort point de remède.

Se dit à l'adresse de quelqu'un qui pleure un mort et face à une situation sur laquelle on n'a pas prise. L'homme n'a aucune force, aucune arme face à cette fatalité qu'est la mort. Il ne peut que se résigner devant une telle situation. Derrière la fonction socioculturelle et littéraire apparente de la parole proférée, foisonnent un intérêt stylistique et esthétique qui mettent en scène des formules « magiques » fonctionnant sous le mode du registre fantastique ou du merveilleux dans lequel s'invite le surnaturel. Il y a dans la rhétorique quotidienne un ensemble des motifs d'une grande valeur idéologico historique et religieuse. En cela, pour exécuter ou réaliser une œuvre de volonté pure, le mage par exemple procède à une déclamation incantatoire qui débute toujours par la formule suivante : « *Yallah...* Dieu » Ainsi, cela prouve allusivement que la religion revêt une grande importance dans la vie de cet individu. Toutefois, de nos jours de nombreuses expressions telles « *salam-aleikum* » qui veut-dire en arabe que la paix soit sur vous, tout comme « *bismillaahi* » littéralement « je commence par le nom de Dieu » pour commencer à manger ou à travailler ou encore « *wallahi* » qui veut dire au nom d'Allah, se présentent comme des valeurs culturelles et sociales qu'en simples faits de religion. En fait, rien n'est sans signification profonde en Afrique. C'est ce que Lylian Kosteloot (1980) souligne dans *la poésie traditionnelle* : « La religion est extrêmement importante en Afrique parce que l'animisme investit la vie quotidienne, la poésie religieuse abonde. On a même dit que tout art était religieux en Afrique ». (Kesteloot, 1980: 41). Dieu est, en effet, évoqué dans toutes les entreprises de l'homme et l'on considère l'art comme étant un don de Dieu, il ne peut donc évoluer sans le surnaturel qui doit se mêler à tout : « *Bismilla wālaḫḫāwli bismillatān ar pœœa* » autrement dit « Proclamons jusqu'à sept fois le nom de Dieu » clame la chorale de forgerons au vers I du chant V du corpus. Cette conviction est également exprimée dans les vers suivants respectivement dans les chants VI et XV du corpus : « *Yaòò-ak d Pnnpbi wa n wa n iyyān* traduit par Par Dieu

et le prophète » et / ou « Bismilla wāla ʔālaʔarwayo traduit par Au nom de Dieu le Très Miséricordieux ma grâce ! ».

En somme, il ne fait aucun doute que des motifs profanes ancestraux se sont effacés et que bien des éléments religieux ont fait leur pénétration dans la philosophie nomade. Néanmoins, la société touarègue, malgré l'existence de l'écriture tfinagh, et tous ses schèmes culturels est demeurée encore au stade de l'oralité qui véhicule l'éthique, les normes, les sagesses, les comportements, les us, des réalités tangibles dans l'espace et le temps : devinettes, proverbes, contes et mythes y tiennent une grande place dans le contexte de production du savoir. Inscrit en 2013 sur la liste du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité par l'Algérie, le Mali et le Niger, inzad matérialise l'instrument artistique et emblématique de la tradition touarègue. Tous les instruments de la musique touarègue, qu'il s'agisse du Tende (mortier en bois transformé à l'occasion en instrument de percussion, ou de l'inzad (vièle monocorde) et ses autres éléments comme la caisse de résonance et la peau de chèvre qui la couvre, le chevalet, la corde en crin de queue de cheval, la flûte en écorce de racine de l'acacia, sont tirés des espèces animales et végétales se trouvant dans les écosystèmes immédiats. Inzad est une musique méditative, épique et festive à la fois. Sur ses mélanges captivants s'associe une voix masculine célébrant la poésie sur des thèmes universels de l'amour et de la guerre ainsi que l'illustre l'image ci-dessous de la séance d'inzad.

Figure 1. Poète & Joueuse traditionnels de la vielle monocorde Inzad au festival de l'Aïr – Iférouane 2017, Image Mohamed Ghoumane



Dans le registre de ses diversités, la musique d'inzad enveloppe des chants interprétés en chœur et rythmés par les battements de main et, plus rarement, accompagnés par sarewa ou la flûte traditionnelle. Cet ensemble musical consacre ainsi des airs entiers à la description et à l'évocation de certaines espèces animales emblématiques, élégantes comme l'Autriche (anhil), l'addax(tenirt), ou à l'imitation de la danse de cheval, de l'antilope, la démarche d'un homme boiteux ou encore une belle femme au regard souligné de khôl, la grandeur de la tribu, les héros de légende, la joie de retrouvailles ou encore des berceuses pour les enfants etc. Dans la société traditionnelle, la poésie à travers ses airs entiers rythme les réunions du soir et tous les temps forts de la vie sociale. Reflet de la culture, elle est chantée au son de l'inzad, violon monocorde qui a un pouvoir sacré qui calme les esprits et adoucit également les comportements. Revêtant la mémoire populaire, elle fait partie de la vie de tous les jours, tant elle assure la pérennité de la langue tant elle contient l'histoire du terroir dont elle rapporte les traditions et les valeurs endogènes. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que ce sont de nombreux aspects de

la vie touarègue qui sont portés par les airs de tende et les poèmes de l'inzad. La poésie comprend dans la région de l'Aïr quatre genres principaux (Albaka & Casajus, 1992) ; la poésie élégiaque, uniquement récitée, tout comme la poésie guerrière, anime les réunions nocturnes, véritables cours littéraires, tandis que la poésie chantée se diversifie en poésie exclusivement chantée, d'inspiration religieuse, comme chez les Peuls, et poésie avec accompagnement instrumental ; font partie de cette dernière catégorie les chants de mariage, dévolus aux « forgerons » et accompagnés d'un orchestre de tambours des tambourins, et de danses, les « chants de chameaux » et les chants de danses exécutés, lors des fêtes religieuses ou des mariages, par des femmes(...), au rythme d'un tambour fait d'un mortier obstrué par une peau de chèvre ou d'un tambour d'eau (demi-calebasse renversée sur une bassine remplie d'eau), tandis que les jeunes méharistes se livrent à un carrousel ou que les jeunes dansent devant les chanteuses. (Baumgardt & Derive, 2008: 164).

3. La parole voilée et thérapie

Dans la croyance Touarègue, le son d'Inzad (le violon) a un pouvoir sacré car en plus de calmer les esprits, il adoucit également les comportements. Disposant d'un pouvoir surnaturel qui rend plus fort et plus intrépide, Imzad illumine aussi l'ardeur et le feu indomptable de l'amour de la Dame. Un récit renseigne à cet effet : « *On raconte qu'une fois, un jeune homme assis loin du feu écoutait les sons de l'Imzad quand il sentit lui enrôler la jambe un serpent venimeux qui doucement remonta jusqu'à sa cuisse et la serra. Pour ne pas interrompre la musicienne, ni effrayer les femmes présentes à l'Ahal, le jeune homme pris sa lance et d'un coup vif, il la planta vers la tête du serpent tout en traversant sa propre cuisse* ». (Goual Doghmane Fatima, 2009). Ainsi, on ne peut s'empêcher face aux dimensions

morales- expressives du pouvoir de la musique d'inzaḍ, d'évoquer les interconnexions entre la thérapie par les chants d'exorcisme chez les Touaregs de l'Air. En effet, les expressions gestuelles (dances) et instrumentales à travers Tende (ensemble instrumental et musical traditionnel) orchestrées par les chants populaires de possession sont animées par une chorale mixte de musiciennes traditionnelles et prennent une forme magico-thérapeutique organisée autour d'une femme possédée effectuant une danse en position assise ou debout (balancement de la tête et du corps). Ces expressions revêtent des vertus psychothérapeutiques à l'exemple de *tende ngumat* qui a été souligné par de nombreux chercheurs chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar (Faiza Seddik Arkam, 2016: 139-159) et ceux du Niger. (Khawad, 1979 & Susan Rasmussen, 1992). Ce rituel qui concerne souvent les problèmes féminins liés à la sexualité, la puberté, la maternité, a lieu en plein air dans la journée ou nuitamment, est dédié à une personne dite « *tanisgumat* » celle qui est atteinte ou affligée par les génies d'où l'expression « *gumat* » expliquant et exprimant la ronde autour du malade qui est habité par les Kel esuf (les djinns). Pendant ce spectacle musical de possession, les femmes et les hommes autour de *tende* accompagnent la possédée en battant de mains et en chantant, tandis que les hommes en position assise ou debout claquent les mains et émettent un bruit de gorge appelé « *taxemxemt* ». La séance débute par une mélodie forte, syncopée, destinée à provoquer la transe (*egalled*), et dont le rythme rapide va amener le malade dans le monde des Kel esuf, « objet de ses peurs et de ses désirs) (Khawad, 1979:81). Puis le rythme se ralentit, accompagné alors des poèmes tristes chantés par les femmes. Un peu plus tard, le thème mélodique change de nouveau pour s'achever sur des mélodies douces, décrivant un paysage joyeux de la vie sociale. Un dialogue se noue ainsi entre le malade parmi les siens. Ce changement de rythme correspond aux variations des rythmes destinés aux génies. Dans la pratique, les variétés des mélodies, des rythmes et des rituels correspondant aux différents types de chants sont connues chez

les Kel Ewey de l'Air. Deux phases d'ensorcellement par les génies justifient et nécessitent le recours à la musique traditionnelle face à la maladie : la première est liée à la perte de la parole et est interprétée comme une conséquence d'une attaque des Kel esuf qui procède par niveau, et l'expression touarègue « *wattent Kel- esuf* », veut dire que cette personne a été « frappée par les génies », *madrûb* (m), *madrûba* (f) en arabe, et qu'elle nécessite un exorcisme. Dans la seconde phase l'état de l'envoûté(e) peut nécessiter des méthodes plus radicales, telles que l'exorcisme pratiqué lors des rites de possession religieux et thérapeutiques, que l'on nomme « *tamagrawt* » en tamasheq, qui se réalise par le biais de l'imposition des mains de la part d'un lettré ou de *rokia* (en arabe) « incantation » « désenvoûtement » par le biais du souffle et du coran. Ces deux procédés rituels sont pratiqués par les *tolba* ou *pnpslpm* (en tamasheq ou encore marabout). Certains d'entre eux feront appel au sacrifice d'un animal « *izni tizirwen n-izni* », indispensable au rituel, nommé selon les circonstances *sedqa* ou *feйда* en arabe et *takute* en tamasheq. (Faiza Seddik Arkam, 2016). La thérapie par la musique traditionnelle targuie tout en ayant une trajectoire emblématique avec certaines valeurs sociales, représente une mosaïque assez expressive d'une musicienne et sa chorale autour du *tende*. Susan Rasmussen (1992), cité par Faiza(2016) qui décrit la fonction thérapeutique du *tende* chez les Touaregs du Niger où elle concerne également les hommes dans un passage de Hawad (1979) décrit aussi l'une de ces cérémonies autour de *tende* : « *Le malade vêtu de son costume de fête parfumé, muni d'un sabre afin de lutter contre les mauvais esprits, est amené au milieu du cercle formé par l'assemblée* » (Khawad,1979,:80). Les recherches de Susan Rasmussen relatives à l'étude de la possession féminine touarègue chez les Kel Ewey de l'Air se basent sur les critères esthétiques dans la danse. Voici comment elle la décrit : « les femmes nobles, dit-elle, touchées par l'infortune et l'invasion des génies, sont amenées à danser tout en s'imposant des critères esthétiques à respecter : « La danse de la tête, en tant que mouvement gracieux et contrôlé,

et son trope central oscillant comme la branche d'un arbre encapsulant des symboles culturels essentiels afin de les rendre presque acceptable en termes esthétiques et symboliques parmi les nobles Touaregs traditionnels. Cependant, ce mouvement laisse supposer que l'on est malade, ou seul, ou dans un état de sauvagerie ayant besoin d'exorcisme » (Rasmussen 1994:75). En résumé, le *tende n gumaten* ne se limite pas au pouvoir symbolique, artistique, et magique. Il est plus orienté vers une vocation traditionnelle d'ordre psychopathologique et sociologique, en ce sens que le *tende* de possession en milieu touareg, décrypte un espace de communion et un espace thérapeutique dans la mesure où l'espace dévolu à la possession bannit toutes les barrières de classe et de statut en prônant la réintégration du malade dans le groupe, sa resocialisation. D'autre part, pour chasser les génies pouvant être à l'origine d'un profond mal-être chez une personne, les Touaregs ont parfois recours également aux plantes médicinales, aux croix, aux amulettes ayant été fabriquées avec art. La tradition des croix pourrait être liée à la croyance très ancienne aux esprits (*Kel-Essuf*). Le lustre d'argent incorporant des feuilles munies des écritures saintes, lui aussi devrait protéger du regard insolent. Portées par les hommes et femmes, les croix furent jadis exclusivement utilisées comme bijoux d'hommes. La transmission de la croix comptait pour un rite d'initiation pour le passage à l'âge adulte. Leur forme citée peut-être la tête de la selle du chameau ou l'astérisme « croix du sud » et renvoie aux quatre points cardinaux. Les formes caractéristiques sont appliquées sur la robe tout comme le pantalon aussi comme broderie d'argent. La célèbre et emblématique croix d'Agadez dite « *tenegelt* » en langue Tamasheq, indispensable pour l'élégance, aurait un aspect magique et protégerait contre le mauvais œil et les influences maléfiques de toutes sortes. Il existe plusieurs hypothèses quant à son origine : l'une d'elles y voit le souvenir d'un passé chrétien du peuple berbère. Ce symbole se retrouverait dans la forme de pommeau de la selle du chameau. Une autre hypothèse voit dans les trois (3) points et l'anneau de suspension, la symbolisation des quatre

points cardinaux tandis que certains spécialistes soulignent surtout son symbole sexuel, car elle représenterait d'une manière très stylisée à la fois le sexe de l'homme et celui de la femme. Elle serait alors apparentée à toute la symbolique phallique venue de Méditerranée et d'Orient. L'on peut enfilier les vingt une (21) croix connues au Niger tantôt seules tantôt en plusieurs exemplaires. Les femmes touarègues et les jeunes filles portent alors leurs croix préférées lors des cérémonies festives traditionnelles sur des fines cordelettes de cuir ou de coton et se confectionnent ainsi un collier personnalisé.

4. Conclusion

Le contexte de la production orale des Touaregs de l'Air s'enrôle autour d'une charpente confédérale et est bâti sur l'art poétique de la parole proférée -voilée dite encore « awal » ou « tpls » qui cimente les interlocuteurs, qui sert de pacte, de serment et alimente divers champs de savoirs tant endogènes qu'allogènes. Il prend corps et s'élève dans le sillage du système linguistique des autres langues africaines où ces sont les hommes qui parlent. En réalité, le fait de parler, de manier une langue est, ce qui, pour beaucoup de cultures africaines, caractérise l'Homme, l'être humain. La parole est ce qui distingue l'Homme et autres êtres vivants. Il s'exprime par la parole et on s'adresse à lui aussi par celle-ci. Les Touaregs s'appellent eux-mêmes Kel Tamasheq « gens qui parlent le Tamasheq » « c'est -à- dire la langue touarègue » (...) se donnent aussi le nom de Kel Awal « gens de la parole ». (Drouin,1987:77). Néanmoins, l'interprétation de la parole proférée traditionnelle par diverses approches théorique et méthodologique, glisse vers une problématique posée et illustrée par Amadou Hampaté Ba en ces termes : « Dans les civilisations orales, la parole engage l'homme, la parole est l'Homme d'où le respect profond des récits traditionnels légués par le passé, dont il est permis

d'embellir la forme ou la tournure poétique , mais dont la trame reste immuable à travers les siècles , véhiculée par une mémoire prodigieuse qui est la caractéristique même des peuples à tradition orale. Dans la civilisation moderne, le papier s'est substitué à la parole. C'est lui qui engage l'Homme. Mais, peut-on dire en toute certitude, dans ces conditions que la source écrite est digne de confiance que la source orale, constamment contrôlée par le milieu traditionnel ? » (Ba, 1972: 25). C'est tout le sens du plaidoyer en faveur de la parole proférée traditionnelle dont le moindre mérite est de s'être frayé une voie dans la dynamique de l'interdisciplinarité dans le milieu académique. S'agissant de la parole « awal » chez les Touaregs, il était remarquable, hier comme aujourd'hui, de mentionner que les canons de savoirs de la production orale s'appréhenderaient dans des processus, des symbolismes, des valeurs, individuels et collectifs, aux sources proverbiales, mythiques, légendaires, anecdotiques, idéologiques, historiques voire identitaires culturellement édifiées en miroir de la société.

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I- Le corpus cité (textes oraux évoqués), auteur Mohamed Ghoumane

Chant1 : enregistré, transcrit et traduit par nous -mêmes en 2006 en cassette audio & vidéo.

Chant2 : enregistré, transcrit et traduit par nous -mêmes en 2016 en cassette audio.

Chant V : Tare⁴

1- Bismilla wälaxxäwli bismillatän ar pœœa

Proclamons jusqu'à sept fois le nom de Dieu

2- A¾lu wa yplän ehän-wa Npg-ak ässalam n älœer

Et toi ! Jeune marié propriétaire de cette case nuptiale - on te lance un salut de paix !

3- Ässalam aßleykum tähul-kik tadaggal(t)-näœ

Salutations à toi, tu as le salut de ta belle mère

4- Tähul-kik tadaggal(t)-näœ tpg-ak ässalam n älœer

Tu as le salut de ta belle-mère, un salut de paix

5- Tpg-ak almalif tilla

Elle te fait une ombre des nattes en palme de dattiers

6- Tpg-ak älxarir tidba

Elle te fait des lits en *alharir*⁵

7- Tpg-ak tamatir (t) yälles

Elle te lègue la responsabilité de sa fille

8- Pkkpl-as-tät afälla den dpnnpj tijiten-net

Elève-la au-dessus de ses compagnons d'âge

⁴ « Tare » est la dénomination Tamasheq de ce rituel du mariage qu'on peut relier au verbe « *aru* » « aimer ». Il est exécuté nuitamment par les hommes toute catégorie confondue au moment où la mariée est conduite en cortège vers la tente nuptiale.

⁵ Le lit de la jeune mariée est tendu de soie très souvent chez les Kel Aïr.

- 9- Spwpr-as-tāt edāwdāw
Monte- la sur un sommet (une éminence condition)
- 10- Ma tewāy tpfuk d aæu
Qu'elle ne marche pas sous le soleil et le vent
- 11- Ma tpscāwwān ifāydān, ma tprāwkārāw ibyāf
Qu'elle ne suit pas les chevreaux, qu'elle ne transporte pas les vieilles outres
- 12- Ta³/lut ta n tāsāgomās(t) as tpspnbāf teske macpkkāt tāha telke
Jeune fille qu'habite le charme parental elle a eu son éducation au bas âge
- 13- Tāmōs tāfagak ger kāllān
Elle est un *afagag*⁶ entre le campement
- 14- Ta s d-iyāæamān i³/ikilān wpyaæ uōāmān bpkurnen, wpyaæ yolāsnen
Lequel visiter par des prétendants, certains à chameaux jeunes, d'autres aux galants de sa quête, à chevaux l'ont déjà courtisé
- 15- Igā' abārjawel ger igefān
Il est fait des affronts courtois entre les buissons
- 16- Taggal(t)-net tpwār anu
Sa dot est sur le puits
- 17- Timpknin-tāt aypmas
Ses proches se la montrent
- 18- Timpknin-tāt s iæpæwan.
Ils se la montrent en la doigtant.

Récit XVIII : La crainte du trépas et l'ange tourmenteur, teghaytalt ou la poésie élégiaque

15. Tæzzār nægāz a³/ihār ahān maḏāwatannet
Nous assistâmes aux retrouvailles où étaient présents ses prochains

⁶ « Afagag » désigne est synonyme de ce que l'on appelle « *tashaghar* » en Aïr, ou encore (*Acacia raddiana*) résistant à la sécheresse et demeure une espèce pionnière bien adaptée à la région aride. La mariée est ici comparée subtilement à ses compagnes d'âge, mais également présentée dans ses vastes proportions. Elle a été convoitée par des prétendants. Le célèbre arbre du Ténére était un acacia raddiana.

16. A-tu maḡahān nəmḡāxān
Ils lui célébraient des louanges
17. Ar-kiwān ahān tyənnət
Dont chacun s'en mêlait sans interruption,
18. Kiyyā wā anābi tanfus
Ah ! ce prophète-là est une grande figure
19. War nināy i³/₄əlānnet
Il est emblématique,
20. Wān āḡadəm anābzōḡ
Lui – l'être humain est fou
21. Anābzōḡ war-ən yoga
Un fou sans vision
22. Amažhol war-ān yoga
Un incrédule ignare
23. Wās tə³/₄kām tāyāt alxāl
Inculte plus que l'allure d'une chèvre
24. Wās tə³/₄kām tāyāt alxal ən-ze tawufāt tazəl
Inculte plus que l'allure d'une chèvre qui s'effraie pour fuir
25. Tā-ze tawufāt tazəl arwān taqqəl-dû
Qui s'effraie pour fuir mais fini par revenir
26. Er šiqqāl awuzlunet yəḡrāḡas ažil wəyhā
Tout voyageur méconnaît son jour de voyage (voyage auquel il n'aura pas de retour)
27. Mi-zeyagruwān alžanāt...
Qui aura le paradis...
28. Yəmiskəltāt aduniya ...
Et le préférer au monde d'ici-bas... ?
29. Yəmiskəltāt aduniya šəyšāḡnāt tyəžilennət
Le préférer au monde d'ici-bas bâti d'une vie courte et vilaine,

30. Er šiqqāl awuzlunet yədrāgas ažil wəyhā
Tout voyageur méconnaît le jour de son voyage (voyage auquel il
n'aura pas de retour)
31. Amur wān azālāyṭās yəškāl feḷ tegənzānet
Sous la tranchante lance dressée pour des impératifs
32. Əndābā-γas isəkwan
Sauf seulement à moindre coup,
33. Yəfōkik-dū tərteka
Tôt, un jour, tu y succomberas
34. Tällān māḍalān feḷlāk
Sous les pleurs et plaintes amers de tes précieux géniteurs
35. Tanārzamān izərwān
Se rétrécissent tes veines
36. Tagāṭṭamān issəyrās
Se déchiquètent tes articulations
37. Tətāqqāl tassā tyəswāt
Ton foie étendu devient des ramifications nattées
38. Gān atkəlāt sənsāt
Qui sans cesse s'entrechoquent et se détrônent
39. Adāmāgruwān lāllān
Les nobles croyants se retrouvent
40. Yəgmatān-du əməleḷli
Pour désigner le plus pieux,
41. Wā yəzəgzānān yāllāh
Celui qui est le plus dévoué à Allah
42. Yəknān asilel n-āmān edāg žōkāy alwāllā
Répand une dalle d'eau sur ton corps pour le purifier par des ablutions.
43. N-āwər təḍābut nəglu
Puis l'on est hissé sur le brancard en partance

44. Wār nassen-dā se-nəkkā
Sans savoir où l'on va
45. Təkle arbət-rəbət azzāl
Départ à l'improviste mêlé d'empressement
46. Zaynən ehānən akey
Ah ! Je vais à mon éternelle demeure.
47. Zaynən ehānən asrir
Ah ! mon logis est bâti du gravier,
48. Wār təqezān eškarān
Que l'on ne creuse pas d'avec les ongles
49. Aṭṭəqqāzān igəlžām tyəzfa aməzrayān meḍden
Ce sont les hommes qui la creusent avec des haches et des pioches
50. As-tu takā nāmənkāy
J'y vais en étant transporter
51. Wār ōrgeza s-idārān
Je n'y vais jamais à pied
52. Wār ōrgeza s-ifasān
Je n'y vais ni avec des mains
53. As-tu takkā əxleḍa
J'y vais déguiser,
54. Wār dəs agəṇā
Sans en être conscient
55. Asəsmālālāyān feḷli
Quand s'en retournera le cortège funèbre
56. Əsleyi yərgəgə yāgən
J'entendis un bruit terrifiant,
57. Nāk yəla yən n-āḍu
Moi pensant que ce sont les frémissements du vent arrivant
58. Zaynən əngalōzānnet
Ah ! ce ne sont que ses anges tourmenteurs !

59. Əlāmān gari əd-tyəḏnen amôsan s-əri asərmey
Les anges tourmenteurs se dressent au-dessus de ma tombe,
60. Əngalôzān əbdadān
S'y tenant debout
61. Tānnən anəyāt təkñā
Ils disent que le dessein est accompli
62. Wār ərmeyā wā mōlān
Sans que je n'y voie ce qui est bien ou bon
63. Immôs wān amələlli yodənān d-iməliḷlā
Si c'est un fervent fidèle, il fera fusionner aux fidèles
64. Afəntyə-dû takārḏenet s-afus wān ayilənnət
Ils lui donnèrent son répertoire de foi coranique avec sa main droite
65. Yamôra-dəs eyafnet yəsān a-ze das-ānu
Qu'il découvre consciencieusement et intelligiblement en sachant comment leur répondre
66. As-asəḡān kāy mi-kəyəlan
Quand ils me diront : À qui appartiens-tu ?
67. Nākku wā kuwān yəlān azəlān
Je leur dirais : J'appartiens à celui à qui vous appartenez.
68. Immôs wān amegewi yodinān d-imigəwa
Si c'est un délictueux, comptable parmi les abominables pécheurs,
69. Tafəntyəḏ takārḏenet s-afus wān təzelgenet
Ils lui concédèrent son répertoire de foi coranique avec sa main gauche
70. Yagəlgāl dəs eyafnet yəxrāk a-ze das-ānu
Qui lui fait tourmenter la tête, ne sachant comment leur répondre
71. As-asənān kāy mi-kəyəlan
Quand ils lui diront : A qui appartiens-tu ?
72. Nākku kāwani azəlān
Il leur dira : J'appartiens à vous.

73. Wāрге nəkani akiyəlān
Ce n'était pas à nous que tu appartiennes.
74. Wā danəyəlān akilān
Tu appartiens à celui dont nous sommes du lignage.
75. Immos nekāni akilān
Si tu nous appartiens,
76. Akkāł ən tyənādennāk
Alors, gare à ton destin !
77. Asrāfen dəs essassar
Ils l'enchaînèrent
78. Wās tōlyāt tənadənnət
D'avec une chaîne aux gros nœuds
79. Aləžgen-tū wā mōlān
Et le secouèrent scrupuleusement,
80. Ažərāzu arurinet
Jusqu'à tordre son dos,
81. Agəren-tū d-ən dərba
Ils l'engloutissent dans un fossé étroit
82. Wās zagrət aderənnət
Très long et démesurément profond
83. Wās āba ațāmōl wəyhā ahanāțu tyəzərdām
Où s'y trouvent au grand désespoir des scorpions
84. Vātasnāt tyəsəlāđnet
Qui lui émiettent ses facultés humaines
85. Ahānāțtu tyəšelen
S'y trouvent des serpents
86. Vātasnāt tākəyyenet
Qui décapitent sa dépouille
87. Immōs wayhān alyāləm
Si c'est un des zélés religieux

88. Yənnān aṭkəl eṃāfnet
Conscient d'y l'être, tête haute ; Ils lui diront :
89. Tyənaḏennāk igrāwnāt
Tes desseins sont sur la bonne voie
90. Immôs wān amegewi
Si c'est un délictueux,
91. Yodinān d-imigəwa
Comptable parmi les affreux pervers, ils lui diront :
92. Aru-kək t-ahe-dinet
Il y avait longtemps tu fus resté en vie,
93. Mā-tāmôs tamāzāl-nāk
Quelles furent tes bonnes œuvres ?
94. Wār təšyula dəy zāmmān
Tu n'avais pas œuvré ni au jeûne (ramadan)
95. Wār təšyula dəy māḏḏān
Tu n'avais pas non plus œuvré ponctuellement dans les prières
96. Tile tulāmen n-ayər tile tyən n-əzabin-āk
Tu tins une richesse des chamelles pour les caravanes en direction de
l'Est et du Sud
97. Tile tyən awuzlunāk war-tû tægga tākute
Tu eus celles (chamelles) de tes randonnées, mais tu ne fis pas
d'aumône,
98. Wār təšəlša kel iḏḏən.
Et tu n'assistais pas ceux de la foi divine

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**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FAILED ELECTION
IN 1993 FOR NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC
DEVELOPMENT**

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FAILED ELECTION IN 1993 FOR NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Election plays a vital role in a system of representative democracy. In Nigeria, the history of elections has been a chequered one. From 1964, 1979 to 1983 elections in Nigeria, experience shows that the country failed to conduct credible elections which will move the country to a higher rung on the democratization ladder. Thus, successive elections in Nigeria lacked the essential ingredients of democratic electoral processes. However, the June 12 1993 Presidential election remains a watershed in the history of elections in the country. The election was adjudged the most peaceful, and the freest in Nigeria's post-independence political history. The results of the election were not released by the military government with no justifiable reason. All domestic pressures to make the military allow the winner, M.K.O. Abiola assumed presidential office proved abortive. The 1993 presidential election explains the important roles of individuals, civil society organizations, opposition parties, and foreign countries in terminating authoritarian regime in Nigeria. The paper posits that the June 12 1993 presidential election was very significant for three obvious reasons. First, it allowed Nigeria to slightly conform to the global norm of democracy. Secondly, Nigeria became an encouragement for other countries in Africa in returning to democratic rule. Thirdly, Nigerians were more enlightened to reject any government coming to power through military coup. Arising from the foregoing, the paper concludes with some recommendations on how to consolidate democracy in Nigeria.

Key words: June 12 election, Nigeria, military, democracy, democratic development

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1. Introduction

The importance of election in an ideal society cannot be underestimated. Central to the whole ideal of democracy is the issue of elections. In theory and practice, there cannot be any meaningful and durable democracy without a free, fair and credible election. In the same vein, elections provide an important arena for ensuring political equality between citizens, both in access to public office and in the value of their votes. Okoosi-Simbine (2008) seem to have buttressed this point when she argued that: “citizens’ inputs into the process through which they are governed, via elections are important components of democracy being that they can provide direction for government in its policies and programme implementation, assess performance and ultimately ensure accountability and development”.

Though election is not a sufficient condition for democracy, it is a necessary process. As such, a system of government cannot be regarded as democratic if it does not result from choices of parties, politicians and policies made by citizens through free and fair electoral rules, processes and administration. Therefore, democracy is built on the outcome of a credible election.

In the history of Nigerian politics, especially since independence, electoral conduct has been rather problematic. This is due to the fact that electoral conduct in the nation’s political history has been marred by fraudulent practices, corruption and violence. In 1960, Nigeria experimented with parliamentary democracy fashioned after the British model. It was however truncated in 1966. It was only after 13 years in 1979 when the Second Republic began. The Second republican government likewise collapsed in December 1983. Having had to contend with various military governments since the collapse of the Second Republic in 1983, the country had progressively lost all the known vestiges of democratic values of accountability, rule of law and the flourishing of fundamental civil and

political liberties (Umar, 2009: 374). Though the military coup makers have their own agenda, however, it must be noted that the political elite and electoral commissions easy their task by the way they conducted elections and the contested nature of the outcomes of these elections.

However, the “globalization of democracy” and the universalization of popular demands for political freedom, participation, and accountability necessitated the West to tie the extension of aid to democratization from military and/or one party and/or personal rule to pluralistic and multi-party rule. This prompted General Ibrahim Babangida regime to initiate a transition programme in 1987. Although President Babangida saw it as a strategy for the perpetuation of his rule, it backfired with the events that followed the cancellation of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election. This paper seeks to analyse the significance of June 12 elections and the consequences on democratization project in Nigeria. It shows that the attainment of democracy in 1999 stems from the internationalization of the cancelled June 12 presidential election.

This paper is divided into four parts. The first part attempts an overview of elections in Nigeria. The second part highlights as well as criticizes the Babangida’s transition programme and the cancellation of the June 12, 1993 presidential election. The third part examines the internationalization of the June 12, 1993 presidential election and consequences on democratization in Nigeria. The fourth part concludes the paper.

2. An Overview of Elections in Nigeria

The first national election in Nigeria was conducted by the Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) in 1959. It has been observed that no party emerged with a clear majority in the December 12, 1959 Federal Elections, thus creating a political stalemate. After a week of political bargaining during

which an NCNC/AG Federal Coalition was mooted, an NPC/NCNC Federal Coalition Government emerged, with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (NPC Deputy leader) appointed as Prime Minister, and Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe (NCNC leader) appointed president of the newly created Upper Chamber of the Federal Parliament, the Senate, and subsequently, the Governor-General of the Federation in succession to Sir James Robertson (Akinsanya, 2005: 21). To be sure, most Nigerians agree that the political parties of the First Republic performed very poorly, especially when one focuses on the violent and rigged general elections of 1964 and 1965. In addition, the inter-party negotiations and bargaining that followed the 1959 federal elections revealed that the leading politicians were not totally committed to consensus politics and that they are therefore willing to experiment with competitive politics including the idea of an institutionalized opposition to the government (Adamolekun, 1985). These in turn led to the formal collapse of the First Republic on January 15, 1966.

The collapse of the First Republic ended the practice of British Westminster model, and put Nigeria under 13 years of military rule. The 1979 general election ushered in the Second Republic from October 1, 1979 with a Presidential system of government. The Second Republic collapsed on December 31st, 1983 when the military struck again by overthrowing Shagari administration. As observed by Forrest (1995: 86), two cardinal points stand out about the conduct of the 1983 elections. First, the independence of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was subverted by politicians and the ruling party. Second, there was rigging on a massive scale at all stages of the electoral process sufficient to throw results of the election into doubt. In fact, the reaction of Nigerians and most political parties to the merit of the 1983 presidential election was swift, strong, and generally hostile.

Following the demise of the Second Republic in 1983, the military government headed by Major-General Muhammed Buhari had his mind set on one major problem: clearing Nigeria of the endemic problem called

corruption. It must be added that in spite of its glaring excesses, repression, high-handedness and political insensitivity, the Buhari administration through the introduction of War Against Indiscipline (WAI), succeeded to a large extent in curbing bad behaviour of Nigerians and gave the nation a more purposeful sense of direction. But the Buhari administration was terminated on August 27, 1985 in a palace coup which brought General Ibrahim Babangida into power. The coup came into effect because the Buhari administration failed to see that it was necessary to provide a political agenda within which to pursue its economic reform and its social and moral crusade. In fact, the Buhari administration neither initiated a political transition programme nor promised any future elections.

3. Babangida's Transition Programme and the June 12 1993 Presidential Election

The Babangida's transition programme began with the setting up of a Political Bureau in 1986. The Bureau made several recommendations to government some of which were accepted by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), while others were thrown out. For example, while the Bureau did not suggest a new political model for the country, it urged the Babangida administration to fall back on the presidential system as the best option, and the government accepted. The government also accepted the recommendation that a two-party was best for Nigeria, just as it turned down socialism which the Bureau prescribed, but preferred that both parties should accept the national philosophy (welfarism) of government as enunciated in paragraph 53 of the White paper (The Political Bureau Report, 1987).

The political transition was supposed to terminate with the presidential election on December 5, 1992. It must be noted however, that the Babangida administration has shifted the original handing over to civilians twice. In

fact, the final years of the Babangida administration were marked by gross manipulation of the transition process. There were series of unpredictable interventions, rule changes, and postponements, which stretched the life of the regime to eight years and tried the patience of Nigerians to breaking point. Constant interference in the political process gave rise to acute political uncertainty and raise fears about the future of the country (Forrest, 1995: 233). For instance, the cancellation of the presidential primaries of October 1992 was based on widespread cases of electoral mal-practices by the presidential aspirants of the two political parties and their executives (Forrest, 1995). There was little ideological difference between the parties, the National Republican Convention (NRC) leaning to the right and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) tending to the left. But as it unfortunately turned out the two attempts that were made by the NRC and SDP to choose their presidential flag bearers ended in a fiasco.

From the foregoing, the executives of the two political parties were accused of irregularities in the conduct of the primaries. It was alleged that the executive of each party had candidates which they favoured to win and manipulated the process so that their candidates could emerge winners. Due to public criticisms of the process and opposition to the results declared by the executive of the two political parties, National Electoral Commission (NEC) was directed by the federal government to investigate the conduct of the primaries and report its finding to the AFRC. General Babangida in announcing the cancellation of the presidential primaries and disbandment of the party executives, cited cases of the use of money to induce voters, falsification of results, over-voting etc. When civil society rose in strong protests, Babangida slated June 12, 1993 as the date for the Presidential election to produce a civilian president for the country.

The June 12, 1993 Presidential election represents a watershed in Nigeria's political history. By the beginning of the series of ward, local and state primaries that culminated in the revised national primaries and conventions

of the parties in March 1993, the electorate had become deeply dispirited, and the civilian political class humiliated and depleted by the violent gyrations and elongations of the transition programme. Notwithstanding the air of pervasive cynicism, however, the rescheduled primaries were conducted without any major incident or controversies (Suberu, 1997: 308). In the party primaries in Port Harcourt and Jos respectively by the NRC and SDP, Alhaji Bashir Tofa emerged his party (NRC) flag-bearer while Chief M.K.O. Abiola got the SDP ticket, through the option A4 method. As a southerner, Abiola symbolized the fervent desire of several elements in the south to break the virtual northern monopoly on national political leadership. Yet, as a prominent Muslim, Abiola did not excite the traditional northern Muslim antipathy for “southern infidels”, and could count on the support of several moderate and progressive politicians in the North who were willing to concede power to the South in the interests of equity and national unity (Suberu, 1994: 309).

However, an attempt was made to stop the holding of the elections through a state-sponsored, *albeit* illegal organization, called “Association for Better Nigeria” (ABN) led by Senator Arthur Nzeribe. The Association on June 10 got a 9.30 p.m injunction of an Abuja High Court stopping the elections slated for June 12, 1993. The National Electoral Commission acting on the directive of President Ibrahim Babangida and the power vested in the Commission by the Transition to Civil Rule Decree, Decree No 13 of 1993 declared that no court can stop the elections as planned on June 12, 1993. Thus, on June 12 voters turned out to vote for the candidate of their choice under a calm and peaceful atmosphere. The elections monitored by observers from more than sixty countries endorsed it as free and fair, and to the Nigerian population, the best held elections in Nigeria (Omoruyi, 1999).

Indeed, observers agreed that the election was very well conducted. Results of the presidential election as compiled by NEC showed that the flag-bearer under the ticket of the SDP Chief M.K.O. Abiola was leading his NRC

counterpart, Bashir Tofa. The SDP won nineteen out of thirty states, including Kaduna and Kano with the support of former governors Balarabe Musa and Abubakar Rimi and three states in the south-east. The NRC suffered high abstention rates in the northern states where well-known candidates like Adamu Ciroma, Umaru Shinkafi, Shehu Yar'Adua and Bamanga Tukur had earlier been barred from contesting (Forest, 1995: 236). The SDP captured 56% of the overall vote with substantial support in all regions.

On June 15 1993, an Abuja High Court presided over by Justice Dahiru Saleh restrained NEC from announcing the results, which nevertheless had already been made available to the public and media locally and internationally. This court injunction was swiftly countered by High Court rulings in Benin, Ibadan, Lagos and Awka and challenged by NEC itself at the Kaduna High Court of Appeal. On 21 June, however, the Abuja High Court invalidated the presidential election on the grounds that it had been conducted in defiance of a court order. On 23 June, when a hearing was scheduled to commence on NEC's action at the Kaduna Court, the Federal Government intervened abruptly and decisively to suspend the Electoral Commission, annulled all actions and judicial proceedings on the presidential election, and revoke all relevant legislation relating to the transition programme. (Suberu, 1997: 309). The way was then open for the elections to be cancelled on the totally unconvincing grounds that the reputation of the judiciary needed to be protected. Subsequently, in his broadcast to the nation on June 27, 1993, Babangida gave the reason why the June 12 presidential election had to be cancelled. He alleged breaches of the rules and regulations of democratic election, sighting the use of money to the tune of billions of naira by the two presidential candidates in the June 12 election.

Quite obviously, opposition to the cancellation of the elections came not from the parties but from extra-parliamentary opposition groups that originated in Lagos, though they had wider support. They included the

Campaign for Democracy (CD), a coalition of forty-two human rights organizations, the June 12 movement, the Association for Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria (ADGN), Civil Liberty Organizations (CLO), Universal Defenders of Democracy (UDD), Constitutional Right Project (CRP), and Movement for National Reformation (MNR). Through conferences, seminars and symposia, these organizations were able to educate the people on their rights. Also through the use of handbills, pamphlets and posters, the pro-democracy groups were able to mobilize the people to undermine the authority of the military government. Despite a strong clampdown on the press and the detention of poor democracy supporters by security services, these organizations were able to maintain a vocal position to the government and played a key role in terminating Babangida's administration. It is also worthy to note that the activities of this group not only pushed Babangida out of power but made the illegal Interim National Government (ING) set up by Babangida impotent.

4. The Internationalization of the June 12 Crisis

While the internal factors created the enabling environment to discredit the military government over the cancellation, the external influence was also important in putting pressure on the government to return the country to democratic rule. Apparently, international reaction to the cancellation was very negative. Barely 24 hours after the June 12 presidential election result was cancelled by the Federal Military Government, a statement from the state department in the US said:

The United States government note with deep concern, the Nigerian military regime continuing refusal to release the results of the June 12

presidential election and its suspension of the country's transition framework (The Guardian, 1993: 1).

The US reacted by suspending non-humanitarian assistance to Nigeria, reducing the level of military personnel exchange between the two countries, reviewing all new applications for exports of defence articles and services to Nigeria, imposing restrictions on the issuance of American diplomatic visas to Nigerian officials, and advising prospective American visitors to avoid Nigeria (Suberu, 1997: 311). Later, the US suspended direct air links with Nigeria because of the security situation at the Lagos airport and declared Nigeria a major drug trafficking country (Forrest, 1995: 238).

Britain also reacted to the cancellation of the June 12 presidential election. A statement from the British foreign and Commonwealth office said: the cancellation of the result of the election "is bound to harm our friendship". This statement was followed by announcement of sanctions on the military class which include, suspension of military training courses provided for members of the Armed Forces, suspension of assistance to the National War College (now National Defence College), review of new aid to Nigeria, all preferential treatment to official of the federal and state government and parastatals with regard to visa applications, would stop (The Guardian, 1993: 13). Canada also suspended Nigeria's eligibility for Canadian sponsored military and police training, cancelled an upcoming visit to the country by a delegation from the Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies and advised Canadians to defer all travels to Nigeria (Suberu, 1997: 311).

In addition, Japan, Germany and the 12 member European Community (EC) expressed serious concern with the decision of the military to cancel an election adjudged free and fair worldwide.

It is imperative to state here that the Nigerian government considered this imposition of sanction, as external interference in its internal affairs. However, in Akinterinwa's view, such foreign intervention in the course of

democracy in the country was timely. Akinterinwa succinctly puts it as following:

In the New World Order, the Europeans are saying that democratization is and will be a non-negotiable issue so that is the signal by those sanctions. The implication for Nigeria is that military dictatorship will not be accepted in international relations (The African Guardian, 1993, pp. 25-26).

The internationalization of the June 12 presidential election was not limited to the Western countries. Also, Nigerians resident in the United States and Britain protested the cancellation and called for pressures to be put on the country's ruler by the international community to force the government of Nigeria to rescind its decision to cancel the June 12 election. In the same vein, the activities of National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) in abroad were also significant in the struggle for the actualization of Abiola's mandate. NADECO-abroad was mainly coordinated and effective in three major countries – United Kingdom, United States of America and Canada.

With the exist of Babangida, the demise of ING and the coming into power of General Sani Abacha, NADECO abroad were very vibrant in ensuring that Nigeria conform to global norms of democracy. To be sure, a preponderant number of the NADECO-Abroad executive were based in the United Kingdom where they also learnt about and networked with several other groups particularly the New Nigerian Forum, Nigerian Liberal Democrats, Nigerian Organization for Democracy with Integrity, Association for Democratic Movement of Nigeria, African Democratic League, Justice Nigeria, Nigerian Patriotic Front, African Liberation Support Company, National Strategic Committee, International Movement for Democracy in Nigeria, Now Group, United Democratic Front for Nigeria (UDFN) and National Liberation Committee of Nigeria (NALICON) (Momoh, 2012: 45).

NADECO in abroad organized programmes, rallies, conferences, and briefings to Nigerians, foreign audiences and sympathizers with the Nigerian struggle to actualize the June 12 mandate. Radio Kudirat and Radio Freedom, though not established by NADECO – Abroad, had many NADECO activists and supporters serving as regular commentators in projecting and propagandizing on the Nigerian cause (Momoh, 2012: 47).

Although Chief M. K. O. Abiola was not installed as the president, the internationalization of the June 12 struggle was very significant for three obvious reasons. First, it allowed Nigeria to slightly conform to global norms of democracy. This was clearly seen in the transition programme of General Sani Abacha within the context of his “home – grown democracy” idea. The drama came to an anti-climax when all the five political parties which were set up, funded and run as government parastatals, adopted General Sani Abacha as the sole presidential candidate (Kukah, 2003). But the crisis reached a climax with the death of General Sanni Abacha on June 8, 1998. He was succeeded by General Abdulsalaam Abubakar, whose first task, according to his Maiden Broadcast to the nation, was the holding of a new election for the return to civil rule as against popular demand by the civil society for the installation of Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola who was still in detention. General Olusegun Obasanjo who was imprisoned for his alleged roles in abortive *coup d’etat* against General Sanni Abacha Administration was immediately released while Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola was still detained because he refused to renounce his claim to the presidency although he later died on July 17, 1998 in mysterious circumstances. Meanwhile, General elections were slated for April 1999 and indeed, did take place as scheduled, and on May 29, 1999, retired General Olusegun Obasanjo who was the military Head of State from 1976 – 1979 was sworn in as the country’s Second Executive President.

The second symbolic reason for the internationalization of June 12 Presidential election was that Nigeria became an encouragement for other

countries in Africa in returning to democratic rule. Nigeria has been a prime promoter and an advocate of democratic rule at least in West Africa sub-region. Nigeria's influence in West Africa was enhanced by Abacha regime's bold decisions of May 1997, to reverse a coup d'état in Sierra Leone. Nigerian military forces intervened to restore an elected government that had been overthrown by rebellious soldiers. The paradox of a military dictatorship opting to play the role of guardian against military usurpation abroad baffled many observers. However, the rationale for this action was evident in the chorus of approval from top ranking officials of the Commonwealth as well as the OAU (now AU). When the OAU (now AU) Summit of May 1997 convened in Zimbabwe, Nigeria, which had been a divisive factor in African councils, suddenly occupied a central place in the continental consensus of support for political legitimacy. The organization formally approved the use of military force by its West African members to restore the legitimate government of Sierra Leone (Sklar, 2001: 274). Also, the Abacha regime installed democratic rule in Liberia at a time Nigeria had not even attained democracy. In addition, the Obasanjo led civilian administration resisted regime changes through coup d'état in Sao Tome and Principe when the country's President Frederique de Menezes was in Nigeria to attend the Leon Sullivan Summit. The Nigerian government ensured the return of de Menezes to power and president Obasanjo even accompanied him back to his country (Idachaba, 2009: 313). Another instance was in Guinea – Bissau where the government of Kumba Yala was ousted. Although Yala was not seen as a symbol of good leadership for democracy and he himself saw the futility of returning to power, Nigeria and other countries ensured commitment to an immediate commencement of a transition programme to civil rule in Guinea – Bissau. Consequently, a transition government not headed by the army chief was immediately installed. In this sense, the internationalization of the June 12 struggle and the subsequent Nigeria's return to civil rule was the most consequential event on the African continent since the overthrow of apartheid

in South Africa. It led to the African Union, for the first time adopting a rule refusing to admit to membership any government which came to power through a military coup (The Nation, 2013: 4).

The third significant reason arising from the internationalization of the June 12 presidential election is that Nigerians were more enlightened to reject any government coming to power through military coup. Since May 29, 1999, Nigeria has had a peaceful transition programme from one civilian government to another (1999 – 2007, 2007 – 2011 and 2011 – 2015). Despite current strains and stresses in the political environment, the future prospects for the survival of democracy in Nigeria as opined by Fafowora (2013: 64) are quite good and definitely better than ever before. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the military will seek to return to power again. But this is not simply because military rule in Nigeria stands discredited. The fact is that the conditions that made military rule possible have ceased to exist. The most important of these was a consensus among the political class in support of civilian democratic rule. Today, the politicians have built up a consensus in support of civilian democratic rule in Nigeria that the military will have considerable difficulty in breaking (Fafowora, 2013: 64). Even more pertinent is the fact that Nigerians are more aware of global rejection of military rule backed by the African union and the international community.

In the final analysis, the internationalization of the June 12 1993 presidential election has a positive influence in pushing the military off the political scene. The various sanctions imposed on Nigeria are aimed at forcing the military rulers to return the country successfully to democratic rule. The march to democratic rule after the cancellation of the June 12 1993 presidential election by the military government drew international attention because of the important position Nigeria occupies in Africa. These sanctions were used as an instrument of pressure on the Nigerian government until the international community is convinced that the government in Nigeria reached an irreversible stage in the march to democracy.

5. Concluding Remarks

The June 12, 1993 presidential election represents a watershed in the annals of Nigeria's political history. The election was globally adjudged the most peaceful, fair and free in Nigeria's post-independence political history. The voting pattern on June 12 suggests that the election was not based on religious and ethnic bigotry. It was the first time in the world legal history, when a citizen of a country was given mandate through the ballot boxes by his people and would not only be denied the access to the office by a military junta but also charged for treason and eventually died in detention in a mysterious circumstance. Civil society and pressures from the international community lend their voices to the call for the return of democracy in the country. Specifically, international reaction to the cancellation of the election brought about a fundamental change for Nigeria to embrace global norms of democracy.

The story of the June 12, 1993 debacle has become Nigeria's narrative for over two decades. Nigeria's democracy founded on a fault line, has remained askew since then. Elections are still Nigeria's problematic issue as witnessed in the crisis that engulfed Nigeria's Governors Forum (NGF) in 2014. It is remarkable that ethno-religious crises in Nigeria which the Abiola mandate would have curtailed are even more alive and well today, ravaging the country now more than ever. Democratic space has continued to constrict over these decades with successive governments ignoring the basic tenets and conveniently neglecting to build institutions that would enhance civil rule and orderly conduct of governance (The Nation, 2013: 19). However, as Nigeria is preparing for another general election in 2019, it is imperative for Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to open the political space in order to ensure transparency in the elections. Thus, genuine electoral arrangements as witnessed in the June 12, 1993 elections will foster good governance and at the same time consolidate democracy in Nigeria.

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**LITERATURE AS A SOURCE OF LINGUISTIC
THEORIZING:
THE HAUSA NOVEL, *RUWAN BAGAJA*, IN FOCUS**

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LITERATURE AS A SOURCE OF LINGUISTIC THEORIZING: THE HAUSA NOVEL, *RUWAN BAGAJA*, IN FOCUS

Malami Buba*

Abstract

In addition to sharing a common heritage of culture and identity, the connection between language and literature is a common collocation in our disciplinary activities. This connection is also maximally exploited by the best writers to project local concerns onto a communication platform with universal resonance. However, there is a resistance in utilising literary texts as sources of linguistic data, largely due to the prominence given to speech over writing in linguistics research in general. Using a pragmatically informed and discourse-based deictic framework, I show how the story world of a (Hausa) literary text, such as *Ruwan Bagaja*, can be deployed in the analysis of demonstratives, adverbs and related coherence phenomena. This (participant-based) approach has been used elsewhere to describe elements of deixis in Hausa. In this article, my major concern is to explain how this approach works and why its deployment is especially useful in context-sensitive linguistic elements, such as the Hausa deictic forms I have used as data extracts from the classic Hausa novel of quest and (mis-) adventures, *Ruwan Bagaja*.

Key words: Hausa, Deixis, pragmatics, *Ruwan Bagaja*, story world

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1. Introduction

The connection between literature and language is a constitutive fact of our knowledge system, and this has been a well-known truism since ancient times. Both literature and language share a common heritage of culture and identity, and their underlying messages have always rung true for all humanity at all times (Gifford, 1969). Our writers have turned to the most phantasmagoric realism in order to capture the imagination of humanity, irrespective of the language or genre they muster to proclaim the universality of their message (Ching et al., 1980). And it is no coincidence that one of the defining characteristics of all writers and good writing is the ability to appropriate language in ways that elevate the most mundane matter to the zenith of intellectual enquiry. Shakespeare, Proust, and Achebe bore these gifts of making local concerns of the day become objects of universal introspection, long after the recorded events had lost their local resonances. So, for example, Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* - itself an apocopated title of a bygone poem, Soyinka's *The Road*, Kane's *Ambiguous Adventure* all seem to possess that magical quality of universalizing the lived experience of a community through a uniquely identifiable linguistic style, hence their continued reverence and relevance even in predominantly oral cultures such as ours.

Ruwan Bagaja (1966 [1933]) is an iconic literary tour de force that clearly deserves to be viewed in the same light, given its illocality and breadth of imagination, all captured in its masterly first attempt at literary experience in Hausa (East, 1936; Furniss, 1996: 21-25). Thus, it is no coincidence that this incredible little book - 44 pages in length - has been celebrated in a multi-disciplinary and multilingual way (Bunza & Noofal, 2013, as RBJ celebrated its 80th anniversary).

2. The Linguistic Perspective

Perhaps, the one small gap in previous discussions of the nature of literary enterprise is its utility as a source of linguistic theorizing, an area that I have chosen to comment on with particular reference to Ruwan *Bagaja*. In the rest of the paper, I explore why this gap remains. I then describe my own attempt to fill this gap through a series of context-sensitive and data-driven studies of a number of pragmatic phenomena through the dialogic scenarios of Imam's *Ruwan Bagaja* (See especially, Buba 1997; Jaggar & Buba 1994). I also discuss the challenges of using written narrative extracts in capturing the pragmatic nuances of a tone-discriminating language, such as Hausa. Finally, I suggest ways of overcoming these challenges in a fairly non-technical way. This is, however, not to say that elements of narrativity have not been studied within the broader view of comprehension (see, for example the foundational works of Bartlett, 1932; Minsky, 1981; Rumelhart, 1975; Schank and Abelson, 1977).

2.1 The linguistic journey into literature

Linguistics has always prided itself as the science of language (Saussure 1966 [1959]), typically pursued as a lonely vocation with just the linguist and his/her intuition to serve as the sole evidence of the 'real' language of everyday encounters. For much linguistic theory, the major aim is not to describe language, but to understand the nature of its speciation as a unique human attribute. In fact, there are linguists who wish to dissociate language from its functional role as a communicative tool, by focusing more closely on the biological origin, and its connection to other evolutionary systems, such as human vision (Chomsky & McGilvary, 2012; Buba 2014). Since this is the underlying assumption, there is no need to concern a linguist with any 'real' language, let alone its literate written medium as a source of data. Of

course, this is by no means the only conceptual premise upon which language is studied and theorized upon. Functionalist approaches continue to point to the utilitarian role of language as a ‘tool’ for making sense of, and ordering, the world around a specific linguistic community (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Everett, 2012; Babadoko, 2013). Here too, there are linguists who have pointed to the spatial (locational-gestural) origin of language; that it is the real world of a community that shapes a language, and not vice-versa (Whorf, 1956; Levinson, 1983, 1996; Fuchs, 1993; Bühler, 1990; Buba & Ibrahim, 2013).

Thus, while sharing a lot of theoretical sympathy with the intuitionists, one should not dismiss the large number of theoretically informed empirical studies of language, including the utilization of connected narrative texts such as *Ruwan Bagaja*. (A pioneer analysis of this phenomenon is the subject of *Deixis in Narrative* (Duchan et al, 1995).) And it is to this text that I turn my attention, by examining its utility as a ‘linguistic’ text.

3. *Ruwan Bagaja*: The Narrative Context In a Linguistic Framing

Let me now briefly sketch this well-known and universally available ‘quest’ narrative. *Ruwan Bagaja*, sometimes *RBJ*, tells the story of Abubakar Imam, an alter ego of the writer, who sets out on a journey to find the cure to an ailment that has afflicted his benefactor. The story is told with an audience gathered around the narrator, as was the custom for Hausa tales (Ahmed, 1986; Furniss, 1996). Having successfully collected the curative water with which to heal the ailing king, as well as the entire land of the Sudan, Imam sat down to relive his moments of madness, comedy and heroism during his adventurous journey into the world of humans and the universe of other

beings, including (ring) genies. As is typical with quest journeys, every hero (Imam) has his sparring villain (Zurke), against whom we are invited to measure all those well-known heroic qualities of valor, courage and bravery (or foolhardiness!) (See Kirk-Greene, 1974; Buba, 2010). The context of evaluation by the audience, often, is a vivid depiction of a story world that is unmistakably Hausa in organization and presentation. It is a world of kings and courtiers, princes and princesses, eunuchs and concubines, merchants and mendicants, the poor and the slaves, as well as the market square and its hustle and bustle of buying and selling and the swindles that take place therein. See Fillmore (1975, 1981) for a detailed definition of context and its internal and external manifestations.

Typically, there is a story under-world beneath the grand quest narrative, and it is this intertextuality that provides the arena of contestations, competitions and conflicts between characters, ideas and ideals. For example, there is the contest of epistemology between Imam and Zurke early in the story (p. 9), where Imam, dismissed Zurke's erudition of all the Islamic classics with a boomerang, half-moon shape riddle (tones and vowel length in all Hausa extracts supplied by the author):

(1) [Imam describes how he tricks an unsuspecting audience]:

baayan an nàtsu, an yi shiruu, na shaarè kasaa, sai kà cêe màì shirin haddii, na zaanà wata àlaamàa hakà ... na dùubi Malam Zurke na cêe, “mèenee nèe wannàn?” (RBJ: 9)

‘after all is quiet, I wiped the sand, as if I was preparing for a reading, I drew a sign thus ... looked at Malam Zurke and said: “what's this?” ’

After many attempts at solving the puzzle using religious symbolisms of the Arabic alphabet, Imam went into overdrive in criticism of Zurke's contextually more appropriate answers with a literal (half-moon) meaning of

a line in the sand! Unsurprisingly, the naivety of Zurke is only dwarfed by the absolute illiteracy of the common folk; so throughout the book, there was never an encounter in which Imam was shown off as the charlatan and con artist that he really was!

Thus, an elaborate story of journeys, adventures and escapades of multinational, multicultural and multilingual dimensions, which is itself within yet another story-world framing (Duchan et al., 1995), represent an excellent source of linguistic theorizing about the nature of mutual knowledge and language understanding (Clark & Marshall, 1981) Such framing requires deictic anchoring of participants in relation to a variety of spatio-temporal axes within the story world – what Duchan et al (1995:13) refer to as *existents* and *events*, as I show below. Consider (2)-(3), where the narrator is taking us through one of the arenas for displaying his sophistry and deceptiveness (deictic form and its English equivalent underlined throughout):

(2) [narrator asks servants seated in front of a big house]:

shîn gidan wàanee nèe wannàn? (RBJ: 1)

‘whose house is this?’

(3) [homeowner comes out of his house, sat down and enquires about the stranger he has just noticed]:

wannàn fà, wàanee nèe? (RBJ: 1)

‘this [one] who’s he?’

We might as well be lost in a real town, and be enquiring about how to get our bearings, but we are in fact in the fantasy world of Imam and his gullible victims!

Temporal anchoring, on the other hand, abounds throughout *Ruwan Bagaja*, because it is the major means of anaphoric and cataphoric reference that writers deploy to help a reader keep track of events and actions, as these episodes unfold in the narrative context, as in (4)-(6) for anaphora and (7)-(9) for cataphora:

(4) [at the beginning of *Ruwan Bagaja*]:

na farkoo dai ... suunaanaa Alhaji Imam. Ùbaanaa kùwa wani bàbban maalàmii nèè ... koo dà shi kèè màalàmin nà̀n bâa shi dà ðaa naasà na cikinsà, yanàa dà wani agòolà (RBJ: 3)

‘first ... my name is Alhaji Imam. My father was an erudite scholar ... although the/this scholar does not have a child of his own, he has a stepson’

Subsequent mention of Imam’s (bàbban maalàmii) father is indicated by the anaphoric definite article -`n in (5) and (6), even though there is a time lapse of up to three days between the two mentions (of bàbban maalàmii)

(5) [Imam continues to narrate his own family background]:

baayan kwaanaa ukù cikin tuuruu, sai maalàmín ya cêè à sàkee shi (RBJ:4)

‘after three days in jail, the Malam ordered his release’

(6) [Imam continues with this storyline]:

dà akà sàkàr ya daawoo gidaa dà baacin rãi ... Daree nàa yìi, ya ðauki takòobinsà na yaakii, ya shìga túraakar maalàmín, ya murðèe masà kái (RBJ: 4)

‘after his release, he returned home very angry ... As night fell, he picked up his war sword, got into the scholar’s private room and broke his neck’

Cataphora is an anticipatory device that is used by writers to give readers a preview of the drama ahead, and also to leave out non-essential details of the story - based on assumption that this can be supplied by readers or context, as in:

(7) [Sàkiimu attempts to complete the job by killing all of his adopted father's widows]:

àbîn dà ya fĩ kyâu sai in halàkà maatan nànn huđu dukà ...' sabòò dà hakà sai ya sàami gubàa, ya yi ta baa sù dai sunàa mutuwàa anàa cêewaa bakin cikin rābuwaa dà maalāmīn nee ya kashèe su (RBJ: 5)

'the best thing to do is to banish these four women...' so he got some poison and kept on giving it to them, and as they died, there were talks of grief over the loss of the scholar killing them'

(8) [narrator describes his cave adventure in search of drinking water]:
sabòò dà hakà na kuutsàa kàinaa ciki, na yi ta shigaa. Can naa yi zurfii dà táfiyàa sai na ji an cêe, "Kâi! Mùtùm koo àljân?" (RBJ: 6)

'so, I went deeper inside. As I got further in there, I heard a voice saying, "Hey! Is that a human being or a spirit?"'

(9) [an old man is asked about the location of *Ruwan Bagaja*]:

Ruwan Bagaja dai yanàa cikin kasar Irami nèe, kasar Irami kùwa kasar cèe ta àljānuu. Ruwan Bagaja kùwa maa bàa nan, kasar yakè ba, yanàa can bisa wani doogon duutsèe dà akèe kirànsà Duutsèn Kaf (RBJ: 35)

'Ruwan Bagaja is in the land of Irami, and Irami is a land of the spirits. And Ruwan Bagaja is not found even there; it is at the top of a tall mountain called Dutsen Kaf'

Clark & Marshall (1981:35) defines these ‘memorables’ as ‘... things everyone knows and assumes everyone else in that community knows too...’

In addition to these discursive and narrative devices, numerous cohesive deictic-stylistic elements will be harnessed, such that brevity is eschewed without distorting the vividness of the many worlds of Abubakar Imam’s imagination. For example, extracts (10)-(13) underscore the different signpostings available to Imam, not only to compress his thoughts, but also to engage the addressees in examining, for themselves, the scenic context being portrayed:

(10) [Imam is as usual taking advantage of Zurke’s naivety]:

baayan saaduwarmu sai muka ci gaba da tafiyaa, har muka isa wani garii muka tafi faada, sarkin garin ya saa aka yi mana masaukii muka sauka. Ran nan, sai da na bari sarkii yaa fitoo daga masallaacii sai na kaama Zurke da bugu (RBJ: 13)

‘After we met, we continued with our journey until we reached a town where we went to the palace, where we were hosted by the chief of the town. One day [then], I waited until the king came out of the mosque, I went after Zurke, punching him’

(11) [Imam is trying to bribe his way out of a court case]:

tôo yanzu zaamani nê dai na wanda baa mai gaskiyaa sai mai sulêe. Nan da nan mai baakin cin rashawaa ya birkita maganar ya baa ni gaskiyaa (RBJ: 12)

‘well, you know this is a period where money talks. There and then, the greedy [judge] turned the case on its head and I won’

(12) [Imam returned to bribe the judge]:

dà dare na kaawoo wà Àlkaalii waɗànnan, na koomàa na shiga
shagàlii dà saurân ... Rân nan na fita wàje (RBJ: 12)

‘at nightfall, I brought the [bribe] to the judge, and pocketed the rest
for my enjoyment ... One day [then], I went out’

It turns out that these intertextual strategies are the very sources that a participant-based pragmatic study of deixis will require if it is to have any credibility, and the reasons are predictable (Jaggar & Buba, 1994). First, deixis is inextricably connected to the real world of ‘pointing’, ‘demonstrating’, ‘indexing’ and ‘gesturing’ - labels that have been used by scholars to define deixis itself (Bühler, 1990 [1934]; Fillmore, 1975). For example, in order to properly identify the referents of Hausa demonstrative forms, symbolized here as WANNAN and WANCAN, the addressee must be able to monitor the actual physical location of the object (relative to both interlocutors) by following the pointing gesture of the speaker, as in (13)-(15):

(13) [speaker points to an object]:

mèenee nèe wannàn?

‘what’s this?’

(14) [speaker indicates size of an object]:

girmansà kàmar wannàn

‘it’s as big as this’

(15) [speaker hands out a cash gift to someone who’s about to set out
on a journey]:

gàa wannàn shi à shaa ruwaa

‘here’s this for water’

This semi-experimental activity will require a researcher of Hausa demonstratives to set up spatial scenarios within which to discover their proper anchoring. It is, however, often very difficult to do so with more than a couple of informants, and their judgments are not always in agreement because of the higher order language competence required for pragmatic interpretation of linguistic elements (see Ching et al., 1980 and related references therein). One can see the vital role of *Ruwan Bagaja* in this kind of semantic-pragmatic research environment, with its vivid presentation of a ‘typical’ Hausa community network of palace gossip, city center and market chitchat (Furniss, 1996; Malumfashi, 2009; Bunza & Noofal 2013). At any rate, recreating these networks in an experimental exercise with informants negates the linguistic methodological principle of utilizing naturally occurring data as evidence of a language phenomenon. Below, is an inventory of the kind of anaphoric (discourse-based) data informing this kind of pragmatic research (see also Buba, 1997; 2007: 3):

Table 1: Participant-based adverbial and demonstrative system and its interaction with anaphoric deixis

	Proximal	Distal
Speaker	<u>nân</u> gâba ‘going forward’, <u>nân</u> baaya ‘awhile back, gâa ‘here is’, <u>nân</u> kusa ‘shortly’, <u>nân</u> jiyà ‘just yesterday’, gâa àbîn dà ya cèe à <u>nân</u> ‘here’s what he had to say <u>here</u> ’, <u>nân</u> dà (gòobe) ‘by tomorrow’, ukùn <u>nân</u> ‘these three’, jiyà-jiyàn <u>nân</u> ‘only yesterday’, gâa wannàn takàrdaa ... ‘here’s this paper’ vs. gâa takàrdar <u>nân</u> ‘here’s the paper’, à <u>wannàn</u> lookàcìi ‘at this time’	* <u>cân</u> gâba, *cân baaya etc. ?? à <u>wancàn</u> lookàcìi ‘at the time’ *à lookàcin <u>cân</u>
Addressee	<u>nân</u> sai ‘then’, <u>nân</u> dà <u>nân</u> ‘there and then’, dàgà <u>nân</u>	

	<p>sai ‘from then on’, <u>nan</u> take sai ‘immediately [then]’, *sai <u>nan</u> gàba ‘until then’, ukùn <u>nan</u> ‘those three’, jiyà-jiyàn <u>nan</u> ‘that very yesterday’, gàa mu <u>nan</u> ... ‘we’re there’, à <u>wànnan</u> lookàcìi ‘at that time’ vs. à lookàcìn <u>nan</u> ‘at that very time’</p>	
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The second, and perhaps, more important reason why *RBJ* is especially useful in the study of Hausa deixis, is that Imam, like many novelists with a melodramatic orientation, relies heavily on a well-founded assumption that the mutual knowledge of target readers can be harnessed to supply missing pieces of information, which exigencies of space and/or elaboration may lead to willful or unintended omission (Clark & Marshall, 1981). In fact, this is the case with *Ruwan Bagaja*, as evidenced by East’s exhortation to Imam, requiring him to ‘... cut out, and adjust the connecting passages’ (Mora 1989: 23, quoted in Furniss 1996: 20). By maximally utilizing the full array of cohesive markers, readers not only appreciate the complexity of the embedded social context of Imam’s characters and their local as well as ethereal habitats, their attention is also captured through the signposting strategies that inhere in these intertextual markers of foregrounding. These strategies are employed to summarise and connect relevant localities and time frames, as noted above, and in (16)-(19):

(16) [Imam describes one of his deceitful adventures]:

hakà na yi zamaa gàrin nan àbin girmamàawaa (RBJ: 31)

‘that’s how I stayed in that town as well-respected’

(17) [similar context to 16] :

sa’àn nan ... akà cêe yà baa dà làabaarin (RBJ: 35)

‘then ... he was asked to narrate the story’

(18) [Imam pulls up a convincing act]:

duk àbîn dà mukà yi dà kanènsà na mayar masà, ya cèè hakà nan nèè,
ùbansù dāya (RBJ: 35)

‘whatever we did with his younger brother, I narrated to him, and he noted that to be the case; that they were of the same father’

(19) [Imam is planning his rescue]:

inàa nan inàa shaawàrwari sai na ga an zuroo gùngaa (RBJ: 41)

‘as I stayed there thinking, I saw a water jug being released’

Such strategies are also used to capture metaphorical vividness, as in (20)

(20) [a description of their struggle]:

gàa mu nan munàa tuuki, in faadi nân, iskàa yà tuuràa ni cân ... (RBJ:
40)

‘and there we were canoeing; I’ll be pulled here, the wind will push me there ...’

In addition, Imam uses these discourse markers to contrast the temporal distance between coding and reference time, typically using addressee-based, empathetic/emphatic *nan dà nan sai* ‘there and then’ and remote-distal *can ... sai* ‘much later, then ...’. See extracts (21)-(22) below:

(21) [a girl meets her future husband]:

dà ta ji hakà sai ta buudè idò, ta cèè à dāuràa manà auree taa yi mijiii!

Nan dà nan akà dāuràa manà auree dà ita (RBJ: 14)

‘when she heard that she opened her eyes and asked for the wedding to commence, as she has found a husband! There and then, our marriage was blessed’

(22) [a coding time encounter]:

can zuwàa là’asàr sai na ga waðansu Filàanii zâa su yaawòn sharò
(RBJ: 13)

‘much later in the afternoon, I saw some Fulani on their way to *sharo* game’

Similarly, if mutually held beliefs about an event or element are implicated, its introduction as a new referent can be anchored on these beliefs by deictically coding the element as old information. Thus, mentioning the tamarind tree and its occult effect for the first time in another of Imam’s classic works, *Magana Jari Ce*, is casually described as *tsamiyar nan* in (23); see also (24) below:

(23) [Màisàngo’s explanation of the sudden disappearance of the king]:

tun ran dà mukà daawoo goonaa sarkii ya bar mù baaya ya sakoo tàakamaa ya zoo gindin tsamiyar nan ... ya sàuka yà yi sallàa. Dà na zoo na gan shì nan duk ràinaa ya ɓaaci (MJC: 70)

‘since our return from the farm, the king left us behind and galloped on and came to that tamarind tree ...got down and prayed. When I arrived, I met him there I was not happy’

(24) [a ploy to scare a messenger]:

ai kòo hanyar nan bâa ta dà kyâu, àkwai ’yan fashii cikin daajin nan ... (MJC:14)

‘that road is not good; there’re bandits in that forest ...’

The point is that it is these linguistic devices that undoubtedly helped both Imam and East to intertwine real and imaginary worlds, urban and rural settings, good and evil deeds and similar binary oppositions. It is also these excellent pragmatic properties embedded in *RBJ* that make the novel a data miner's companion for discourse-based research. Interestingly, Imam's (1938/9) *Magana Jari Ce* has also been put to good linguistic use in one of the first discourse-based studies of Hausa (Jaggar 1983; 1985; Jaggar & Buba 1994)

4. Challenges and Opportunities

The real challenge in using a literary text as a source of linguistic data, hence, of theorizing, remains how to capture the inferences, the unspoken encounter, the hidden nuances and the vividness of natural language in a textual world of the imaginative writer. Although providing a story base before data presentation does serve some purpose, context is too broad and elusive as to be sketched out in a shorthand description. At best, the immediate dialogic parameter of interpretation is highlighted. But the foundational elements require real-world knowledge for their activation, and this kind of knowledge is not universally and equally distributed to all native speakers. Semanticists working within the information structure framework are now trying to look for context in the deeper recesses of lexical relations, in order to minimize the intrusion of the broader context of interpretation and evaluation (Féry et al, 2007; Krifka, 2007)

Another challenge posed by the literary genre to linguistic theorizing relates to word order and its pragmatic import. Languages, such as Hausa, can exhibit a variety of subtle distinctions, which appear to embed themselves in the ordering of the same lexical element, as is the case with deictic

demonstratives in Hausa. Compare, for example, the difference between proximal *wannàn takàrdaa* vs. *takàrdar nàn*, or the addressee-based *wànnan tsaamiyaa* vs. *tsaamiyàr nan* and so on. One trick that could yield some results inter-textually is to conduct a basic frequency count to determine which of the two orders is the most dominant, and then examine their cohesive distance and echo within the wider story world of the novel. It is possible to draw general principles from this system, but it is also possible to confirm theoretical assumptions by the sheer preponderance of a particular discourse strategy. I have worked with both hypotheses over the years (Buba, 2000)

Yet another impediment can manifest itself in the opacity of the orthography of a language. Hausa has the singular disadvantage that its writing system under-specifies the phonological complexity of the language. Since tones and vowel length are not indicated, and the deictic coding of demonstratives and adverbials is tonally signalled (cf. *nân* vs. *nan*; *cân* vs. *can*; *wannàn* vs. *wànnan* etc.), the role of the native linguist is especially daunting. Assuming that one is linguistically sophisticated enough to be able to ‘hear’ and transcribe tones, there will still be the not insignificant dialectal variable that could creep in to mar any generalizations. A good tactic is to ask as many native speakers as possible to read passages aloud as one records them. Ideally, these informants should come from a wide variety of dialect areas of the language, including speakers of the ‘standard’ variety.

5. Concluding Remarks

Any linguistic research that seeks to uncover the subtleties of language use in context has to find ways around the linguistic bottlenecks of paradigm resistance, of contextual infelicities, of phonological inexactitude and above

all of informant's uncertainty and the limits of intuition. For more than 100 years of excellent research on Hausa, much of the data reported here remained hidden from the empirical eyes of the grammar gurus, whose goal was rightfully a first order description of the whole language (Bargery, 1934; Abraham, 1949; Galadanci, 1969; Parsons, 1971). In fact, outside of a few pragmatically-informed studies, the twin areas of semantics and pragmatics continue to be under-explored within African linguistics, and it is only by venturing into these non-generative domains that one can begin to appreciate the manifold contributions of African languages to cross-linguistic data of the world's languages. And the more non-western languages in the pool of pragmatic analysis, the broader the reach of the principles underlying human knowledge and understanding.

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**CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE, LARGE-SCALE
LAND ACQUISITIONS AND LAND REFORM IN
SIERRA LEONE**

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Abstract

In Sierra Leone, the National Land Policy that would form the basis for the upcoming land reform was formally adopted by cabinet in 2015. This paper considers the mutual relationships between customary land tenure, large-scale land acquisitions, and land reform in Sierra Leone. More specifically, it explores precisely what customary land tenure signifies in the Sierra Leone context, the mechanisms by which large-scale land acquisitions by foreign investors have occurred there, and what amongst both Sierra Leone's customary land tenure and recent large-scale land acquisitions may change or remain the same under the country's upcoming program of land reform. In terms of what land reform may change or leave untouched, the paper suggests three points: (1) that customary land titles in the Provinces of Sierra Leone may be reinforced via the extension of surveying and land registration systems, but (2) customary powers and application of these powers by Paramount Chiefs in managing the land, which take precedence over the people's land titles, will be left largely the same, and (3) large-scale land acquisitions will likely continue to be encouraged in future.

Key words: Sierra Leone, land reform, chiefs, customary land tenure, land acquisitions, state-building

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1. Introduction

In December 2009, a cabinet decision was made on a land policy that would form the basis for the upcoming land reform in Sierra Leone. Since then, draft land policies have been produced by the Ministry of Lands, Country Planning, and the Environment (MLCPE), and after nearly six years, Sierra Leone's National Land Policy was formally adopted by cabinet in November 2015. The policy is a fairly voluminous and comprehensive document which takes into account the current status of land problems in Sierra Leone, as well as providing directions for land reform. It also declares in no uncertain terms that the rights of all legitimate land users, including customary land rights, are to be respected and protected (MLCPE, 2015: 12). Sierra Leone will implement its first genuine land reform since independence, which will be carried out according to a ten-year National Land Policy Reform Program Implementation Plan (MLCPE, 2016).

Meanwhile, large-scale land acquisitions, primarily by foreign investors for agricultural development, have increased rapidly, precisely at the same time as debates around land policy have taken place. This initiative appears to have reaped significant outcomes. Christian Aid, a non-governmental organization (NGO) concerned with land issues, reports that from 2009 to the end of 2012, 'foreign investors had taken out or were set to take out long leases ... on at least 1,154,777 ha, about 21.4% of the country's total arable land for large-scale industrial agriculture' (Baxter, 2013: 14). As has been the case elsewhere in Africa, such large-scale acquisitions have been criticized by numerous experts and NGOs claiming that rather than helping to improve the living standards of those who live in rural areas, such leases exploit land titles and actually increase poverty and economic inequalities (Oakland Institute, 2011; ActionAid, 2013; Baxter, 2013; Menzel, 2015; Millar, 2016; SiLNoRF, 2016).

Since the late 2000s, as the debate around a land policy that would strengthen and protect the rights of land users took place, large-scale land acquisitions by foreign investors have frequently come to threaten land titles of the people of Sierra Leone, in particular, the customary land titles of the rural population.

That government efforts to design and implement land policies which might stabilize and strengthen the rights of land users have coincided with large-scale land acquisitions by overseas investors is not, however, a phenomenon unique to Sierra Leone. As Shinichi Takeuchi has argued, since the 1990s, many African countries have carried out programs of land reform that have aimed at buttressing land user rights, and yet ironically, populations have lost land to so-called land grabs precisely in those countries that have introduced policies emphasizing individual rights over land in recent years (Takeuchi, 2015b: 259-260). Land grabs taking land away from local people have in fact occurred at the same time and alongside the development of policies and legislative reforms that seek to strengthen the rights of land users. Takeuchi has also argued that understanding this paradox as it is experienced in Africa today requires analysis from the perspective of ‘state-building’.

According to Takeuchi (2015a, 2015b), in those African countries where governance by the state has yet to permeate throughout society, and which have yet to complete the tasks of establishing political order since the end of the colonial period, policies promoted by donors that aim to strengthen the rights of land users are, for the most part, unable to furnish genuine and robust rights of private ownership to land users. Until now, African countries have sought to manage their societies by means of exercising power and influence over land. Granting effective private ownership rights to land users would thus imply voluntarily undermining social governability via land, a critical mechanism for establishing political order, and states are thus unlikely to choose such an option. As a result, despite the implementation of policies meant to improve the rights of land users, in many African nations, these do

not often lead to the creation or endowment of genuine private ownership rights, while the state – or traditional leaders backed by state power – remains able to limit people’s land titles using various means. Under such authority-based systems of land tenure, Takeuchi argues, land grabs are more likely to occur when foreign companies are able to solicit the support of authorities like governments and traditional leaders.

This paper applies Takeuchi’s ‘diagnoses’ of the relationship between African states, societies, and land to the case of Sierra Leone. According to Takeuchi’s view, African states have sought to govern their societies by using land as a way to bring about political order and, due to the incomplete nature of this political project, many have retained authority-based systems of land tenure. These, in turn, have become a factor behind land grabs over recent years. The paper considers the mutual relationships between customary land tenure, large-scale land acquisitions, and land reform in Sierra Leone. More specifically, this paper explores precisely what ‘customary land tenure’ signifies in the Sierra Leone context, the specific mechanisms by which large-scale land acquisitions by foreign companies have occurred there, and what amongst both Sierra Leone’s customary systems of land tenure and recent land acquisitions may change or remain the same under the country’s upcoming program of land reform.

2. Customary land tenure

2.1 Dualism

Sierra Leone is divided into the Western Area and the Provinces, the latter comprised of the Northern Province, Southern Province, and the Eastern Province. The Western Area is further divided into two districts, while there are 12 districts across the Provinces (see Map 1). The 12 districts in the

Provinces are further divided into regional units called chiefdoms. There are currently 149 chiefdoms throughout the Provinces. The chiefdoms are in turn divided into sections, and each section contains towns, villages, and communities.

Historically, land tenure in Sierra Leone has varied considerably between the Western Area and the Provinces, and it is the dualism that is the most significant feature of land tenure regimes in Sierra Leone.

The Western Area dates back to the late 1780s, when freed blacks from England ('the Black Poor') settled in the area, resulting in the founding of the Colony of Sierra Leone. After the Colony was founded, various ordinances were enacted by successive governors and colonial administrations, and legislation in effect in England was applied in the Colony in largely the same form. In today's Sierra Leone, 'general law' is used as a generic term for the body of statutory and non-statutory laws other than practices and customs. Such general law has served as the legal source for the English-style system of land tenure that developed in the Colony of Sierra Leone and, following the independence of 1961, the Western Area.

The Provinces of Sierra Leone, on the other hand, originated from the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, which was founded by Britain in 1896. From the time of the declaration of the Protectorate until today, the primary legal source for land-related matters in the Provinces has been 'customary law', and traditional leaders, particularly Paramount Chiefs, have had a strong influence on the distribution, transaction, and leasing of land.

The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss customary land tenure regimes in Sierra Leone, and will not consider the English-style land tenure regimes found in the Western Area. In order to consider in detail the systems of customary land tenure in the Provinces, firstly the primary decision-making bodies within the chiefdoms, the Chiefdom Councils, and the Paramount Chiefs that lead them are discussed below.

Map 1. Administrative Divisions



2.2 Chiefdom councils and paramount chiefs

Chiefdom Councils are administrative bodies within the 149 chiefdoms throughout the Provinces, and were previously called Tribal Authorities during the colonial era. In addition to Paramount Chief, a Chiefdom Council includes various office-holders like Chiefdom Speaker, who augments the duties of the Paramount Chief, and Section Chief, who is the head of a Section. Aside from these office-holders, a Chiefdom Council is further comprised of

‘a number of Chieftain Councilors, each representing every twenty taxpayers in the chiefdom’ (Chieftaincy Act, Article 4). While a Chiefdom Council is the highest decision-making organ in the chiefdom, in practice, the sheer size of Chiefdom Councils (there are several hundred members) means they are scarcely convened. Most of the day-to-day chiefdom administration is channeled through the Chiefdom Committee, which consists of only several dozens of members, chaired by a Paramount Chief.

What must be noted in regard to customary land tenure in the Provinces is the fact that, at least in name, all land within the chiefdom is ‘owned’ by the Chiefdom Council. Amongst the few written laws regarding land in the Provinces is the Provinces Land Act, which states that ‘all land in the Provinces is vested in the Chiefdom Councils who hold such land for and on behalf of the native communities’ (Preamble).

In reality, however, land within the chiefdom is not actually owned by the Chiefdom Council itself. Neither have the Chiefdom Councils, so rarely convened, played any significant role with regard to land management and use. The importance of the Chiefdom Council is in name only. The only parties that have had a voice in, and influence concerning, customary land management and use within the Provinces are the heads of the Chiefdom Councils, the Paramount Chiefs, who have come to be seen as the ‘custodians’ of chiefdom lands.

The Chieftaincy Act defines a Paramount Chief as ‘a chief who is not subordinate in his ordinary jurisdiction to any other chief but does not include an acting chief or a regent chief’ (Article 1). In principle, Paramount Chiefs are appointed for life, but the President may remove them from office (Article 19). The Act provides that when a vacancy occurs in the office of Paramount Chief (by death, removal or otherwise), the Chiefdom Council shall elect a new Paramount Chief no later than 12 months after the vacancy occurs (Article 2). Each chiefdom has ruling houses which are officially entitled to

produce Paramount Chiefs, and candidacy in a paramount chieftaincy election is limited to those who are from such houses (Article 8).

Apart from the Paramount Chief, each chiefdom is also headed by a range of other traditional leaders including a Section Chief and a town or village Headman. Nonetheless, the Paramount Chiefs, of which there are 149 across all Provinces, enjoy a particularly special rank. For instance, while a Section Chief manages the land within their section in the customary manner, as does the Headman in his town or village, these subordinate traditional leaders are proxies of the Paramount Chief, from whom all of their authority as managers of the land is essentially derived. Accordingly, when discussing the roles of traditional leaders in Sierra Leone's customary systems of land tenure, it is appropriate to draw a distinction between the Paramount Chiefs and all other chiefs which are subordinate to them.

2.3 Ownership and custodianship of customary land

While Paramount Chiefs have come to be seen as the custodians of chiefdom lands, neither they nor the Chiefdom Councils are the actual landowners.

In the Provinces, at least three different types of land tenure arrangements are recognized under customary law – family tenure, communal tenure, and individual tenure. Of these, family tenure is the most widespread (Renner-Thomas, 2010: 145-158). In many cases, lands now under family tenure were formerly ownerless territories or wilderness areas opened up and occupied by various kinship groups such as families, clans or lineages.

Excluding communal lands defined by customary law and governmental lands defined by general law, the majority of provincial land is privately owned by the family unit, and in this sense, they can be understood as 'private lands'. However, this 'private land' under customary tenure – essentially what could even be called 'customary private land' – is not of the sort of

private land one might normally imagine. This is because all provincial lands are nominally under the jurisdiction of the Chiefdom Councils, while the council heads – the Paramount Chiefs – hold significant customary powers as custodians of the land.

We might describe land titles held by people who own land under customary tenure as pertaining to ‘customary land ownership’, while the powers of Paramount Chiefs in managing that land might be called as ‘customary land custodianship’. The latter would include the sorts of powers described in the following.

For example, when people seek to buy, sell or lease land, the authority to formally and conclusively recognize such transactions rests with the Paramount Chief. Without the approval of a Paramount Chief in their capacity as a land custodian, in principle, any land transactions within the Chiefdom are not officially recognized. If people who have newly acquired lands in the Provinces would like their survey plans and other land-related documents to be registered with the MLCPE or the Registrar-General’s Office, the documents must include the signature and stamp of the Paramount Chief in whose Chiefdom the relevant land is located. In short, people living under the customary system of land tenure in the Provinces are, in principle, unable to undertake any official land transactions or officially register any land-related documents without the approval of the traditional leadership, in particular, that of the Paramount Chiefs. The power to regulate all such land transactions and registrations forms the basis of the Paramount Chiefs’ customary authority to manage land.

In this way, customary land tenure in the Provinces of Sierra Leone, while broadly recognizing customary ownership rights, also grants wide-ranging powers of land management to the Paramount Chiefs. The land management rights of Paramount Chiefs also take precedence over the ownership rights of the people. The tight restrictions placed on the latter has meant that the scope to make decisions about one’s own land (that is, ‘customary private land’) in

the Provinces is much more limited compared to that commonly found in Western countries.

After providing a rough overview of the customary land tenure, here it should be pointed out that, as strange as it may sound, there is, in fact, nothing ‘customary’ at all about Sierra Leone’s system of customary land tenure.

2.4 Customary land tenure as a political device for state-building

Today, customary land tenure in the post-colonial Africa is considered to be qualitatively different from that prior to colonization. Catherine Boone draws a clear distinction between pre-colonial and later systems of customary land tenure in Africa, describing the former as ‘customary’ and the latter as ‘neocustomary’ as a way to highlight the significant level of difference between the two (Boone, 2014: 25).

The system of customary land tenure as found in the Provinces of Sierra Leone today is no exception. It is neither a facsimile of the customary land tenure practices of traditional society before the Protectorate, nor is it an institution left over from that period. Rather, customary land tenure in the Provinces is a system established as part of a process of modern state-building since the establishment of the Protectorate. In essence, this system was built and improved upon as a political device for the indirect control of areas located at a distance from the centre of state power both during the colonial era (i.e. the Protectorate) and following independence (the Provinces) that uses traditional leadership structures. In this sense, far from being ‘customary’, the system is, in fact, neo-customary, and may even be described as modern without fear of error. After all, this system is closely linked to the modern state. Of course, this is not to say that customary land tenure in Sierra Leone is wholly unrelated to traditions and customs. Yet it is a system predicated and maintained by the existence of the modern state, and thus a

line should be drawn between it and customary land tenure within traditional society prior to the advent of the Protectorate, which did not rely on the existence of the modern state.

This chapter has provided a broad overview of customary land tenure in the Provinces of Sierra Leone, highlighting its closeness to the modern state. The following chapter will focus on large-scale acquisitions of land by foreign enterprises and considers how these have occurred in the context of customary land tenure.

3. Large-scale land acquisitions

3.1 Promotion of foreign investment and the increase of large-scale land acquisitions

Sierra Leone experienced a serious civil conflict in the 1990s. Following the end of the civil war in 2002, the government adapted a policy to promote direct foreign investment into the agricultural sector. In 2007, the Sierra Leone Investment and Export Promotion Agency (SLIEPA) was established, and using this agency as a liaison body, the government now takes a proactive stance toward foreign investment, particularly in the agricultural sector. Specifically, the government now designates in advance tracts of arable Provincial land suitable for large-scale cultivation of crops such as oil palms and sugar cane, and offers to act as an intermediary for private firms with respect to such candidate areas. Where foreign firms show strong interest in investing, the government proactively facilitates the leasing of the land of interest by sending officials from SLIEPA or the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Security (MAFFS) to mediate between the private foreign investor and the host community (Renner-Thomas, 2010: 290).

Policies seeking to attract foreign investment into the agricultural sector were originally begun under the government of Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). The push to attract foreign capital picked up pace following the formation of a government by the All People's Congress (APC) and the election of Ernest Bai Koroma as President in 2007. Koroma had previously been the CEO of an insurance company, and sought to utilize his business experience and abilities following his election to the presidency. The slogan used to refer to his administration of government was 'Running the country like a business concern' (Koroma, 2009). Under the new Koroma administration, improving the productivity of the agricultural sector was highlighted as one of the key concerns by President Koroma. To this end, the government actively sought out foreign investment (Menzel, 2015: 9).

The Sierra Leone Trade and Investment Forum, held in London in November 2009, was a large event signaling the beginning in earnest of efforts by the Koroma-APC administration to attract foreign investment to the country's agricultural sector (Oakland Institute, 2011: 12). At the forum, President Koroma actively encouraged investment by foreign enterprises in Sierra Leone agriculture, stating that 'Our soils are fertile and our land undercultivated, offering ideal conditions for new investments in rice, oil palm, cocoa, coffee and sugar' (Koroma, 2009).

This forum marked one point after which both agricultural investments and large-scale land acquisitions by foreign enterprises increased dramatically in Sierra Leone. As a result, between 2009 and 2012, huge swathes of land – totaling around 20 percent of all arable land in Sierra Leone – was either leased or likely to be leased to foreign enterprises or their local subsidiary companies (Baxter, 2013: 14).

3.2 The ethanol production project by Addax

3.2.1 Land acquisition process

Amongst the large-scale agricultural projects carried out in recent years in the Provinces of Sierra Leone by foreign enterprises, one of the flagship projects of the Koroma-APC government is that of Addax Bioenergy Sierra Leone, a local subsidiary of Swiss corporate group Addax and Oryx Group (AOG), which aims to produce biofuels. With this project, Addax aimed to create large-scale sugar cane plantations on land under a fixed-term lease in three chiefdoms within Bombali and Tonkolili districts in the Northern Province to produce ethanol biofuel for export to European markets.

From 2008, Addax entered into negotiations with the relevant parties and also commenced a pilot project. In February 2010, the Sierra Leone government, AOG, and Addax signed a joint memorandum of understanding that outlined the method of land leasing and preferential taxation arrangements for Addax. In May of the same year, contracts between Addax and the three Chiefdom Councils were signed, leasing a total of 52,000 hectares of land to the company for a period of 50 years. Under the terms of the contract, land is leased at a uniform rate of 8.89 USD per hectare per annum. Of this amount, 50% (4.45 USD) is to be paid to the landowner, 20% (1.78 USD) to the relevant Chiefdom Council, 20% (1.78 USD) to the District Council, the local government at the District level, and the remaining 10% (0.89 USD) to the central government (ActionAid, 2013: 5; English & Sandström, 2014: 14-20; SiLNoRF, 2016: 9).

3.2.2 Addax's measures to acquire land appropriately

One of the key aspects of Addax's large-scale land acquisition was its various efforts to ensure informed consent and protection of landowner rights occurred, largely as a way to avoid any criticism that it was making a land grab. As part of these efforts, the company introduced a so-called

Acknowledgment Agreement (AA), a completely new form of contract that had not been seen previously in former transactions of land in the Provinces.

Foreign companies seeking to acquire land in the Provinces of Sierra Leone are unable to purchase land, and as a general rule, are instead obliged to enter into lease agreements of a maximum length of 50 years (through renewable for up to 21 years) (Provinces Land Act, Article 4). Roughly half of the rent paid by these companies goes to the landowner, while the remaining half is distributed amongst the Paramount Chiefs, Chiefdom Councils, District Councils and the central government. This arrangement for sharing land rents was created during the colonial era and is an implicit form of 'taxation' by local and central governments. Under this arrangement, local and national governments essentially intercept half of the rent paid on lands, while the actual landowner receives only half of the full amount. The system has thus been the object of criticism and complaint for some time.

In light of this, in meetings with the Sierra Leone government, Addax introduced the AA, separate from the lease contracts signed between the company and Chiefdom Councils, and gradually set about signing these agreements within the local communities in the relevant chiefdoms. Under these agreements, each landowner agrees to lease their land to the Chiefdom Council, which is to be subleased for use by Addax. In return for owners agreeing to non-interference with Addax operations on their lands, the agreement also promises an additional annual payment of 3.46 USD per hectare to the landowner. With both the land lease contracts and the AA, the total amount paid in rent by Addax came to 12.35 USD, the standard amount recommended by the Ministry of Agriculture, of which 64% (7.90 USD) would be paid to the landowner (English & Sandström, 2014: 18-20).

There are at least two reasons behind the introduction of the AA by Addax. One reason was to increase the share of rent received by landowners. Another was to ensure a more thorough level of informed consent amongst the community people who actually owned the land, by signing AAs with these

in addition to leasing contracts with the Chiefdom Councils, who are nominal landowners in the Provinces.

In addition, Addax also used the latest technologies – the Global Positioning System (GPS) and Geographic Information System (GIS) – to produce accurate survey plans, which were submitted to the Registrar-General's Office along with deeds. Previously unclear boundaries between communities and the acreages of individual titleholders were clarified for the first time while registering of the survey data helped to bring these titles under the protection of general law. Throughout the whole land acquisition process, Addax was thus not merely concerned with securing adequate amounts of land, but also made at least some contribution toward strengthening the rights of landowners (English & Sandström, 2014: 20).

Several years after launching the project in 2010, Addax ran into business difficulties and by 2016, the company's ethanol production project was bankrupt (SiLNoRF, 2016). Yet despite its eventual failure, the project was considered quite advanced at the time in terms of its approach and care taken when acquiring land, inasmuch as the company made considerable efforts to achieve informed consent, promote the interests of landowners by introducing the AA, and aimed to protect their land title via surveying and registration of lands. Indeed, some NGOs reviewing the Addax project rated it as one of the best agricultural investment projects in that field (Swedish FAO Committee, 2014: 15).

3.2.3 Criticisms against Addax's project

This judgement was not shared by all. As with other cases involving large-scale land acquisitions in Sierra Leone, the Addax project also had its fair share of detractors. The international NGO, ActionAid, headquartered in South Africa, condemned Addax for not strictly adhering to the principle of 'free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)' in this project (ActionAid, 2013).

According to a report by ActionAid, despite the claim made by Addax that numerous meetings were held with local residents prior to land leases being signed, only 66% of people surveyed by ActionAid stated that they had attended such a meeting. The meetings were also described by respondents as forums for Addax and government officials to list the merits of the project, while neither sufficient information nor any opportunities for dialogue were given (ActionAid, 2013: 13). Gearoid Millar also surveyed residents in the area where the Addax project occurred. Millar's report was highly critical, stating that, amongst respondents, not one was found to have understood the details of the lease contracts with Addax, none had indeed read the contracts, and the level of understanding with regard to the project was extremely limited (Millar, 2016: 221).

Why was the Addax project later attacked by other NGOs and researchers in regard to the acquisition of land?

While Addax claimed to have made significant business efforts around the land acquisition issue, NGOs and researchers alike criticized the project for not providing adequate information to local residents, resulting in large-scale land being acquired without sufficient informed consent. In the personal view of the author, these opposing positions do not necessarily contradict each other. Put very simply, they are likely the result divergent perspectives amongst those promoting the project and those on its receiving end.

Admittedly, from the perspective of those pushing for the project, Addax and the Sierra Leone government, it may appear that efforts were made to, as far as was possible, establish adequate measures to ensure both adherence to the FPIC principle, and the protection of the rights of landowners. However, from the perspective of local residents on the receiving end of the project, those usually focused on by NGOs and researchers, a rather different picture comes into view. For these people, the transaction of land with Addax was not negotiated by residents acting independently, neither was it agreed to on the basis of a determination based on the free will of residents possessed of

all necessary information. Rather, the transaction was nothing more than a basic agreement first reached amongst Addax, the Sierra Leone government, and traditional leaders that become somewhat of a *fait accompli* put unilaterally to residents. Undoubtedly, many local residents probably did understand to some degree the nature of the Addax project and agreed to it in the hope that it would lead to new employment opportunities and social services. Nonetheless, the report by ActionAid shows that at least some titleholders agreed to the leasing contracts and AAs without necessarily understanding the details of the land transaction and that some landowners agreed to the project somewhat passively, unable to publicly express their complaints about the rent price or compensation on offer.

The case of Addax's large-scale land acquisition in Sierra Leone perhaps highlights the inadequacy of businesses efforts alone which, while both necessary and extremely important, are not enough to prevent problems that might occur due to the divergent perspectives of those promoting a project and of those who must bear its consequences. While by no means limited to Sierra Leone, large-scale land acquisitions in the Provinces indicate the existence of structural factors that make appropriate large-scale land acquisitions based on informed consent highly difficult to achieve, that almost inevitably give rise to the divergent perspectives mentioned above, and that are difficult to overcome by the efforts of companies acting alone.

3.3 Why appropriate large-scale land acquisitions are so difficult

One such structural difficulty impeding appropriate large-scale land acquisitions in the Provinces of Sierra Leone is what can only be described as an 'overwhelming gap in social agency', which is plainly evident when we compare the position of those promoting a project, such as a foreign enterprise and the national government, and that of local people. Addax and

the Sierra Leone government maintain a clearly dominant position over local residents in terms of financial, technical and negotiating power.

For example, in a survey of the region affected by the Addax project, Genesis Tambang Yengoh et al. (2016: 333-336) found that 86% of residents had no experience with formal education. Such low levels of education amongst residents are a factor limiting the likelihood of FPIC occurring. In addition, according to Millar, the GPS and GIS technologies used by Addax in preparing for its land acquisition were not aimed at increasing the scope of free choice by local residents in relation to the AA or to bolster their titles. Rather, Millar's analysis suggests these have functioned as 'the new technology of control'. These were used by the company to control local people who did not have access to it (Millar, 2016).

Yet the differences in financial and technological power between groups on either side of projects are not the only hindrance to the fair large-scale land acquisition in the Provinces of Sierra Leone. Another structural factor is the customary system of land tenure.

The customary land custodianship of Paramount Chiefs may not merely influence and restrict people's 'desired land transactions', but in the context of large-scale land acquisitions, it may also give rise to transactions that have not been sought by local land users. Those who live in the Provinces are subject to the limitations placed on their preferred land transactions by the Paramount Chief. In addition, depending on the extent of the Paramount Chief's involvement or interference, they may be forced into land transactions which they have not consented to. This makes the Provinces of Sierra Leone a potential hotbed for improper large-scale land acquisitions.

When carrying out any large-scale land acquisition, it is, of course, critical that the company behind the project makes all efforts in order to ensure that the local residents' agreements are adequate. It is not possible to overemphasize the importance of such efforts. Nonetheless, as can be seen from the case of Addax, under Sierra Leone's system of customary land

tenure, company efforts alone are not able to ensure that people can freely make decisions about their own land. As a result, they also appear unlikely to be able to prevent the inappropriate large-scale land acquisition, in which informed consent has not occurred. On the contrary, if the form of customary land tenure now present in the Provinces persists, efforts by companies, including the AA used by Addax described above, will not only not lead to informed consent, but may indeed serve as a ‘smokescreen’ to hide improper large-scale land acquisitions or land grabs. Of course, the more efforts companies make to achieve informed consent and to increase the profits of landholders, the more that claims that such efforts have been made are liable to accumulate one-sidedly or become more elaborate, such that the gap between those promoting a project and those on the receiving end may become even wider, as the former may believe more fervently that sufficient efforts were made to ensure proper land transactions took place, while the latter may feel these efforts to be inadequate.

Given this, ensuring that land is acquired justly in the Provinces of Sierra Leone will require a re-evaluation of the system and operations of its customary land tenure. In doing so, it will be important not only to strengthen customary land rights that encompass land ownership rights of local people, but rather re-evaluate the land management rights invested in the Paramount Chiefs that override customary land rights, and to prevent their misuse.

We have examined the case of large-scale land acquisition by Addax in the context of customary land tenure regimes in Sierra Leone’s Provinces. In the following chapter, what amongst both Sierra Leone’s customary land tenure and recent large-scale land acquisitions may change or remain the same under the upcoming land reform based in the 2015 National Land Policy are discussed.

4. Land Reform

4.1 National land policy

Sierra Leone's National Land Policy, which was approved by cabinet in November 2015, is a comprehensive policy document encompassing various aspects of the country's land problems and is not merely devoted to issues relating to customary land tenure and large-scale land acquisitions. In this chapter, we will consider only those parts of the National Land Policy that relate to these two issues.

With regard to customary land tenure, the National Land Policy aims to harmonize Sierra Leone's dual land tenure systems – that based in general law in the Western Area and that based in customary law in the Provinces – and to protect the land rights of all legitimate users of the land, including those under customary land tenure arrangements (MLCPE, 2015: 12). While a number of policy measures are outlined for these purposes, two such measures are considered particularly significant in relation to the subject of this chapter.

The first of these relates to reforming the systems relating to surveys and registrations. Currently, site surveys are carried in Sierra Leone by surveyors in accordance with the Survey Act. If required, completed survey plans are submitted to the Director of Surveys and Lands within the MLCPE and are registered with the Ministry on the approval of the Director (Article 15). At the same time, Sierra Leone also has a system of general registrations based on the General Registration Act and the Registration of Instruments Act. Under this system deeds registration – the filing of land-related documentation – occurs in the order that requests are made to the Registrar-General's Office. In the Western Area, where the legal system is based on general law, land deeds must be registered by law and, as survey plans must be provided when registering land, site surveys are of necessity carried out

extensively. In the Provinces, where customary land tenure prevails, surveying and registration of lands is, in principle, optional, and the only areas for which this is performed are urban zones with large numbers of buildings, or sites leased under contracts based in the Provinces Land Act.

Taking this into account, the National Land Policy indicates that surveying and registration –that is, the scheme by which land titles are managed – are to be re-examined with the objective of strengthening and stabilizing the rights of land users. Specifically, it proposes a title registration system for land titles, separate from the current system of deed registration, to be introduced. This new land registration system will be managed in an integrated way with the survey system, and the effectively forced surveying and registering of lands will be expanded from the Western Area to the Provinces (MLCPE, 2015: 81-89).

The second significant part of the National Land Policy in relation to customary land tenure is its introduction of a land commission and committee scheme. Under the policy, new land commissions/committees responsible for the management of land titles are to be established at the national, district, chiefdom and village levels. The first of these, the National Land Commission, will manage state land previously overseen by the MLCPE and will be responsible for introducing and operating the new land registration system mentioned above. District Land Commissions will play a supporting role in land registrations as the district branches of the National Land Commission. Chiefdom Land Committees and Village Area Land Committees will be established at the chiefdom and village levels, and are to be composed of elected amongst land title owners. Of the two, the Chiefdom Land Committees are expected to play a particularly important role with regard to customary land tenure. The committees will hold the titles to and be responsible for the overall management and oversight of communal lands which until now nominally belonged to the Chiefdom Councils, though were in practice managed by the Paramount Chiefs. Moreover, the Chiefdom Land

Committees will be given the role of scrutinizing and approving all land transactions within their chiefdom. The Village Area Land Committees will carry out similar but lesser functions to the Chiefdom Land Committees at the village level (MLCPE, 2015: 71-73).

With regard to large-scale land acquisitions, the National Land Policy allows non-Sierra Leone citizens such as foreign enterprises access to land titles obtainable at the district level under the same 50-year lease rights. However, it also limits the acreage of land for a single project to a maximum of 5,000 hectares in principle. The policy also establishes land banks to pool land for potential acquisition in order to promote domestic and foreign investment, and proposes that these be led by communities (MLCPE, 2015: 66).

4.2 Discussion

The previous section touched on three areas found in Sierra Leone's National Land Policy: (1) changes to the surveying and land registration systems; (2) the introduction of land commissions/committees; and (3) limitations on land acquisitions by foreign enterprises and the establishment of land banks. Below, these three areas are discussed briefly in relation to the overall discussion of this paper.

Firstly, changes to Sierra Leone's systems for surveying and registering land will have deep ramifications for the customary land rights of people living in its Provinces. As mentioned, registering land in the Provinces, where customary land tenure prevails, is as a general rule voluntary, and surveying is carried out in limited areas. If, as part of future land reform based in the National Land Policy, the current deed registration system is replaced by a title registration system – such that the compulsory registration of land will take place not only in the Western Area but now also in the Provinces – this should go some way to strengthening and stabilizing the customary land titles

of people in the Provinces, which until now have been regarded as fragile. Of course, survey and land registration are not panaceas. However, if the upcoming land reform in Sierra Leone is able to introduce to the Provinces a well-functioning system of formal land title management via surveying and registration, the customary land rights may be strengthened.

If the changes to survey and land registration systems amount to a reform affecting customary land titles of provincial residents, the introduction of the land committees at the chiefdom and village levels will be a reform affecting the customary land management rights of Paramount Chiefs. As discussed previously, until now the Chiefdom Councils and Paramount Chiefs have played an important role both in name and in practice under customary land tenure in the Provinces. The National Land Policy will modify this form of customary land management and establish land committees at the chiefdom and village levels, which will be comprised primarily of landowners to ensure the democratic management of land. Nonetheless, the author remains skeptical as to whether citizen-led, democratic land committees, particularly Chiefdom Land Committees, will actually lead to any serious constraints on the existing land power of Paramount Chiefs or prevent the abuse of these powers, for the following three reasons.

Firstly, under the National Land Policy, Paramount Chiefs will chair the Chiefdom Land Committees, and in that capacity will likely continue to be able to exert significant influence on the management and oversight of land (MLCPE, 2015: 73). Secondly, while the Chiefdom Land Committees are to be comprised primarily of landowners, members of powerful landowning families are often themselves traditional leaders or are relatives or acquaintances of traditional leaders. Accordingly, it will be difficult for land committees made up of traditional leaders, or those close to them, to oppose the views of their Paramount Chief and to ensure they do not misuse their authority. Thirdly, while the policy indicates that Chiefdom Land Committees will now replace Chiefdom Councils in managing communal

lands and in reviewing and providing approvals for all land transactions within the chiefdoms, it does not make any direct and clear reference to reviewing the role of Paramount Chiefs in relation to land management.

Finally, limitations on large-scale land acquisitions by foreign enterprises and the establishment of land banks are the third area of the National Land Policy closely related to the discussion advanced by this paper. The policy indicates that in the future, the area obtainable under large-scale acquisitions shall be limited to 5,000 hectares. However, this restriction is in principle only and acquisitions exceeding this limit will be permissible on a case-by-case basis. Furthermore, the policy retains the current 50-year limit on land leases by foreign enterprises and makes no proposal for this to be shortened. The policy also proposes the establishment of community-led land banks containing land for potential future acquisitions. Such proposals make it hard to avoid the conclusion that the National Land Policy is not aimed at curtailing large-scale land acquisitions overall. While the policy makes reference to the term ‘responsible investment’ in various locations (e.g. MLCPE, 2015: 1, 6, 7, 12, 19, 65, 66, 92, 114), and as such references themselves make clear, it does not seek to place any strong restrictions on foreign enterprises’ acquisition of land itself, but rather seeks to create reform through which such acquisitions shall occur under the banner of responsible investment.

5. Conclusion

After gaining independence in 1961, Sierra Leone did not implement any form of genuine land reform. This resulted in the country’s dual system of land tenure being maintained essentially unchanged until the present day. This dual system arose during the colonial period, with English-style land tenure regimes in the Western Area and customary land tenure regimes

prevailing in the Provinces. The momentum for land reform which emerged since the 1990s in many other African countries has only now begun to mature in Sierra Leone.

Nevertheless, despite a cabinet decision to approve a National Land Policy in November 2015, at the time of this writing (March 2017) the actual work of implementing land reform on the basis of this policy has yet to commence in earnest. According to the National Land Policy implementation plan, the land reform is slated to be carried out over a ten-year period between 2016 and 2026, and will require an estimated budget of 69.66 million USD (MLCPE, 2016: 13-14), yet nowhere near this amount of money has so far been secured to fund the reform. Thus, while the National Land Policy may have paved the way for land reform, no actual results have as yet been achieved, and it must be said that the future of the reform remains unclear.

For this reason, it may presently be too early to ask what will change and what will remain the same in the course of land reform in Sierra Leone. Nonetheless, based solely on the limited information found in the National Land Policy, we may venture to ask this question with regard to Sierra Leone's system of customary land tenure and large-scale land acquisitions. As discussed above, there are at least three areas in which one might seek an answer to this question.

Considering what land reform may change or leave untouched – namely, (1) that customary land titles in the Provinces may be reinforced via the extension of surveying and land registration systems, but (2) customary powers and application of these powers by Paramount Chiefs in managing the land, which take precedence over the people's land titles, will be left largely the same, and (3) large-scale land acquisitions will likely continue to be encouraged. Accordingly, it is difficult to dismiss the likelihood that large-scale land acquisitions in the Provinces of Sierra Leone will continue to occur without the informed consent of land users under the customary system of land tenure administered by Paramount Chiefs.

This is the author's view regarding what may change and what may remain untouched by future land reform in Sierra Leone with regard to customary land tenure and large-scale land acquisitions. Assessing the validity of this view shall be left to the readers of future generations.

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**LANGUAGE CONTACT: THE INFLUENCE OF
ENGLISH, KENYAN ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND
SHENG ON KISWAHILI IN NAIROBI**

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LANGUAGE CONTACT: THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH, KENYAN ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND SHENG ON KISWAHILI IN NAIROBI

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Abstract

This study aims to show how some non-Swahili languages influence the use of Kiswahili in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. These languages are Sheng, English, Kikuyu, Kikamba, Dholuo, and Luhya. The study reveals that in all these languages, the influences are mainly made in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, morphosyntax, syntax, and semantics, and yet, the ways they influence Kiswahili vary from one another. By showing examples of their impacts on Kiswahili in this article, I argue that those different languages contribute to the changes or the development of Kiswahili. As the society comes to allow active communications and travels more than ever before, we may expect more frequent interactions among more languages and thus fast changes in Kiswahili.

Keywords: Mother tongue, lingua franca, code switching, borrowing and language contact

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1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to show how Kiswahili, the main lingua franca in Nairobi, has been influenced by the other languages in Kenya and especially Sheng, a language based on Kiswahili itself. Sheng, which developed largely from Kiswahili and other languages and which also uses Kiswahili grammar, has started feeding back its vocabulary into Kiswahili. The paper begins by providing a background to Kiswahili language by stating the regions where it is spoken in Africa. It then shows the place Kiswahili is given in the constitution of Kenya. Next, the paper describes Kiswahili in Nairobi in relation to the other Kenyan languages or mother tongues. It is noted that there is code switching and borrowing from some of the majority mother tongues in Nairobi, Sheng as well as English. There are various forms or levels of influence on Kiswahili from these languages. The ones described are forms involving phonology, morphology, morphosyntax, syntax and semantics. Some words from Sheng are also used in Kiswahili. The possible consequences for Kiswahili in relation to the languages it is in contact with in Nairobi are then discussed.

2. Background of Kiswahili

In this section, the regions where Kiswahili is spoken are identified. The yellow parts of the map below show these regions.

Map 1. Kiswahili Speaking Regions



(Source: Wairungu, M. Swahili Website, University of Virginia)

According to the map above, Kiswahili is spoken in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the coastal regions of Somali near the Kenyan border, the northern parts of Mozambique and Zambia, and the western part of Democratic Republic of Congo. People of Comoro Islands also speak it. Its mother tongue speakers are mostly found in the coastal regions of Kenya and Tanzania. Some of the mother tongue dialects of Kiswahili are Kimvita, Kiamu, Kiunguja, Kimrima, Kisiu, Kipate and Kibajuni (Palome 1967; Chiraghdin and Mnyampala 1977; and Nurse and Spear 1985). In Kenya, it is also widely used as a second language by speaker of the other mother tongues found in Kenya. This means that apart from the mother tongue varieties of Kiswahili, there are numerous, second language varieties of Kiswahili.

English, Kiswahili's main competitor in the education system in Kenya, is not an indigenous language. The former was introduced in Kenya mainly during colonialism and is still the main language of education today. In fact,

it features in all the levels of the education system in Kenya. The positions assumed by Kiswahili, English and the mother tongues in East Africa are captured very well in the words of Gaw (2009). He argues that:

Kiswahili stands between English and ethnic languages in communities across East Africa, an African lingua franca that has defined social identity through varied patterns of use throughout the last several hundred years. ... Now, Kiswahili is a defining aspect of nationhood in Tanzania and, to a lesser extent, Kenya. English, widely used as a language of political and scientific discourse, has remained a powerful force in shaping East Africans' identity (p. 2).

Kiswahili in East Africa especially in Kenya and Tanzania, therefore seems to be receiving from both directions as it also possibly gives to English and the mother tongues. In other words, it seems to be at the centre of language contact. In Nairobi, Kiswahili is in contact with English and several Kenyan mother tongues.

According to Weinreich (1953), 'Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons' (p. 1). Matras (2009) states that language contact arises in a situation where languages influence one another as a result of the interaction between their speakers. The two situations, which seem to provide definitions for language contact, are witnessed in Nairobi. Speakers themselves use languages alternately within their speeches and at the same time speakers of many Kenyan languages find themselves living in Nairobi for one reason or the other, and as a result of communicating with one another, their languages get into contact. The former occurs as a result of the latter. With the ability to use their mother tongues, English and Kiswahili and with the knowledge that most Kenyans can speak the two official languages, most speakers find themselves using the languages they know alternately.

Oduor and Rotich (2016) argue that most researches do not seem to agree on the number of languages in Kenya. They state that:

According to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000), there are 42 languages in Kenya. Ogechi (2003) states that there are 42 codes in Kenya while Obiero (2008) states that many sources indicate that Kenya has between 30 and 60 languages. According to Ethnologue, there are 68 languages (p. 19).

Lewis (2009) cited by Wolff (2013: 16) shows that the Kenyan mother tongues are 69. It is possible that there is variation in the counting of Kenyan mother tongues because whereas some researchers consider the many varieties of the Kalenjin and Luhya super languages as languages in their own right, other consider them as dialects of the same language. For this paper, it is important to note that the speakers of all these languages are found in Nairobi. However, there are languages which generally have more speakers than others. Consequently, they have more speakers in Nairobi than the smaller languages. The languages with many speakers are considered to be the majority languages while the others with few speakers are the minority languages. Some of the majority languages, according to Ethnologue are Kikuyu, Luhya, Kikamba, Dholuo, Kalenjin and Ekegusii. Very many speakers of Kikuyu are found in Nairobi because they occupy the counties that are close to it and hence mobility into Nairobi is easy. They are also an enterprising community with many of them engaging in business in many areas of Nairobi and the rest of Kenya generally.

Kiswahili then is a unifying language in terms of communication among speakers of different languages. According to Gaw (2009):

As Nairobi assumes its identity as a center of trade for East Africa, discourses of globalization, expressed in English, become part of

Nairobi's landscape. Kiswahili, too, carries important instrumentality because the language unifies the many different Kenyan ethnic groups that find home in Nairobi (p. 31).

He goes on to say that '... both English and Kiswahili are languages of a Kenyan identity in Nairobi. The same does not hold true for other areas in Kenya' (Gaw 2009: 32). Kiswahili then is the lingua franca of people living in Nairobi because they speak different languages and as a result it provides a common language of communication. As cited in Wardhaugh (2002: 58), a lingua franca is defined by UNESCO as 'a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them'. Though there are mother tongue speakers of Kiswahili who live and work in Nairobi, the majority of speakers in the same town use it as a second language.

The emerging trend at the moment is that children born in Nairobi mostly speak either English or Kiswahili. These are the languages they encounter when they are playing with other children in the estates and when learning in school. To add to this, the mother tongues are forgotten in many families especially with the increase in intermarriages. Since English still remains the language of education, apart from to being a subject while Kiswahili is a compulsory subject, some parents do not see the need to let their children continue speaking or learning their mother tongue. The mother tongues are not examinable and are not used in lower primary school (grades 1 to 3) in Nairobi because there is no place within that county that is dominated by one speech community.

Kiswahili is slowly asserting itself in the Kenyan society. It is more widely used for social communication than English in Nairobi. This may also be true for most towns in Kenya. Some of the areas where it is used include public service vehicles, markets, schools, homes and some offices. At the moment its use is not restricted to any particular class in the society.

In other words, on the one hand, Kiswahili is finding its way among people of all walks of life. English, on the other hand, is mostly used in official circles. In informal settings, it is also used by the elites. However, in terms of prestige, English still seems to hold the highest position, followed closely by Kiswahili. The mother tongues come last, in other words, they seem to hold the lowest position. This may be explains why English has an influence on Standard Kiswahili while the mother tongues have an influence on the informal and non-standard forms. In this paper, it was found that the Kenyan mother tongues which have an influence on Kiswahili are Gikuyu, Kikamba, Luhya, and Dholuo. Their influence is felt at different levels such as at the lexical, phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, syntactic and semantic levels. The influence of English is also felt in most of these areas.

After identifying the regions where Kiswahili is spoken, there is need to focus briefly on the place Kiswahili, English and other languages are given by the latest constitution as spelt out in Republic of Kenya (2010). It is also known as the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

3. Language in the Constitution of Kenya 2010

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has a section that deals mainly with the languages in Kenya. Kiswahili, English, the mother tongues and other forms of communication are recognized in this constitution. It declares that Kiswahili is an official language of Kenya alongside English. It is also the only national language of Kenya. In terms of status then, Kiswahili has the highest status that any language could achieve or be given in a country. The status that it is given in Kenya supersedes the one given to English, its main rival. Unlike English which should only play one role, Kiswahili has two according to this constitution. Kiswahili is one of the main languages

spoken in the big cities of Kenya such as Mombasa, Nakuru, Nairobi, etc. With the emergence of County Governments in Kenya, many more towns that are cosmopolitan in nature have emerged and it is expected that Kiswahili is the main language used for social or informal communication in these areas.

The other languages do not have a national role but are all the same recognized by the constitution. According to the Republic of Kenya (2010: 22), the state is charged with the responsibility of promoting and protecting ‘the diversity of language of the people of Kenya’ as well as promoting ‘the development and use of indigenous languages, Kenyan Sign language, Braille and other communication formats and technologies accessible to persons with disabilities’. In addition, Part 2 section 44 of the same constitution, Republic of Kenya (2010) states that:

- (1) Every person has the right to use the language, and to participate in the cultural life, of the person’s choice.
- (2) A person belonging to a cultural or linguistic community has the right, with other members of that community-
 - (a) to enjoy the person’s culture and use the person’s language; or
 - (b) to form, join and maintain cultural and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society (p. 52).

The freedom given to the Kenyan mother tongues by the constitution therefore allows them to interact freely with Kiswahili and English in informal settings. It is therefore expected that in a place like Nairobi, these languages are bound to have an influence on Kiswahili and vice versa.

4. A Brief Methodology

Data were collected from an age range that is involved in speaking Kiswahili actively in Nairobi and that is also considered have competent speakers. They were aged 15 to 54 years. Data were mainly collected in naturalistic situations. The collection involved both participant and non-participant observation. Data were collected in offices, at home (in Kilimani area), in hair salons located in Nairobi town centre, in schools, in Toy market (a famous market near Kibera slums where used clothes and groceries are sold) and along the streets of Nairobi. Some telephone conversations, mobile phone text messages and television broadcasts were also used as sources of data. They were all from people and media houses located in Nairobi. Data were also collected through elicitation from students of the University of Nairobi who have been living in Nairobi and from recent research sources. The data collected were mainly on code switching and borrowing. In the data there were more informal than formal forms of Kiswahili. The former are discussed in this study with a few examples of the latter.

5. Code Switching and Borrowing

Among Kenyans living in Nairobi, it would be surprising to find a monolingual one. They are mainly multilingual. Those who belong to the older generation mostly speak at least three languages (English, Kiswahili and mother tongue) while the younger generation, some of whom do not speak their mother tongues, speak at least two languages (English and Kiswahili). There are Kenyans who have learnt French, German and Arabic in school as foreign languages or through interaction with foreigners. These

languages do not have an influence on Kiswahili or the other Kenyan mother tongues spoken in Nairobi because their use is limited.

According to Sridhar (1996), it is uncommon to find multilinguals with a native like command in each of the languages. They have varying degrees of competence. Sridhar (1996: 50) argues that:

Multilinguals develop competence in each of the codes to the extent that they need it and for the contexts in which each language is used (as cited by Wardhaugh, 2002, p. 95)

This is true of multilinguals in Nairobi. Most of them use English as a second language, so they do not have native like competence in English. It should be noted that Nairobi has native speakers of English who are said to speak 'White Kenyan English' (Hoffman, 2010). It is possible that those who have interacted with them closely and on a daily basis have native like competence in English. As already stated, Kiswahili in Nairobi is mainly spoken as a second language. This notwithstanding, there are a few people who have native like competence in it. Most of those who speak the other Kenyan mother tongues as their first language in Nairobi have native like command in those languages.

According to Wardhaugh (2002):

A bilingual, or multilingual, situation ... sometimes ... leads to diffusion; that is, certain features spread from one language to the other (or others) as a result of the contact situation, particularly certain kinds of syntactic features (pp. 98-99).

The features discussed in this paper are not limited to syntactic ones only. Having identified the major languages spoken by multilinguals in Nairobi, it is important to introduce the idea of codes which Wardhaugh (2002)

defines as ‘... a system used for communication between two or more parties’. On the same page, he goes on to state that:

People, then, are usually required to select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances and thereby create a new code in the process known as code-switching (p. 100).

What Wardhaugh describes in the foregoing quotation is witnessed in the rest of the sections of this paper. Apart from code switching from one language to another while speaking Kiswahili, a lot of borrowing has taken place.

5.1. Lexical borrowing

There are forms of lexical borrowings that are followed by adaptation as well as those that are not followed by any adaptation. There are many studies on borrowings that have been carried out. For this reason, section 5.1.1 does not dwell much on borrowings that are readily available in studies such as King’ei (1999), Gaw (2009), etc.

5.1.1 Forms involving lexical borrowing followed by adaptation

The forms that are in italics are originally English words that have been borrowed into Kiswahili. The form that is in bold type in the first example below is used exactly as it is in English. Examples of that nature are discussed in section 5.1.2.

1. Ndio natoka **town** kwa *basi*. 'I am just leaving town by bus'.

2. *Mwanaspoti* 'sports fun' or 'sportsman'

The word 'basi' in example (1) is a borrowing from the English word 'bus'. This English word has only one syllable but when borrowed into Kiswahili, it acquires two syllables to fit in within the open syllable structure of Kiswahili. An open syllable always ends in a vowel while a closed one ends in a consonant. English has both open and closed syllables while Kiswahili has always had open syllables. However, it should be noted that due to borrowings from Arabic for example, it has started acquiring closed syllables. For example, '*takriban*' which is a word borrowed from Arabic has three syllables. When divided into syllables, using a hyphen, it is realized as '*ta-kri-ban*'. In this word the second and third syllables are not original forms of Kiswahili syllables because they do not have a CV structure. Whereas the second syllable has a CCV structure, the third one has CVC structure. Both of them are foreign to Kiswahili.

Kiswahili contains very many words that are borrowed from English. As they are borrowed they are then transformed to fit within the sound pattern and syllable structure of Kiswahili. A few of these words are listed below.

3. English	Kiswahili	English	Kiswahili
television	televisheni	office	ofisi
bicycle	baiskeli	engine	injini
bank	benki	sweater	sweta
report	ripoti	conductor	kondakta

The word conductor becomes *kondakta* when borrowed into Kiswahili. The same English word is *manamba* in Kiswahili. *Kondakta* and *manamba* are used synonymously in Kiswahili. Most of the words in (3) above have

already found their way into Kamusiya Kiswahili Sanifu (2004). They are commonly used in Nairobi and it may not be clear whether some of these words came into use in Nairobi from other cities such as Mombasa in Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma, etc., in Tanzania where Kiswahili is used extensively and intensively.

5.1.2 *Forms involving lexical borrowing without adaptation*

There are borrowings into Kiswahili that occur without adaptations. These borrowings in our data were from English, Kikamba, Kikuyu and Dholuo. In this subsection, English words used in Kiswahili conversations without any modifications are given. Some are usually used because there is lack of a better Kiswahili term to define the concept. Some examples are given below. All such English words are in italics.

4. Louis, nakula *icecream* yako

‘Louis, I am eating your *icecream*’.

Tank moja ndio imebaki

‘Only one *tank* is left.’

[H]I *file* ilikuwa imelipiwa

‘This *file* had already been paid for.’

Sitaki ibebwe na *pickup*

‘I do not want it to be carried in a *pickup*.’

Niko ndani ya *tent*

‘I am in the *tent*.’

Nimepata *missed call* yako.

‘I have received your *missed call*.’

Si *fair!* Si *fair!* Eti siwezi kaa nje na rafiki zangu hadi *late*

‘It is not *fair!* It is not *fair!* That, I cannot stay out with my friends until *late*.’

The words in italics ‘*icecream*’, ‘*tank*’, ‘*file*’, ‘*pickup*’, ‘*tent*’, ‘*missed call*’, ‘*fair*’, ‘*late*’ and ‘*out*’ are all used exactly as they occur in English. The terms in italics are used for lack of access to a better term at the time of the conversation. The speakers in my opinion do not also bother or struggle to get the appropriate Kiswahili term like *hema* for tent because they know that they will be understood by their addressees. In addition, ‘*fair*’, ‘*late*’ and ‘*out*’ seem to be used by teenagers to identify with their peers. The terms ‘*late*’ and ‘*out*’ are used to refer to being out late in the night, it is not related to being late for an activity. ‘*Out*’ refers to being in a place where the youth and other people like meeting in the evening. It could be in a disco, a restaurant or a pub. Even though the youth use these terms for group identity, when we look at their meaning critically, there are no better Kiswahili terms to express the meaning intended. These terms are frequently heard in the conversations of the youth. Some of these examples are similar to the ones identified by Myers-Scotton (2002: 88-89) for Kiswahili/ English contact. The examples show that the words are picked from English without modification. She states that they follow the word order of Kiswahili.

The next set of examples shows English terms that have Kiswahili equivalents. However, for some reason the speakers prefer to use them and not the Kiswahili ones.

5. Umemaliza *class*

‘Have finished class (Is class over) (Umemaliza darasa)?’

Wapi *exactly* ‘where exactly (Wapi Kamili)?’

Umepata *job* ‘Have you found a job (Umepata Kazi)?’

Na hii ni *Friday* ‘And this is Friday (Na hii ni Ijumaa).’

Nauliza kama ikona *receipt*

‘I am asking if it has a receipt’ (Nauliza Kama iko na risiti).’

Ndio natoka *town* kwa basi

'I am leaving town by bus' (Natoka mjini kwa basi).'

All these English words as seen in the constructions in italics have Kiswahili equivalents but the English ones are preferred. The word '*class*' probably is used because it is more convenient in terms of length both in its spoken and written forms. The word '*Friday*' is associated with weekend and going out or away from home for a drink or to have fun after a week's work in the city more than the word *Ijumaa*. *Ijumaa*, which means Friday, probably does not have the same connotations. There is absolutely no justification that we can get for the use of '*receipt*' because its Kiswahili equivalent *risiti* is a loan word formed from it. Once again the explanation that could be given is that the speakers, being multilingual, know that their addressees who live and work in Nairobi have knowledge of both English and Kiswahili.

Apart from English, Kikamba is Kenyan language that is heard in Kiswahili speech. There are Kikamba words commonly used in Kiswahili conversations in non-standard forms of Kiswahili. The Kikamba words probably convey meaning in a better way than some of their Kiswahili equivalents. Some examples of the Kikamba words are given below in italics.

6. Wakamba wengi walipenda kutumia *kamuti* zamani

'Many Akamba people loved using charms.'

Habari yako kasee 'How are you age-mate?'

Juma *alituma* nikachelewa kwenda darasani

'Juma was the cause of my lateness for class.'

Kazi yetu *imethela*. Twende tukapumzike

'Our work is finished. Let us go and take a rest.'

Chifu alisema kuwa watakaopatikana *wakimangamanga* usiku watakamatwa.

'The chief said that those who will be found loitering at night will be caught?

Hali ya maisha *imethuka* siku hizi. Hakuna pesa kabisa.

'The condition of life is bad. There is no money.

The Kikamba words '*kamuti*', '*kasee*', '*tuma*', '*thela*', '*mangamanga*' and '*thuka*' which are used in the constructions I (6) are given in example (7) with their Kiswahili and English translations.

7. Kikamba	Kiswahili	English
<i>kamuti</i>	uchawi/ hirizi	charms/love potions
<i>kasee</i>	rika yangu	age-mates/ contemporaries/ buddy (It is purely used by males.)
<i>tuma</i>	sababisha/ fanya	cause to be/happen'
<i>thela</i>	isha	get finished
<i>mangamanga</i>	tangatanga/ kurandaranda)	loiter/walk around aimlessly
<i>thuka</i>	haribika/ enda mrama	bad/ get spoilt

The fact that these Kikamba words have Kiswahili equivalents means that they do not have to be used within Kiswahili conversations. Some of these Kikamba words are used more than others in conversations. For example, '*kamuti*', '*tuma*', '*mangamanga*' and '*thuka*' are more frequently used than the others. '*Mangamanga*' is the most common followed by '*Kamuti*'. In fact '*mangamanga*' is found in Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu (2004). Therefore, it is a Standard Kiswahili word. Though one of my informants indicated that it was originally a Kikamba word, the direction of borrowing may not be very clear. It could have been borrowed from Kiswahili to Kikamba or vice versa. The other words, though most commonly used by

Kikamba speakers of Kiswahili, have not been accepted into Standard Kiswahili and are not widespread but are used by members of a group who understand them.

Kikuyu is yet another language that has an influence on the informal and non-standard forms of Kiswahili. The words borrowed from Kikuyu are more familiar and more widespread than the Kikamba ones. It is possible that they are more widespread because Kikuyu is the Kenyan mother tongue with the highest population in Kenya. In our data some of these words are ‘*guka*’, ‘*cucu (shosho)*’, ‘*ngiri*’ and ‘*githeri*’. The meaning of each of them is given in (8) below.

8. Kikuyu	Kiswahili	English
<i>guka</i>	babu	grandfather
<i>cucu</i>	nyanya	grandmother
<i>ngiri</i>	elfu	thousand
<i>githeri</i>	chakula: mchanganyiko wa mahindi na maharagwe	food: a mixture of maize and beans

These words were used within a context as seen in example (9). It is doubtful whether there is anyone in Nairobi who is a speaker of Kiswahili and does not understand the Kikuyu words in examples (8) and (9).

9. Tuliwatembelea *cucu (shosho)* na *guka*

‘We visited our grandmother and grandfather’.

Watu *ngiri* mbili walipiga kura

‘Two hundred people voted.’

Unakula *githeri* kila siku

‘You eat a mixture of maize and beans daily.’

Though the words in (8) and (9) are still not used in Standard Kiswahili, they are used by people who speak the other Kenyan mother tongues when speaking Kiswahili.

There were words which were found to exist in both Kikamba and Kikuyu. Two of these words are ‘wana’ and ‘Ngai’. Whereas the first one is not common, the second one is very common. Their meanings in Kiswahili and English are given in example (10).

10. Kikuyu	Kikamba	Kiswahili	English
wana	wana	utoto	childishness/ childish mannerisms/ immaturity’
Ngai	Ngai	Mungu	God/ It is used to express surprise

These words were used within a context as seen in examples (11) and (12). Example (12) is a conversation between two people, namely Kamau and Njeri. Kamau and Njeri are Kikuyu names.

11. Mutua na Njoroge huwa na *wana* mwingi sana
‘Mutua and Njoroge have a lot of childishness.’

12. Kamau: Nimeiona picha ya mtoto wako gazetini
‘I have seen your child’s photo in the newspaper’.
Njeri: *Ngai!* Gazeti lenyewe liko wapi
‘God! Where is the newspaper?’

The exclamation *Ngai* is quite common in informal Kiswahili and is heard when English is used in informal contexts as well.

The last set of lexical items is drawn from Dholuo. We begin with the word *nduru* ‘scream’ whose analysis could be a bit controversial. This word could have found its way into the Kiswahili dictionary from Dholuo. In the

Kiswahili Dictionary, it is defined as '*kilio cha kuomba msaada; yowe, ukunga.*' (Kamusiya Kiswahili Sanifu, 2004: 420). This means 'a cry for help'. This is the same meaning that it has in Dholuo. It could be equated to screaming or a cry of distress. However, in informal Kiswahili, it also means 'shouts or screams of happiness.' Therefore, it is not clear whether Dholuo borrowed from Kiswahili or vice versa.

Although not in formal Kiswahili, these Dholuo words have become so famous with non-Dholuo Swahili speakers mainly through social media and the comedy industry. Some non-Dholuo speakers use them when addressing Dholuo speakers or an audience in a comedy show. The Dholuo speakers themselves also use them. Some of the common examples are given in (13) below.

13. Dholuo	Kiswahili	English
donge	sindio	isn't it
yawa	- -	(This interjection provokes pity)
mos mos	pole pole	slowly
omena	dagaa	sardine
serkal	serikali	government
sufria	sufuria	cooking pan
maber ahinya kabisa	nzuri sana kabisa	a very good one

The first four words are original Dholuo words. The next two words, that is, '*serkal*' and '*sufria*' are borrowed from Kiswahili. Some of them are used within a context as seen in examples (14).

14. Mtoto amekula, *donge* 'the child has eaten, isn't it?'
 Nimechoka *yawa* 'I am tired *yawa*'.
 Tembea *mosmos* 'walk slowly'
 Hii *serkal* ni mpya 'this government is new.'

Unlike English, Kihwahili and Dholuo use one question tag ‘isn't it’ regardless of the verb in question. So, the translation of ‘*donge*’ remains ‘isn't it’. The expression ‘*mosmos*’ ‘slowly’ came into Kihwahili most probably from a famous Dholuo - Swahili music track by the late artist E-sir. In the song, E-Sir uses the words ‘*pole pole mosmos*’ thus providing a translation in the track. Although the words *serkal* and *sufria* exist in Swahili as *serikali* and *sufuria*, respectively, television programs such as *Papa Shirandula* (on Citizen Television in Kenya) have made the Dholuo versions more likable and used in actual informal speech than the Standard Kihwahili versions.

The expression ‘*maber ahinya kabisa*’ found its way into the Kihwahili language through a media advert. It is popular because the Dholuo phrase ‘*maber ahinya*’ ‘a very good one’ was blended with the Kihwahili word ‘*kabisa*’ ‘too’ in a local advert in Kenya. The word ‘*kabisa*’ incidentally is also a borrowed word from Kihwahili into Dholuo. The word ‘*omena*’ has been used in all market places in Nairobi by all communities ever since Dholuo speakers come to Nairobi but the word has never found its way into the Kihwahili Dictionary probably because a Kihwahili word already exists. Another reason could be that Kihwahili is considered to be more prestigious than Dholuo.

The Luhya word ‘*mrenda*’, which is a slimy vegetable, is sold in the markets and super markets in Nairobi. This is the popular name used by those who buy and sell it. Some of the Luhya communities call it ‘*mrere*’. The word is used in Kihwahili conversations in the market. The Luhya word ‘*ingokho*’, which means chicken in English and *kuku* in Kihwahili, is also used in informal Kihwahili. The word features in informal Kihwahili because it is said that members of this community love eating chicken.

5.2 Forms involving phonology

It was noted that there was the use of vowels produced with an advanced tongue root [+ATR] in some words, e.g., [e] or [o] which do not exist in Kiswahili. These vowels were mostly picked from Christian songs. [+ATR] vowels are produced with the tongue root pushed forward so that there is more space in the pharynx in their production while [-ATR] vowels are produced with a retracted tongue root. Consider the examples given below.

- 15. tuende [tuende] instead of [tuɛndɛ] 'Let us go'
- nyote [note] instead of [notɛ] 'all'
- yeye [jeje] instead of [jɛjɛ] 'him/her'
- mwokozi [mwokozi] instead of [mwokozɪ] 'saviour'

The use of vowels not found in Kiswahili could be as a result of influence from Nilotic languages such as Dholuo which tend to employ vowel harmony. In Dholuo [+ATR] vowels usually occur together in words just as the [-ATR] vowels. Unlike in Kiswahili, [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels in Dholuo rarely occur together apart from the vowel /a/ which occurs with either [+ATR] or [-ATR] vowels. These forms are not accepted in Standard Kiswahili.

Another influence that is seen is that Kiswahili is spoken with mother tongue accents so that it is easy to identify the region in Kenya where a speaker comes from. Some Kiswahili speakers whose mother tongue is Dholuo employ vowel root lengthening when speaking Kiswahili. According to Okombo (1982) cited in Ngala (1994) there is a rule

- ... which lengthens a vowel when it precedes one or two consonants followed by either one or no vowel at all in utterance-final position.
- This affected vowel is ... the root vowel. In a consonant-final word, it

is the last vowel; in a vowel-final word, it is the second last vowel in a word (p. 139).

A formal phonological rule is then given by Okombo (1982) as follows:

$$16. \quad V \longrightarrow [+\text{long}] / \text{_____} \quad C^2_1V^1_0 \# S$$

(p. 25)

The rule is explained clearly in the preceding quotation. The following two examples are used to illustrate what then happens in a Kiswahili utterance.

17. Sufria ya kupika ugali [sufria ja kupika uga:li] ‘Cooking pan for preparing ugali’

Nimepika ugali na omena [nimepika ugali na omɛ:na] ‘I have cooked ugali and sardines.’

The sections that are in square brackets show a phonetic transcription of the two utterances. It should be noted that the last word of each utterance has a lengthened vowel in the penultimate syllable. This is the same position associated with stress in Dholuo for words ending in an open syllable. Some mother tongue speakers of Dholuo transfer this phenomenon to their spoken Kiswahili. They stress the vowels in this position by lengthening them. These vowels have undergone root-lengthening. It should also be noted that the root vowel could be in a closed syllable right at the end of an utterance in Dholuo. However, there were only open syllables in this position in Kiswahili utterances. Stress in Kiswahili is also penultimate but the difference is that in Kiswahili stress seems to be realized through increased muscular energy in forcing air out of the lungs.

5.3 Forms involving morphology

The data collected showed that there are Kiswahili morphemes that combine with English words. The English words do not change at all. Consider the morpheme combinations given below.

18. Swahili morpheme {M-} + English adjective

(a) m + smart → msmart 'a smart person'

ule mtu msmart 'that smart person'

(b) m + friendly → mfriendly 'a friendly person'

Charity ni mfriendly lakini ni mchoyo 'Charity is friendly but selfish'

(c) m(u) + obedient → m(u) + obedient 'obedient (person)'

m(u) obedient sana 'very obedient (person)'

Therefore, the Kiswahili morpheme {M-} combines with the English adjectives to form adjectives which modify nouns referring to human beings as seen in example 18. This morpheme belongs to the noun class m/wa. The word in example (18c) was found to have an optional (u) which is not present in Standard Kiswahili.

The morpheme {KU-} is yet another morpheme that is used in infinitive verb formation as seen in the next set of examples. Just as in example (18), it combines with English words.

19. Swahili morpheme {KU-} + English verb

(a) ku + call → kucall - to call

Nita kucall baadaye 'I will call you later'

(b) ku + drive → kudrive 'to drive'

Sijui kudrive gari 'I do not know how to drive'

(c) ku + buy → kubuy 'to buy'

Naenda Junction kubuy labcoat. 'I am going to Junction to buy a lab coat'

Another Kiswahili morpheme which resembles the one seen in (19) exists in Kiswahili but in this case it combines with adjectives

20. Swahili morpheme {KU} + English adjective

(a) ku + hot → kuhot 'hot'

Nairobi ni kuhot 'Nairobi is hot'

(b) ku + tight → kutight 'tight'

Siku hizi ni kutight 'Nowadays it is tight'

(c) ku + harsh → kuharsh 'harsh'

kuharsh siku hizi 'Nowadays it is harsh'

This morpheme combines with adjectives to modify the situation experienced in the environment. Therefore, it seems to be an adjective forming morpheme. The Standard Kiswahili form of (20a) is '*Kuna joto Nairobi*' or '*Nairobi kuna joto*' to mean Nairobi is hot.

The Swahili morpheme {VI} also combines with English adjectives to modify verbs as seen in example (21). They combine to form adverbs. Therefore in this context, it is an adverb forming morpheme.

21. Kiswahili Morpheme {VI} + English adjective

(a) vi + nice → vinice 'nicely'

Wahu huimba vinice 'Wahu sings nicely'.

(b) vi + nasty → vinasty 'nastily'

Tyson alimpiga mpinzani wake vinasty 'Tyson beat his opponent nastily'

The Kiswahili morpheme {VIJI} also combines with an English noun as seen in 22.

22. Kiswahili morpheme {VIJI} + English noun

Viji + gadget → Vijigadget 'small gadgets'

Viji + gajeti → Vijigajeti 'small gadgets'

Wako navijigajeti 'They have small gadgets'

The morpheme is a diminutive morpheme because it shows smallness in size. *Gajeti* is a Kiswahili word borrowed from the word English word 'gadget'.

5.4 Forms involving morphosyntax

The forms involving morphosyntax in the data were not many. Some of the examples are given below.

23. Amesha + print → ameshaprint 'he/she has already printed'

Nimepata *ameshaprint* 'I found that he/she has already printed'

In (23) *amesh-* is a combination of morphemes. The morpheme *a-* refers to he/she, *-me-* is a past tense marker, while *-sha-* indicate completed action. The three morphemes combine with *print* to form a sentence. Therefore whereas the morphemes come from Kiswahili, the verb is picked from English. The speaker knows that combining English and Kiswahili in Nairobi will not lead to misunderstanding or lack of communication.

24. (a) enda + anga → endanga 'go (habitual)'

Naendanga kila siku 'I go daily (habitual)'

Mimi huenda kila siku 'I go daily (habitual – Standard Kiswahili)'

(b) Siweki +angi→siwekangi

Siwekangi hapo 'I never put there (habitual)'

Huwa siweki hapo 'I never put there (habitual – Standard Kiswahili)'

In (24a) and (b) *anga* and *angiare* morphemes that show the habitual aspect. Whereas the later is used with forms that show negation, the former is not. This is a morpheme that is borrowed into Kiswahili from the dialects of the Luhya language.

25. (a) Peleka + ko→Pelekako 'Take (polite form)'

Pelekako motto shule leo 'Take the child to school today (polite form)'

Tafadhali peleka mtoto shule leo 'Take the child to school (polite form – Standard Kiswahili)'

(b) Enda +ko→Endako 'go (polite form)'

Endako uone 'go and see (polite form)'

Enda uone 'go and see (Standard Kiswahili)'

The example in (25) is once again drawn into Kiswahili from the dialects of the Luhya language. The main focus is on the morpheme -ko- which seems to be a marker of politeness. Without it the sentence would seem to be more of a command than a polite request. Standard Kiswahili does not have these colloquial forms.

26. Gombana + *nishwa* → Gombanishwa 'to quarrel someone'

Gombeza 'to quarrel someone (Standard Kiswahili)'

Example (26) is a translation from Kikuyu. The Standard Kiswahili form is *gombeza*. All the forms in examples (23) to (26) are not found in

Standard Kiswahili. Example (23) is a combination of Kiswahili and English. Examples (24) and (25) are dominant in the Kiswahili spoken by the Luhya community though most Kenyans use them at the moment as well especially example (24).

5.5 Forms involving English sentences and phrases (syntax)

In this section, it should be noted that whole English or Kiswahili sentences and phrases were used, unlike in section 5.1.2 where single words from the Kenyan mother tongues were mostly used in Kiswahili utterances.

27. (a) *If possible ita driver.* Mwalimu hakai kuja 'If possible call the driver. It is unlikely that the teacher will come.'

(b) *Mimi ni mtu mkubwa, almost an adult* 'I am a grown up, almost an adult.'

(c) *Anafaa kujua, I am just looking out for her* 'She should know, I am just looking out for her.'

(d) *Anafaa kujua, mimi ni 21st Century girl* 'She should know, I am a 21st Century girl.'

As seen from the English translations in Example (27), there is almost a balance between the use of English and Kiswahili in sentences and phrases. Examples (27) (b), (c) and (d) were drawn from a poem recited by school girls in form four who represented the typical informal speech of the youth in Nairobi. The main reason why Kiswahili and English are used almost at par to an extent is that most if not all Nairobi residents are assumed to be having knowledge of both languages. Such sentences and phrase are very frequent in the speeches of people of all social classes. The same assumption cannot be made for Sheng and the mother tongues. Therefore, it is difficult to find whole sentences or phrases in Sheng and the mother

tongues within Kiswahili conversations. This may only happen between speakers who relate closely or belong to the same language group.

5.6 Some forms involving semantics

The forms referred to in this section do not convey exactly the same meaning as intended in Kiswahili because they are direct translations from Dholuo. Consider example (28).

28. (a) Wapi *nduru* ya wanaume (Standard Kiswahili - *vigelegele* would be the closest equivalent)(See the explanation provided for *nduru* in section 5.1.2.)

(b) Baridi *inakukula* ‘Cold is eating me (Direct translation from Dholuo).’

Ninahisi baridi ‘I am feeling cold (Standard Kiswahili).’

(c) *Unasikia* baridi ‘Are you hearing cold (Direct translation from Dholuo)?’

Unahisi baridi ‘Are you feeling cold (Standard Kiswahili)?’

Whereas *kula* means ‘eat’, *sikia* means ‘hear’. These two Kiswahili words are not used in relation to feeling cold unlike in Dholuo. To a speaker of Dholuo, who is not familiar with the Standard Kiswahili form, the non-standard forms in 28 (b) and (c) are perfectly alright because they are direct translation.

5.7 Forms from Sheng

It would be wrong to write about languages in Nairobi without paying attention to Sheng. This section shows that non-formal Kiswahili has already stated borrowing from Sheng. Sheng has to be given more recognition than

in the past. It is already taking its place like any other mother tongue in Nairobi that has an influence on Kiswahili. Gaw (2009) states that ‘Sheng is a large part of the linguistic identity of many young Kenyans in Nairobi, and therefore becomes a central part of working with young people’ (p. 35). As a result Sheng itself has also started exerting itself to the extent of having an influence on Kiswahili especially among the youth. Mukhwana (2015) mentions another variety that is related to Sheng when he states that:

The two codes are called Sheng and Engsh and are[,] respectively[,] language varieties of the slum and affluent dwelling places in Kenyan urban centres – especially in Nairobi.... Engsh is but a variety of Sheng and that Sheng can no longer be taken for granted on the Kenyan linguistic scene (p. 94).

Sheng is not restricted to slums, but could be said to be more prevalent in there. Researchers such as Abdulaziz and Osinde (1997) and Mukhwana (2014) state that Sheng and Engsh are used by young people in Kenya and more specifically in Nairobi when addressing each other. Mukhwana (2015) explains that whereas Sheng is spoken by young people of all social classes and some of whom may be working, Engsh is spoken by children of the Kenyan elite.

In the data collected, some forms from Sheng were also seen to be used in Kiswahili. A few examples are given in (29) below.

29. (a) *Angalia kama umelipwa poa* ‘Check if you have been paid well.’ (The Sheng word is in italics)

Angalia kama umelipwa vizuri ‘Check if you have been paid well.’
(Standard Kiswahili)

(b) *Amejā* nini ‘Why is he/she annoyed’ (The Sheng word is in italics)

Amekasirika kwanini ‘Why is he/she annoyed’ (Standard Kiswahili)

(c) Siwekangi *do* tu hivi ‘I don’t keep my money anyhow’ (The Sheng word is in italics)

Huwa siweki pesa ovyoovyoo ‘I don’t keep my money anyhow’ (Standard Kiswahili)

The Sheng words in (29) are ‘*poa*’, ‘*jam*’ and ‘*do*’. In (29a) ‘*poa*’ means well. In Standard Kiswahili, it means to cool down, to be contented or to get well. ‘*Jam*’ means to get angry or annoyed. It is borrowed from English to Sheng and ‘*do*’ means money. Therefore, ‘*jam*’ and ‘*do*’ are not Kiswahili words. As seen in (29a), (b) and (c), Kiswahili has started borrowing from Sheng, in the same way that it is seen to borrow from English and the dominant Kenyan mother tongues in Nairobi. In (29b) there is a form involving morphosyntax between Kiswahili and Sheng just as seen in section 5.4 between Kiswahili and the other languages spoken in Nairobi. This section shows that Sheng is a language just like any other in Nairobi. It is getting to influence Kiswahili just like the other languages. The influence of English on Kiswahili was not witnessed in the data collected. This is possibly because English has a leaning towards or is more English than Kiswahili.

6. Some Consequences of the Influence of Other Languages on Kiswahili

The influence of these forms may eventually become part of Standard Kiswahili. Since language changes over time, Kiswahili may also find itself changing as a result of the influence of the languages it interacts with.

Other non-native dialects of Kiswahili may eventually emerge and this process has already begun. The forms seen in section 5.5 which involve

morphosyntax are quite prevalent in the Kiswahili spoken in western Kenya. These forms are also heard in the informal speech of some Kiswahili speakers in Nairobi. Therefore, morphemes that do not exist in Kiswahili may find a place in that language.

Some Sheng words may also eventually be used as part of the Kiswahili vocabulary. The word '*poa*' for example, whose Kiswahili meaning is quite close to the meaning that it has Sheng may eventually get its way into the Kiswahili dictionary. If this happens then the word '*poa*' will be said to have undergone semantic broadening in Kiswahili. Sheng is firmly rooting itself in Kenya just as any other mother tongue since it has started influencing Kiswahili.

The borrowings that are witnessed as a result of the interactions between Kiswahili and other languages in Nairobi may affect Kiswahili phonology. At the level of individual sounds new sounds may get into Kiswahili, sound sequences that are not part of the pattern found in Kiswahili may emerge. Finally, the syllable structure of Kiswahili may continue to be extended to accommodate new patterns.

7. Conclusion

The paper has shown that the most influence on Kiswahili is from English. Words that have been borrowed from English have found their way into the Kiswahili dictionaries. In other words, the borrowings are used in Standard Kiswahili. It has also shown that the major languages in Nairobi namely, Kikamba, Kikuyu, Dholuo and Luhya have an influence on Kiswahili. The influence from these Kenyan mother tongues has not been accepted in Standard Kiswahili. These forms from local languages are used mainly in conversations that occur in informal settings especially in the entertainment industry. The explanation for this could be that in terms of

prestige English is seen to be higher than Kiswahili. There was influence in terms of lexical borrowing followed by adaptation to the patterns found in Kiswahili and lexical borrowing without adaptation. There were also other forms involving phonology, morphology, morphosyntax and syntax mainly from English, and lastly, forms involving semantics. Apart from influence from English and four majority mother tongues in Kenya, Sheng also had an influence on Kiswahili. Sheng, which is rejected by some city dwellers, has therefore asserted itself as a language by being borrowed back into Kiswahili, its original base language. The rate at which Sheng is being borrowed back into Kiswahili seems to be higher than that of the mother tongues. It is concluded that the most predictable consequences of the influence of other languages on Kiswahili in Nairobi would be language change eventually and/ or the emergence of several other non-native varieties of Kiswahili. It is concluded that as far as this influence on Kiswahili goes, apart from English, Sheng is that language to watch.

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Appendix



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Article Submission and Review Process

Article 1 - Purpose

The purpose of this regulation is to give guidelines about manuscript submission and the review process for submissions to the Asian Journal of African Affairs (hereafter referred to as “the Journal”) published by the Institute of African Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

Article 2 - Publishing time

The journal is published twice a year, in February and in August.

Article 3 - Type and content of Article

1. Manuscripts should be original work and academic contributions to African studies or Africa related field of studies. The submitted article should be of core academic values and should have originality which has not been submitted or published in any other journal.

2. The article could be a research paper or a review paper. A research paper is a paper with a theoretic analysis based on an experiential field study and literature materials. A review paper introduces the trend of research about particular issues and includes interviews and a book review.

Article 4 - Structure and activities of the editorial Board

1. The editorial board will be appointed by the director of the Institute of African Studies through discussion with the steering committee of the institute, and should be announced in the second half of the year's general meeting of the institute. The editorial board will consist of one chairman of the board and a number of other board members from various academic disciplines. The director will consider first, whether their final degree matches with the field of study for review, and second, their 5 years research achievement.
2. The board members can be re-appointed to serve up to 4 years without pre-notifying reasons.
3. The editorial committee will assign reviewers for the submitted manuscripts and accordingly make the final decision whether to publish the article.
4. The board members can independently suggest for modifications and supplements of the submitted manuscripts.

Article 5 - Submitting manuscripts

1. Application and submitting the manuscript

Authors wishing to publish their manuscripts need to fill out and submit the application form prepared by the institute and submit their manuscripts before the deadline. The manuscripts will have to be submitted either by email to the chief editor (the chairman of the board) or through the online system. Manuscripts should strictly be submitted in MS Word (latest version than '97) file format. The editorial board will reply by email upon reception of the manuscript. The detailed deadline for manuscript submission and the review schedule is explained in Article 7.

2. Identification of authors in co-authored papers

For co-authored manuscripts, details about the first author should be filled on the application form. And information about the first and second authors should be noted in order on the submitted manuscript.

3. Amount of the manuscript

Manuscripts, not exceeding 11,000 words in length, must be typed in MS Word. A title page includes the author's name, current position, postal address, telephone number, e-mail address and description of scholarly backgrounds and research interests.

4. Abstract and title

In principle, a manuscript written in English need to consist of a Korean abstract and a Korean title and vice versa. However, if the manuscript is submitted from overseas countries, there is no need to include the abstract and title in Korean. The abstract should not be more than 250 words while Korean abstract should not be more than two pages.

5. Designation of keywords

Manuscripts should contain 5 to 8 keywords revealing important concepts of the study both in English and Korean languages.

6. Submitted manuscripts will not be returned to the authors.

7. Refer to the guidelines of manuscript writing about the editorial policies for submission of manuscripts.

Article 6 - Reviewing policy

1. Gathering of the editorial board and manuscript review

The editor-in-chief will call for the first gathering of the editorial board within one week after the deadline of manuscript submission. Submitted manuscript will pass through the review process in order to decide whether to publish it and the publishing of book reviews will be decided by the editorial board.

2. Appointment of reviewers

The task of reviewing the manuscripts will be done by reviewers designated by the editorial board or through the board meeting. The first board meeting will assign two reviewers for one manuscript. In principle, a person from the same institution or the same department with the manuscript submitter cannot be appointed as a reviewer.

3. Guarantee about anonymity of the review process

The review process needs to be fairly conducted by removing any clue about the identities of both the author and the reviewer.

4. The appointed reviewers need to conduct the manuscript review and submit their suggestion for modification to the editorial board based on the chapter 6 of the institute's regulation about the details of evaluation criteria.

5. The evaluation criteria will be 30% for originality, 40% completion, and 30% for contribution of the paper. In order for the paper to be accepted for publishing, the result must be with a score more than 15% points in each category with 60% points in total.

6. Judgment of the editorial board

The editor-in-chief calls the editorial board for the second board meeting within one month from the first board meeting and will judge on the final acceptance of the manuscript for publishing.

Reviewer (A)	Reviewer (B)	Evaluation Criteria
Pass	Pass	Publish
Pass	Partial modification	Publish after modification
Partial modification	Partial modification	
Pass	Fundamental modification	Second review after modification
Partial modification	Fundamental modification	
Pass	Fail	Modify or Fail after review by a third reviewer
Partial modification	Fail	
Fundamental modification	Fundamental modification	Not publish
Fundamental modification	Fail	
Fail	Fail	

7. Notification of the results

The editorial board will notify the final decision to the authors of the manuscripts.

1) Manuscripts with a “Not publish” decision could be resubmitted to the journal with the same topic and the same content.

2) Manuscripts with a “Modify or Fail after review by a third person” or “Second review after modification” decision will not be published on the

corresponding volume of the journal. The author could submit a new application form after making a complete modification to the manuscript and subsequently decision will be made whether to publish it on the next volume through a review process.

3) Manuscripts with a “Publish after modification” decision will be published after the author’s modification and final judgment by the editorial board. The author is expected to submit the modified paper by the deadline set by the editorial board. If the author fails to accept the modification or supplementation request, the editorial board may cancel the publishing decision.

4) Manuscripts with a “Publish” decision will be published on the corresponding volume without any modification.

8. Final decision about publishing the paper

The editor-in-chief will call for the third board meeting within three weeks of the end of the second board meeting. The third board meeting will examine and make a final decision whether the modified manuscript submitted by the author is worth publishing it.

**Article 7 - Detailed timetable of publishing the journal
(manuscript submission, review day, end of review)**

	First half of the year volume (Feb. 28)	Second half of the year volume (Aug. 31)
Application deadline	Dec. 15	Jun. 15
Manuscript submission deadline	Dec. 30	Jun. 30
First editorial board meeting	Jan. 4	Jul. 4
Manuscript Review	Jan. 5- Jan. 31	Jul. 5 - Jul. 30
Second editorial board meeting	Feb. 1	Aug. 1
Request for modification	Feb. 2 - Feb. 15	Aug. 2 - Aug. 15
Third editorial board meeting	Feb. 16 - Feb. 25	Aug. 16 - Aug. 25
Publishing	Feb. 28	Aug. 31

Guidelines for Manuscript Writing

1. Authors are requested to provide an abstract summarizing the aim, result and conclusion of the article within 150-250 words together with 5 to 8 keywords. Submitted manuscript must not exceed 11,000 words including the abstract, notes and references, but excluding tables.
2. Articles should be formatted for an A4-sized paper in MS Word. All pages (including those containing only diagrams and tables) should be numbered consecutively.
3. The title page should include the author's name, current position, postal address, telephone number, e-mail address, description of scholarly backgrounds and research interests.
4. Include the name(s) of any sponsor(s) of the research contained in the paper, along with grant number(s).
5. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be e-mailed to: ias.hufs@gmail.com
6. All manuscripts submitted will be reviewed by the editorial board before publication.
7. References should be cited in the text according to the APA reference system, that is, use the last name of the author(s), the date of publication and, following quoted material, the page references. Also note:
 - a. Ibid. (and the like) are not used when repeating citations. Simply repeat the original citation verbatim, e.g. (Orwell 1945).
 - b. Multiple citations within parentheses should be divided by a semi-colon, and there should be no use of '&' within such multiple references.

References to works published in the same year should be cited as, e.g. (Smith 1991a, b).

c. Multiple citations within text should be ordered by date, not alphabetically by author's name, e.g. (Smith 1902; Jones and Bower 1934; Brown 1955, 1958a, b; Green 1995).

d. *et al.* may be used in citations within the text when a paper or book has three or more authors, but note that all names are given in the reference itself. In *et al.*, *et* should not be followed by a period.

e. Page spans in references should be given in full, e.g. Sedgewick (1935: 102-103).

The reference list should include every work cited in the text. It should be ensured that dates, spelling and title used in the text are consistent with those listed in the References. In addition, page numbers are required for articles, both place of publication and publisher are required for books cited and, where relevant, translator and date of first publication should be included. It should be noted that *et al.* should not be used in the reference list; rather each author's full name or surname and initials need to be spell out. Please refer to the following APA-style in-text citations and reference list.

Citing an Author or Authors

A Work by Two Authors:

Research by Wegener and Petty (1994) supports...

(Wegener & Petty, 1994)

A Work by more than Three Authors:

Harris et al. (2001) argued...

(Harris et al., 2001)

Unknown Author: If the work does not have an author, cite the source by its title in the signal phrase or use the first word or two in the parentheses.

Organization as an Author:

According to the American Psychological Association (2000),...

First citation: (Mothers Against Drunk Driving [MADD], 2000)

Second citation: (MADD, 2000)

Two or More Works in the Same Parentheses:

order them alphabetically, separated by a semi-colon

(Berndt, 2002; Harlow, 1983)

Authors with the Same Last Name:

(E. Johnson, 2001; L. Johnson, 1998)

Two or More Works by the Same Author in the Same Year:

Research by Berndt (1981a) illustrated that...

Personal Communication:

For interviews, letters, e-mails, and other person-to-person communication, cite the communicator's name, the fact that it was personal communication, and the date of the communication. Do not include personal communication in the reference list.

(E. Robbins, personal communication, January 4, 2001).

A. P. Smith also claimed that many of her students had difficulties with APA style (personal communication, November 3, 2002).

Citing Indirect Sources

Johnson argued that...(as cited in Smith, 2003, p. 102).

Electronic Sources

Kenneth (2000) explained...

Unknown Author and Unknown Date: use the abbreviation "n.d." (for "no date")

Another study of students and research decisions discovered that students succeeded with tutoring ("Tutoring and APA," n.d.).

Sources without Page Numbers

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Graphic Data (e.g. Interactive Maps and Other Graphic Representations of Data)

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