

"EGBE BERE UGO BERE" AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE IGBO CONCEPT OF CO-EXISTENCE AND UNITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper intends to examine "Egbe bere Ugo bere" Igbo proverb and employ its symbolic lesson to illustrate expected co-existence among Nigerian ethnic peoples for the purpose of fostering unity. The choice of this topic comes on the backdrop of Nigeria ambient situation characterized by disequilibrium in socio-political and economic arrangements which have encouraged exclusion of certain ethnic groups, divisive tendencies and clamour for separation from the whole by the parts that feel ostracized in the scheme of things. It is the belief of this paper that "Egbe bere Ugo bere" philosophy and the lessons drawn from it will restore social equilibrium, fairness and equity in distribution of social and collective goods, and restore the sense of belonging to the aggrieved groups. The crux of this paper is to show that the peoples of Nigeria can possibly co-exist and remain peaceful with ambient situation in check. It also highlights how the divisive and centrifugal odds and forces that threaten Nigeria peoples' unity can be managed through the Egbe bere Ugo bere philosophy of social dynamism. The approach of this paper will anchor on philosophical analysis of concepts and their contextual application.

Keywords: *Egbe, Ugo, ambient situation, Nigeria peoples, co-existence.*

Introduction

Owing to the Nigeria context, characterized in part by myriad of socio-political, religious, economic, security and other related problems, the speculations across the country and beyond have been the pessimistic perception about the Nigeria's corporate existence. It is observed that the iniquitous social structures and system arrangements, policy programs and practices, pressures and forces that divide the country are stronger than those that unite in the midst of much ado about talks of unity. Questions arise about the expected leadership structures and arrangements and about those statesmen that are looked upon to challenge such iniquitous systems but who kept quiet. Questions are also raised about or from the angle of managing the diversities of the country. It is unfortunately noticed that the governmental of Nigeria as it is arranged, kills the hope for a united country. It is seen pessimistically in some quarters that hope for a continued one Nigeria is a forgotten dream or a dashed hope since the centrifugal forces are strongly overwhelming the centripetal forces. Thus for this supposed view, it is deemed paradoxical to think of a united Nigeria amidst these absurdities or odds. To a good number of the citizenry, the future corporate existence of Nigeria is bleak with respect to this ambient situation. It is also supposed that this state of affair has been the catalyst propelling some subtle centrifugal moves that are fostering strong ethnic affinity and loyalty.

Furthermore, the ember of this state of affair is being fanned by ethnic sentiments and dissatisfaction with turnout of events in the current Nigerian state. Threats to secede, the upsurge of ethnic separatist groups, terrorism, religious conflicts, marginalization, political exclusion, resource control controversies and ethnic hostilities, farmers-herders clashes and violence and the perceived mismanagement of the Nigeria's diverse nature, contain the internal contradictions that tend to ravage and spilt Nigeria. To a considerable number, the concept of Nigeria as an indivisible and indissoluble entity is no more held sacrosanct. Minor misunderstanding that should be considered as a means to strengthen the entity is suspiciously misconstrued, escalated and taken as tool to fan the ember of disintegration.

These views notwithstanding, this article argues from an optimistic perspective that a stronger Nigeria where social justice reigns, can be realized given a sincere pursuit to address the divisive tendencies. Sequel to this, the paper examines and explores the “egbe bere ugo bere” Igbo philosophical thought of mutual complementarity with the view to showing how the concept can be applied for the existence of Nigeria as a formidable entity. It illustrates that with the philosophy of ethnic equilibrium in the form of egbe bere ugo bere, the peoples and public affairs managers of Nigeria would divest themselves of the ills and contradictions that have been threatening the co-existence of groups in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications:

“Egbe bere Ugo bere”

“Egbe bere Ugo bere” is an Igbo proverb. When is interpreted into English, it means “Let the kite perch and let the eagle also perch”. It is an abridged form or derivative of “Egbe bere ugo bere, nke si ibe ya ebela, nku kwapu ya nike”. That is to mean: “Let the kite perch and let the eagle also perch. Whichever tries to prevent the other from perching, let his wings break off forcefully”. In this paper, the abridge form will be used to represent the full form. This proverb is one of the ways the traditional Igbo express their belief and philosophy of equilibrium in an ideal human and social relations as well as their revered moral values in language, thoughts and actions. It is one of those Igbo sayings that underscore communal values and the pre-eminence of the collective will of the community over the individual will. It may be used in relation to social justice and peace, order and harmony, co-operation and unity. Nwala Uzodinma (1985) approaches egbe bere ugo bere from the point of view of social justice. According to him, “egbe bere ugo bere is shown as relating to freedom of everyone to pursue and equally enjoy the gifts of nature without discrimination and emphasizes fair play” (p.149). In another way, egbe bere ugo bere may be used to show the compatibility (or neighbourhood) of diverse ethnic nationalities through tolerance and give and take. It expresses similar view as another Igbo proverb, “onye biri ibe ya biri: onye o bula si ibe ya ebila, onwu gbuo ya n'ike”. That is to mean, “Live and let live. Anyone who will not let the other live, let him die a sudden death”. The two proverbs represent 'complementary philosophical reflection' that recognizes the importance of the 'self' and 'the-other' and shows that 'the-one' is incomplete without 'the-other' and 'the-one' can only realize his purposeful or meaningful living and existence in the context of 'the-other(s)'. The 'self' and 'the-other' will be absorbed in the whole. It goes to show that the Igbo reflective thinking appropriates to an advantage the opposing views and inequalities inevitable in nature and culture to the possibility of co-existence. Egbe bere ugo bere re-enforces unity in diversity and the brotherhood of mankind irrespective of race,

colour, culture and creed. It is a synchronization of multiplicity of opinions, persons and world views. Egbe bere ugo bere thinks in terms of the whole from the parts. The proverb entails working out the conditions under which our diverse interests, opportunities, world views and challenges can be harmonized and reconciled with each other in such a manner that they become advantageous and functional to us instead of turning into dysfunctional and disadvantageous. It portrays opportunities towards full synthesis of opposites for the overall good and welfare of humanity. In this way, it seeks to proffer principles that transcend particular interests and focus on the general interest of the concerned. It shows that the Igbo think and emphasize "the whole" in which the full meaning of the parts is realized. In its other version, the proverb also warns of the boomerang effect of an attempt by any one (part) to subvert or prevent the other from existing or perching. The conception of the boomerang effect is not of a strait jacket dislocation of the whole system or entity. Rather, it is the annihilation of the part that does not want others to belong. Thus, "nke si ibe ya ebela nku kwapu ya nike" (whichever tries to prevent the other from perching, let his wings break off forcefully). It goes to mean, therefore, that it is the dissident or the hegemonic and domineering, the part that is opposed to the whole or want to hold sway on the others that will suffer and not the whole. The 'nku' (wing) is the most essential and unique feature of the two birds, egbe and ugo, and when they are broken off, the birds fall prey to the hungry mightier animals or other bigger birds. But in a situation where a given whole consists two parts and one part is annihilated, then the whole is no more complete. In this case, the destruction of the part is inimical to the existence of the whole. From the foregoing, it is easily discernable that the pristine intention of the Igbo sages in the proverb is unity and corporate existence, thus highlighting the coalitions of interests that impede harmony and the cooperation inherently enshrined in co-existence. Egbe bere ugo bere speaks of synthesis of dissimilar interest, habits, culture and people's ways of life. It attempts to resolve the ambience situations and paradoxes of human existence. The second but negative thought (clause or version), "nke si ibeya ebela nku kwapu ya nike" (whichever does not the other perch, let his wings break off forcefully) is to serve as caution or to discourage the rise of any harmful and unhealthy dissension or rivalry. In this connection, the Igbo sages share with communal view on the importance of the recognition of "the other" for "the self" existence. Egbe bere ugo bere brings to doubt how one can be happy when others are sad. In this conception it speaks that I am because you or we are. It follows therefore that the recognition of the other is sine qua non for the existence of the self. In this understanding, egbe bere ugo bere shares some common resemblance with the 'Ubuntu Philosophy'. Thus, Igbo sages used the 'Egbe bere Ugo bere' figuratively to illustrate a kind of eclectic pragmatism and harmonious neighbourhood that can exist between and among diverse ethnic groups, like Nigeria. This paper may not discuss the egbe bere ugo bere philosophy thoroughly without explicating the literary meanings of egbe and ugo and thereafter their symbolic meanings.

The Egbe and Ugo in Literary and Symbolic Perspective

The discussion of the concepts egbe and ugo in this section is meant to explicate the features that characterize these two birds and also to unravel the underlying realities of the Igbo symbolical and analogical use of egbe and ugo to explain the expected co-existence of mankind irrespective of their individual or group differences. This discovery will show that Igbo (sages) think reflectively and in fact, in complementary forms, from the wonders of

nature and objects perceived in their physical environment. In the case of egbe and ugo relationship, the Igbo analogically draw human-group social relations from the realm of the birds.

The Egbe (Kite)

The understanding in literature about kite according to William Stanford (1997), is that it is a common name given to about “30 species of typically lightly built birds of the hawk family, called Accipitridae, widely distributed over warmer regions of the world” (p.92). They are distinguished by their graceful gliding flight and occur most commonly near water or wetlands. The kite (egbe) flies at not quite a high altitude as the eagle. For the Igbo, egbe is the bird that hovers around (in the air) in search of preys such as chicken, small reptiles, small insects (including those friendly to farmers) and flies away to the top of trees when it captures games. Because of its regular activities, children are very familiar with egbe. Egbe has become a house-hold name among the children of Igbo extraction. One of the implications of this familiarity is that any other fowl of the air that hovers around is mistaken for egbe. This is the reason a common saying in Igbo goes that “anunu nwata mara aha ya bu egbe” (The only bird known to children is the Kite). The egbe has no place of pride in the Igbo society. In Igbo's perception, there exists enmity between the egbe and the society because it carries people's chickens stealthily as game. Egbe is derogatorily used to connote a swindler, rogue, suspect or mischievous element.

The Ugo (Eagle)

According to G. E. Watson (1991), the eagle may be described as any of many large predatory and majestic, heavy-beaked, big footed birds of prey belonging to the family Accipitridae (order Falconiformes). Eagles soar high altitudes, diving to earth when they spot their prey. Eagles prey on fish, rodents, birds, snakes, monkeys and rabbits. Sometimes, they steal the catch of other birds, such as ospreys. Eagles rely on surprise and strength rather than speed or agility. Eagles have been used as symbols of power, courage, freedom and immortality since ancient times. Because they are noted for their strength and keen vision, eagles have been symbol of war and imperial power since Babylonian times. G. E. Watson has observed that “the grandeur of eagles has inspired men since the Paleolithic (old stone Age), when drawings of eagles first appeared in European caves” (p.522). As eagles symbolize power, strength, courage, freedom, pride and immortality, they have long been used as national, military and heraldic emblems and as symbols in some religions. In Nigeria, the red eagle appears on the Coat of Arms (national symbol) and status as national strength and pride. In religious circle, in many ancient religions, the eagle symbolizes the protective strength of the deities and was the companion of the chief gods. Some North American Indians used the eagle as a symbol of ancestral immortality on their totem poles. In the Hebrew and Christian religions, the eagle represents the flight of the soul to heaven and the fulfillment of the Messianic Promise (See RSV Bible Isaiah 40 vs. 31). In the Igbo philosophical thought and practice, eagles (and their feathers) are used to mark accomplishment, rare gem of success and victory. This justifies the saying that goes thus “O turu ugo lota” (He is accomplished. He has returned with success). If the elders, the Ezes, the Igwes and the community want to recognize an accomplished person; or give dignity and honour to an individual who has proved very outstanding in industry, expertise, victory or success; they will decorate his cap or hat with “abuba ugo” (eagle's

feathers).

From the above description and remarks about the egbe and ugo, it is clearly understandable that apart from their belonging to the family of "Accipitridae", the ugo and the egbe are different and the ugo surpasses egbe in almost all ramifications. For instance, the ugo is greater than the egbe in soaring altitude, in height, in size, in honour, in dignity, in strength and in power. The egbe seems to be only smarter and more subtle. Thus egbe and ugo are no equals. However, in spite of these clear and distinctive differences and inequalities, Igbo sages still conceive of the possibility of their co-existence or perching together— 'egbe bere ugo bere'. One may begin at this juncture to raise a pertinent question: what perhaps are the underlying principles behind this Igbo reflective thinking? Igbo sages are not as much concerned with birds *per se* as they are with mankind. The birds are used here allegorically. The concern of Igbo sages are social relations among groups in the society. Before this proverb can be brought to bear on the social relations among the ethnic groups in Nigeria, it is pertinent also to briefly discuss the ambient situation of the Nigerian state or society. This so because, it is in the socio-political and economic relations in the Nigerian state that 'egbe bere ugo bere' will be brought to bear.

Nigeria Ambient Situation: Antecedent, Peoples, Politics and National Question.

For historical purposes, what is known today as Nigeria is a conglomeration of formerly scattered states with different historical, cultural, lingual and religious backgrounds and different levels of development. Prominent among the states were the Hausa states, Bornu and Benin empires, Yoruba kingdom the Igbo states, so many minority others. These states were lumped together in 1898 and later renamed Nigeria by Mary Shaw, the wife of Lord Lugard. In 1900, Nigeria came directly under the political control of Britain. In spite of the lumping, Nigeria was still a tripartite colony. There were still the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the (Crown) Colony of Lagos. Each ran a separate government and separate institutions and agencies. Later on in 1906, both the Southern Protectorate and the Colony of Lagos were brought together under the new name of the Southern Protectorate and the Lagos Colony. Goaded by economic factors and administrative conveniences, Lugard worked relentlessly for the eventual unification (amalgamation) of the two Protectorate in 1914. This marked a milestone in the (subsequent) historical development of the country. At present, Nigeria is a large country with well over 250 ethnic groups. In what follows, it will be observed that the ambient situation of the Nigerian state and the Nigerian peoples is for the major part premised on the contact of the different pre-colonial states occasioned by the British amalgamation without being sensitive to the different cultural backgrounds. Ekeopara Solomon (2016:192) notes that "the British for economic, administrative and political conveniences amalgamated what could not be amalgamated at the early stage of development, without considering the differences in tribes, languages, geographical boundaries and other barriers". His observation seems to be right because the Northern Protectorate and the Southern Protectorate each had its myriad problems such as tribe, language and the problems of minority tribes, and which were never resolved prior to amalgamation. Similarly, Paul Nnamdi Njoku (2000) observed that the amalgamation became the "convocation of unresolved problems and difficulties into the nation called Nigeria" (p.81). Worse still, according to Ekeopara (2016), either by stroke of luck, favour,

compromise, accident or design, one of the component units was purposefully preferred to the others and as such had little problem in exercising political hegemony over the others at the country's independence in 1960 and this political sway has continued since then. Furthermore, the immediate emerging leaders of Nigerian extraction aggravated this British fundamental error, by their expressions and actions. Such statements as: “we here in the North, take it that Nigeria's unity is only a British intention for the country they have created, it is not for us” (Belewa); “Nigeria is only a geographical expression to which life is given by the diabolical amalgamation of 1914. The amalgamation remains as the most painful injury the British inflicted on Southern Nigeria” (Awolowo); “Nigeria is not yet a nation. Nigeria remains in essence an amorphous mass of individuals busy pretending to be a people” (Ojukwu); as noted by Ekeopara (p.192), are some of the statements credited to the founding fathers of Nigeria. These statements have serious negative implication for Nigerian socio-political system and relationships among the citizenry.

Significantly, the Nigerian state policies and programmes have been directed along these assumptions. These statements indicate that the people never wished to be one and never saw the viability of co-existence. Their coming together was therefore conceived not only as an imposition upon them but also as woe or calamity invoked on them. It was this antecedent and undesirable structural background that had given rise and sustained the present intolerance, strife and conflicts. Okwudibia Nnoli (1978) lends support to this view and states that “tribalism or ethnicity in Nigeria is a creature of the colonial and post-colonial order. The colonial urban setting constitutes the cradle of contemporary ethnicity (p.35)”. He further observes that contact between and among these groups is the basic element of ethnic orientation. This view can be attested in the ethnic chauvinism that has engulfed the peoples of Nigeria and is being exhibited through the attitude of the groups towards themselves and in relationship with one another. Governance is equally enmeshed in this act. Nigeria has so far experienced colonial, civil and military rules. A significant proportion of the ambient situation is that, the Nigerian state, whether colonial, or civilian or military, has always played the role of meeting and satisfying some ethnic, class, religious or regional needs, consciousness and interests at the expense of others. According to Yusuf Turaki (1993:258-259), “the colonialists used the state to institutionalize socio-political roles and statuses of different ethnic and religious groups and regions... The parliamentarians used the Nigerian state (federal centre) as means of acquiring and entrenching their ethno-regional dominance both at the centre and the region...The military coups d'état and counter coups have always been motivated by ethnic or regional or class consciousness and interest”. This situation has led to increasing ethnic hostility, violence, tribal clashes, farmers-herders' clashes, clamour for resources control, and hegemony of the major ethnic groups and fears of marginalization by the minority groups. Presently, the struggles have escalated into formation of separatist groups with threats of disintegration, secession and terrorist activities, and so on. For those in power, the state, instead of being used to foster good governance and the welfare of the citizens, has now become a necessary tool of subjugating or keeping one's enemies or political opponents under control. Through the instruments of the state, primordial values and structures of ethnic or religious groups have assumed national importance and influence, as was the case of Zamfara State under Governor Sani Ahmed, who ventured to use his position to introduce full Islamic religion and practice. The implication of the ambient situation is that the concept and function

of the state are misconstrued to be what generate politics of fear, insecurity, suspicion and domination contrary to the pristine purposes of forming the state as conceived by the social contractarians. The rule of the game turns out to resemble Niccolo Machiavelli's popular political maxim- "the end justifies the means", or the "might is right" political maxim associated with Thrasymachus. Thus, the situation sets the stage for the competition among ethnic groups to seek and to seize the control of political and economic power of the state that was founded upon the principles of social injustice, differential and preferential treatment. This makes relevant the call to redefine, re-fix and restructure the Nigerian state. For Nnoli (1978), adequate solutions for the ethnic problem of Nigeria must stem logically from "a rigorous scientific analysis of the major causes of the emergence, persistence, and growth of ethnicity in the country" (p.284). For Nnoli, therefore, any programme for the creation of national unity should be judged by its effectiveness in eliminating or at least ameliorating the impact of these factors. The federal government has on its own taken various steps to manage the ambience of the Nigerian situation so as to achieve national integration. These include inter alia: (i) The creation of states (ii) The establishment of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973 by Decree No. 24. (iii) The establishment of unity schools or the federal government colleges in the country (iv) The establishment of federal institutions of higher learning in Nigeria (v) The emphasis on the teaching of the three major languages in Nigeria Secondary Schools (vi) The organization of all Nigerian cultural and sports festivals (vii) The formation of inter-cultural and inter-states associations (viii) The establishment of military and para-military command schools (ix) The establishment of Federal Civil Service and Federal Character Commission (x) The formation of the National Inter-Religious Council (NIREC) (p.285). The appalling situation that has continued to increase the ambient situation in Nigeria is that no sooner the creation of the above institutions than it becomes clearer that they still cannot overcome the difficulties posed by the problematic factors highlighted abinitio. Granted that the British should be held liable for the flaws of the Amalgamation Policy and most of other fundamental problems besetting Nigeria, however, the Nigerian state and people have come a long way that to disintegrate is no better option. The failure of all these attempts attests to the fact that there is still a missing link in Nigerian peoples' social relations.

Asouzu Innocent (2004) has opined a "complementary reflection" as solution to the ambient situation problem of Nigeria in which he implores philosophers, thinkers and policy makers to employ the "principle of transcendence" in handling teething problems. He used term transcendence to mean "the ability of the mind to go beyond the immediacy in view of an ultimate unifying foundation of meaning (p.35)". His 'immediacy' may be applied in the context of this study to represent sub-national, ethno-regional selfish habits, class consciousness and interest, or cultural sentiments. His 'ultimate unifying foundation of meaning' may be applied to mean to search for the ultimate cause or to seek to understand reality truthfully and authentically. That is to say, while considering racial, tribal or tribal matters, right philosophy always seeks meaning in the most comprehensive, total universal and unified manner which would culminate in complementarity of the different parts. Turaki (1993) also shares this view. He states that despite the fact that Nigeria is a nation of various peoples, cultures, and faith, our definition, conception and approach to national issues must be universal and comprehensive. This is what he also calls 'Inter-disciplinary Approach (p.266)'. By inter-disciplinary approach to solving Nigeria problems, Turaki seems to mean adopting

an eclectic combination and harmonization of the views of the different ethnic groups as well as the views of the political scientists, political economists, the military, the educationists, the administrators, the clergy men, the legalists, the students and the laymen on the streets. They are involved and have reasonable suggestions to offer to the problems. Suffice or granted what Turaki has posited. But the ambient situation of the Nigeria state and people transcends what academic work alone may do. It is a matter of the psychic and attitude and not of sophistry. Therefore, it requires an attitudinal change in social relations. And for an attitudinal change to take place there is need for a re-orientation. The re-orientation is to build upon a national philosophy. Thus, there is need to develop and imbibe a national philosophy. The edifice of the national philosophy is to be founded on the tenets of mutual philosophy of complementarity, where each ethnic group would consider the other as part and parcel of itself, and in which it requires the other for it to actualize its existence.

Egbe bere ugo bere as Dynamic Philosophy for Co-existence

The cornerstone of the egbe bere ugo bere philosophy hangs on mutual complementarity, mutual respect and fairness in social relations. It transcends ethnic parochial considerations. Egbe bere ugo bere preaches the way of compromise among ethnic groups and interests or the harmony of ethnic parochial opposites. Human experiences as well as common sense show that life can, practically speaking, be more meaningful and more satisfying when we are willing to accept and take the path of this compromise. By so doing we resolve differences in a positive reciprocity. By way of analysis, Igbo sages have used the egbe and the ugo to showcase how different individuals, peoples and groups can co-exist or perch together irrespective of their apparent disparities. For the sages, mutual respect, understanding, give and take, tolerance, forbearance and accommodation of one another's frailties in matters that are likely to generate strife, serve as antidote to ethnic (individual or group) conflicts. In the proverb egbe bere ugo bere, certain concepts are explicit. Taken literally, there is the egbe on the one side and there is the ugo on the other side. There is the tree or platform where the egbe and the ugo will have to perch, each on its side of the platform. Taken symbolically, the egbe and the ugo represent, say, different individuals or ethnic groups that have come to live (perched) together for a purpose. The platform hosting the egbe and the ugo is the state, say, Nigerian state. Thus the perching together of egbe and ugo implies or symbolizes a mutual complementarity (needed for the co-existence of the Nigeria ethnic groups). In spite of the great inequalities that inherently characterize egbe and ugo, Igbo sages still conceive the possibility of their co-existence (perching together) by the principle of "onye biri ma ibe ya biri" (live and let other live). It is granted that there are inequalities: some natural and some man-made, among the Nigerian ethnic groups. The difference may be found in skill, mental development, land mass, population size, deposit and distribution of natural resources, nurture, culture and emphasis. Igbo sages believe that irrespective of these disparities, the ethnic groups in Nigerian state can co-exist given the dynamics of egbe bere ugo bere. This is to concur that "though tribe and tongue may differ", the peoples of Nigeria can stand in brotherhood. Thus clamour for outright resource control by naturally favoured states (ethnic units) negates the egbe bere ugo bere philosophy. So also is the alleged born-to-rule ideology that holding central power is an exclusive right of a particular group or unit in the federal system. Thus in a federal system, egbe bere ugo bere implies that the minority views are allowed to co-exist with the majority views. It further advocates a just central power and political offices (to be shared among the federating units) that will through fair and

constitutionally legal means appropriate the uneven distribution of resources by nature to the different units and share same by just means, equally, equitably or proportionately with due respect to the base or source of the resources. Egbe bere ugo bere advocates for equal, equitable or proportionate share of positions or appointments and infrastructural and supra-structural facilities among the federating units and their segments in the Nigeria federal system. Acceptance of egbe bere ugo bere philosophy will in the final analysis ring out the abinitio memory of discord and ring in the memory of peace which is a prerequisite for national integration.

Conclusion

This paper has stated how the ambient situation of Nigeria (which anchors on socio-political injustices, iniquitous system structures, ethnic conceptions, ethnic consciousness, ethnic sentiments and their implications) has been threatening to break up the corporate existence of Nigeria. Amidst various steps taken and proposals made by the government and scholars respectively, the ambient situation has continued unabated. To this end, egbe bere ugo bere supplies this missing links by its philosophy of mutual complementarity or equilibrium in socio-economic and political pursuits and other social relationships among the Nigerian ethnic nationalities.

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