At-Issue

African Philosophy and the Lingering Question of Methodology

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Abstract: Since the post-World War II era there has been a lingering controversy about what we should be doing in the name of African philosophy. Whilst some argue that it is the espousing of collective traditional practices, norms and values, others argue that it is the critical argumentation done by individual philosophers on any topic worth philosophical attention. There has been an attempt to forge a compromise in what is called sage philosophy, but there is no guaranteed accuracy in this attempt. My argument is that the debate persists because of a hasty expectation of African philosophy. Secondly, it appears that we cannot avoid argumentation as a methodology in African philosophy, contrary to the position of some supporters of the "ethno" philosophy school.

Keywords: African philosophy, African values, post colonialism, ethno philosophy

Introduction

The way philosophy is produced in Africa will ultimately determine the continent's contribution to the field. I open the discussion of the question about methodology by outlining the post-World War II period of philosophizing in Africa. This period highlights the disagreement between "ethno" and "professional" philosophers about how we should philosophize in Africa. I outline four points of disagreement between these two schools, and argue that these points of disagreement evidence a hasty expectation of African philosophy at its early stage, of which both parties to the debate are somewhat guilty, especially the ethno philosophy school. I conclude the article by also observing that ethno philosophy prolongs the debate unnecessarily due to the lack of understanding of its supporters of what argumentation really means. I offer arguments to show that it is a categorical mistake to dismiss argumentation as a Western-style mode of philosophizing, as some supporters of ethno philosophy have done. To execute this argument, I begin by introducing the reader to four schools of thought regarding the way we should "do African philosophy," highlighting the geographical and cultural criteria proposed as guiding principles. I briefly discuss the strengths and weaknesses of these trends. The second section discusses two competing criteria that have been proposed for doing African philosophy, and for identifying a text as such. The third section examines the impasse occasioned by the seemingly conflicting methods of ethno philosophy and professional philosophy. I then argue that part of the cause of this impasse is the hasty expectation placed on African philosophy, and in the final

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section I argue that the debate is a terminological dispute, being premised on a narrow meaning of argumentation.

Four Schools of Thought

Placide Tempels' post-World-War-II work on Bantu philosophy triggered the "systematic era" of academic philosophy on the continent. By systematic I mean the involvement in philosophizing by people who have been trained in universities, partially or fully in the discipline of philosophy, and in cognate disciplines.[1] The systematic era can be divided into four schools of thought regarding how we should be doing African philosophy: ethno philosophy, professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity, and nationalist-ideological philosophy.[2]

Ethno Philosophy

Fr. Placide Tempels' 1945 book *Bantu Philosophy* argued that the philosophy of the Bantu-speaking peoples could be found in their metaphysical conception of being: they saw being as force and force as being. Tempels maintained that where the European saw being, the African saw forces. Tempels alleged that the African believed that beings could increase or diminish in their forces. A decade later, Alexis Kagame wrote about the philosophy of the Banyarwanda people, a project similar to Tempels in describing an immutable, collective philosophy embedded in the foundation of the entire existence of his people. He argued that this philosophy could be deciphered from an analysis of their language. In sum, Tempels and Kagame argued that Africans differed fundamentally from Europeans in their metaphysical conceptions but that their conceptions were equally rational and logical.

In 1969, Kenya-born theologian John Mbiti wrote that Africans are irredeemably religious, communal, and have a two-dimensional notion of time consisting of a present and past but no future. Mbiti's book therefore joined those of Tempels and Kagame in dwelling on differences between African and European cultures. Others in this category are J. Olubi Sodipo on the Yoruba concept of chance and cause and Barry Hallen on the Yoruba concept of destiny.[3] The focus of these scholars on studying and presenting African cultural values/thought systems to the world leads to the designation of this school as ethno philosophy. We could, for example, compare this to ethno botany—the study of the knowledge of a people about the medicinal, religious and other uses of plants.

Professional Philosophy

The earliest crop of professionally trained philosophers faulted these "pretensions" to philosophy on behalf of Africa, arguing that the project is ideologically motivated and that the cultural differences trumpeted by this project actually undergirded the superiority complex of Europe. Theophilus Okere criticized Tempels' notion of force as the theory of magic in a different ontological dressing, and remarked that we only needed to replace "force" with "magic" to see what Tempels was really saying. Hountondji called it "an ethnological work with philosophical pretensions."[4] The professionals argued that these works could not pass as African philosophy since they are the uncritical presentation of collective worldviews, and that philosophy is a critical individual activity. The professionals also rejected oral tradition as philosophical and argued that philosophy needs to be written to enable an accumulation and progression of thought. The professionals have since been criticized as trying to impose European methods of philosophy on Africa. Much later, Kwasi

Wiredu demonstrated that the professional method also promotes tradition, proposing a traditional practice such as consensus for modern use.[5]

Philosophical Sagacity

Partly in response to the challenge of the professionals on individual philosophizing, and partly recognizing the cultural origins of philosophy, Henry Odera Oruka contended that the wise individuals in our villages are equivalents of Socrates, Plato, et al. in analyzing the worldview of their people.[6] He believed we could interview, record and publish the sayings of wise men or women in traditional societies who had not been "tainted" with Western civilization. His aims were to show that there was individual rather than collective philosophy in traditional Africa, that we have always had these capable philosophers, and that philosophy does not depend on literacy. However, as Peter Bodunrin has noted, the problem with this project is that of distinguishing how much knowledge belongs to a wise person and how much belongs to his or her community.[7]

Nationalist-Ideological Philosophy

Some founding leaders of newly independent African states argued that we needed to build the new African political order on the pre-colonial traditional political order, and hence on alleged traditional values such as communalism and humanism. They mostly advocated socialism, which they argued is the modern successor of traditional communalism. We could see this basic argument in Senghor's *African Socialism*, Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, and Nyerere's *Ujamaa: African Socialism*.

What Constitutes African Philosophy?

Of these four schools of thought, the debate about what counts as African philosophy has persisted largely between ethno philosophy and professional philosophy for decades. This is really a question about the focus and method of African philosophy. I group answers that have been proffered to this question into two broad categories, namely the geographical or cultural answers and criteria for identifying a text as African philosophy.[8]

Paulin Hountondji writes, "By 'African philosophy,' I mean a set of texts, specifically the set of texts written by Africans and described as philosophical by their authors themselves."[9] Olusegun Oladipo has called this answer the geographical criterion: anything written by an African and called philosophical passes as African philosophy. There are two problems with the geographical criterion. First, it is racially segregating. It is understandable that Hountondji wanted to screen out Tempels' work because he thought Tempels was ideologically motivated. But these days there are a number of Europeans undertaking projects in African philosophy, such as Barry Hallen, Helen Lauer, and Thaddeus Metz. Even Bodunrin, who supports Hountondji's criticisms of the methods of ethno philosophy, rejects Hountdonji's geographical criterion and points out that Wittgenstein and Popper are of German birth but prominent figures in British philosophy, whilst Whitehead is of British birth but a prominent figure in North American philosophy.[10] William Amo was Ghanaian-born but trained in philosophy in Europe in the eighteenth century: it is difficult to characterize his works, which engage in the debates of the Enlightenment, as African philosophy.[11] Similarly, a new article written by an author of African descent discussing epiphenomenalism, emergentism, or the philosophical ramifications of artificial intelligence could hardly be called African philosophy. Writing about the weakness of the geographical criterion, Oladipo makes the following points:

Apart from the fact that it truncates the link between philosophy and the historical process, it underplays the need for African philosophers to perform their intellectual duties as responsible citizens. If we add to these shortcomings the reality of the African crisis of development and its implications for the well being of the people, then it should not be difficult to recognize the dangers of indulging an African philosophical Nero.[12]

The second criterion is cultural: African philosophy is "the discovery of authentic African ideas and thought systems uninfluenced by alien accretions."[13] Supporting this orientation, Kwame Gyekye writes:

Philosophy is a cultural phenomenon…philosophical thought is grounded in a cultural experience. It is the underlying cultural unity or identity of the various intellectual thinkers that justifies the reference to varieties of thought as wholes, such as Western or oriental philosophy…even though the individual thinkers who produced what is known as Western philosophy are from different European or Western nations, we nonetheless refer to such body of philosophical ideas as Western philosophy (in addition to, say, French, German or British philosophy). The real reason for this is the common cultural experience and orientation of those individual thinkers.[14]

For Gyekye, African philosophy derives its meaning from the "common and pervasive features in African cultural and thought systems," and it is "the analysis or elucidation of these features that should be the primary task of African philosophers."[15] The cultural criterion is an improvement compared to the geographical. Any philosophical essay dealing with an issue concerning the African context (written by an African or non-African) ought to be deemed African philosophy.

The major problem with the cultural criterion is not with its theoretical position but with its practice. There is a tendency on the part of many to focus on "traditional" Africa. There are many problems in contemporary Africa that are not exactly traditional, e.g. social control, appropriating or internalizing technology, conceptualizing development, ethnicity and nationalism, continental integration, and many others.[16] Many of these issues are peculiar to the contemporary African experience and in this sense we cannot solve them by simply borrowing ideas from the West or from African tradition. Therefore, when we say that African philosophy is the philosophical discussion of African issues, I would suggest in particular that African philosophy is the philosophical discussion of traditional as well as contemporary issues. So we can say African philosophy refers to any philosophical essay discussing or debating an issue of direct relevance to traditional and contemporary Africa. This is the criterion with which I shall briefly outline the persisting disparities for "doing African philosophy" in order to explain the lingering debate about what counts as African philosophy.

Contending Ideologies and Methodologies

In this section I will attempt to expose in clearer detail the founding motivations and methods of the competing schools of thought on doing African philosophy. To begin, the founding objective of ethno philosophy is to study and present what is African, usually the way in which it differs from Western counterparts. To be sure, authors may also point out similarities in practices and ideas, but this is in most cases to enable them discuss the differences more deeply. The rationale for this project is to demand equal respect—and in fact, more respect than—Western counterparts. Tempels argued in *Bantu Philosophy* that the Bantu people are governed by a system of principles just as are Europeans.[17] The African

conception of being is dynamic, in contrast to the static Western concept. He defends this position by arguing that the primary metaphysical category of many African societies is Force. There is a hierarchy of force with a Supreme Being (God) at the apex, followed by forefathers, founders of the clans, ancestors, living humans, the animal kingdom, etc. It is on this hierarchy that the social order is formed. This is why the Bantu believe that if there is an abomination, land could be affected and crops could fail. For Tempels, there is also interaction of forces, with stronger forces overwhelming weaker forces. Factors such as behavior, illness, and so on can increase or diminish the force. This means that being (by which Tempels means force) can diminish or increase (unlike the static Western conception of being).

In two subsequent books (1956 and 1976), Kagame argues that the structure of the Bantu languages reveals their philosophy, and praises Tempels for including the study of culture. Similar to Tempels, Kagame's work appealed to the idea of a collective and unchanging/unchangeable philosophy that rules the life of people: at once philosophical and unconscious or semi-conscious. But unlike Tempels, Kagame is careful to restrict his claims to Rwanda instead of putting every African under the control of this collective and powerful but unconscious philosophy. Kagame was also careful not to describe the object of his inquiry as philosophy in the full-blown sense: he calls the collective philosophy intuitive rather than systematic academic philosophy.

John Mbiti continued the project of discovering aspects of African culture that provide refreshing alternatives to Western thought. His book *African Religions and Philosophy* argues that Africans had well-developed concepts of religion, contrary to the popular European belief that they were only capable of primitive and superstitious concepts. Mbiti also claims that Africans are irredeemably religious, obviously in contrast to the receding influence of religion in Europe. But the most important claim of cultural uniqueness was Mbiti's assertion that Africans have a two-dimensional concept of time, with a past and present but no future.

These presentations of African cultural norms as African philosophy attracted concern from some professionally trained African philosophers. Paulin Hountondji critiqued it as confusing philosophy with anthropology, giving rise to "a hybrid, ideological discipline without a recognizable status in the world of theory."[18] Hountondji argued that the need to respond to Western biases about Africa produces a mere reportage, a romantic exercise that abandons the critical role of philosophy. He doubted the validity of a collective philosophy of all Bantu—let alone Africans—hidden in their subconscious and exercising any effect on them. He regretted that decades of research have been lost pursuing this mirage instead of dealing with more pressing issues. Hountondji's views received various levels of support from other African philosophers such as Henry Odera Oruka, Peter Bodunrin, and Kwasi Wiredu. The approach of these four professionally trained philosophers has come to be termed professional philosophy in African philosophy.

Next, I outline four areas of difference between the ethno philosophers and the professional philosophers. The first difference is disciplinary in nature: Tempels, Kagame, and Mbiti were not professional philosophers. Tempels and his successors presented worldviews and claimed that these were philosophies. I see them as correct, but only to the extent that what they present can be described as "un-systematic" philosophy. After all, the early Greek philosophers (e.g. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes) argued that water, fire, air, etc. constitute the basic stuff of the universe (arguments that we can now call unsystematic).

Hountondji et al. concede that every culture has a philosophy (in the unsystematic sense) since every culture has been confronted with questions about what life is, what is the proper way to behave, and so on.[19] But they draw a line regarding what should count as African philosophy: it is exclusively the academic writing of philosophers professionally trained in academic departments at universities. What the early ethno-philosophers presented was therefore sociology or anthropology. Hountondji still rejects ethno philosophy as an academic discipline, but supports a synthesis of traditional African culture and rigorous philosophical method.

Where I disagree with the professional position is in rejecting ethno philosophy outright, or accepting it but calling it "debased" philosophy (famously used by Oruka in his 1978 presentation in Ghana). These collective thoughts are indeed answers to the basic questions that philosophers themselves try to answer so we cannot deny that they are philosophical. But because these answers have become rarely questioned communal beliefs, the professionals could more accurately call them unsystematic (as coined by Jonathan Chimakonam).

The second difference between the ethno and professional philosophers lies in their differing conceptions about the purpose of philosophy in Africa. Philosophers in every society deal with problems, often as complex puzzles that demand resolution. What is peculiar about Africa is that philosophers inherited an unusual problem—dealing with European ethnographers' conclusions about the "irrational" and "non-logical" nature of Africans.[20] It thus became the task of the first crop of African intellectuals (and some Europeans such as Tempels) to correct these perceptions. This is the preeminent task of ethno philosophy. Every ethno philosophical project begins with complaints about how Europeans have portrayed Africans as primitive. Indeed, this is the quickest way to identify such writings.

Professional philosophers, on the other hand, are not convinced that we should waste our time responding to misperceptions about Africa. They believe it is actual philosophizing in Africa that would correct these misperceptions. They quite correctly believe that action speaks louder than words. Indeed, they fault ethno philosophical literature as paradoxically proving the perceptions of early ethnographers correct. Theophilus Okere argues that Tempels' description of the worldview of the Bantu as believing that all of life is force validates the perception of magic as being integral to the African way of life. In his words, "Tempels' work shows every evidence that his theory of forces is no more than this now discredited theory of primitive magic, put in other words."[21] Indeed, Tempels himself had written, "Let us abandon the outdated terminology of symbolic magic, of magic by expressed desire and magic of similitude. For the black man, there is Being which is force, susceptible of increase or decrease, force exercising the primitive conception of Being."[22] Okere accuses this kind of discourse of being the theory of magic in new ontological dressing.[23]

Similarly, Mbiti argued that Africans had a two-dimensional concept of time with a past, present but no conception of the future. Yet this can be used to explain why Africans are not developed: that Africans do not plan since planning presupposes conceiving of the future. Senghor argued that European reason is discursive whilst African reason is emotional.[24] Again, this vindicates the position of early European ethnographers about the supposed rational inferiority of Africans. So in general, the ethno project of restoring dignity is executed through a method that only results in more loss of dignity. The reason, it seems to me, is that dignity cannot be argued for. It unfolds through the activities of philosophers

(and scholars of other disciplines) in the act of solving problems in their societies.

A third difference between the ethno and professional schools is the attitude to studying culture. Professional philosophers complain that ethno philosophers present cultural ideas but refrain from criticizing. This approach, in their view, cannot produce philosophy. Bodunrin writes that professionals do not deny that African culture is worthy of the philosopher's attention: "The African philosopher cannot *deliberately* ignore the study of the traditional belief system of his people. Philosophical problems arise out of real life situations."[25] The professionals do not also doubt that African traditional systems are rational and logical systems. But Bodunrin continues that not every rational and logical system is philosophy: "Science and mathematics are eminently rational, logical, and to some extent, consistent conceptual systems, but they are not philosophical systems. I think that many ethno-philosophers mistakenly believe that all rational, logical and complicated systems are philosophical systems. I believe they are wrong in this."[26] But reference to science and mathematics is misplaced. Wise sayings, proverbs, and the collective wisdom of traditional African societies qualify as philosophy, albeit an unsystematic philosophy. I would, however, concede that when a philosopher writes about these collective wisdoms without interrogating even the contradictions among them, it remains unsystematic because the question arises as to why s/he is writing.

Bodunrin clarifies that some of the criticisms leveled against ethno philosophy do not by themselves show it to be unphilosophical, e.g. providing evidence of future references in traditional Africa or evidence of non-emotive reason in Africa. For him, these are not the reasons why his professional colleagues and he deem ethno philosophy as un-philosophical. After all, "A philosophical work does not cease to be philosophical merely because it contains false claims."[27] The problem is that ethno-philosophers are dogmatic as a result of their emotional attachment to their object of inquiry. He notes that they fail to see why others should not share their esteem: "They do not raise any philosophical issues about the system (because for them no problems arise once we 'understand' the system)…" [28]

Bodunrin cites Sodipo's study of the Yoruba concept of causality and chance. Sodipo found that the Yoruba believe that whatever has no established material causality benefits from the causality of the gods. So, for instance, they believe that whilst driver error, non-functioning brakes, or wetness of the road are causal factors in an accident, such factors cannot explain why the accident happened to a particular person, in a particular place, and at a particular time. The Yoruba fill the causality vacuum with agency of the gods because their explanation is pre-eminently religious, and their religious perspective satisfies certain emotional needs, such as answering the question why it happened there, at that time, and to someone in particular.[29]

Bodunrin praises this essay for exposing how the Yoruba ascribe events to divine intentionality to fulfill emotional and aesthetic needs. But he laments that Sodipo uncritically describes this belief system. There is, "…a reluctance to evaluate lest it be understood as condemning a particular culture."[30] He notes that Hallen also exhibits the same reluctance in his study of the Yoruba concept of destiny. Bodunrin observes that like Sodipo, Hallen refrains from evaluating the concept, instead, arguing that we see inconsistency only when we evaluate this "seeming" inconsistency with Western logic. But for Bodunrin logic is logic, and he remarks: "Our culture is dear to us, but the truth must be dearer."[31] Much later, Richard Taye up-turned Hallen's hesitation and interrogated the inconsistencies in the Yoruba concept of destiny in his 2013 article "Questionable but Unquestioned Beliefs: A Call for a Critical Examination of Yoruba Culture."

It seems to me that Bodunrin has a point. The project of discovering the value of African heritage, as a way of demanding more respect and dignity from a foreign audience, is not compatible with criticizing the items used to market the value of Africa. As such, there is a tension between the very nature of philosophy as a critical discipline and the project of valorizing Africa's denigrated image. I am not sure that there is any way of removing this tension as long as both strange bedmates are considered together. It is either a scholar focuses on presenting African notions and practices as refreshing alternatives to Western ones or deals with African issues with a view to making them better through critical engagement. In any case, time will gradually erode the valorizing motivation and increase the critical one. For example, now that Richard Taye has criticized the contradictions in the Yoruba concept of destiny, another scholar may respond, pointing out some weaknesses in Taye's examination and lead to further discussions. In contrast to the evolving nature of dialectic or argumentative debates, the mere presentation of cultural heritage is a finite project with a short life span. The latter leads to the former.

A fourth initial difference was whether oral tradition could count as philosophy. The professional school argued that philosophy should be written because writing helps us pin down ideas and makes them available for future use. Indeed, Bodunrin wonders how much of this debate he would remember undistorted in ten years if not written down.[32] This has led to additional accusations that the professionals imitate the West. According to Bonachristus, thought comes before literature.[33] But it seems to me that this objection is quite weak against Bodunrin's reasoning for writing down our philosophies.

Hasty Expectations for African Philosophy

The disagreement between ethno and professional philosophy arose from an expectation that African philosophy should become immediately as mature as that of Europe. The ethno philosophers, convinced that there must be a full-fledged African philosophy rivaling that of Europe, turned to traditional norms and contrasted these to European thought. I term this the politics of difference. The problem with an *a priori* decision to contrast the thought systems of societies is that it may validate European biases. Instead of such self-denigrating comparisons to Europe, ethno philosophers would better employ themselves by actually doing academic philosophy in Africa (particularly by including a focus on the issues of present life in Africa), and in time, an African philosophy emerges free from any denigrating characteristics.

A hasty expectation of African philosophy could also be seen—in a milder magnitude— on the part of the professionals. On observing the uniform nature of the mere presentation of African thought systems, the professionals feared that critical analysis of African values by Africans might never emerge. But such a critical turn was only a question of time: when a view or worldview is presented uncritically, criticism will eventually emerge. I consider it a milder problem because they eventually provided the criticism. Indeed, there is no strict reason to blame them for correcting the obviously faulty methodological landscape.

Argumentation is Broader than Criticism

Another aspect of the debate is the tendency of ethno philosophy to interpret argument in the narrow sense of criticism, to the extent of arguing that criticism is foreign to African culture.[34] Supporters of ethno philosophy usually see the professional school demands for an argumentative attitude in African philosophy as a negative rejection of African values,

beliefs, and practices. But professional philosophers such as Kwasi Wiredu offer arguments for the usability of consensus in modern Africa in the wake of describing its traditional practice. His essays are both descriptive of traditional African consensual practices, and argumentative in presenting certain defenses for the usability of that decision-making method.[35] Being at once descriptive and argumentative, his essays spark debate, and hence a dialectical progress of ideas. In the light of this, Omorebge is categorically mistaken when he positions argumentation as solely a Western style of philosophizing.[36]

Apart from advocating or rejecting traditional principles for modern practice, one could also critically compare traditional and modern values in a search for useful hybrids. Lastly, and most importantly, it is possible through critical reflection or argumentation to arrive at original ideas that are found neither in Western nor traditional African societies. Philosophy has a lot to do in contemporary Africa in areas where tradition might not offer any significant help, and in which we simply need to sit down and think instead of looking West, East, or backwards. We need to philosophize about development, crime, corruption, ethnicity, continental integration, multiparty democracy, and so many other problems of contemporary Africa. These problems call for very original thinking, and neither the West nor our forefathers have much to offer as solutions. Supporters of ethno philosophy need therefore to realize that it is impossible to overlook the roles of reflection, criticism, and argumentation in breaking philosophical frontiers regarding issues in both traditional and modern Africa. The critical and argumentative tools that philosophy training provides ought to aid precisely in building upon or interrogating traditional norms, and in debating issues in contemporary African societies.

Conclusion

In this essay I discussed the lingering controversy about what we should be doing in the name of African philosophy. The outcome of the discussion is that African philosophy is the philosophical discussion of (both traditional and contemporary) African issues by a scholar from any race or origin. I addressed the methodological disagreement between supporters of ethno philosophy and the professional school. I have tried to resolve this impasse, contending that argumentation is broader than the simple activity of rejecting African values and practices, and argumentation can likewise be used to advance African values. I also showed that argumentation is a human rather than a Western attribute, contrary to Omoregbe's claims. The outcome is that the impasse between the ethno and professional schools is a really a disagreement about what argumentation means. Both schools also share a hasty expectation of the maturity of African philosophy: the ethno school in trying to find a fully formed and ready-made African philosophy to be compared and contrasted with Western philosophy; and the professional school in overlooking that the presentation of traditional African values/thoughts was historically inevitable and that it is only a matter of time before the critical/argumentative wave of philosophizing in Africa takes over.

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Notes

1 Although this definition belongs to me, I took the inspiration to use this word fromJonathan Chimakonam, who first used the word in his "History of African Philosophy" (2017).
2 This categorization was first suggested by Henry Odera Oruka (1987, 1997, 1998).
3 Sodipo 1973; Hallen 1997.
4 Hountondji 1996, p. 34.
5 Wiredu 1996, pp. 182-90.
6 See Oruka 1983, 1990.
7 Bodunrin 1981, p. 162.
8 These two terms (the geographical and the cultural) were used by Olusegun Oladipo (1998, pp. 16-25).
9 Hountondji 1996, p. 33.
10 Bodunrin 1981, p. 178.
11 Oladipo (1998, p. 21) has also made this point.
12 Ibid.
13 p'Bitek 1970, p. 46.

14 Gyekye 1987, p. x.
15 Oladipo 1998, p. 22.
16 Oladipo 1998, p. 22; Gyekye 2013:, p. 60; Gyekye 1994; 2013, pp. 29-47.
17 Tempels 1945(1956), p. 9.
18 Hountondji 1996, p. 52.
19 Bodunrin 1981, p. 163.
20 Ibid, p. 164.
21 Okere 1983, p. i.
22 Tempels 1948, p. 76.
23 Okere 1983, p. i.
24 Cited in Serequebehran 1994, pp. 44-45.
25 Bodunrin 1981, p. 173.
26 Bodunrin 1981, p. 171.
27 Bodunrin 1981, p. 171.
28 Bodunrin 1981, pp. 171-73.
29 Bodunrin 1981, p. 174.
30 Bodunrin 1981, p.175.
31 Bodunrin 1981, p. 176.
32 Bodunrin 1981, p. 177.
33 Bonachristus 2003, p. 2.
34 See, for instance, Chimakonam 2014, p. 9.
35 Wiredu 1996, 2001, 2011. See also Metz 2011 and 2018; Ani 2014.
36 See Omoregbe 1985, p. 4-5.