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MODERNISATION AND THE FULƁE WOMEN: A REFLECTION FROM *SO ALJANNAR DUNIYA*

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Abstract
Modernisation can be said to be a pervasive global phenomenon that has affected all aspects of human life, socially and morally. Its impact has in one way or another affected human culture including the most primitive or remote one. Thus, his work examines the extent to which modernisation has influenced the Fulɓe's code of conduct; (*pulaaku),* especially *semteende* (shyness, modesty), *nedɗaaku* (respect), and *munyal* (patience) amongst the Fulɓe women. The data was generated from Hafsat Abdulwaheed's fictional novel, *So Aljannar Duniya*. The paper adopts a cultural relativism approach to explore the current conditions of these three components of the Fulɓe code of conduct and relate them with the Fulɓe's primitive *pulaaku* amongst their women. These include how modernisation has affected the concept and notion of courtship, how marriages are conducted, how women conduct themselves within the society as well as the changes experienced over the years as a result of modernisation. This paper was able to confirm that all cultures are dynamic. It also reveals the changes and challenges experienced by the modern-day Pullo woman. Finally, the paper reveals the harmony of the Fulɓe women's common cultural identity which they share across the African sub-region.

Keywords: Modernisation, Culture, Fulɓe, Pulaaku

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1.1 Introduction

Fulɓe, popularly called Fulani by the Hausa, Fula by the British, Pulaar or Peul by the French, and pular in Sudan, Senegal and Gambia. They are usually governed by distinct general rules which is peculiar to them. These rules and belief systems are called '*pulaaku*' and according to Reed (1932) "*pulaaku* is employed to denote the characteristics which distinguish the Fulɓe from the non Fulɓe" (p.2). *Pulaaku* is a central concept that encompasses a code of behaviour, values and virtues that are held as social conduct and highly regarded within the community (*laawol pulaaku*). Even though these codes of conduct are upheld by both males and females, some are more associated with the womenfolk while some are more associated with the menfolk. Fulɓe women are expected to uphold *pulaaku* by demonstrating virtues such as modesty, decorum, shyness, respect, morality and kindness. With time, these social roles, responsibilities and cultural attachments among women are slowly but progressively changing as a result of the process of modernisation. The Fulɓe women are now saddled with more responsibilities to the extent that they struggle with the pressure of striking a balance between traditional and modern cultures.

The advent of modernisation and globalisation which have penetrated all aspects of human life has had a great influence on the code of conduct (*pulaaku)* among the Fulɓe women, thereby transforming the socio-cultural positions of women within the Fulɓe community. Researchers have revealed that "nowadays, modernisation has proven to be extremely powerful and has had serious effects on the environment and the social structure of the society. So much so that, traditional knowledge and techniques have given way to the application of scientific knowledge borrowed mainly from the West (Mensah & Amissah, 2016, p.828). This, with time if not curtailed, will eliminate the moral values and traditional beliefs of *pulaaku* among the Fulɓe women. This is because they now accept modern cultures as a way of advancement that benefits them and society. For this reason, this paper seeks to analyse the effect of modernisation on the cultural conduct of Fulɓe women as portrayed in Hafsat Abdulwaheed's fictional novel *So Aljannar Duniya*. This will give room for the assessment of how far modernisation has affected the *pulaaku* culture especially as demonstrated in virtues such as *semteende* (shyness), *munyal* (patience), and *nedɗaaku* (respect, humility and humbleness) among the Fulɓe women.

1.2 Fictional Writing

Though fictional writings are composed of non-factual stories, they convey the realities of life by mirroring society and depicting facts about some aspects and happenings in society. Culture is dynamic and this dynamism is sometimes portrayed through fictional writings. These fictional writings play a significant role in documenting the dynamism of culture. They serve as a valuable tool for documenting the dynamic nature of culture. They also offer insight into the traditions, beliefs, social structure and historical events that shapes a community, while also reflecting on the contemporary challenges and changes they face. Through storytelling, they contribute to the preservation, understanding and appreciation of culture to ensure its legacy for future generations.

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1.3 About the Author

Hafsat Abdulwaheed was born on 5th May 1952. The novel *So Aljannar Duniya* was first published in 1980 and it won second place at the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company Hausa book fair. Though, the novel was written in Hausa, the characters and settings portray the Fulɓe society and culture. Hafsat Abdulwaheed is a renowned Northern Nigerian writer, singer, and feminist who has written more than thirty books, which include novels, short stories and story books in English and Hausa about the Hausa and Fulɓe societies and cultures. The novel *So Aljannar Duniya* was her first novel, which was written when she was in Elementary five; yet, it won second place in the competition. After then she wrote many more which include: *Yar Dubu Mai Tambotsi*, *Nasiha ga Ma'aurata*, *Namijin Maza Taurararon Annabawa, and the Ancient* Dance among others.

2.1 Modernisation

Modernisation which is historically linked to the emergence of sophisticated machinery and improved technology, encompasses the process of massive social change that has penetrated all domains of life. According to Martinelli (2005), "modernisation means the sum of the processes of large-scale change through which a certain society tends to acquire the economic, political, social and cultural characteristics considered typical of modernity. It involves the process of socio-cultural transformation of moral values which include a thorough process of change in the values, norms and socio-economic conditions including education of the people, to create a modern nation-state" (p.1). This is why Bhuyan (2020) refers to it as "a model of transition from a pre-modern or traditional to a modern society" (p.33). This so-called transformation can be said to be steered towards the notions of industrialisation and globalisation to make the world a global village with nations and cultures adapting to the Western culture as one central culture. This is so, as modernised societies are historically linked to industrialism and mostly relate to countries of Western civilisation and societies in the final stage of modernisation process. This is why Kumar (2009) sees "modernisation to mean, a modernised society, as it is a transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban and industrial society" (p.55). This means that modernisation is a vector of change in the socio-cultural sphere, a decrease of local and an increase of universal culture, that is, a megatrend from localism towards universalism of culture that has the Western ideology.

According to Hocker (1996) in Mensah and Amissah (2016, p.821), modernisation is the idea of change in social and cultural processes, either through improvement or decline in society so the present life is different from life in the past. As it seems, modernisation is actually out to eradicate the traditional belief system of societies as it is seen as an obstacle to economic growth. As Orlova (2007) puts it, in the 20th century, it has become obvious that modernisation is a global scale, social and cultural tendencies that had shaped developed countries and defined their leading positions (as cited in Andreeva et al 2017, p.195). As it appears, it is out to improve the living standards of people as it has replaced traditional poverty with a more modern form of misery by providing physical infrastructure, education and economic opportunities. Traditional knowledge and techniques are now giving way to the application of scientific knowledge borrowed mainly from the West. Societies now accept modern cultures because progress is both necessary and beneficial to society and the individual. It can,

therefore, be said that modernisation has proven to be extremely powerful, as it has had serious effects on the declining cultural norms and beliefs of societies especially the African societies and the cultural beliefs of its people which are now being battered by the Western culture and is at the verge of loss.

3.1 Culture

Culture according to Maquet and Rayfield (1972), is "a complex totality of material objects, items of behaviour and ideas acquired in varying degrees by each member of a given society" (p.9). To Linton (1945), "it is "the configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (p.1). Therefore, culture can be seen as a collective heritage uninterruptedly handed down from generation to generation to prevent its members from behaving in a way that is not acceptable in society. Culture is the social gene that defines the structure and function of a social organisation in which a nation lives and reproduces itself. This is why Taylor (1874) sees it as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society" (p.3). The custodians of a culture often believe it to be the basic meaning of life to individuals who are included or guided by it in their everyday lives. "Culture is, to a significant level, determines the attitude of individuals towards the reality surrounding them as well as the basic model of their social behaviour" (Honigmann, 1973, p.2). Culture, therefore, shapes people's lives, and sets up moral norms, traditions, and behaviours.

Although culture is not static as change is inevitable, yet, it has always been seen as the characteristic that distinguishes one society or nation from another. This is because each culture is bound up with a society with which it is identified. As Linton, (1964) puts it, "Culture is an organised group of learned responses characteristic of a particular society" (p.29). This means that every human society has norms, beliefs and moral values which it calls its own and is different from another society. So, African cultures can be said to be unique, as Maquet and Rayfield (1972) believe that "African cultures have features that are characteristic of Africa and distinguish them from other cultures such as Western culture, Chinese civilisation, Indian tradition, Islam, etc" (p.11). These unique characteristics are now being bridged as a result of modernisation and social change. The contents and structures of these cultures are under threat, as D. Westermann and H. Baumann, are of the view that African cultures have been under influence for centuries as foreign traditions are been superimposed. Elements of Western culture have been forcefully transferred into African cultures in the name of modernisation and globalisation. This, according to Toyo 2000 "is referred to as cultural imperialism or modern slavery" (as cited in Amin, 2012, p.44). Though some of these changes are welcomed and imitated by these societies, they are as Homelink 1983 puts it, "persuasively communicated through the electronic media with the intention of leading all world cultures into one direction to form a single universal culture (as cited in Amin 2012, p.45).

3.2 Fulɓe Culture

The Fulɓe (plural) and Pullo (singular), who are commonly called Fulani by the Hausa people and Fula, peul, pulaar by the French and English people have a distinct culture that is peculiar

to them. Like many other cultures, they possess both material and nonmaterial cultures. Their nonmaterial culture is something they hold with high esteem as it includes the moral values, norms, beliefs and codes that guide their conducts. It is the component that defines them as Fulɓe and guides their moral conducts in everyday life. These social norms and cultural guidelines of the Fulɓe are all hoarded into one code called 'PULAAKU'. It serves as a guide on how to act and relate easily with not only one another but with other tribes living around them.

3.3 The Concept of Pulaaku

Pulaaku is an abstract noun formed from the root 'pul- from which other terms such as Pullo, Fulɓe, Fulani, Fulfulde (the language), and *pulaade* (to act like a Pullo) are also derived (Riesman, 1977, p.27). It means a set of rules or qualities appropriate to Fulɓe. *Pulaaku* according to Zainab 1991 are "rules that guide the Fulɓe in their relationship among themselves" (as cited in Shede, 2018, p.7). Abu Manga (not published) describes *pulaaku* with all its ideals as, the cornerstone of the Fulɓe culture. While, VerEecke (1991) says, "It specifies the actual rules or guidelines for appropriate behaviour and presentation of self, as well as a series of virtues and personal attributes, which may be viewed as rewards for behaving like a Pullo" (p.185). In other words, *pulaaku* is a Fulɓe-exclusive marker as it is used to determine who is a Pullo and who is not. Although the concept signifies Fulɓe all over, the extent of its use by the Fulɓe varies from one dialectal area to another or, indeed, from one individual to another, depending on the individual's exposure. There are many aspects of *pulaaku* which consist of components such as honesty, shyness, patience, respect, courage, generosity, humility, vigilance, caution and compassion. If a person displays any of them, he or she will be regarded as a Pullo or be likened to one. Naturally, these components vary considerably in their occurrence and applicability. However, this paper lays emphases on three of the most prominent components of *pulaaku* that relate to women namely, *semteende* (shyness), *munyal* (patience), and *nedɗaaku* (dignity and self-respect) and the effect of each of these as the result of modernisation as illustrated in the fictional novel *So Aljannar Duniya*.

1. Semteende

This is the most important and visible component of *pulaaku*. According to Leger and Muhammad (2000), "*semteende* is the most easily noticed component of *pulaaku*, but it is not so easy to define" (p.302). Its literal meaning is *shamefulness*. However, such terms as 'being reserved' or 'shy' will be less pejorative. "Fulɓe attach much value to this virtue and most of them uphold it to the extent that some mistake it as the only constituent of *pulaaku"* (Shede, 2014, p.43). Fulɓe are expected to display this characteristic as it is a significant aspect of moral conduct that includes the way they act, speak, walk and eat which should demonstrate the virtue of shyness. This is why they are shy to the extent, that many Fulɓe especially women, usually avoid eye contact with any elder who speaks to them. They will never express their needs such as hunger, showing affection, or urges in public. To a Pullo, it is much more honourable to suppress his or her wants no matter how pressing it might be than act shamelessly in public. The most positive aspect of the concept of *semteendé* is that it teaches humility and self-denial. A *Pullo* who displays it will never be boastful and selfish. So, Fulɓe, maintain s*emteende* among themselves as any shameless act is not only shameful to the doer

alone but also to the entire community. Therefore, no Pullo is expected by the code of conduct to act contrary to being shy.

2. Munyal

This is another virtue that is encapsulated within the components of *pulaaku*. It can be interpreted to mean patience, endurance, tolerance or perseverance. *Munyal* involves the ability to stay calm and be in control of one's emotions in any situation. It is expected of a Pullo to display this quality as a sign of adulthood and maturity. Shede (2014) says that "*Munyal* is why Fulɓe can remain calm and endure the trouble and pain of being flogged during the time of the popular *soro* ritual. Also, is their ability to bear the difficulties of moving their cattle from one place to another come rain come shine" (p.45). Fulɓe women are expected to endure the pain during childbirth, as showing any sign of pain is translated as weakness and lack of self-control. It also teaches that what one does not have, is not meant to be his and his will surely come to him if only he endures. Whoever is patient, will eventually get the dividends of his or her action or inaction. Therefore, it is expected of a *pullo* to be patient in the pursuit of whatever he or she wants to achieve, as success is assured for whoever observes patience. A Pullo is expected to display a high degree of perseverance, as there is always light at the end of the tunnel, if only he/she perseveres, there will be relief in the end. *Fulɓe* are encouraged by *pulaaku* to be patient, to endure and to persevere because nothing good comes easy in life. A *Pullo* is, for this reason, expected to show witticism and a tremendous capacity for perseverance and patience.

3. Neɗɗaaku

The word *neɗɗaaku* according to Shede (2014) is "derived from *neɗɗo* which means human being" (p.60). *Neɗɗaaku* is also a component of *pulaaku* that denotes respect for others, humbleness and humility. Fulɓe are required by *pulaaku* to act in a way as to not take their desire, success or failure too seriously. This part of *pulaaku* is common among women as according to the Fulɓe custom, women should behave respectfully towards their parents, husband, co-wives and the household. A pullo with *neɗɗaaku* is said to portray composure, humility and respect at all times. This is because it is one of the virtues that make a *pullo* to be shy and patient as it regulates and controls and also helps in learning to become an upright person. As for Fulɓes' attitude towards publicly expressing their desires and needs, Fulɓe, especially women are expected to protect their dignity because it is what defines them as women of virtues. To show *neɗɗaaku*, young boys and girls are not expected to meet until after marriage as the concept of courtship does not exist in the Fulɓe custom. Therefore, marriages are usually conducted through the parents. Women in the Fulɓe society are expected to behave accordingly by accepting the marriage to show humility by respecting their parents's wishes.

3.4 Fulɓe Women (Rewɓe)

Fulɓe Women (rewɓe) have distinct social identities as they are seen as primary providers and inculcators of the moral norms and values of society into the child at the early stage. Women in the Fulɓe community have great responsibilities because they are the main conductors of *pulaaku*. They are expected to act and behave in a way that conforms to societal expectations. A

girl child, right from a tender age is taught the cultural norms and value system and she grows up showing incredible levels of these codes of conducts *(pulaaku)*.

3.5 Methodology

The method of data collection for this research includes the primary and secondary methods of data collection. The primary source of data collection is the text *So Aljannar Duniya* to bring to the fore, how modernisation has affected the belief systems of the Fulɓe. In addition, the introspection of the researcher on the Fulɓe culture was explored. Being conversant with the cultural norms and value systems of the Fulɓe, the researcher examines the daunting challenges faced by Fulɓe as a result of modernisation and globalisation. The secondary sources of data collection include: textbooks, journals and conference proceedings that are relevant to this research. These materials are used to improve the quality of the paper.

4.0 Data Analysis

The data that were extracted from the text *So Aljannar Duniya* were analysed based on the effect of modernisation as well as the norms and values expected of an ideal woman in the society. The analysis was done using cultural relativism approach as the theoretical framework. Cultural relativism states that the norms and values of one culture should not be evaluated by the norms and values of another. Proponents of cultural relativism such as Theodore & Vaughn (1990), Louis (2008), Rachels & Rachels (2010), Karamiana (2022) are of the view that there is no universal truth, therefore, each culture must be understood in its own words. According to Arat (2022) "There are no universal beliefs and each culture must be understood in its own way because cultures cannot be translated into terms that are universally available" (Cultural Relativism Types and its Elements, para. 2). This allows people to practice their beliefs and enjoy their cultural heritages. About the two types of cultural relativism, this research adopted critical cultural relativism which Karamiana (2022) says "is concerned with power dynamics as well as who is accepting certain cultural practices and why" (Types of Cultural Relativism, para.3). This research adopted this approach to examine why the Fulɓe are being influenced by modernisation and the western cultures. It will also help to describe the transformation Fulɓe culture is undergoing as a result of modernisation and Western education with examples from the text, *So Aljannar Duniya*.

4.1 The Effect of Modernisation on *Semteende*

The concept of *semteende* (shyness) is influenced by modernisation and can be seen in the setting of the text being analysed, which is in Niger Republic where the policy of assimilation and association was imposed by the colonial masters. The French system, customs and traditions such as laws, religion, education, and the mode of dressing were enforced on the Indigenous people of Niger Republic. Thus, these have affected the *semteende* of the Fulɓe women, to the extent that a bride who is expected to hide herself, because, she is not expected to take part in the wedding solemnisation which is usually conducted solely by men, is adorned and brought to the presence of her father and uncles, as in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 1:

suka shigo da amarya tana sanye da kayan Fulani zane fara, riga fara tana sanye da kayan wuyan nan. Amma daya hannun tana sanye da

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war-waro na azurfa masu yawa. Gashin kanta an yi masa ado da duwatsu

masu ban sha'awa. Suma 'yanmatan sun yi kwalliya sai dai Boɗaɗo kamar wata ne a cikin taurarri ko lu'u lu'u a cikin zinari. p.20

In excerpt 1 above, the bride is portrayed wearing a Fulani cloth with white strips and a white top. She wore a necklace. One of her hands has plenty of silver bangles. Her hair is adorned with beautiful stones. She is more beautiful than her friends who accompanied her. They sat down and one old man stood up and said: 'My kinsmen, we are gathered here to witness the solemnisation of our daughter. Join me in celebrating this wonderful day as we give our daughter's hand in marriage.

The process of conducting marriage as indicated above, is alien to the Fulɓe culture and some of the activities that took place in the scene can be seen as an act that lacks the virtue of *semteende* amongst the Fulɓe women. This is because Fulɓe who are predominantly Muslims conduct their marriages with only the bride's and groom's representatives known as the *waliyyi* and the *wakil*. The bride and groom, because of *semteende* (shyness) do not show their faces. The bride hides from the public's eyes as she is continually being teased by elderly women. Therefore, the bride appearing for the marriage solemnisation shows the influence of modernisation on the Fulɓe culture. This is a common practice among some educated Fulɓe, as they have become influenced by Western cultures. Nowadays, some marriages are conducted with the brides wearing beautiful tight clothing called wedding gowns and high-heeled shoes and dancing in front of their parents, relatives, and guests at dinner and luncheon parties. It is an act which is alien to the Fulɓe culture.

Similarly, in the Fulɓe society what is morally upright is for a woman to behave modestly and shyly and not to openly express love to a man. With the influence of assimilation coupled with the advent of Western education and modernisation, this aspect of *pulaaku* called *semteende* is gradually fading to the extent that some educated girls now engage in *courtship* before marriage and verbally express love to a man as can be seen in the following excerpts:
Excerpt 2:

Yas, ina kaunarka fiye da rayuwar kanka. Mhm da ma a ce ni sarauniya ce…. in aure ka mana…. p.9

Excerpt 2 above shows where Boɗaɗo was openly expressing her feelings to Yasir and wishing if she was a queen, she could have married him. This expression lacks s*emteende* and indicates courtship which does not exist in Fulɓe culture as it is regarded as *kaaɗaaku* (unpulloness). A Pullo woman is not expected to show affection openly but is expected to suppress her desire through the virtue of semteende. This helps deter youths from engaging in or openly expressing their urge for love. The consequence of Boɗaɗo's action has caused her to act contrary to the norms and values expected of a Pullo woman as can be seen in the following excerpt:
Excerpt 3:

> *Yasir yana wasa da kumatunta da gashin kanta… Sun zo mararraba sun tsaya suna kallon juna. Yasir ya rungume ta tana hawaye. Da qyar suka daure suka yi wa juna sallama.* p.6

Excerpt 3 above shows how Boɗaɗo and her suitor Yasir engaged in caressing out of wedlock as he touches her hair and chin and even hugged her. This is seen as an act of shamelessness as caressing in public is widely frowned upon and seen as, unlike a pullo. Even among married couples in Fulɓe tradition, this act is unacceptable not to speak of unmarried people. Therefore, publicly expressing love by a woman is regarded as shameless and immodesty. The above action is usually common in Western novels and telenovelas but is now being practiced by some educated Fulɓe as the result of modernisation which introduces foreign and strange cultures thereby affecting the pulaaku as a code of conduct of the Fulɓe

The author expresses the height at which modernisation has affected the Fulɓe culture through Boɗaɗo's aunty, where she expresses her shock at how shameless it is for Boɗaɗo to express her desire to marry Yasir. This can be seen in the following:
Excerpt 4:

> *Mhm! Wannan zamani, Allah ya sauwake. Yarinya ki zauna kina zancen aurenki, sai ka ce hirar nono da mai. Don haka fa ba ma son sa ɗiyarmu makarantar boko. In kun yi karatu sai ku ce kun fi kowa. Me kuka ɗauke mu ne? p.2*

In excerpt 4, Boɗaɗo's aunt is very surprised and exclaims! This modern era! A girl now talks about her marriage! This is why we do not allow our girl child to go to school. When you get an education, you act as if you know all. What do you take us for? This excerpt portrays how modernisation has affected the Fulɓe culture to an extent, a *Pullo* girl can now speak shamelessly of matters that concern her marriage. In the Fulɓe culture, a young girl discussing this type of issue with her parents is considered taboo and shameless. But Boɗaɗo, because she is educated, feels she can openly and directly do so. This is contrary to the *pulaaku* code of conduct and is regarded as immodest and not being shy.

Another contradiction of *semteende* as a component of *pulaaku* is also in the way in which the marriage ceremony was conducted between Boɗaɗo and Yasir as seen below:
Excerpt 5:

> *…mata suka cika ɗakin nan. Aka jawo Bodaɗo da Yasir aka kama rigarsa aka ƙulle da ta Boɗaɗo*. p. 21

In excerpt 5 above, women gathered in the room where the marriage was solemnized. They held the groom and his bride and tied their clothes together. This act is considered as non-Fulɓe and lacks modesty. Here, Boɗaɗo was brought to the presence of both men and women and was even tied to the groom. This is purely an alien culture to the Fulɓe as the groom and bride because of semteende are not supposed to appear in front of their in-laws.

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4. 2. Effect of Modernisation on *Nedɗaaku*

Under *nedɗaaku*, a woman is expected to be humble and respectful. This includes respecting one's parents and not talking back to them even if the person is on the right. The behaviour of Boɗaɗo did not portray *nedɗaaku* as she is seen talking back to her parents and openly attacking her mother as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 6:

> *Inna ni fa na gaya muku ba zan auri kowa ba sai wanda nake so. Kun san zamani ya sake. Kuma yanzu ba abin da zai hana ku ba ni shi ba.* p.1

Excerpt 6 above shows how deep modernisation has eaten into the *nedɗaaku* code of *pulaaku.* Here, Boɗaɗo was talking back to her mother who talked to her about marriage, and in response, she resisted by saying that her parents must allow her to marry the person she love as time has changed. Talking back to one's parents in the Fulɓe culture is regarded as disrespectful. In the Fulɓe culture, *nedɗaaku* warrants that a girl obeys the words and decisions of her parents without any reservations. This includes choosing for her, a responsible husband which is usually done right from birth. The time that has changed now means modernity, which means that with the advent of this new change, a girl can now choose a husband for herself and challenge her parents' decisions. This in the Fulɓe code of conduct (*pulaaku)* is regarded as arrogance as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 7:

> *Ya ɗauki buta zai yi alwalla sai ga Biɗaɗo ta shiga. Ta tafi kusa da shi ta zauna... daga nan sai ta faɗa masa cewa ita ba wani a zuciyarta in ba Yasir ba.* p.14

Excerpt 7 above shows how Boɗaɗo confronted her father and told him that it is Yasir that she will marry and no one else. Boɗaɗo's action portrays a lack of respect and humility. It is unlike a pullo, moreso a woman to act in this way, as Fulɓe women regard their fathers with high esteem and speak to them with lots of respect and composure. Furthermore, some of the events portrayed in the story lack dignity and decorum because, in the Fulɓe culture and most African cultures, a woman does not play the role of a kinsman for the groom or bride during marriage ceremony. But it is not the case here as can be seen in the following:

Excerpt 8:

> *To jama'ata, kun san mun taru yau domin ba da ɗiyarmu aure. Ga uwar yaro nan ta zo tunda ubansa ya rasu.* p.17

In excerpt 8 above, the old man who stood up to address the gathering introduces Yasir's mother as his representative because his father was not alive. This action is contrary to the Fulɓe code of coduct (*pulaaku)* as it lacks decorum for a woman who is seen as fragile and shy to be given a leadership responsibility. This, therefore, lacks *nedɗaaku* because it is redarded as an insult to the groom's family as the role of a man is now given to a woman as a result of modernisation. It is men who stand as wakil of the groom and are expected to attend the wedding no matter how far they will travel and the circumstances, women do not stand as wakil in the Fulɓe and in most African cultures. It is odd and alien for a woman whose duties

in society are specified to appear among men and perform the function of a man. This means that modernisation has affected the social structure of the community thereby, affecting *neɗɗaaku* as a code of conduct (*pulaaku*).
Excerpt 9:

> *Daga cikin tsofaffin nan wani ya ce, "kin ji ɗanki na so ya auri 'yarmu kin yarda?* p. 17

Excerpt 9 above shows how the consent of Yasir's mother was sorted before the marriage was soleminised. She was asked if she consent to her son's intention to marry their daughter. This is unIslamic and also regarded as *kaaɗaaku* (unpulloness) because, the Fulɓe society which is a Muslim and patriarchal society does not involve women in this kind of ceremony, as it is a man that gives away his daughter in marriage or receives a wife for his son. Here, the situation changes because of modernisation that has affected their culture.

4. 3. Effect of Modernisation on *Munyal*

This is another virtue that a Pullo woman is expected to portray. *Munyal* includes patience, endurance, tolerance and the ability to stay calm and be in control of one's emotions. A Pullo woman is expected to show these as signs of adulthood and maturity. Boɗaɗo did not show this virtue as she is portrayed to show a lack of it as can be seen in the following excerpt:
Excerpt 10:

> *Tana kuma son ya goyi bayanta ta aure shi. In kuwa sun ce za su yi mata auren tilas za ta kashe kanta.* p.1

In excerpt 10 above, Boɗaɗo's mother tells her husband that Boɗaɗo will kill herself if she is not allowed to marry the man of her choice, she therefore, advised that Boɗaɗo be allowed to marry who she love. This shows Boɗaɗo's lack of patience and endurance which is the result of modernisation. As a Pullo woman, she is supposed to be calm and patience at all times. This is because Fulɓe women are known for endurance as they can endure even the most excruciating pain such as the process of child-birth. In this type of situation, they remain calm and endure till the end. Therefore, they do not show anxiousness at any moment. This is not the case with Boɗaɗo as can be seen in the following:
Excerpt 11:

> *Goggo kin san duk abin da kika gaya wa Baba yana ji. Ina so ki sa mani baki… Ni fa na gaya muku Goggo,Yasir nake so.* p.3

Excerpt 11 shows Boɗaɗo eagerly telling her aunt to convince her father about her marriage with Yasir and that she loves him. Here, Boɗaɗo portrays anxiousness which is rare among Fulɓe women who are normally calm and patient at all time. Boɗaɗo, who is educated and lives in the modern world now feels she can anxiously pressurize her parents into accepting her wish. This is contrary to the Fulɓe code of coduct (*pulaaku*) and is unlikly for a Pullo woman to behave this way as it shows impatience and lack of endurance.

5.1 Conclusion

From the above analysis, it shows that modernisation has become an indispensable phenomenon that has grown deep into the Fulɓe society thereby altering most of the cultural norms and values. As Fulɓe girls acquire western education and adjust to modern life, they adapt to the ways of Westerners. Contrary to the cultural relativism theory, the western culture is perceived as the superior culture that other cultures copy. Also, as change is inevitable and necessary, the reason for these changes is for the development and progress of the society which is, therefore, seen as necessary. This so-called modernisation is seen as a culture shock to the elders in the society as they are already used to their unadulterated culture, it is therefore alien and unacceptable to them. The analysis shows that with time, if modernisation is not curtailed, it will eliminate the moral values and traditional believe of *pulaaku* among the Fulɓe women. Therefore, to mitigate the phenomenon, the preservation and promotion of these cultural norms and values, such as the ones analysed (*semteende*, *nedɗaaku* and *munyal)* are necessary. These can be achieved through documentation of our cultural heritage, story-telling, teaching, and other forms of culture preservation.

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