

THE SEEREER WOMAN IN THE MUSIC OF NICOLAS NGOR SARR; *BA BOLANAAM O LOQ (2013) AND XAM DAKIN A TOKOL NO MBAAR (2013): BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY*

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Abstract: The status of the seereer woman occupies a non-negligible place in the musical production of Nicolas Ngor SARR. In “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*” and “*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*” Nicolas starts intelligently deconstructing the old discourse that entrapped the seereer woman in submissiveness, piety and purity as the top qualities of a good woman. He sings a new type of woman who refuses categorically to be beaten by her husband and sues for a divorce. Nicolas urges the seereer community to emancipate women by maintaining some cardinal values that the traditional seereer woman embodied. That is the reason why he celebrates mother by singing the soothing effect of motherhood in “*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*”.

Keywords: Seereer, Women, Motherhood, emancipation, rebellion, soothing, tradition, modernity.

1. INTRODUCTION

Born in Fangat; near Keur Martin in the region of Fatick in Senegal, Nicolas Ngor SARR has become the most outstanding singer in the seereer community for the last two decades. Being a Christian brought up in a seereer environment where the traditional religion still prevails over the revealed ones; he has produced more than one hundred songs that mainly deal with the cultural patrimony of his community. Fundamental human needs like affection, love and companionship; human concerns such as marriage, death and human relations addressed by Nicolas Ngor SARR make his music transcend community barriers and racial borders in order to reflect the singer’s humanistic outlook.

The choice of the two songs “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*” (2013) and “*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*” (2013) is motivated by two principal reasons. The first is the fact that they address the woman question with noticeable emphasis placed on the status of women and its various components in a community sellotaped in some traditions and practices that still slow down the emancipation of the seereer women. An open-minded and innovative stand that his predecessors and contemporaries fail to take into account in their music. The second reason for the choice of these two songs is linked to the fact that by rehabilitating the values and qualities of the seereer woman, Nicolas Ngor SARR promotes not only the immaterial cultural patrimony of his community, but also praises a woman who rebels against woman’s beating which is an old deep-seated practice in his community in order to reflect the dynamics of cultural changes that are on process in the seereer community. Hence, the notions of tradition and modernity.

This study is an attempt to demonstrate that “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*”, in rejecting the physical oppression on the part of the seereer woman, seems to be rooted in Nicolas Ngor SARR’s strong desire for the seereer woman’s freedom and self-reliance to a certain extent. The underlying reason is to be found in Nicolas’ project to emancipate the seereer woman.

“*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*” reflects the singer’s aim to depict a perfect example of the Victorian woman who knows what motherhood means and what a child’s expectations and needs are.

2. TRANSLATION OF THE TWO SONGS UNDER STUDY: FROM SEEREER TO ENGLISH

For the transcription, we have used the seereer alphabet. Its rules and characteristics are codified by the executive order number 85-1232 November 20th 1985. It is useful here to remind of the main characteristics of the alphabet.

- The following letters have the same phonetic value in English: **p, m, f, t, d, n, k, l, s.**
- The following letters have another phonetic value in English:
 - c** corresponds to what we hear in **cheat**,
 - j** corresponds to what we hear in **jacket**
 - x** does not exist in English, but nearly corresponds to what we hear in **hot, happy**
 - q** does not exist in English, but is nearly the same to k (example: key)
 - w** corresponds to what we hear in **will** or **what**
 - a** corresponds to what we hear in **hat**
 - e** corresponds to what we hear in **hello**
 - o** corresponds to what we hear in **open**
 - u** does not exist in English, but nearly corresponds to what we hear in **good, mood**

Apart from these vowels, there are in seereer long vowels such as **aa, ee, ii, oo, uu**. Other sounds are transcribed by diphthongs: **mp, mb, nd**.

A kim 1: Ba bolanaam o loq

1. Ba bolanaam o loq ee
2. Ka ya’ es a fi’am o deendoor
3. O bugangeram o tew o wasanam cer es (bis)
4. Ba bolanaam o loq ee
5. Ka fap es a fi’am o ngelwar
6. O bugangeram o tew o wasanam cer es (bis)
7. A tolax kata waram, ka waagim o gen no mbind fap
8. O wagangeram o saq o ci’am o cok es (bis)
9. Ba sosanaam to fi’iim
10. Ka fap es a fi’am o ngelwar
11. O bugangeram o tew ba yaq gon es
12. Ba sosanaam to fi’iim
13. Ka maag es a fi’am o ngelwar
14. O bugangeram o tew ba yaq gon es
15. Ba bolanaam o loq ee
16. Ka ya’ es a fi’am o deendoor
17. O bugangeram o tew o wasanam cer es

Song 1: Don't break a stick for me

1. Don't break a stick for me
2. My mother has made of me a mirror
3. If you don't want me to be your wife, liberate me (bis)
4. Don't break a stick for me
5. My father has made of me a ngelwar
6. If you don't want me to be your wife, liberate me (bis)
7. Marriage is an obligation for me; I mustn't live in my father's house
8. If you can't take care of me, you liberate me (bis)
9. Don't slander me when I'm not guilty of anything
10. My father has made of me a ngelwar
11. If you don't want me to be your wife, don't soil my name
12. Don't slander me when I'm not guilty of anything.
13. My grand brother has made of me a ngelwar
14. If you don't want me to be your wife, don't soil my name.
15. Don't break a stick for me
16. My mother has made of me a mirror
17. If you don't want me to be your wife, liberate me

A Kim 2: Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar

1. Ee yaaya boy ee ko bug am kam xeen of
2. Bo um loola ko jalwaa o yaakaara e exam noow
3. Woxe na jalwaa to woxonaa yam mi soom
4. Xam dakin a tokol no mbaar (bis)
5. Um reta no ndok na kam yega noowa
6. Um luuxanga o lus ola kam yegaa ee noowam
7. Ne o detaxam ka ta felam kam xeen es
8. Kam dakin a tokol no mbaar
9. O nuxur o bubula ola wo ka taxa um yaadu
10. O delem o felula wo ka watnaxam no njaaxdatan
11. Fiyaa fop ke wagoona dax um noow
12. Xam dakin a tokol no mbar
13. Wojaba jib ke dax um jeg o wodfo mbaal
14. O loola dax um waag o jeg halal
15. Yaga boog o leng daawkatirang kam rewaa
16. Xam dakin a tokol no mbaar
17. Yeg a tim o bubala yaa refuma tok ndiin of

18. Onjle xat tok ndiin of ten na boga xeen laami'
19. Xaliss fo biseel kam adna
20. Xam dakin a tokol no mbaar
21. Ye um janga a naac, ko dama kanda
22. Um nanga yen ka o wondoox to mebaam
23. Ndiiki maakatam, soogo fadiid kam adna
24. Xam dakin a tokol no mbar
25. Bo a siik ala layaa, o jang a una laa
26. Ceec ne suma ba doxaa, o inu daxanaa
27. O leelanam bo tat'es may ke daat
28. Xam dakin a tokol no mbaar
29. Ee yaaya boy ee ko bug am kam xeen of
30. Bo um loola ko jalwaa o yaakaara e exam noow
31. Woxe na jalwaa to woxonaa yam mi soom
32. Xam dakin a tokol no mbaar (bis)

Song 2: I will pay you back your own coin

1. Oh, mom, you love me deep down your heart
2. When I'm crying, you are laughing hoping that I will live longer
3. You are smiling while suffering only for the sake of my joy
4. I will pay you back your own coin
5. I'm enjoying the pleasure of life when I'm on your thighs
6. I'm enjoying the pleasure of life when I'm sucking your breasts
7. The way you are looking at me is a balsam in my heart of hearts
8. I will pay you back your own coin
9. Your soft voice makes me feel at ease
10. Your honeyed voice chases my worries off my head
11. You have done everything you can in order to make me enjoy the pleasures of life
12. I will pay you back your own coin
13. You leave no stone unturned so that I have a good health
14. You are worrying because you want me to succeed in life
15. No woman in the world is in a position to equal you
16. I will give you back your own coin
17. I no longer feel the cold when I'm on your back.
18. The sweat from your back purifies my heart.
19. You are doing your best to provide me with what I need in life
20. I will pay you back your own coin

21. When I was trying to walk, you were helping by holding my shoulders.
22. When I was falling down, you lifted me while laying down.
23. Now I have grown up, I'm in the prime of life.
24. I will pay you back your own coin
25. When cock crows, you take your pestle.
26. The sun in the Zenith, you are fetching for deadwood.
27. You have paved the way for me by throwing the grass.
28. I will pay you back your own coin
29. Oh, mom, you love me deep down your heart
30. When I'm crying, you are laughing hoping that I will live longer
31. You are smiling while suffering only for the sake of my joy
32. I will pay you back your own coin (bis)

3. WOMAN'S REBELLION AND REVOLUTION IN MANNERS

Like Aissatou in *So Long a Letter* by Mariama BA, Sofia in *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker, Jane Eyre in *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Bronte, Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter* by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Nicolas Ngor SARR praises in "*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*" a woman who vigorously rebels against some traditional practices such as women's beating with an upsetting and provoking tone. The use of the rebel woman is a strategy, for women rights advocates, to show brave and courageous women who are ready to face at all costs the injustice of a violent and unequal world, struggling hard to achieve and bequeath a better world for the coming generations of women and girls. In *So Long a Letter* by Mariama Ba, Aissatou's reactions to Mawdo's betrayal are part and parcel of the rebellious attitudes that the modern woman embodies. By rejecting the institution of polygamy, she writes to Mawdo in these clear-cut terms.

Princes master their feelings to fulfill their duties. Others bend their heads and, in silence, accept a destiny that oppresses them. That, briefly put, is the internal ordering of our society, with its absurd division. I will not yield to it. I cannot accept what you are offering me today in place of the happiness we once had. You want to draw a line between heartfelt love and physical love. I say that there can be no union of bodies without the heart's acceptance, however little that may be. If you can procreate without loving, merely to satisfy the pride of your declining mother, then I find you despicable. At that moment you tumbled from the highest rung of respect on which I have always placed you. Your reasoning, which makes a distinction, is unacceptable to me: on one side, me, your life, your love, your choice, on the other, young Nabou, to be tolerated for reasons of duty. Mawdo, man is one: greatness and animal fused together. None of his acts is pure charity. None is pure bestiality. I am stripping myself of your love, your name. Clothed in my dignity, the only worthy garment. I go my way.[1]

In singing a rebellious woman who dares break down the silence imposed on women, Nicolas intends to subvert the traditional ideals, put into questions some local values and deal with some taboo issues. In this perspective, Nicolas sees eye to eye with some African female writers dealing with women's issues like Flora Nwapa even though he has never read *Women Are Different*. Nwapa in her fiction depicts some rebellious women like Agnes who indifferently supports the sexual intercourses with her husband.

Sleeping with her husband was nothing special. She felt nothing. She submitted herself like a lamb ready for slaughter and prayed that it should be over quickly so she would snatch some sleep and read her lessons at night while husband snored. Sometimes, in her relaxed moments, which were rare indeed, she wondered whether her husband enjoyed sex with her or not. She did not and did not care. [2]

In “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*”, Nicolas also advocates the emancipation of the seereer woman by deconstructing the traditional discourse on marriage which is the main source of women’s oppression. Like many human communities, from ancient time until now, the institution of marriage is still a predicament for the seereer woman despite the technological advancements in the villages to alleviate the difficult domestic chores that the woman accomplishes in her everyday life. Mills, faucets, electricity and gas for the kitchen can be found in many seereer remote areas. However, woman’s beating is still a reality in the community.

In “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*”, Nicolas denounces domestic violence by putting the stress on the physical aspect. He emphasizes that this physical violence against women in the seereer community and the culture of the area strongly intertwined. He believes that the physical violence that women are victim of stems from the perception, in African cultures, of the nature of relations between husband and wife, which places the husband as the “*master of the household, the boss with all the rights over the family*”. It is common place to hear the seereer man reminding of his wife that he is his husband when they are quarrelling or discussing serious controversial issues.

O kor of refu, ba yaf’ am

I’m your husband

O waasang ee um layaa o lay aa

If you don’t stop talking when I’m talking

Me I jofaa daat sax kee maaga

Where we are going grass will not grow there. [3]

The conception is all the more legitimate in the eyes of the seereer man since some traditional norms and values condemn women to remain silent in such situations. The warning “*where we are going grass will not grow there*”, hints at the blows or the beatings that may rain upon the woman if she keeps on quarreling with the man or disagreeing with him. In the view of many Western scholars like Dobash and Gordon, domestic violence contributes to the social control of women and the maintenance of hierarchical gender relations, for the material, psychological, and status benefits of men. A study on domestic violence in Dakar in January 2013 made by Mohamed Maniboliot Soumah, Abdoul Wahab Issa, Mor Ndiaye, El Hadji Oumar Ndoeye, and Mamadou Lamine SOW, the year Nicolas Ngor SARR sang his song “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*” shows the high rate of domestic violence in the capital city of Senegal. A fact that gives Nicolas’s concerns a national scope.

Nicolas’s song “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*” can be interpreted as an alert to the local authorities and the Senegalese government. Despite the laws of parity guaranteeing equality between women and men in all the governmental instances in Senegal and the international agreements signed to protect women from violence, women in the country in general and particularly in the seereer community still experience high rates of physical, verbal and psychological violence. A concern that Nicolas Ngor SARR shares with the South African writer ALEX LA GUMA. In *A Walk in the Night*, LA GUMA uses the image of the physical degeneration of beautiful women’s bodies to illustrate this alienation.

She had a young-old face to which the beauty of her youth still clung, although her body had become worn and thickened with regular childbirth. Her face had the boniness and grandeur of an ascetic saint, and her eyes were wells of sadness mixed with joy.[4]

By comparing herself to a “*mirror*” and a “*gelwaar*”, the woman in “*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*” means that the woman wants the man to realize that her values, qualities and role in society no longer match with his vision of the world which keeps her in the background, locks her in the home and excludes her from the process of production. The metaphor of the “*mirror*” is a revalorization of the image of the seereer woman. As in real life, the metaphorical mirror should be used to examine and evaluate the reflection in order to affect change where it is needed. Knowledge of the factors that distort the image would place the beholder in a better position to make exact and pertinent changes or at least better evaluations. For a mirror to cast a reflection, it requires light. This light matches well with Nicolas’s objective which is to make the seereer man see the woman as a source of illumination, enlightenment, awareness and wisdom. By choosing the mirror as a metaphor, Nicolas also aims to plead the cause of the seereer woman by speaking in favor of more social justice and more involvement in public affairs.

From the comparison of the woman to the mirror, Nicolas, through a beautiful gradual process, compares the seereer woman to a gelwaar. In so doing, he wants not only to raise man's awareness to the value of the woman, but also to create a new type of woman who occupies a place of leader in a world that moves from matriarchal to patriarchal ruling. In the former Kingdoms of Sine which has become the region of Fatick and Saloum which is now the region of Kaolack, the gelwaars were always the kings. A person becomes a gelwaar through maternal descendents. They were warriors who left the Gabu after the collapse of the big Gabu Empire.

The woman in "*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*" embodies the new seereer woman with a full political consciousness and committed to taking an active part in the modern world. The case of women and power is of interest here. Comparing her to a gelwaar, Nicolas wants the seereer woman to be aware of the fact that the question of power and domination often constitutes the nucleus of conflict between man and woman in the world. While the powerful bend every nerve to maintain their authority, the weak, at times, fight to overthrow those in authority.

By telling the man "*If you don't want me to be your wife, liberate me*", Nicolas enforces the idea of easy divorce as a form of defense. According to Nicolas, access to easier divorce can be a resort to protect women from the oppression and immorality of some men. In the seereer culture divorce was and is still seen by many as a threat to the traditional family structure, the downfall of which would lead to the destruction of the balance of society. By endowing the woman with the courage to be the first to sue for a divorce, Nicolas indirectly warns man so that he realizes that the times men were exercising complete control over their wives are over. The lesson the song teaches is that it's high time men changed their attitudes and minds concerning the relationships between husband and wife.

Although Nicolas is in favor of the emancipation of the seereer woman and the woman in general, he does not put a cross to the traditional values and qualities that are related to woman. At a time when women step out of the home and enter all spheres of life, Nicolas wants people to pay attention to the cardinal values of motherhood and mothering which are being neglected by the whole society. Hence the stress he puts on these issues.

4. THE SOOTHING EFFECT OF MOTHERHOOD

Nowadays, in many cultures around the world, many women perceive negatively motherhood and mothering, devalue them and radically deny them. They believe that motherhood and mothering are the main sources of women's suffering, oppression and subjugation. Writers like Elizabeth Badinter support this viewpoint since she sustains the idea that motherhood and mothering are the stumbling blocks that perpetuate women's oppression in society. Some of them even reject marriage because they consider it an institutionalized form of woman's exploitation. They see marriage as a means by which man controls all aspects of the woman's life. However, it is of paramount importance to pinpoint that, in many African traditional societies and cultures, motherhood was a source of happiness, pride, and joy. The *Joys of Motherhood* by the Nigerian female writer Buchi Emecheta is very informative in this sense.

In reading the text or carefully listening to "*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*", one easily notices that the rational behind Nicolas Ngor SARR's song is to restore some African or seereer cardinal values related to the question of motherhood and mothering. He wants people to be aware of the fact that child future leadership qualities are to a certain extent closely linked to the relationships between mother-child during motherhood and mothering. Nicolas reinforces the power of the mother, or simply of the woman, guardian of the home, who is the central pillar on which all the seereer family structure is put back.

Um luuxanga o lus ola kam yegaa ee noowam

When I suck your breast I feel that I'm alive

Ne o detaxam ka ta felam kam xeen es

I'm very pleased with the way you are looking at me

Kam dakin a tokol no mbaar

I will give you back in your own

O nuxur o bubula ola wo ka taxa um yaadu

Your honeyed voice makes me feel at ease

O delem o felula wo ka watnaxam no njaaxdatan

Your sweet voice chases off my worries

Fiyaa fop ke wagoona dax um noow

You have done your utmost best so that I be alive [6]

Nicolas is very satisfied with the love, care and affection that his mother displays to him. There are very romantic passages showing the happiest moments between mother and child during the mothering period. Acknowledging the great contributions of his mother in his current life, Nicolas decides to give her back her own coin by singing the uncommonness of his mother in dispensing such true love and care. A viewpoint that he shares with the Senegalese first president Leopold Sédar Senghor. Senghor idealizes the Black woman human qualities as follows:

Naked woman, black woman

Clothed with your colour which is life,

with your form which is beauty!

In your shadow I have grown up; the

gentleness of your hands was laid over my eyes.

And now, high up on the sun-baked

pass, at the heart of summer, at the heart of noon,

I come upon you, my Promised Land,

And your beauty strikes me to the heart

like the flash of an eagle.

Naked woman, dark woman

Firm-fleshed ripe fruit, sombre raptures

of black wine, mouth making lyrical my mouth

Savannah stretching to clear horizons,

savannah shuddering beneath the East Wind's

eager caresses

Carved tom-tom, taut tom-tom, muttering

under the Conqueror's fingers

Your solemn contralto voice is the

spiritual song of the Beloved.

Naked woman, dark woman

Oil that no breath ruffles, calm oil on the

athlete's flanks, on the flanks of the Princes of Mali

Gazelle limbed in Paradise, pearls are stars on the

night of your skin

Delights of the mind, the glinting of red gold against your watered skin

Under the shadow of your hair, my care

is lightened by the neighbouring suns of your eyes.

Naked woman, black woman,

I sing your beauty that passes, the form

that I fix in the Eternal,

Before jealous fate turn you to ashes to

feed the roots of life.[7]

It is interesting to mention that Nicolas Ngor SARR and President Leopold Sédar Senghor's common idealization of the woman may be justified by the fact that they belong to the same ethnic group called Seereer. To paraphrase Stendhal, *Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar* is a mirror which the woman carries along the roadway of her life to present what it really means to be a mother in a society which is twisted up between tradition and modernity. In the seereer culture, the woman has always been held in high esteem due to her moral qualities. Everything related to her is blessed and invested with value.

The mother attitude towards her son in *Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar* is, in all respect, similar to Mrs Rambo's relationships with Ralph Ellison's hero whose atypical name, Invisible Man, has given the novel its title. Like the old white woman, the big and dark woman accepts the wandering, sick, penniless, and destitute young man in her house, which means that for Nicolas Ngor SARR, humanity is colourless. Mothering Invisible Man as if he were her own, she affectionately calls him "son", to which he interacts by addressing her as "ma'm" in accordance with her definition of the term mother, that is, not necessarily the woman who begot you, but "*the one who screams when you suffer*".

The sense of motherhood being ingrained in the mother's nature in *Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar* as it is in Miss Eva Turner's in *The Women of Brewster Place* by Gloria Naylor, the former is very satisfied with mothering the child. To demonstrate that the mother is endowed with an abundant mine of human qualities that enable her not only to transcend the difficult and complex situations that occur in her life, but also to make the women in her culture or from other cultures do the same, Nicolas makes her play a decisive role. Proof of the mother's firm objective to soothe the child is zoomed out in the panoptic scene where she cuddles him or her. Through acute and detailed observation, she faithfully and objectively pictures her child's actions, motions, positions, and gestures as expressed by the verbs to "*suck, bathe, smile, look at or pave.*"

Nicolas's conception of motherhood and mothering is similar to what Welter termed the cult of true womanhood. According to Welter, a true woman possesses "*four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity*". Only through the constant exercise of these virtues could a woman achieve her rightful place in society, and within the confines of the home, marriage, and motherhood. As the moral gatekeeper of the family, the pious wife and mother was charged with shielding her family from base, immoral influences and behavior. Female piety was ordained by God, and only woman could save those around her from worldly temptation and sin. Purity in body, spirit, and intentions were critical to happiness; wives were expected not only to be personally pure, but also to promote pure motives and honorable actions towards others, particularly husbands. Submissiveness was perhaps the greatest of all feminine virtues. A woman must conform to customs, obey her husband, and bear any and all hardships with passivity and acceptance. All of these virtues must be embedded in a perfect sense of domesticity.

According to Nicolas in "*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*", it is for the purpose of praising motherhood and mothering as the safest levers which the seereer woman can press to survive, preserve her dignity, find contentment, and entertains hope that Nicolas makes the woman face all the hardships linked to motherhood and mothering without complaining or attempting to revolt. Such is also his intention when he sings in "*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*" a rebellious woman whose courage, determination and commitment to reject all the traditional practices and customs that put a ban on her empowerment contrasts with that between of the other woman. In so doing, Nicolas promotes the complementarity between tradition and modernity. The main lesson that must be taken into account from the two songs is that the woman's salvation in general is in her intelligent management of the traditional cardinal values of motherhood and the realities of the modern world.

5. CONCLUSION

In "*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*" and "*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*", the seereer woman attempts to recover freedom and dignity in rejecting the physical oppression that she has been victim of for a long time. There is a call for protest against women's beating in Nicolas's song. Nicolas upholds a mirror in which physical oppression towards women is reflected for men to see. The use of the imperative which is utilized for giving pieces of advice, instructions and orders and the language which is tense in "*Ba Bolanaam o Loq*" shows that the seereer woman wants from now on to get rid of her passivity and fight for her emancipation. Her refusal to be beaten also demonstrates that the seereer woman sets a high esteem on the universal values which are particularly fitting to a sex in search for self-respect and meaningful life.

In singing or celebrating the soothing effect of motherhood in “*Xam Dakin a Tokol no Mbaar*”, Nicolas entrusts himself with a pedagogical mission which consists in teaching men to measure the value of the mother and the woman in general. He attempts to stress the qualities and values the seereer woman possesses that seereer men do not. Despite the ordeals that life holds for the woman, she leaves no stone unturned to provide man for a stable life, filled with love, joy, harmony, assurance, care, intimacy and amusement. In addition to motherhood and mothering, Nicolas wants the young seereer woman to be psychologically ready to cope with the hardships and uncertainties the road of life is paved with.

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