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TIME IN YORÙBÁ CULTURE

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Abstract. The problem of time has assumed an acrimonious debate in African philosophy. This paper is an attempt to discuss the concept of time in Yoruba-African thoughts. Through conceptual analysis and hermeneutics of the Yoruba proverbial resources, the attitude and perceptions of the Yoruba on time, time measurement and reckoning are explored. In view of the dynamism of culture, the traditional and contemporary understanding of time among the Yoruba is critically discussed. Contrary to the popular view on the absence of very long and infinite future time in traditional African thought, this paper argues the cogency of a three-dimensional time among the Yoruba consisting of the past, present and future. While exposing some of the critical problems in the Yoruba understanding of time, the paper establishes that the understanding of time in Yorùbá indigenous belief system can help correct the inconsistencies associated with the early writings on time in African thought.

Key Words: Time, Dimension, Tradition, Inspiration, Cosmology, Relativity

Introduction

This paper attempts an analysis of time in Yorùbáⁱ culture. The fundamental presupposition of this paper is that many aspects of the Yorùbá cultural experiences both in the traditional and contemporary senses can be better understood upon a clear awareness of the people's notion of time. Given the reality of cultural transition and diffusion, this paper discusses the pristine indigenous perception of time among the Yorùbá as well as its contemporary understanding. The first two sections of this paper discuss these concerns, respectively. The third section is a critical inquisition on the antinomy arising from the fundamental dissimilarities and similarities ensuing in the traditional and modern conceptions of time among the Yoruba. The fourth section discusses the salient lessons of the Yorùbá concept of time in the context of the controversy on time in African philosophical discourse. The last section provides the concluding remarks.

Time in traditional Yoruba Culture

Traditional Yorùbá view of time is complex. It is nearly impossible to grasp the Yorùbá concept of time without understanding the key words that express and embody the idea of time in Yorùbá culture. The Yorùbá words *àkókò*, *ìgbà*, *asiko* are often used interchangeably to refer to time without any conceptual contrast. Though when conceptualized atomically, it is possible to delineate some distinctions among them. *Àkókò* means a time-around 'T', where 'T' denotes an event of thing. Such time, it must be noted, is not specific but an approximate. *Ìgbà* means a period or epoch while *asiko* simply means a specific season. Though each of these conceptual categories is related to time, and could be sometimes overlapping, the scope of each differs according to the contexts in usage.ⁱⁱ

The Yoruba idea of time is strongly rooted in their communal world view usually transmitted through proverbs, folklores, amongst others. It is in this regard that Sophie Oluwole discusses the complex phenomenon of time in Yoruba culture basing her discussions on oral text. For her, the Yoruba conception of time is labyrinth, complex and multidimensional, though "not seen as something aloof or irrelevant to man's day-today experiences in the world."ⁱⁱⁱ For instance, she provides the following proverbs on the Yoruba notion of time:

- i. *Ti won ban pa oni, ki ola tele won ki o lo wo bi won o ti sin*
(when today is being despatched, tomorrow should be in attendance to see where the corpse is laid)

- ii. *Ogbon odun ni, were eemi* (wisdom this year is folly next time)
- iii. *Igba o lo bi orere, aye o lo bi opa ibon* (no life span extends ad infinitum; a life time is not as straight as the barrel of a gun)

The first of the above proverbs suggests the circularity thesis of time among the traditional Yoruba. The claim here is that the future will continue to repeat the present and that the knowledge of the present is necessary for the knowledge of the future. While this interconnectedness of present and the future shows that the Yorubas do not necessarily have nostalgic attachment to the past, it stresses that today's experiences are lessons signposts for the future.

Proverb (ii) emphasizes the fluidity of time and the reality of changes as a constant feature of existence. It recognizes the continuum of time from the present to the future and does not necessarily entail the idea of time circularity. Another similar and related proverb on the fluidly perception of time among the Yoruba is: *Akoko ko duro de enikan; mu'ra si ise, ojo nlo* (time speeds; do what is needful at its prime because the day awaits nobody). This proverb is an inspirational call charging the optimal use and value of time. The proverbs show that "without a fixed end point, the relationship between past, present and future in the Yoruba cosmology shifts in a specific, yet fluid manner."^{iv}

Proverb (iii) is a relative illustration of how the vicissitudes of life affect variations in epochal time characterization; it is also a paradoxical expression of the Yoruba belief in eternity without a linear cosmic end of history. As Wole Soyinka equally notes, "past, present and future being so pertinently conceived and woven into the Yoruba worldview, the element of eternity which is the god's prerogative does not have the same quality of remoteness or exclusiveness which it has in Christian, [Islamic] or Buddhist culture."^v Cursorily viewed proverbs (i) and (ii) tend to be incompatible as the former emphasizes circularity and the later stresses fluidity; however, proverb (iii) expresses an awareness of relativity of time with its implicit inspirational calmness in the face of life difficulties and challenges.

Oluwole's attempt at using oral texts for discovering the Yoruba notion of time is commendable in part because what is real for the traditional Yoruba is implicit in their oral traditions. While Oluwole notes the complexity of time in Yoruba culture in terms of circularity, relativity and interconnectedness, she does not provide further explanations that can clear the confusions surrounding the people's idea

of time. Given the dynamism of culture, Oluwole's shortcoming is the non-cognizance of the changing perception of time from the traditional outlook to modern perception in contemporary Yoruba culture. Though an understanding of the traditional perception is necessary for a better apprehension of the contemporaneous view of time among the Yoruba, salient parameters of time measurement and reckoning among the traditional Yorubas are lacking in Oluwole's analysis.

A more insightful analysis of time in traditional Yoruba culture is detailed in John Ayoade's article, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts." According to him, time is constituted by events whether they have occurred, occurring or yet to take place. Time is real only when experienced. "Time devoid of events makes little sense."^{vi} Thus, time is seen as a property of things or events. Time makes meaning to the traditional Yoruba when "it is related to whether, seasons, natural phenomena around them." In this sense, time is relative to a person's reckoning of it. This element of subjectivity of time is understandable, especially, because traditional Yoruba society was a non-industrialized society, agrarian, communal and peasant oriented. Time in such a society was reckoned in consonance with the socio-economic conveniences of the societal structure. Hence, the traditional Yoruba society hardly possessed the mechanical time measurement devices that give precise time measurement as mathematically given in clock. Time in this sense is an objective phenomenon determinable by what the clock accurately measures.

Time in traditional Yoruba societies was neither mathematical nor numerical. "It is simply time as experienced by the people in relation to events around them."^{vii} As Bukola Oyeniyi rightly observed; "in the Yorùbá world, events have not only a relation to the past and the present, but also to the future. Hence, the Yorùbá people see events within the three times sequence..."^{viii} Events that have been experienced are categorized under the past time, events recently going on are labeled with present time, and events yet to come are grouped under the future time. The measurement of time is done through "a non-causal association of two events, whether or not they are isochronous."^{ix} For example, the time of birth of a child may be associated with popular events like the enthronement of a king without a keen interest in the specific date of birth. They are concerned with simplicity and not with exactitude and accurateness as we have today in time measurement and responsiveness. Time is either estimated individually or

environmentally. Individually, the biological growth circles of humans are observed as the determinants of a given period (*asiko*). “The Yorubas periodize the age of an individual and this periodization is meant to be of universal application within the Yoruba community.”^x For instance, the periods are identified as *ikoko* (new born), *irakoro* (crawler stage), *omo irinse* (toddler), *omode* (child), *odo* (youth), *agba* (elderly youth), *arugbo* (old age). Across these stages of human biological development, an individual’s biological growth state is used as a measure of time.

Human time reckoning is cyclical. Its beginning leads to an end and each end, through transformation, leads to a new beginning. The starting point is conception then to death and finally to being reborn or ancestorhood. For the Yorùbás, death is not an end in itself; rather it is a means. Death is a process that permits life to degenerate and regenerate either in a new life as a newborn or in afterlife as an ancestor. Thus, besides the idea of time in past and present forms, the Yoruba’s understanding of “time-future even extends beyond the end of this life to an afterlife.”^{xi}

Environmentally, time is measured either through celestial-cosmic cycle, the terrestrial-ecological cycle, or both. While the celestial-cosmic time mechanism is used in chronicling the day and the months, the terrestrial-ecological time consists of mechanism for knowing smaller units of time such as minutes and hours of the day. For an instance, the day is based on the cosmological facts of the sun and the moon. The sun is used in guessing the time in the mid-morning and afternoon by interpreting the length and shape of shadows. The size and position of the moon is used in telling time in the evening and mid-night.

In terrestrial-ecological time, some ecological agents are used in measuring time. For instance, the twinkling of the eye of a crab is the smallest unit of time similitude to seconds (*iseju kan*). The twinkling of the human eye is used in estimating a minute, which the Yoruba called *iseju*. While there is no ecological agent designating an hour, the crowing of the cock is a sign of a new day while the early sound of the dove is an indication of morning. The perching of the chicken is an indication of the end of the day.

The day in Yorùbá is divided into seven time periods: *oru* (late night), *afemojumo* (dawn), *owuro* (morning), *iyaleta* (noon), *osan*

(afternoon), *irole* (sunset), and *ale* (early night). It is significant to note that day greetings in Yoruba culture correspond with these time periods. For example, *eka a'ro* is a social greeting after early sunrise which is usually referred to as morning. *Ekú iyaleta* is a greeting during the noon. Good afternoon is called *eka a 'san* while the greeting between the roughly period of 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. is known as *eku irole*.

Unlike the timing of a day that is cosmologically and ecologically interpreted, the Yoruba understanding of week days is a social construct having much to do with economic, social and religious intimations. For instance, a Sunday is called *Ojò-àìkú* (day of immortality'); Monday is *Ojò-ajé* (day of profit); Tuesday is *Ojò-ìṣẹgun* (day of victory); Wednesday is called *Ojò-'rú* (day of sacrifice); Thursday is known as *Ojò-bò* (day of creation); while a Friday is called *Ojò-ẹ̀tì* (day of deadlock) and Saturday is *Ojò-àbámẹ̀ta* (day of consociation).

There are two important points to note in the traditional Yoruba understanding of the days of the week. One, names of week days is a reflection of some of their most fundamental beliefs such as immortality, industriousness, rituals and sacrifice, cosmology, and solidarity. Second, the names of Yoruba week days are not correspondingly concomitant to greetings as it is the case in the time of a day. Relatedly, it is less known among the traditional Yoruba naming their children according to the specific day of the week which such child was born. Rather, events and circumstances surrounding a child's birth are the signposts of what name a child bears. The situation is, however, different in contemporary Yoruba societies as children are named on the basis of the days that they were born, if so wished by the parents or family members.

The next unit of time which the Yorubas derive from celestial-cosmic factors is the month, which is based upon the waxing and waning of the moon. A month is called *oṣù* (a word derived from *oṣùpa*, moon). The months in Yoruba culture are: *Oṣù-sẹrẹ* (January), *Oṣù - erélé* (February), *Oṣù -erénà* (March), *Oṣù-igbe* (April), *Oṣù-èbìbí* (May), *Oṣù-okúdù* (June), *Oṣù- agẹmọ* (July), *Oṣù- ògún* (August), *Oṣù-owéré* (September), *Oṣù-ọwàrà* (October), *Oṣù-belu* (November), *Oṣù-òpẹ* (December). Some of these months are named after some deities and some type of crop farming. Thus, religious motivations and activities of deities such as *Oṣù- agẹmọ* (the month of *Agemo*), *Oṣù- ògún* (the month of *ògún*) are important factors in month-tagging and in the activities that are undertaken in such months. Yet, some other months

are named after economic intimations, e.g. *Oṣù-òpẹ* (month of surplus palms) while some are effects of social constructs.

A lunar-phenomenological year that contains twelve months is used in traditional Yoruba culture. The Yoruba recognize two seasons: rainy and dry. The rainy season is a season of planting and growth. This planting season is subdivided into maize season and yam season. The dry season is a season of harvesting and storage. The year in Yoruba culture, therefore, consists of the completion of these seasonal circles. Such an understanding of year is not strictly determined by the completion of day's numbers and it is therefore incognizant of the leap-full year dichotomy in Western culture. Ayoade writes:

Harvest and the crop seasons do not correspond to the Judaeo-Christian year, which definitely is a very recent innovation. Neither do the Yorubas have any means of distinguishing a leap year from the other years. The operative distinction which they have is between a male year (*Odun ti o ya ako*) and a female year (*Odun ti a ya abo*). The point of difference between these two types of years is in the level of peace and safety to life during the particular year. Thus, a year in which many disasters happen and many deaths occur is regarded as a male year, while a year of relative peace and plenty is a female year.^{xii}

It is important to add that the counting of years in traditional Yoruba societies was a matter of numerical chronicling; rather it is based on important historical events such as the births or deaths of known figures in the community and incidents like wars, famine among others.

Time in contemporary Yorùbá culture

Yoruba culture is in the process of transiting from a traditional and indigenous worldview to a modern outlook. Time, as an important element of the people's culture is also not an exception to this cultural transition. Traditional way of reckoning time in Yorùbá cultural community is fading, especially among the new generations and in the urban nerves. The older generations of the Yoruba and the uneducated among them who are residing in the rural areas still hold the traditional notion of time reckoning. In other words, despite the low consciousness of the traditional time system and its associated beliefs in contemporary Yoruba societies, traditional notion of time subtly continues to live in the minds of the older generations, in the peoples' folklores, oral literatures, and some cultural practices.

However, for majority of the contemporary Yorubas, the indigenous understanding of time is aptly becoming history. Since the advent of literacy by the European missionaries and the contact with early European explorers, there is increasing change in the traditional concept and measurement of time. The proselytizing religions of Christianity and Islam in Yorùbá culture influenced and displaced many aspects of Yoruba beliefs as ‘unholy’, beliefs related to traditional time reckoning inclusive.

“With development in the act of reading and writing, time concept began to experience the process of change. Emphasis shifted from mere relation of time to events, natural phenomena, and whether. The people begin to see the need for calculating time in the modern way”^{xiii} through resort to watches and clocks in their various dimensions. As a consequence of literacy, “the enlightened and the educated among the people see in western education, a better way of time consideration. This was as a result of the fact that the new system was more exact and precise.”^{xiv}

Cock crowing and the early morning dove songs changed baton with watches and clocks. The tradition of estimated timing gradually transfuse into time accuracy afforded by the foreign medium of time measurement. Cynical time is now being replaced, and sometimes, adapted to linear time. The shift from cynical and phenomenological perception of time to the linear view of time allows the use of calendar and other advance means of time calculation for retrospection not only into distant past but also project into long future. In the process of adaptation, contemporary Yoruba have developed a system of telling time in accordance with the indigenous numerical language.

It is pertinent, however, pertinent to note that the cosmological considerations of time of the day and its associated greetings in the context of events, weather and natural phenomenon have not been jettisoned entirely in contemporary Yoruba societies. Contemporary Yorubas still exchange greetings and pleasantries on the basis of their celestial-cosmic measurement of time.

Time in Yorùbá Culture: A Critique

In critically appraising time in Yoruba culture, caution needs be exercised in avoiding the use of Western paradigms in the evaluation

process. For one, time for the Yoruba is real and not merely a projection of the human mind. Given that composition of events plays a central role in their perception of time, the tendency is high to label the Yoruba as subjectivists and lacking an objective and universal understanding of time. The two means of time measurement in Yoruba culture – human and environmental – can be argued as deficient and problematic in time precision, discipline and appropriate planning. Human biological growth, for instance, gives awareness of estimated time and without precision just as cosmic bodies (the sun and the moon) and terrestrial agents can hardly provide consistent and accurate timing. Another difficulty posed by the Yoruba measure of time is that, “since communication was poor, time was localized and only relative to structural space.”^{xv}

The Yoruba may, however, still be defended against some of the above criticisms. While it is true that at the level of human, time is a cyclical and subjective phenomenon, it may be argued that at the cosmological level, time objectively exists; events only take place in it. The objectivity of time is implied in the fluidity of time, which is recognized by the Yoruba. For the Yoruba, time has an eternal passage that cannot be impeded nor arrested. The Yoruba proverb, *enikan ko le mu ojo so l’okun*, which means that nobody can tether time, is instructive in this regard. On the charge of time impression and the associated criticism of culture of non-punctuality and time indiscipline, the Yoruba may not be completely absolved. Though they believe that being timely, punctual and disciplined need not be rigid, they nevertheless value time. As Ayoade writes:

The Yoruba are doubtlessly well aware that a proper understanding of time is a prerequisite to its judicious use. Thus, they do not see themselves as of necessity, helpless victims of time but as potential conquerors of time through a careful reflection on time-past, and a discreet scheduling of time-present as well as time-future.^{xvi}

Though the traditional Yoruba notion of time is less theorized in contemporary times, its pragmatic import transverses the ancient to the contemporary times. This is because the traditional Yoruba time culture of measurement and reckoning sharpens the people’s memory of “the beforeness, afterness or simultaneity of events.”^{xvii}

Time in Yorùbá culture: Any Lesson to contemporary scholarship on Time?

The idea of time in contemporary African philosophy has been generating intense controversy. The Yoruba account of time has the potential of enriching the discourse and refuting some of the wild claims in the controversy. The high point of the controversy is J.S. Mbiti's thesis on time in African thought. His earlier claim is that time for the Africans "is simply a composition of events which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur. What has not taken place or what has no likelihood of an immediate occurrence falls in the category of 'no time'."^{xviii} Since time for the Africans must be experienced to be actual, it follows that "events in the distance future cannot be experienced, [and by implication,] cannot constitute time. Therefore, for traditional Africans, distance future events do not constitute actual time."^{xix} Thus, Africans "do not project their day-to-day thinking into a distant mathematical future."^{xx}

Comparatively, the Yorùbá time concept is different from the earlier writings of Mbiti, and other likeminded scholars such as Alex Kagame^{xxi} and Emeka Onyeocha,^{xxii} who had denied the idea of very long and infinite future time in traditional African thought. The understanding of time in Yorùbá indigenous belief system can help correct the fallacies and inconsistencies associated with such view of time in African thought.

The traditional Yorùbá people are conscious of both near and far future time. The Yorùbá notion of time recognizes both the near and distant future. Contrary to Mbiti's conviction that Africans have no knowledge of distant future, Yorùbás believe that the future is ad infinitum. Given that proverbs are cogent source of Yorùbá philosophy, drawing on some proverbs that bear on this point is pertinent.

(i) *Oni l'ari, a ko ri ola* (we only know today; the possibilities of tomorrow remain unknown). This proverb stresses an epistemic awareness of the present moment without an attenuation of distant future consciousness. A strong cultural basis of this proverb is evident in the Yorùbá belief in divination. Divination includes an attempt to discover future events by extraordinary or supernatural means. Though this example is mythical and beyond modern science, yet it remains relevant when examining Yorùbá conception of distant time. Through divination, Yorùbás inquire into the far future.

(ii) *Ibaje ojo ko tan l'ogun odun* (the misconduct of one day sometimes hunts for two decades). This is another proverb attesting to the Yoruba awareness of a moderately distant future. The proverb warns against questionable human character because of regrettable future consequences.

(iii) *Ogorun odun kii se titi laye* (a century is not eternity). This proverb captures the Yorùbá knowledge of a far distant future. This proverb is often used to advise somebody who regards an activity as interminable; thus, they express the certainty of the future as an eternal truth and thereby caution prudence.

The above futuristic conception of time is not unconnected to the past and present time. Indeed, the Yoruba believe that “the future co-exists with the present without being co-extensive with it.”^{xxiii} In further showing the overgeneralization involved in Mbiti’s remark on Africans’ lack future time, Moses Oke claims that it is better saying that Africans lack ‘time-discipline’ but not future time. For Oke, even if it is true as Mbiti claimed, that East African languages do not have a linguistic expression for futurity and infinitude, in as much as they do not claim that, or live as if, the world must terminate with their concurrent experience, it should not be supposed that they do not subscribe to the infinite continuity of the external world in which they live (Oke, 2005: 30). Oke’s remark is apposite:

The general observation is that most African nation lack the foresight to institute enduring economic programs; hence the continuous cycle of poverty, bad governance, monumental backwardness and a seemingly perpetual over-dependence on other peoples of the world for minimal survival. This however, cannot be read to mean that Africans lack the idea of infinitude. The best we can say is that they lack ‘time discipline.’^{xxiv}

Oke’s position from the above except is inadvertently committing also, the fallacy of composition. This is a fallacy committed when a general conclusion is derived from few particular instances of observed phenomena. It might not be the case that this is true for all Africans.

But there is a further point worthy of note in Oke’s critique of Mbiti. Oke explores the epistemological implication of Mbiti’s submission in relation to the ontological thesis, which says that time is a long past and present, and for time to be real, it must be experienced. In Oke’s submission, this ontological thesis is reflected in the

interconnection between existence, knowledge and external reality. Suppose this thesis is true, it therefore presupposes that Africans are epistemological idealists just as the Berkelean dictum of *esse est precipi* instructs. By implication, there will be no transcending perception or knowledge among the Africans since the external reality is mind dependent. In such a hypothetical situation, for anything to exist in time, it must be experienced. But such hypothesis as this will result in self-contradiction if placed within the belief system of the Africans where cognizance is given to the idea of infinity of the Supreme Being, God. To believe in a concept of infinity God and consequently deny the idea of future time, amounts to some kind of contradiction, which must be avoided.

Conclusion

The notion of time in Yorùbá culture has engaged the attention of this paper. The discussions took cognizance of the dynamism of culture by conceptually exposing both the traditional and the contemporary outlooks of the Yoruba on time. Through conceptual analysis of the Yoruba worldview and interpretations of their proverbial resources, the attitude and perceptions of the Yoruba on time, time measurement and reckoning have been shown. The traditional Yoruba view of time is neither by no means unique to them nor anachronistic to contemporary living. Many agrarian societies like the traditional Yoruba shared such cosmic and cyclic understanding of time. Though such an approach to time together with its associated attitudes and beliefs are questionable using contemporary paradigms, it nevertheless has some pragmatic imports. Time for the Yoruba is not necessarily thought as serving the function of planning, progress and development. Rather, it is a means of understanding the people's ways of lives and beliefs such as immortality, causality, cosmology, religion, commerce, and solidarity.

End Notes

ⁱ Yorùbá is one of the major ethnic groups in South-Western Nigeria populating states such as Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Ekiti, Lagos and some parts of Kwara, Kogi and Edo. Though the Yoruba are spread across the continents, they are in sizeable numbers in West African states such as the Republic of Benin, Togo, Ghana, Cote d' Voire. In the Diaspora, Yorùbá culture and tradition are preserved in some parts of the Caribbean, South America and North America.

ⁱⁱ For instance, an epoch (*igba*) is of longer duration and phase than a season (*asiko*). However, there is no strict consistency in the verbal usage of these words. Two popular proverbs in Yoruba language on *igba* can be used to illustrate this point: (i) *ìgbà kan nlo, ìgbà kan boo; enikan kolo ile aye gbo* (epochs are continuously successional; no human can exhaust all epochs). (ii) *Igba ara ni an bura, eni kan kin bee Sango lowe n'gba erun* (there is time for everything; no one seeks the assistance of the Sango deity on a vengeance mission during the dry season). In the second proverb, the word *igba* (epoch) is used as meaning *asiko* (season). Note, Sango is associated with thunder strike, which is a rare occurrence in the dry season.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sophie Oluwole, "The Labyrinth Conception of Time as Basis of Yoruba View of Development." In *Time and Development in the Thought of Sub-Saharan Africa*, p. 143.

^{iv} Odom Glenn, "'The End of Nigerian History': Wole Soyinka and Yoruba Historiography." *Comparative Drama* 42.2 (2008), p. 205.

^v Wole Soyinka, "The Fourth Stage: Through the Mysteries of Ogun to the Origin of Yoruba Tragedy," *Art, Dailogue, and Outrage* (New York: Pantheon, 1988) p. 29.

^{vi} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 99

^{vii} S.F. Babalola & O.A. Alokun, "African Concept of Time: A Socio-Cultural Reality in the Process of Change," *Journal of Education and Practice*, vol. 4. No. 7, 2013, p. 145.

^{viii} B.A. Oyeniyi, *Reconstructing Conflicts and Incorporation in Pre 18th Century Yorùbá land: A Research Agenda.* *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* 1.1 (2010), p. 9.

^{ix} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 99

^x J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 97.

^{xi} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 95

^{xii} Ib J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," id., p. 103

^{xiii} S.F. Babalola & O.A. Alokun, "African Concept of Time: A Socio-Cultural Reality in the Process of Change," p. 147.

^{xiv} S.F. Babalola & O.A. Alokun, "African Concept of Time: A Socio-Cultural Reality in the Process of Change," p. 147.

^{xv} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 99

^{xvi} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 99

^{xvii} J.A. Ayoade, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 99

^{xviii} J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1970), p. 17.

^{xix} J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1970), p. 17.

^{xx} J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, Second Edition. (New York: Heineman, 1990), p. 28.

^{xxi} A. Kagame, "The Empirical Appreciation of Time and the Conception of History in Bantu Thought," E. Parker & K. Kalumba eds. *African Philosophy: A Classical Approach*. (New Jersey, Prince Hall Inc. 1996).

^{xxii} M.I. Onyeocha, "The Problematic of African Time", *Uche: Journal of the Department of Philosophy, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Vol. 16*, 2010, pp. 1 – 38.

^{xxiii} J.A. Ayode, "Time in Yoruba Thoughts," p. 105.

^{xxiv} M. Oke, "From an African Ontology to an African Epistemology: A Critique of J. S. Mbiti on the Conception of Time", *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy/Revue Africaine de Philosophie* 2005, p. 32.

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