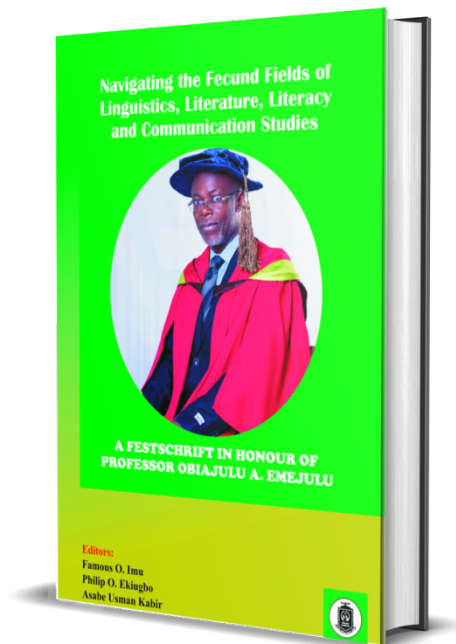


Navigating the Fecund Fields of Linguistics, Literature, Literacy and Communication Studies: A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Obiajulu A. Emejulu



Editors:

Famous O. Imu, Philip O. Ekiugbo and Asabe Usman Kabir

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Chapter Twenty-Five
Context-Based Analysis of Anaañ Palm Wine Folk Poetry

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Abstract: There is a substitution of the traditional lyrics of Anaañ palm wine songs with the hybridized form in recent times. The songs as rendered in recent times depended more on the lyrics of Christian's songs. This affected the cultural values attached to the palm wine songs in the olden days; resulting in the gradual disappearance of the traditional palm wine songs. This therefore attracted the researcher to work on these areas in order to unravel the lyrics of the olden-day palm wine songs for proper validation. The study presented a decontextualization Analysis of Anaañ Palm Wine folk poetry, to provide insights into the lyrical gaps that existed in the modern-day Anaañ palm wine songs. The study adopted a descriptive research design. Fifty (50) male adult respondents within the age range of 35 years to 55 years were purposively selected for data collection from Ikot Ekpene, Obot Akara and Essien Udin areas of Anaañ. Interview sessions and group discussion methods were used to elicit information on the contexts of Anaañ palm wine folk poetry for this study. Data was also collected from secondary sources like library resources. The data collected were recorded using ----. The data were further transcribed orthographically, collated, classified and analysed, using the framework of decontextualization. Findings from the study showed that there existed a gap in the lyrics in the olden days and modern-day palm wine poetry in Anaañ. Olden-day palm wine songs provided insights into the cultural values, beliefs and superstitions of the Anaañ people. The present-day palm wine folk poetry is adulterated and is being influenced by ever-changing modernization, communication systems, migration to urban areas, changes in lifestyle, white collar jobs, the influence of Christianity on both men and women and lack of government policy on the teaching of Anaañ cultural practice. This work is relevant in the preservation of the cultural practices embedded in Anaañ folk poetry, which in turn, shall be a source of language preservation when the contents of the Anaañ palm wine songs are documented based on the olden days context.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

This work centres on the analysis of the Anaañ palm wine song as an aspect of oral literature. Oral literature is one of the most vibrant aspects of cultural heritage. It is intricately related to the social environment of the people who create and perform it. As the creative expression of a people's culture, it manipulates language to express their values, beliefs, traditions and entire worldview. As observed by Muleka, (2014, p.149), folk performances in Africa occupy a place of significance and general acceptability in indigenous communities. The existing knowledge system in African communities also fosters constant recourse to performances as they sometimes serve utilitarian functions including providing therapeutic impact in traditional medical practice. In the researcher's view, folk performances are well regarded and fully utilized in enhancing the spiritual, health, aesthetic and philosophical base of the community. It is also an instrument of identity formation as each folk performance carries the emblematic particulars of the people or society which it emerges from. Folk songs for example 'disclose in their varieties and aspects, the common origin of the various groups in Nigeria' (Muleka, 2014, p.148). Beyond their aesthetic and socio-cultural functions, most folk performances are powerful vehicles of communal education, social engineering and development communication. Palm wine songs constitute a major source of Anaañ and as such African folklore.

1.2 Anaañ people

In Nigeria, the Anaañ people occupy the western part of Akwa Ibom State. According to the 2006 census result, Anaañ is estimated to have a total population of 1.6 million people. They are bounded in the North by the Isogbo Igbo (Abia State), in the west by the Ngwas (Abia State) and Ndoki (River State) and in the South, East and Northeast by the Ibibios. They occupy eight of the thirty-one Local Government Areas of Akwa Ibom State, namely: Abak, Essien Udim, Etim Ekpo, Ikot Ekpene, Obot Akara, Ika, Oruk Anam and Ukanafun. The name, Anaañ, according to Udoh (1983) is derived from the characteristic behaviours of a tribe who are clothed with fury, indignation, intolerance and vindictiveness. Udoh (1983) infers therefore that Anaañ means 'wild' or 'warrior' since the Anaañs fought many wars against the Ngwa Igbos to preserve and protect their farmlands and territories from invasion.

One of the major occupations of the traditional Anaañ men was palm wine tapping and marketing of raffia produce. Today, Ikot Ekpene Local Government area is known as the raffia City owing to its popularity in raffia palm produce. These

products made Ikot Ekpene stand out in the sale of raffia and unadulterated palm wine. The activities surrounding these products resulted in the composition of diverse poetry on Anaañ palm wine. Unfortunately, in recent days, there has been a neglect of folksongs, due to increased interest in modern music. Basically, songs like palm wine songs in Anaañ have not received the attention required to preserve these essential aspects of language use.

There is also a substitution of the traditional lyrics of Anaañ and palm wine songs to the hybridized form in recent times. The songs as rendered in recent times depend more on the lyrics of Christian's songs. This has affected the cultural values attached to the palm wine songs in the olden days; resulting in the gradual disappearance of the traditional hunting and palm wine songs. This therefore attracted the researcher to work on these areas to unravel the lyrics of the olden-day palm wine songs for proper validation. There is therefore a remarkable shift from palm wine songs in recent days to a corrupt form of the songs, thereby sending negative semantic signals to the winds of the listeners. This negative signal tends to affect the acceptability of this folk genre negatively. The negative attitude has led to the near disappearance of palm wine songs in Anaañ. This work, therefore, sets out to analyse palm wine-related songs in Anaañ as a means of documenting and preserving them.

1.3 Palm Wine Tapping Procedures

Palm wine tapping is a traditional occupation in Akwa Ibom State Nigeria. It is exclusively the occupation of the males. The wine is extracted from mature raffia trees or oil palm trees. The extract from raffia palm is the popular one in Anaañ. According to an oral discussion with an informant from Ikot-Ekpene ancient city, raffia palm takes ten years to grow into maturity. The tappers then observe the necessary procedures to tap the palm this occupation was highly celebrated by ancient Anaañ adding to the economic, social and cultural values of the raffia palm. The palm product, what is called 'raffia' (ndaam), is a white silky rope extracted from the fresh raffia frond. The raffia is used for craft and artistic work. Ikot Ekpene is called the raffia city due to the artistic impression of the raffia in Ikot Ekpene the product is used for raffia shoes, bags, hats/caps, jewellery, kitchen wracks, baskets and even clothes among other things. Other components of the raffia are the fronds, bamboo, rope, and seeds with diverse socio-economic values.

In the mornings, before the harsh sun has burned the mist away, tappers climb the palm trees. Aided with nothing more than wiry muscles and woven rope, they

scale to the top, risking the steep drop to collect palm sap. Like tropical maple syrup collectors, they pierce the tree and tie earthen pots to collect the juice that seeps out of this wound. As these pots fill over the course of the day, natural yeast and bacteria from the air will work their magic on the sap, transforming the thin, sugary, slightly coconutty nectar into lightly fizzy, sweet-and-sour, milky white booze. This is called palm wine. The extraction of the palm wine is carried out by only adult males. It is a taboo for a woman to climb the raffia tree in order not to expose her private parts.

The wine serves as a source of socio-cultural symbol. The goddess (the mother) provides drinks for the male adult to drink and make merriment. It is the merriment that triggers the composition of the multiple songs tagged 'palm wine songs'. Today, the concept of the palm wine songs is misinterpreted. It is associated with 'the drunkards' – 'ikwo ukod', 'ikpaagha inaaam', 'mme ñwoñ kpa', songs by the jobless class, 'ikwo ñka ukpohood', ñka mkparawa', songs by the wayward group. 'mme akpa atak eka', 'mme nsio-isio, mme ntekum'. This derogation tends to plant a negative impression on the palm wine songs thereby leading to endangerment.

2. EARLY SCHOLARSHIP

This section presents a review of earlier scholarly works on palm wine.

2.1 Theoretical Considerations

The theoretical construct of recontextualization has been used to explain many phenomena but for this study. We embraced the notion as argued by Mundundu (2005). Recontextualization, according to Mundundu (2005), centres on repositioning an idea or phenomenon from an original context into a new one. It is used to transform or ascribe new meanings to it within a different context. It has to do with a process of remarkable alteration of repetition stimulated by a change in context following Nketia (1990). He added that true recontextualization must first have the 'Contexts' which assume the position of originality. Based on these arguments, Mundundu's (2005) view on the notion of recontextualization suggests removing or changing. The changing contexts should create a new experience. This view is supported by Nketia (1990: 18). This theoretical position shall be employed to explain how the lyrics of Anaañ palm wine songs are "reshaped, and redefined" from their real context. The recontextualization framework shall be applied to analyse the speech acts involved in palm wine poetry in Anaañ and to discuss the change involved in the modern-day palm wine poetry in Anaañ as compared to the traditional palm wine songs in Anaañ.

2.2 Palm Wine Folk Poetry

Folk songs are songs that are linked to the life of the people, and their customs, traditions and experiences. White (2012: p. 245), Onuekwusi (2001: p. 75) and (Okpewho, 2004, p.14). Afolabi (2016) and Finnegan, (2012) defined the folk song as a repeated song that absorbs a collective portfolio whose literature is transmitted. It is based on the folk conscience, and it is varied with its varied occasions. Folk poetry changes according to the framework in which it exists. In the works of Ogisi (2008) on 'The Origin and Development of Juju Music': palm wine song was presented as Palm wine music which was developed from 'an antecedent tradition of Indigenous music that was 'popular among guitarists in Lagos around 1925'. Juju music was presented in the form of a call-response format, making use of diverse figurative words and techniques such as narrative song technique, spiced with proverbs, and anecdotes from Yoruba culture. The focus of this work was on the origin of palm wine songs, which was traced to Kru, Fante, and Ewe languages. This was embraced by the Yorubas and later adopted and embraced by other palm wine faithful in Africa. The music as presented by the researcher was based on the lyrics of the native language used in that environment. Although the focus was on the Juju music, palm wine songs constituted parts of the juju music.

The publication of the palm wine drunkard, by Amos Tutuola in 1951 made palm wine to be popularized by the readers. It was an African novel written in English, which was seen as a kind of African novel based on Yoruba folklore. The author started drinking palm wine at age 10 and became addicted to palm wine. He later started supplying palm wine, which made him to be attracted to many friends. Despite criticisms of the use of language in the palm wine drunkards, the point made is that the story promoted the activities of palm wine among the poor. The language used by a writer can be seen as his signature which sets him apart from other writers. He has been criticized for the 'cut and join' use of English by some critics such as (Sambo 2021). This boils down to the fact that the story of palm wine is highly appreciated when presented in the native language. Errors would have been eliminated if the narration was presented in the Yoruba language. The focus here is that folklore contributes to the promotion of the indigenous language.

In another scenario, Collins (2006) provided a significant contribution to the body of palm wine literature in his discussion of African guitarism. Collins provided a socio-history analysis of the musical tradition, which positions its emergence to the discourse on guitar band highlife music as presented in several parts of his publication (Collins, 1976, 1994, 2018 1977, 1989, 1992). These publications all

provided insights into a brief reference to palm wine music and its coastal historical antecedents. From the historical antecedents, there is an appreciation of the contributions of African folklore with a focus on palm wine folk poetry and its place in the development of language culture. As observed by Ajíbádé (2026), there are four different types of Nigerian palm wine. These are the normal up-wine tapped from the male inflorescence of “life” oil palm trees. Others are *emu* and *nkwuenu* amongst the Yorubas and Igbos respectively and the “down-wine” tapped from fallen oil palm trees found in Ghana. The down-wine was not so popular in Nigeria. Stem tapping of standing oil palm trees gives another type of palm wine known as *Iti in parts of* Anambra State, especially in Dunukofia, Idemili North and Idemili-south Local Government Areas. The fourth type of palm wine is the *raffia* palm wine known as *ogoro*, *ngwo* and *ukot* amongst the Yorubas, Igbos, Efiks, and Ibibios respectively. It is mainly tapped from *raffiahookeri*.

Palm wine is said to have diverse Indigenous names in Nigeria, such as *tombo*, *palmy*, *nwoko onye obi ocha* (large-hearted man), *uzunma* (epitome of beauty), *mmiri Ara umu mbe*, (breast milk for the orphan) and *manya*. The drained wine is collected twice a day, while the tapping takes place three times a day in Ibibio and Annan lands according to verbal interactions with informants, Newly collected palm wine is usually very sweet and this sweet type is the favourite of women and children. Old men except for the light-brained ones prefer the “hard” brand. The hard wine is the fermented type. Palm wine becomes fermented with the passage of days. Palm wine tapping as well as palm wine drinking involve both art and social activities. The tapper delights so much in his activity of tapping which triggers so many songs. Some of the songs as expressed by scholars include Okoh (2002), Okon (2011), Okeke, (2018), Afolabi (2011), (Sambo 2021), George Olúsolá Ajíbádé (2006) Amos Tutuola in 1951, Eric Sunu Doe in 1921.

Looking at the root of palm wine songs, the lyrics were composed towards praising the achievements of palm wine activities. Palm wine faithful were never projected as drunkards but as a special group who embraced the gift of good unadulterated wine from the palm. To the best of our knowledge, there has not been any available work on the recontextualization of palm wine songs in Anaañ. The concept of recontextualization focuses on a form of change in the context of palm wine songs to something else, which is the focus of this paper.

3.0 Data presentation and classification of the Anaañ Palm Wine Songs

The data presented covers songs on the Anaañ palm wines songs and the drunkard

songs. The data is classified to show the classes and themes of each of the selected data. An analysis of the data is provided based on their values. This cuts across the economic and social values of palm wine, changing from cultural values to conspiracy, medicinal values and negative aspects of the palm wine. The presentation shows a move from the context of cultural values to immorality.

3.1 The palm wine tapper

1. Pástọ

Anaañ

Pástọ áwò ntóm ké ágwo kǐnñwóón ukọd abá?

Atúák ukọd álinámliè
do?

Awàsì dinnyiaña àtúák nnọ - o
for me oh

English

Pastors are you saying that
someone shouldn't drink palm
wine again?

What will a palm wine tapper

God come and help the tapper

The pastor happens to be an anti-palm wine drink. He proscribed the use and drinking of palm wine without considering the economic values associated with palm wine especially the palm wine tappers and their allies. The song therefore prays that God should have mercy on palm wine tappers.

2. Abáikpà

Anaañ

Abáikpà kûnchák

Abáikpà kûnchák

Abáikpà kûnchák, kûnchák ábá - o
laugh at me oh

Àmì ñkédolo ké anyon úkọd
tree

Ekpa efed aguọ atekke

Abáikpà kûnchák, kûnchák ábá – o
laugh at me oh

English

Maiden, don't laugh at me

Maiden, don't laugh at me

Maiden, don't laugh at me, don't

I was on top of the Palm wine

My scrotum showed

Maiden, don't laugh at me, don't

This song is composed by the palm wine tapper, who is very proud of his occupation. This portrays that palm wine tappers do not wear trousers. They tie

wrappers which is capable of exposing their private part. The tapper is pleading with a young girl not to laugh at him 'Abáíkpa kûnchák', 'Àmì ñkédolo ké anyon úkọd' 'Ekpa efed aguọ atekke', 'Abáíkpa kûnchák, kûnchák ábá – o'. It portrays that palm wine tappers wear torn clothes and it also advises young ladies not to always look at palm wine tappers on free tops so as not to see their private parts.

3. Káán ké Iták

Anaañ

Káán ké iták úkọd àmì
tree
Nàm sé áfò àmámá
Úsèn íkán átá úkòd ámì
catches fire
Àlàtáñ sé àkénám dé
doing there

English

Linger around my palm wine
Do whatever you like
The day that this palm wine
You will explain what you were
doing there

The poet decries a situation where his addressee is fond of loitering even when he has no business around his raffia tree. Their addressee seems to be a stubborn person who, despite several warnings kept loitering around the environment of the raffia tree 'Káán ké Iták'. This song presents the attitude of two persons, the palm wine tapper, who happens to be the owner of the tree and has high value for his palm product. He goes out daily to nurse the plant. And kept sighting the wanderer who is the second character. The wanderer could perform any form of havoc such as arson which could burn and destroy the palm wine tree. The poet has to give him a stern warning adding that he shall surely be answerable for such an action 'Àlàtáñ sé àkénám dé'. You will surely explain what took you to that location.

3.2 Economic/Social values

4. Mménñwọọñ ñkpọ

Anaañ

Amì mménñwọọñ mkpọ
Mménñwọọñ mkpọ
Mménñwọọñ àlà ékámáké úkọd étém
palm wine
Ányĩn ámq ádé kái-kái

English

I have drank something
I have drank something
I have drank the one made with
Its name is illicit drink

The poet is an alcoholic addict who derives his joy from drinking all forms of drinks. However, in his experiences, he also has a taste of the one brewed from

the palm wine named kaiakai. The song also shows that palm wine is the source of the dry gin.

5. Agwó ikọmọ ànsídép

Anaañ

Agwó ikọmọ ànsídép

Mbò síńwọń ké'kọm – o

Mbò síńwọń ké'kọm – o

Agwó ikọmọ ànsídéb

English

They're not thanking the buyer

They're thanking the drinkers oh

They're thanking the drinkers oh

They're not thanking the buyer

The song says here that the person who spends his money buying is rarely recognized nor praised, rather, it is the person who drinks the most number of bottles that is hailed complemented, and praised as a strong man. This shows that social drinking adds more value to the economy than just buying.

6. Èlíchè

Anaañ

Ó – ó Èlíchè

Pàlmì áném ábọghọ

Ágwó ntè'mì mkpélád mmò tósìn nàirà

have gotten ñkèdèb ìnààm

intoxication?

English

Oooh oooh come and see

Palm wine is so tasty

Someone like me, where would I

a thousand naira to buy

In this song, the singer is appreciating palm wine, 'Ó – ó Èlíchè' 'Pàlmì áném ábọghọ'; and that if drunkenness/intoxication were to be a thing of pride, with palm wine which is very cheap, he will easily buy it and get intoxicated, 'Ágwó ntè'mì mkpélád mmò tósìn nàirà ñkèdèb ìnààm'. This also tells us that palm wine though sweet, can still intoxicate and even be affordable compared to other costly processed alcoholic beverages. Secondly, the Anaañ people are generous at buying for those who cannot afford to pay for their drinks, the poet expresses happiness to those who take pleasure in declaring drinks for socials.

7. Champion

Anaañ

Champion, afiófiók afìd efúúd ayọhọ ékpémé

Champion ukọd nsuñ, ámaákpá abén iném anyọñ ekpọ

English

Champion,

Palmwine, when you die,

you will go with your
sweetness

The poet here is comparing champion with palm wine saying that champion only knows how to foam, 'Champion, afiófíók afíd efúúd ayọhọ ékpémé' but palm wine is very sweet. The sweetness of palm wine last longer even up to the point of its final consumption, which is compared with death. 'ukọd nsùñ, áamákpá abén iném anyọñ ekpọ'. This sweetness attracts more drinkers of palm wine than champion which has high foamy quality.

3.3 Conspiracy

8. Akwọọk mmè nsùñ

Anaañ

Akwọọk mmè nsùñ

Àtá ufàn ibà

Ché àmmọ ágwò ibà kó ké ànyọñ

Ké'nám éliòmó, itọp ákpí ngwòd
to death

akwọọk mmè nsùñ, àmmọ elòd mkpá

English

Bee and fly

Two best friends

Look up at the both of them

Conspiring to sting the tapper

Both of them deserve death

The drinker in this song is telling of the friendship between the bee and the fly 'Akwọọk mme nsùñ, ata ufan iba' who are conspiring to sting the palm tapper to death on top of the palm tree "kenam eliomo itop akpi ngwod". That they deserve to die 'ammo elod mkpa'. The song also explains that the fly and bee are the two insects commonly found around the palm wine, which makes their presence of perching on wine less irritating as compared to other food items. This relationship between the fly and the palm wine explains why the Anaañ people call the palm wine after the flies 'ukod nsùñ'

9. Gwóló ké átú àjìd

Anaañ

Gwóló ké átú àjìd

Àfò údéghé ákèjìd

Akpédè ákèjìd, àkpénùñ ànàm ñkpọ ntè àjìd
would have done things like us.

English

Come out from among us

You're not one of us

If you were one of us, you

The drinkers all conspire to send away those who refused to drink to stupor. The song is asking a person who is not a drunk to leave the midst of drinkers, saying he doesn't belong in their clique, 'Gwòlò ké átú àjìd' 'Àfò údéghé ákèjìd'. The song is also trying to instigate or pressure a person who does not drink to start drinking so he can feel among or belong in their clique, 'Akpédè ákèjìd, àkpénùñ ànàm ñkpọ ntè àjìd'. The song also shows that while some people have cultivated the habit of perpetual drinking others have chosen to abstain from it.

3.4 Medicinal values

10. Ukọd Nsũ Anyédó Ibọk

Anaañ

ukọd nsũ anyédó ibọk

ufọfọb anyédọ abúma

añwọñ ukọd nsũ iniéhé utoanyin ké idém
no malaria in the body

English

Palm wine is the medication

Local gin is the thunder

One who drinks palm wine has

This song is trying to portray that drinking palm wine has health benefits. According to the singer, palm wine prevents malaria, 'ukọd nsũ anyédó ibọk', 'ufọfọb anyédọ abúma', 'añwọñ ukọd nsũ inyéghé utoanyin ké idém'. The singer is saying ukọd nsũ anyédó ibọk; because some medicines are preserved using palm wine. This song therefore tells of the health benefits of palm wine and dry gin. The metaphor of thunder and medicine is employed to describe the medicinal values of palm wine. According to the singer, palm wine is a strong element that knocks out the malaria-like thunder. It is called the real medicine and thunder because of the multiple health values.

11. Ó - Pàlmí

Anaañ

Ó – Pàlmí

Ùkúdó nàñà ns'úññwọqñ
you

Ó – Pàlmí

Ùkúdó nàñà ns'úññwọqñ
you

Afò àdé final solution

Ùkúdó nàñà ns'úññwọqñ

English

Oooh palm wine

Haven't you seen how I drink

Oooh palm wine

Haven't you seen how I drink

You are the final solution

Haven't you seen how I drink

you

Afò àdé final solution

Ùkúdó nàñà ns'ùññwọqñ

you

You are the final solution

Haven't you seen how I drink

The song praises palm wine for its sweetness and the relief he gets when he drinks it. The singer also sees drinking palm wine as his most effective way of relieving his stress, relaxing and enjoyment, hence, 'Afò àdé final solution', 'Ùkúdó nàñà ns'ùññwọqñ'. Palm wine has a final solution to physical, social and even psychological related problems.

3.5 DRUNKENNESS

12. Aliághá

Anaañ

Àliàghá àmì – o

mkpọñ ñkéññwòòñ úkọd- úkọd – o
wine oh

Mfín nn^ñ ññwòòñ úkọd- úkọd – o
wine oh

àfọñ álintébè úkọd- úkọd

Bén dé jéd

English

My first daughter oh

Yesterday I drank only palm

Today I will drink only palm

My cloth is smelling palm wine

Take it and wash

The song centres on an alcoholic addict, who is addicted to drinking palm wine to the point that the daughter stopped giving him food. The man drinks and the smell of the drink on his clothes even distaste him. The poet is calling on his first daughter 'Àliàghá àmì – o', to wash his clothes because it's smelling palm wine.

13. Cigar

Anaañ

Cigar Cigar o

Cigar ákede mkpó mkpáláwá – á

Ibáán ekéné wọñ

Ibáán ekeéné wọñ

English

Cigar, cigar

Cigar was meant for young men

Women now smoke it

Women now smoke it

This song tells of the moral decadence that has eaten deep into our society, in that women are the ones now smoking cigarettes: “Cigar ákede mkpó mkpáláwá, Ibáán

ekéné wõñ, Ibáán ekééné wõñ”. This singer here is now registering his disappointment at women's indulgence in smoking cigarettes. , which never happened in those days.

14. Abaikpa

Anaañ

Abaikpá anám naña amá ké itié ukód – o
likes at the bar

Nnám naña amá

Amì nnyuñ nnám naña mmá ké echid ufok - o
the room

Nnám naña amá

English

Young girl behaves anyhow she

Behaves anyhow she likes

I also behave anyhow I like in

I behave anyhow I like

Here, the singer is sending a message to a lady who is drinking and behaving anyhow in a palm wine bar 'Abaikpá anám naña amá ké itié ukód – o', that the singer will also behave anyhow with her in the bedroom thus 'Amì nnyuñ nnám naña mmá ké echid ufok – o' 'Nnám naña amá'. This song also sends a message that a lady who exploits a man in a drinking spice will be dealt with by the man in the bedroom. Drunkenness leads to immorality.

15. Ufọfọb

Anaañ

Ufọfọb mmé eríkán mfó ana mmọ?

Palmi – o, umáúkpá anyoñ ké uáiyá anyén mfó
with your fine looks

English

Local gin, where is thy victory

Palmy, when you die, you go

The poet here is a lover of dry gin 'ufofob' and 'palmi' palm wine. Ufob has no antidotes when it comes to intoxication, on the other hand, palmi is not as wild as ufob. Palmi has a calm appearance and attitude whereas ufob is very unfriendly. He is also praising palm wine that when it does, it goes home with its beautiful colour. It also tells that dry gin intoxicates more than palm wine and since dry gin is processed from palm wine, palm wine being moderate in intoxication and when it does, goes home with its fine colour, 'Palmy – o, umáúkpá anyoñ ké uáiyá anyén mfó'.

16. Adáiyá Idáp

Anaañ

English

Agwó ijémmé ádáiyá idáp áwo ukòd o the bar	One who sleeps is not needed at the bar
Agwó ijémmé ádáiyá idáp áwo ukòd o the bar	One who sleeps is not needed at the bar
Agwó ijémmé ádáiyá idáp áwo ukòd o the bar	One who sleeps is not needed at the bar
Ukòd amáunáám, káb nyòñ ufòk ké dáiyá idap home and sleep	When you're intoxicated, go home and sleep

The poet in this song is telling a new initiate who is yet to be conversant with drinking palm wine to go back home and sleep and that he is not needed in the gathering of drinkers 'Agwó ijémmé ádáiyá idáp áwo ukòd o'. This shows that the new initiate is yet to be commensurate with other professional drinkers. He is advised to go home and sleep whenever he feels drunk and tired to continue drinking 'Ukòd amáunáám, káb nyòñ ufòk ké dáiyá idap'.

17. Pastor

Anaañ	English
Pastor atañ abo, agwó okúñwòñ mmin drink	Pastor says people should not drink
Bible atañ abo, wòñ mmin kúúpá mmin drunk	Bible says, drink but don't get drunk
Pastor ndákká ké isó, mmé nsó asé ákwòlò do you even preach	Pastor leave my presence, what do you even preach
Mmé úsén kpá afó, mmé agwó ilíwòññò mmin people not drink?	On your death/burial day, will people not drink?

The poet is countering the preaching of the pastor, who proscribes alcoholic drinking. He is saying that even the Bible approves drinking but abhors intoxication. The poet rebukes the pastor for his premature preaching. He rebukes the pastor to get behind him, knowing quite well that he is not preaching the truth. He let the pastor realize that alcoholic drinks will surely be used for entertainment and refreshment on the day of his final burial. This also shows that drinks are very important in our society which is why even when a pastor dies, alcohol must be served on his burial ceremony days in the Anaañ community.

18. Itud

Anaañ

Itud ema ekekoñ,o
penetrated

Can be rekoñ again
again

Itud ema ekekoñ,o
penetrated

Can be rekoñ again

When the konka and the konkee agrees to kong
penetrated again

English

A vagina that was

Can be rekoñ

A vagina that was

Can be

The drunk here is saying in the affirmation that a vagina that was penetrated can be penetrated again when the virginity is broken, the girl in question will not stop having pre-marital sex but rather continue to have copulation. Secondly, any man who penetrates because such a girl has declared her virginity open for casual sex, such a woman cannot be sanctioned.

19. Eti Efed

Anaañ

Agwo akpeyie ayoñ mm'isoñ, o
and earth

Anye mmi nyeneke eti efed, o
good penis

Uweene ke de

English

One who has heaven

If he doesn't have a

He is a pauper.

The canton here is saying any man who does not have a big penis is regarded as a retched poor man, even if the man has everything in heaven and on earth, 'Agwo akpeyie ayoñ mm'isoñ, o', 'Anye mmi nyeneke eti efed, o', 'Uweene ke de. Magnificent penis is what makes a full-blown man to be qualified as a rich person, rather than wealth. In this case, men with a big penis are champions when it comes to sex. For the drunkards, big pennies should be celebrated.

4.2. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Among the Ibibio and Anaañ, Palm wine songs are sung during Palm wine sessions

by men and young adult males”. He observed carefully that “such Palm wine sessions usually take place in the evenings, at the end of the day's work. The location of the event may be a local palmy spot, a chief's compound or a palm wine seller's or tapper's shed”. Anaañ Palm wine songs share these same attributes with Palm wine songs among their Ibibio neighbours. However, there are slight differences. Palm wine songs among the Anaañ are not just sung for fun; almost every song signifies and sends a message across to its listeners. Anaañ Palm wine songs tend to educate as well as entertain. The messages that are sent across through these songs are not only meant for men. In some cases, women take an active part in chorusing the refrain, to spice up the songs. Anaañ Palm wine songs are sung to accompany the drinkers in their Palm wine session. Drinkers among the Anaañ spice the Palm wine session and recapitulate the imagery and taste of the sweetest palm wine the drinkers have ever drunk in their lifetime. The songs are composed using figurative expressions to bring out the relevance of the Anaañ palm wine poetry as presented in subsequent subsections.

The data presented cut across palm wine songs and drunkard songs. The drunkard songs are the decontextualized version of the original palm wine. The process of decontextualization of palm wine songs gives room to the creation of modern word usage, which is garnished with code-mixing and hybridization. It is associated with the use of taboo vulgarized word usage. The emphasis in the drunkard songs is on sex, drunkenness, immorality, big breast, big penis, rape, and joblessness. Contextually, the decontextualization of the palm wine song according to a verbal conversation with the informants should not be interpreted based on the contents, but the meaning. In this case, the use of those vulgarized contents was employed to openly oppose immorality by the drunkards and warn against such negative attitudes toward cultural practices in Anaañ. The songs can be used to educate, entertain, express truth, joy, happiness, praise, moral value, criticism, correct/caution, sorrow, ridicule, warnings and lament.

The study also reveals that palm wine songs preserve Anaañ cultural heritage, and are sung during activities associated with work, while resting or relaxing, during religious celebrations, initiation rites, or other social occasions. Finally, findings from the study show that the olden-day palm wine songs provided insights about past beliefs and superstitions of a people, while the present-day palm wine songs are adulterated and are being influenced by ever-changing modernization, communication systems, migration to urban areas, changes in lifestyle, white collar jobs, influence of Christianity on both men and women and

lack of government policy on the teaching of Anaañ cultural practice.

4.2.1 The Socio-economic relevance of Anaañ palm wine songs

The Anaañ palm wine song content is creative and aesthetic in nature. Due to the creative and expressive ability of the Anaañ drinkers, songs are composed with regard to instances and occasions that surround the songs. For this reason, many of the songs are actually impromptu or on the spur of the moment, according to the volume of the flow of the drink. The more drinks are donated (which gesture is received with loud applause and acclamation), the merrier the singing and the sharper the inspiration. The songs send a clear message to their listeners and even to those who may not have witnessed certain antecedent activities of the group.

Content in Anaañ palm wine songs is improvisation. It is the order of the day in these songs because they are accompanied by improvised musical instrumentation like the beating of bottles or plates and clapping of hands to give melody and rhythm for the free flow of the song. The aesthetic value of the songs that are presented is manifested in the memory of those who sing the songs very well or those who have had deep experience in watching and Anaañ artists present similar songs on different occasions. The uniqueness of these songs is that they are all original versions of songs. However, there are cases of hybridization and decontextualization of the songs. Originally, the context of the palm wine songs was based on the socio-cultural and economic values of wine and its allied products. The contexts have been displaced and replaced with drunkenness as seen in section (3.3). The tone makes use of a hybridized Christian religious tune with lyrics on immorality and drunkenness. The manifestation of their natural rhythm lies in the ability of the audience to experience the performers performing the songs as if they were rendered in their original state.

4.2.2 The Importance of Palm Wine Songs to the Anaañ Community

Palm wine songs are an integral part of the daily life of drinkers and are performed mainly for entertainment to accompany particular activities associated with work, while resting or relaxing, serve as excitement to war or love, during religious celebrations, initiation rites, secular rituals or other social occasions. Palm wine and hunting songs are folksongs that are of great importance, through them, the group expresses its common emotion. This researcher seeks to spell out the importance of palm wine songs, to the Anaañ Community.

- i. Palm wine songs perform impersonal medium for personal communication.

They are used to guide and direct the behaviour of an individual.

- ii. Palm wine songs can also be utilized as stereotyped sarcasm, which is a culturally approved medium of expressing resentment without facing the risk of litigation. This empowers an alternative for fistfights. Hence instead of engaging a fist to fight an opponent, the speaker punches use palm wine and hunting songs as sarcastic.
- iii. Palm wine songs educate and entertain. All the songs presented in sub-section (3) talk much about the effects of drunkenness such as being smelly, wearing dirty clothes, sexual immorality, going for pennies enlargement, indiscipline, excessive drinking and a high level of irresponsibility. The song therefore exposes all these effects to educate the youths that one should drink with caution. The effects are all summarized below .

Ami ntòkkọ ukọd ññwọñ	I poured in wine and drank
ukọd ańgwọọñọ ke olú itúd-afíd	Wine drains through the anus
Mmé uwém edi óró, mmé mkpá – á	Is that life or death?
Mmé uwém edi óró, mmé mkpá – á	Is that life or death?
Mmé uwém edi óró, mmé mkpá – á	Is that life or death?
Ami ntòkkọ ukọd ññwọñ	I poured in wine and drank
ukọd ańgwọọñọ ke olú itúd-afíd	Wine drains through the anus
Mmé uwém edi óró, mmé mkpá – á	Is that life or death?

- iv. Palm wine songs help to connect one generation to the next. The interconnectivity is displayed in the three layers of the songs. There is a link between palm wine songs and palm wine-related songs, showing two generations. The traditional generation, who valued palm wine and use it as a good source of living, and the generation, who only takes pleasure in the sweetness of palm wine. The third generation is the palm wine drunkards group, who rather choose to drink to stupor. They have no sense of responsibility and do not care about the effects of being drunk even when they know that drunkenness has a high level of negative effects on them. They still give full support to drunkenness as seen in **Ináám Ukọd Nsuñ**

Anaañ	English
Ináám ukọd nsuñ	The drunkenness of palm wine
Amí mmébénné ubọk nnọ	I have lifted up my hands for
Mmésúúk iwúọd nnọ	I have bowed to
Amí mmétóóńó edọñ nnọ ináám	I have knelt for drunkenness

- v. They play an important role in expressing and conserving cultural heritage. The tradition of planting the raffia tree and nurturing them to maturity in song number (2) can be attributed to the conservation of raffia, palm wine tapping, and the rich cultural heritage of palm wine processing, brewing of the palm wine and the values added to the palm wine products. Historical events are also preserved by the songs. They represent the culture of contemporary society and influence contemporary songs since both have the same themes dealing with real issues in real societies. Traditionally, the song let us know that women were supposed to keep to their virginity to attract respect from society. Where this is not obtained, any man has the right to defile such a woman but, with consent. The intercourse could be done in the bush, the mother's house, the beer parlour or as it pleases the man (section .3)
- vi. Palm wine songs are most often composed to tell stories about human conditions and many of these stories are about finding or missing love, deceit, war and natural disasters; (11-18)
- vii. They record history, the human condition, and language; and provide insights about past beliefs and superstitions of a people in comparison with the contemporary ones. This is reflected in the nature of cultural change and also reflects unchanging aspects of the human condition in an evolving context. (1-6). The culture of communal life is reflected in the song as the tradition of Anaañ requires. The arrival of beer distracted the people, who rejected their Divine wine and went for things that had no medicinal value. The palm wine still defeated the beer despite its popularity (7).
- viii. Palm wine songs can be satirical and, thus, expose human vices, abuses, shortcomings and follies to ridicule/scorn or express a trenchant wit, irony, or sarcasm used to expose and discredit vice or folly. Satire blends a critical attitude with humour and wit for the purpose of improving human institutions or humanity(12-19).
- ix. Apart from providing a platform for social interaction, palm wine plays important social and religious functions. It is the drink of the gods. In traditional Igbo society, palm wine is the preferred drink used in pouring libations to the gods. In every traditional ceremony in Anaañ, be it a wedding, child naming ceremony, funeral or memorial, palm wine is the preferred drink. The decontextualization of the Anaañ palm wine songs should be checkmated by the palm wine faithful and stakeholders of the language in

order to bring back more of the traditional lyrics of the olden-day palm wine songs, which have disappeared.

The choice of words and the aesthetic value of the above songs are very captivating to the mind. The understanding and interpretation give a broader meaning compared to what a drinker could sing. The song persona being a habitual drinker, makes an effort to convince non-drinkers that palm wine is from the Gods and should be treated with respect.

5.0 Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

his research sets out to examine selected Anaañ palm wine songs showing their meaning, general aesthetics, the conditions that necessitated the composition of some of the songs and the lyrical gap between the olden and present-day palm wine songs. Palm wine among the Anaañ people can be traced to the oral traditions of the people in the past. Palm wine is a very popular traditional drink in West Africa. It is consumed in Western and Central African countries like Zaire, Ghana, Nigeria and Congo.

The study reveals that there are three types of palm wine songs are; historical songs, palm wine related and drunkard songs. The palm wine songs fall under the historical/traditional palm wine songs. There is a gap between the palm wine songs and the drunkard songs which are filled by palm wine-related songs. Palm wine songs are the songs that were used before the modern days. These sets of songs have gone into extinction owing to the popularization of the drunkards' songs by the youths, thereby resulting in the decontextualization of palm wine. Folk poetry, which is popularly known as folk song is the mirror of the nation's soul. These songs are generally believed to be the expression of the whole singing community. This is because songs permeate every aspect of life and culture. Folk poetry is indeed a vital aspect of language use. Unfortunately, in recent days, there has been a neglect of folksongs, due to increased interest in modern music. Basically, songs like palm wine songs in Anaañ have not received the documenting attention required to preserve these essential aspects of language use.

There has been a remarkable shift from palm wine songs in recent days to a corrupt form of the songs, thereby sending negative semantic signals to the minds of the listeners. This negative signal tends to affect the acceptability of this folk genre

negatively. The negative attitude leads to the near disappearance of the traditional palm wine songs in Anaañ. This work, therefore, sets out to analyse palm wine and palm wine-related folk songs in Anaañ with the aim of identifying, classifying, analyzing and documenting the existing songs for preservation; and examine the lyrical gap created in recent times in the Anaañ palm wine folk poetry. There is a substitution of the traditional lyrics of Anaañ and palm wine songs to the hybridized form. The songs as rendered in recent times depend more on the lyrics of Christian's songs. This has affected the cultural values attached to the palm wine songs in the olden days; resulting in the gradual disappearance of the traditional palm wine songs. This therefore attracted the researcher to work on these areas to unravel the lyrics of the olden day palm wine and hunting songs for proper validation.

5.2 Conclusion

In the olden days, oral tradition was the main source of information. Songs, stories, folktales, games and other forms of folklore were rendered verbally without documentation. This happens to be the case with the Anaañ palm wine songs. The Anaañ speakers actually composed diverse songs related to the palm wine activities in those days. The songs were enjoyed by men, women, children and the youths. They were used for entertainment in all sectors including formal and informal settings. In addition, palm wine songs are an integral part of the daily life of drinkers and are sung during activities associated with work, while resting or relaxing, during religious celebrations, initiation rites, or other social occasions. Furthermore, findings from the study show that the olden-day palm wine songs provided insights about past beliefs and superstitions of a people, while the present-day palm wine songs are adulterated and are being influenced by ever-changing modernization, communication systems, migration to urban areas, changes in lifestyle, white collar jobs, the influence of Christianity on both men and women and lack of government policy on the teaching of Anaañ cultural practice. Palm wine songs form a corpus of their own in African oral literature. The Palm wine songs themselves are of communal ownership, traced to the oral traditions of the Anaañ people. The inspiration for the songs is the daily events and circumstances that triggered the drinkers in the past to compose the songs, which were later transmitted from one generation to another by verbal art. Unfortunately, they have not received much research attention from both African and Western scholars of oral literature.

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