

# **An Ethnographic Approach to the Thematic Classification of Christo-Kegites' Songs in Nigeria**

by

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## **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the songs of the Kegites' Club, a socio-cultural group at university and polytechnic campuses in Nigeria with the aim of identifying their themes alongside the Christian songs from which they are derived. The analysis of the songs is based on Dell Hymes' Ethnographic Framework, which identifies contextual variables that account for the various factors that are involved in different communicative events. Thirty songs, comprising 11 English versions and 19 Yorùbá versions are purposively selected for analysis in this study. Even though these songs are derived from the choruses sung by Christians in their fellowships and retain the lyrics of the choruses, they have been cleverly manipulated to underscore their own themes and identity as opposed to the themes of the Christian songs that serve as their sources.

**Keywords:** Christo-kegites' songs, universities and polytechnics, Nigeria, Dell Hymes' ethnographic framework

## **Introduction**

Christo-Kegites' songs refer to Christian songs that have been adapted by the kegites and sung in their shrines (their place of meeting) during gyrations. The lyrics of the songs are those of Christians, while the vocabulary items are those of the kegites. The Christian songs from which the songs are derived have their themes, such as God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, angels, the power of God, and the goodness of God. The kegites songs have themes such as the palm wine, the chief (the leader of the kegites), palm wine tapper, the kegites and beer. These songs are classified according to their themes. Just like the Yorùbá community in which it originated, the kegites club is a singing society (Olukoju 1978).

Music is an essential part of their gyration (meeting) (Sowande 1970). It is an integral part of their activities. Every significant event is celebrated in songs, drums and dance, typical of the Yorùbá community (Amorele 1987). Drumming, singing and dancing are traditional features of festivals and joyous occasions in the community (Peggy 1976). The kegites are traditionally a musical people (Daramola, 2008).

## **Historical Background**

The Kegites' Club is a socio-cultural organisation that is non-religious and non-political. It was founded to uphold the invaluable heritage of African culture which was on the verge of extinction as a result of Western civilization which came through the colonization of Africa by Western nations. The club started in 1962 as 'the palm-wine drinkers club' by the students of the then University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University (O.A.U.) at their temporary site, close to University of Ibadan. The motto of the club then was "The Basis of African Unity is Palm wine." The Obafemi Awolowo University branch was named 'World' Headquarters of the club, while that of University of Ibadan is the 'National' Headquarters. The club went into a temporary eclipse in the late sixties. It was later resuscitated in 1972 with the name "Kegites Confraternity". It has the keg as its symbol. In 1973, the club changed its name from "Kegites Confraternity" to the "Kegites Club." The motto of the club was later changed to "Unity in Diversity." The aims and objectives of the club include, the promotion, transmission and assimilation of a dynamic culture of Africa, promotion of socio-cultural activities and friendly interactions through "gyrations" and the encouragement to use things that are of African origin. They hold their "gyration" in the shrine.

## **Methodology**

Thirty songs made up of 11 (eleven) English songs and 19 (nineteen) Yorùbá songs usually sung by kegites are examined in the work. These 'songs' have words relating to "palm-wine", "kegites", "chief-kegite", "palm wine tapper and beer". But basically, their lyrics are those of the Christian songs from which they were derived. Those songs in the Yorùbá language were translated to their English equivalents for ease of analysis. The data were collected during the meetings of the kegites, popularly referred to as "gyrations". As for the reasons why Christian songs are adapted by kegites: one, many of the members of the kegites are 'Christians'; two, these songs are sung to avoid boredom, to attract new members who might, because of the drumming and singing, join them; and underscore the presence of the kegites on campus.

Two main campuses were used as sites of data collection. These are the University of Ibadan (which is the National Headquarters of the kegites) and the Polytechnic of Ibadan. A tape recorder and a camera phone were used to record the songs.

The songs were later transcribed for analysis. Some executive members of the kegites were also interviewed to gain insight into the reason why they sing happily in each 'gyration'. Such executive members were the Chief, the Feda, the Songito, and the 'elder'. We shall explain these terms below.

## **Hierarchical Organisation of the Club**

The kegites are headed by the Chief, who is the president or chairman of the club. He is followed by the 'elder' (an elderly person who serves as a counselor to the chief). Then comes the 'Feda', that is the general secretary who takes record of discussions in each meeting. The word 'Feda' is derived from the English version 'Feather'. In ancient times, feather was used as pen to write with inks. The Songito is the composer of songs, who could be likened to the choirmaster in a church. The other members of the executive are listed under the use of local slang later in the paper.

## **Theoretical Framework**

This paper is based on Dell Hymes' (1964) ethnographic framework, subsequently revised, which according to him, accounts for the various factors that are involved in speaking. He opines that ethnography of communication describes all the factors that are relevant in understanding how a particular communicative event achieves its goals. Hymes captures this proposition with the acronym SPEAKINGT, written vertically, it gives us:

S – Setting/scene, that is, the general context of speech, in terms of the time, place, the physical and psychological circumstances underlying the speech event.

P – Participants, that is, the speaker, the listener or addressor versus addressee and their roles in a speech event.

E – Ends, that is, the goals, aims and objectives of the individuals involved in a speech event.

A – Acts, that is, the actual form and content of the utterance.

K – Key, that is, the tone, manner and spirit with which what is said is said and the accompanying gestures.

I – Instrumentalities, that is, the medium through which a speech is made i.e. oral, written, language, dialect, etc).

N – Norms, that is, the form of behaviour that accompanies language e.g. speaking turns, loudness, interruptions, pauses, etc).

G – Genre – that is, clearly demarcated type or category of utterances e.g. proverb, poem, song, sermon, interrogation, etc.

T – Topic, that is, what is spoken about, subject of discussion, the different themes that are discussed

Schiffrin (1994) submits that Hymes' ethnography of communication is the most integrative of all the approaches to discourse, which is based on anthropology and linguistics. According to him, ethnographers are concerned with the writing of rules of speaking for a particular group of speakers. Such a group is referred to as a speech community, a group which shows both linguistic resources and rules for interaction and interpretation.

## **Data Presentation**

The data are presented in a tabular form. The Yoruba songs are followed by their translations. In the last column of the tables, the researcher identifies the expressions that are substituted for one another. The translations are in two parts. Some of the songs are given direct semantic translations, while the other ones are paraphrased. Each table is followed by a brief discussion of its major theme.

**Table 1A****Palm Wine**

S/N	Source Song	Kegites' Version	Substituted Elements	Themes
1a(i)	Jesus power Super power Jesus power Super power Exalts Jesus	Palm wine power Super power (2ce) Exalts palm wine	'Jesus power' is replaced with 'palm wine power'	Palm wine.
1a(ii)	Halleluyah, my Lord is good. (3ce) He's good to me. Appreciates the goodness of God.	Kegite members, palm wine is good (3ce) It is good for you. Appreciates the value of palm wine. (that is its nutritional value)	'Halleluyah, my Lord is good' is replaced with 'kegite members palm wine is good'.	Palm wine.
1a(iii)	Come and see (2ce) Come and see what the Lord has done. (2ce) Appreciates God's goodness.	Come and see (2ce) Come and see what 'palm wine' has done. (2ce) Appreciates the benefit of palm wine.	'Come and see what the Lord has done' is replaced with 'Come and see what palm wine has done'.	Palm wine
1a(iv)	When I come into your presence. I'm so happy, when I come into your presence, I'm so glad, In your presence, there's anointing when the Spirit comes upon me In your presence <u>anointing</u> breaks the yoke. Exalts the presence of	When I come to kegites' shrine, I'm so happy, When I come to 'kegites' shrine', I'm so glad. In the kegites shrine there's palmy, and gyration is exciting. In the kegites shrine, there's abundant wine to	(i) 'When I come into your presence' is replaced with 'when I come to kegites shrine' (ii) 'Anointing' is replaced with 'palmy' (iii) 'Anointing breaks the yoke' is replaced by 'abundant wine to drink'.	Palm wine This particular song actually talks about: (i) The kegites' shrine. (ii) Gyration the singing, drumming and dancing that characterise each meeting. But

	God for the anointing.	drink. Exalts the shrine of the kegites for gyration and palm wine.		everything boils down to the fact that there is palm wine to drink.
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**Table 1B: Songs in Yorùbá  
Palm Wine**

	Source song	Kegites Version	Substituted Elements	Discussion	Themes
1b(i)	<p>Òpé méta làwa yó ẹ (2ce) <u>À rù láyò.</u> <u>À sò láyò.</u> <u>A tún rómo</u> <u>gbéjò.</u> òpé méta làwa yó ẹ. (Gratitude to God for safe delivery)</p> <p><i>We shall thank God for three things: We conceived the baby, We delivered the baby, And we carry the baby alive.</i></p>	<p>Òpẹ mètta làwa yó ẹ (2ce) <u>À gun láyò.</u> <u>A so láyo.</u> <u>A tún rému</u> <u>gbéjò.</u> Òpẹ mètta làwa yó ẹ (Gratitude to God for safe arrival of the tapper with palm wine)</p> <p><i>We shall thank God for three things: We climbed the palm tree successfully We descended from it successfully. And we obtained palm wine successfully.</i></p>	<p>‘Rù’ (carry) is replaced by ‘gùn’ (climb) ‘sò’ is retained. ‘Rómọ gbéjò’ is replaced with ‘Rému gbéjò’ ‘Carry a living child’ is replaced with ‘carry palm wine’.</p>	<p>(i) ‘We conceived safely’ was replaced with ‘We climbed the palm tree safely.’ (ii) “We delivered the baby safely’ was replaced with “We came down from the palm tree safely” (iii) ‘We also carry the baby joyfully’ was replaced with “We carry the palm wine joyfully”.</p>	Palm wine.
1b(iii)	<p>Èjẹ tó jejẹ lọ Kó wá tú mi sílẹ Èjẹ tó tó n sà n ní Kálfàrí Kó wá tú mi sílẹ. (Belief in the efficacy of the blood of Jesus)</p>	<p>Èmu orí òpẹ Kó wá tú mi sílẹ Èmu funfun orí òpẹ o Kó wá tú mi lára. (Belief in the</p>	<p>(i) Èjẹ ‘tó jejẹ lọ’ (The blood that is mightier than blood) was replaced with ‘Èmu orí òpẹ, (The wine from the palm tree).</p>	<p>The Christian chorus, i.e. C.C. talks about the deliverance power in the blood of</p>	Palm wine.

		efficacy of palm wine)	(ii) ‘Èjẹ̀ to ń sà̀n ní Kálfà̀rì’ (The blood that flows from Calvary) was replaced by ‘Emu funfun orí òpẹ̀’. (White palm wine from the palm tree).	Jesus. The kegite’s version, i.e. K.V. talks about the refreshing power of palm wine.	
	<i>The blood that surpasses other varieties of blood Set me free. The blood that flows from Calvary. Come and set me free.</i>	<i>Wine from the palm tree Come down and set me free. White palm wine Come and refresh me.</i>			
1b(iv)	Jésù sẹ̀ùn fún mi Ó ti sẹ̀ùn fún mi. Ohun baba kò le sẹ Ó ti sẹ fún mi. (Exalts Jesus)	Èmu sẹ fún mi Ó ti sẹ fún mi Ohun beer kò lè sẹ Ògùrò sẹ fún mi. (Exalts palm wine)	(i) ‘Jésù’ (Jesus) was replaced with ‘emu’ (palm wine); ‘Baba’ (father) was replaced with ‘beer’.	Jesus is gracious to the Christians, palm wine is delicious to the kegites.	Palm wine.
	<i>Jesus has done for me What my father cannot do for me.</i>	<i>Palm wine has done for me what beer cannot do for me.</i>			
1b(ii)	È k’á̀lleluyah o. È k’á̀lleluyah o (2ce) Àwa jogún ikú látòdò Ádámù Àwa sì ríyè ló dò Jésù Olúwa È k’á̀lleluyah o È k’á̀lleluyah (Jesus exalted as the giver of life)	È ká lọ mẹ mu o È ká lọ mẹ mu o (2ce) Àwa jogún ẹmu látò dò chífù wa A wá sí mẹ mu o nínú ọgbà national È ká lọ mẹ mu o. È ká lọ mẹ mu. (Chief kegites exalted)	(i) ‘È ká lẹ luyah’ (Shout Halleluyah) was replaced by ‘È ká lẹ mẹ mu’. (Let us go and drink palm wine. (ii) ‘Àwa jogún ikú lá tò dò Ádámù’. (We inherited death from Adam) was replaced with ‘Àwa jogún ẹmu látò dò chífù’. (We inherited	CC talks about the life giving attribute of Jesus Christ. KV talks about the wine-giving attribute of the chief of kegites.	Palm wine. It also talks about other themes: (i) The chief-kegite. (ii) The national garden (that is, the shrine of the kegites).

	<i>Halleluyah, we inherited death from Adam, we obtain life from Jesus Christ.</i>	<i>Let us go and drink palm wine, We inherited palm wine from our chief and we drink palm wine in our gathering at the national shrine.</i>	palm wine from the chief kegite). (iii) ‘A jogún ìyè látò dọ Jészù’, we received life from Jesus was replaced with ‘Àwa sì mę mu nínú ogbà national.’ We drank palm wine in the national garden.		
1b(vi)	Mo ti mọ Jészù Mo mọ agbára (2ce) Ó dąmi lójú pé Jészù dára. (Exalts Jesus)	Mo ti mu ‘holy water’ Mo ti m’ęmu ọpę Ó dąmi lójú pé Ęmú dára. (Exalts the delicacy of palm wine)	‘Jesus’ is replaced with ‘holy water’ (His power) was replaced with (I drank ‘palm wine’) ‘Mo mọ pé Jészù dára’ (I am sure Jesus is good), was replaced by ‘Mo mọ pé ęmú dára’ (I am sure palm wine is good.	The Christian appreciates the power of Jesus. The kegites take delight in palm wine.	Palm wine.
	<i>I know Jesus I know his power I am sure Jesus is good.</i>	<i>I know ‘holy water’ I know palm wine I am sure Palm wine is good.</i>			
1b(vii)	Ọdún n lọ sópin o Baba mímó. Fìşó rę şó wa ò <u>Baba rere</u> Ohun tó n pa ni lékún o Nínú ọdún Mà ję kó şelę sí wa ò Baba rere.	Ọdún n lọ sópin o Baba mímó Fìşó rę şó wa ò <u>A ti m’ęmu.</u> Ohun tí ó pawá lékún o Nínú ọdún Mà ję kó şelę sí wa ò A ti m’ęmu.	(i) ‘Baba rere’ (Good Father) was replaced by ‘A ti m’ęmu’ (We have taken palm wine). This is a case of a sentence replacing a phrase. This is possible because the lyric of the	The Christian supplicates in apprehension of the dangers associated with the end of the year. The kegites are equally	Palm wine.



	(Supplication) <i>The year is moving towards the end, holy Father, Protect us oh good Father Anything that can cause sorrow for us Do not allow it to happen to us.</i>	(Supplication) <i>The year is moving towards the end holy father. Protect us for we have taken palm wine. Anything that can cause sorrow for us Do not let it happen For we have taken palm wine.</i>	phrase ‘baba rere’ (good faker) tallies with the lyric of the sentence ‘a ti m’emu’ (we have drunk palm wine).	aware of this fact, so also they supplicate that as they drink palm wine to celebrate the end of the year, God should keep them away from evil.	
1b(viii)	Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ <u>sako</u> . Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ sako <u>Bàbá wa lèhìn mi</u> . Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ sako. (Bragging) <i>I am bragging because the father (God) is on my side.</i>	Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ <u>m’emu</u> . Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ m’emu. <u>Kò sóhùnmíràn</u> . Torí nàà mo ɕe ñ m’emu. <i>I am drinking palm wine because there is nothing else (to drink)’</i>	(i) ‘Şako’ (bragging) is replaced by ‘m’emu’, (drinking palm wine) (ii) ‘Baba ñ be lèhìn mi’ (God the Father is with me) is replaced by (there is nothing else to drink).	The Christian brags because he has Jesus, the kegites drink palm wine. It is superior to other drinks.	Palm wine.
1b(ix)	Ayò ni mo fé o, Baba Qlórùn ayò, m’áyò mi kún Baba. It is joy I want, oh God, the Father of joy. Let my joy be full.	Àgbè ni mo fé o Emu Èlému lagbè, k’ágbè mi kún, Baba. <i>It is the gourd that I want Owner of palm wine and the gourd, Let my gourd be full of palm wine.</i>	The word ‘Ayò’ (joy) was replaced by agbè ‘gourd’ ‘Qlórùn ayò’ (God of joy) was replaced by ‘Èlému lagbè (owner of palm wine inside the gourd).	The Christian prays for joy. The kegite prays for palm wine.	Palm wine.

1b(x)	Jésù ẹ̀sun fún mí Ó tí ẹ̀sun fún mí. Ohun baba kò le ẹ̀ Ó tí ẹ̀sun fún mí. (Exalts Jesus)	Ẹ̀mu ẹ̀sun fún mí Ó tí ẹ̀sun fún mí Ohun beer kò lè ẹ̀ Ògùrò ẹ̀sun fún mí. (Exalts palm wine)	(i) 'Jésù' (Jesus) was replaced by 'ẹ̀mu' (palm wine); 'Baba' (father) was replaced by 'beer'.	Jesus is gracious to the Christians, palm wine is delicious to the kegites.	Palm wine.
	<i>Jesus has done for me What my father cannot do for me.</i>	<i>Palm wine has done for me what beer cannot do for me.</i>			

## Discussion

Tables 1a and b above talk about palm wine. As could be seen in the tables, it occurs in four songs in the English versions, while it occurs in the Yorùbá versions as *ògùrò*, *ẹ̀mu*, *ẹ̀mu funfun*, *palmy* and *ẹ̀mu orí òpẹ*, all referring to palm wine in ten songs. In fact, in 1(i) its power (palm wine power) is likened to Jesus' power. In 1(ii) 'My Lord' (referring to Jesus) is replaced with 'palm wine'. In 1(iii) 'What the Lord has done' is replaced with 'what palm wine has done'. This tells us how important palm wine is to the kegites. In the Yorùbá versions (1b(i)), the process of carrying pregnancy and delivering the baby, which every pregnant woman goes through is likened to the process of climbing the palm tree, tapping palm wine and bringing it down from the tree, which the palm wine tapper does. In b(iii), 'the blood of Jesus', which is considered to be a vital weapon in the hands of every Christian is simply replaced with the phrase 'palm wine'. This suggests that just as every Christian cherishes the blood of Jesus, every 'kegite' cherishes palm wine. In 1(iv). The word 'JESUS' was simply replaced with 'palm wine'. In 1b(v), the word 'ìhìnre' (gospel) was simply replaced with 'ògùrò funfun' (white palm wine), which suggests that just as a good Christian values evangelism, a good kegite values palm wine.

**Table 2A: Chief**

2a(i).	You are worthy Lord (4ce)	You are worthy chief (4ce).	'Lord' was replaced with 'chief'.	Chief.
2a(ii)	Come on, give me a letter J. Come on, give me a letter E. Come on, give me a letter S. Come on, give me a letter U. Come on, give me a letter S. Exalts Jesus	Come on, give me a letter C. Come on, give me a letter H. Come on, give me a letter I. Come on, give me a letter E. Come on, give me a letter F. Exalts the chief.	J C E H S was replaced with I U E S F A Song that reveres the chief kegite.	Chief
2a(iii)	Angels are singing You are worthy o Lord You are worthy You are worthy o Lord.	Kegites are singing: You are worthy oh Chief. You are worthy You are worthy o chief.	(i) 'Angels' was replaced with kegites. (ii) 'Oh Lord' was replaced with 'Oh Chief.'	Chief.

**Table 2B: Chief**

2b(i)	È yò, è yò, <u>Jésù Olúwa joba</u> , È yò, è yò, <u>Jésù Olúwa joba</u> (Exalting Jesus) <i>Rejoice, Rejoice, Jesus our Lord reigns.</i>	È yò, è yò ò <u>Chief èlémú joba</u> . È yò, è yò ò <u>Chief èlémú joba</u> (Exalting the chief) <i>Rejoice, Rejoice, the chief of kegites reigns.</i>	Jesu Olúwa (Jesus our Lord) was replaced with Chief Èlémú (chief of the kegites).	While the Christian chorus, magnifies 'Jesus' as King, the kegites' version magnifies the 'chief kegite' as their king.	Chief.
2b(ii)	Jésù lówó rẹ ló wà Bàbá lówó rẹ ló wà Gbogbo agbára Jésù lówó rẹ ló wà. Kò sí lówó oşó, kò sí lówó àjẹ o Gbogbo agbára Jésù lówó rẹ ló	Chîfù lówó rẹ ló wà Bàbá lówó rẹ ló wà Gbogbo agbára chîfù lówó rẹ ló wà. Kò sí lówó songito, kò sí lówó fẹda rará. Gbogbo agbára chîfù lówó rẹ ló	(i) The word Jésù (Jesus), was replaced with 'chief' (the chief kegite). (ii) The word 'wizard' was replaced by 'şongítò'. (iii) The word 'witches' was replaced by	In as much as Jesus is much more powerful than witches and wizards, the chief is much more powerful than the songito (composer) and the fe □da (general	Chief.

	wà.	wà.	'fèda'.	secretary) of the kegites.	
	(Exalts Jesus) <i>All powers belong to Jesus. They neither belong to witches nor wizards, but to Jesus.</i>	(Exalts chief) <i>All power belong to the chief of kegites. They do not belong to 'songito' or 'feda'</i>			
2b(iii)	Bí Jèsù bá dé, Á bá mi lènu ìhìnrere (2ce) Kò ní bá mi nílé aláwo. Á bá mi lènu ìhìnrere. (Belief in evangelism)	Tí chief bá dé Á bá mi lènu ògùrò <u>funfun</u> (2ce) kò ní bá mi ní <u>beer parlor</u> . Á bá mi lènu ògùrò funfun. (Preference of palm wine over beer)	(i) 'Ìhìnrere' (Evangelism) was replaced with Ògùrò funfun' (white palm wine). (ii) 'Nílé aláwo' (Herbalist's house) was replaced with 'beer parlour'.	A devoted Christian believes in evangelism. A genuine kegite prefers palm wine to beer.	Chief
	<i>When Jesus comes He will meet me in the work of evangelism Not in the house of herbalist.</i>	<i>When chief comes, he will meet me drinking palm wine, not in the beer parlour.</i>			
2b(iv)	Ó fún mi <u>ledidi</u> <u>Gbèsè òlá tí mo je</u> Bó tí fún mi, ó sì wí pé <u>Má se gbàgbé mi.</u>	Ó fún mi ní 'palmy'; <u>Holy water funfun</u> Chief fún mi, ó sì wí pé <u>Má se lo 'beer parlour'</u> (superiority of palm wine)	(i) Edidi (Seal) was replaced by 'palmy' (shortened form of 'palm wine'). (ii) 'Gbèsè òlá tí mo je' (The great debt I owe) was replaced by	The Christian receives the 'seal' of salvation from God. The kegites receive the 'seal' of palm wine from their	Chief.

	<i>He gave me a seal Canceling the great debt I owe As he gave me, he said Don't forget me.</i>	<i>He gave me palmy (palm wine) white holy water. Chief gave me and he said don't go to the beer parlour.</i>	(White Holy water).	chief.	
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Tables 2a and 2b talk about the ‘chief kegite’. He is the most important personality in the group. In the English version, it occurs three times and in the Yorùbá version, it occurs four times. In 2a(i), while the Christians magnify Jesus, the kegites magnify their ‘chief’, so the word ‘Jesus’ was replaced with ‘chief’. In 2a(ii), while the Angels are singing: ‘You are worthy o Lord’, the kegites are singing: ‘You are worthy o chief’. In the Yorùbá version, 2b(i), while Christians are rejoicing that Jesus reigns as king, kegites affirm that they rejoice because their chief reigns as king over them. In 2b(ii), while Christians affirm that they inherit eternal life from Jesus, kegites assert that they inherit palm wine from their chief. In other words, as Jesus is the giver of life, the chief is the giver of palm wine. In 2b(ii) Christians affirm that all powers belong to Jesus, kegites assert that all powers belong to their chief. While Christians insist that the witches and wizards (àjẹ àti oṣó) have no power comparable to that of Jesus, kegites relegate the ‘fẹ́da’ (General Secretary) and the ‘sòngito’ (the composer) to the background in comparison to the chief. In 2b(iv), the Christians emphasized that when Jesus comes, he would meet them evangelizing, while the kegites emphasized that when their chief comes, he would meet them drinking palm wine. All these suggest that just as Jesus Christ is very important to the Christians, the chief-kegite is very important to the kegites. The way Christians revere God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit, kegites revere their chief, as the most respectable fellow in the club.

**Table 3A: Palm Wine Tapper**

3a(i)	Come down Holy Spirit, come down. We are waiting for you, come down. Inviting the presence of the Holy Spirit.	Come down mighty tapper Come down. We are waiting for you, come down Inviting the presence of the tapper.	'Holy Spirit' was replaced with 'mighty tapper'	Palm wine tapper
3a(ii)	There's something that makes me come into your presence, my helper. My helper oh, my helper (2ce) There's something that makes me come into your presence, my helper. Appreciates God as the divine helper.	There's something that makes me come into your presence, my tapper My tapper oh, my tapper (2ce) There's something that makes me come into your presence, my tapper Appreciates the tapper as the provider of palm wine.	'My helper' is replaced with 'my tapper'.	Palm wine tapper

**Table 3B: Palm wine tapper**

3b(i)	Látójó tí mo ti ñ rìn, yé ò, yé o. Mi ò rírú <u>Olórun</u> yìí rí Yé ò, yé o.	Látójó tí mo ti ñ rìn, yé o, yé o. Mi ò rírú <u>elému</u> yìí rí, yé ò, yé o.	Ọlọrun (God) was replaced by <u>elému</u> (wine tapper)	Christians do not see any <u>god</u> comparable to 'Heavenly King' (God). Kegites do not see any tapper that surpasses the tapper.	Palm wine tapper.
	<i>I have never seen this kind of God since my childhood.</i>	<i>I have never seen this kind of palm wine tapper since childhood.</i>			
3b(ii)	Àwa ọmọ Jésù ñ bò Ará ilé Àwa ọmọ Jésù ñ bò Èrò ọ̀nà Àwa ọmọ Jésù re ò, Ó ó yá (Exalts Christ)	Àwa <u>ọmọ elému</u> ñ bò Ará ilé Àwa ọmọ <u>elému</u> ñ bò Èrò ọ̀nà Àwa ọmọ <u>elému</u> re ò Ó ó yá. (Exalts tappers)	'Àwa ọmọ Jésù', meaning: 'We children of Jesus' is replaced by 'Àwa ọmọ elému' ('We kegites'), that is, we the children of the palm wine tapper.	C.C. sees Christians as 'children or followers of Jesus. K.V. sees kegites as children (followers) of the palm wine	Palm wine tapper.

	<i>We children of Christ are coming, neighbours and wayfarers, make way.</i>	<i>We kegites are coming, Home dwellers and wayfarers, make way.</i>		tapper, the supplier of strength.	
3b(iii) )	Agbára Ọlọrun pọ (2ce) Ó lànà sórí òkun. Ó wódi Jẹríkò. (Exalts the greatness of God's power)	Agbára ẹlẹmu pọ (2ce) Ó lànà sórí ọpe Ó gbẹmu wa fún wa. (Exalts the greatness of the tappers strength)	(i) 'The power of God is great' 'Agbára Ọlọrun pọ' is replaced with 'Agbára ẹlẹmu pọ', 'the power of palm wine tapper is great. (ii) 'Ó lànà lórí òkun', (He made a way on the sea) was replaced with 'Ó lànà lórí ọpe (he made a way on the palm tree). (iii) 'Ó wódi Jẹríkò' was replaced by 'Ó gbẹmu wá fún wa'. 'He bought palm wine to us'.	C.C. exalts God's power K.V. exalts tapper's strength.	Palm wine tapper.
	<i>God's power is great. He paves a way on the sea He felled the wall of Jericho.</i>	<i>The power of the palm wine tapper is great, He paved a way on the palm wine tree And he brought down palm wine for us.</i>			
3b(iv)	Wá, wá, wá, Ẹmí Mímó Wá, wá, wá Alágbára Wá ò, wá ò, wá ò. (Inviting the Holy Spirit) <i>Come down Holy Spirit Come down the mighty one Come, come, come.</i>	Wá, wá, wá ẹlẹmu wa Wá, wá wá ológùrò Wá ò, wá ò, wá ò. (Inviting the tapper) <i>Come down palm wine tapper Come down the owner of palm wine, Come, come, come.</i>	(i) 'Ẹmí Mímó' (Holy Spirit) was replaced by (Wine tapper). (ii) 'Alágbára' (The powerful one) was replaced with 'Ológùrò wa' (palm wine tapper).	Christians cherish the presence of the Holy Spirit. Kegites cherish the palm wine tapper.	Palm wine tapper.

3b(v)	Olúwa dára Olúwa dára Olúwa dára Ó dára.	Ẹlẹmu dára Ẹlẹmu dára Ẹlẹmu dára ó dára	The word ‘Olúwa’ (Lord) was replaced with ‘Ẹlẹmu’ (tapper).	The Christian believes that the Lord is good. The kegites believe that the palm wine tapper is good.	Palm wine tapper.
	The Lord is good (3ce)	The palm wine tapper is good (3ce)			

Tables 3(a) and (b) talk about the palm wine tapper. To the kegites, the tapper is very important by virtue of the fact that he is the one that supplies palm wine to them. In 3a(i), ‘he’ is used to replace the Holy Spirit. The implication here is that just as Christians regard the Holy Spirit as the source of their strength, kegites see the tapper as the source of palm wine which gives them strength to gyrate. In 3a(ii), ‘my helper’, referring to ‘God’ is replaced by ‘my tapper’ in the kegites version. This tells us that while ‘God’ is the helper of Christians, the tapper is the source of help to kegites.

In 3b(i), the palm wine tapper is also used to replace God. The point here is that the kegites regard the palm wine tapper as their own god. In 3b(ii), ‘children of Jesus’ is replaced by ‘children of the palm wine tapper’. The implication here is that just as the Christians regard Jesus as their father, the kegites regard the palm wine tapper as their father. In 3b(iii) while Christians affirm that the power of God is great, kegites assert that the tapper is great. Again here, kegites see palm wine tapper as their god. Just as God made a thoroughfare for the children of Israel on the Red Sea, the palm wine tapper creates a way on the palm wine tree in order to have access to palm wine. In 3b(iv), the ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Christian chorus is replaced with the ‘palm wine tapper’. Christians always invite the Holy Spirit to chair their meetings/gatherings; kegites invite their palm wine tapper to chair their gyrations so that his presence would guarantee the availability of palm wine. Finally in 3b(v), the Christians assert that the Lord is good, the kegites assert that the palm wine tapper is good. The implication here is that just as the Christians look up to God for their blessings, the kegites look up to the palm wine tapper for their palm wine. The fact that God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit are replaced with the palm wine tapper in tables 3a and b suggests that just as the ‘Trinity’ is central to Christianity, the palm wine tapper is very central to the kegites.



**Table 4A: Kegites**

4a(i)	Angels are singing You are worthy o Lord You are worthy You are worthy o Lord.	Kegites are singing: You are worthy oh Chief. You are worthy You are worthy o chief.	(iii) 'Angels' is replaced by kegites. (iv) 'Oh Lord' is replaced by 'Oh Chief.	Kegites.
4a(ii)	I'm so glad, I belong to <u>Jesus</u> (3ce) I'm so glad, I belong to <u>Jesus</u> (3ce) <b>Association with Christ.</b>	I'm so glad I belong to kegites (3ce) I'm so glad I belong to kegites kegites. <b>Association with kegites.</b>	'Jesus' is replaced by 'kegites'.	Kegites
4a(iii)	If you're happy and you know praise the Lord (2ce) If you're happy and you know And you really want to show. If you are happy and you know Praise the Lord. <b>Song of praise to the Lord.</b>	If you are happy and you know, Say kegites, kegites (2ce) If you're happy and you know And you really want to show Say kegites. <b>Appreciates kegites</b>	'Praise the Lord' is replaced by 'say kegites'.	Kegites.

**Table 4B: Kegites**

4b(i)	Báyíí là n ̀ se, báyíí là n ̀ se. Báyíí là n ̀ se <u>nípàdé ̀mọ</u> <u>Jésù</u> (Joyous singing and dancing characterises Christian gathering)	Báyíí là n ̀ se Báyíí là n ̀ se Báyíí là n ̀ se <u>nípàdé ̀mọ</u> <u>elému.</u> (Joyous singing and dancing (gyration) characterises kegites meetings).	‘In the gathering of Christians’ was replaced by ‘In the gathering of kegites’.	Joyous singing and dancing characterise both the Christian gathering and the ketiges’ gathering. In Christian gathering, it is praise worship; in kegites’ gathering, it is gyration.	Kegites.
	<i>This is the way we celebrate in the gathering of Christians.</i>	<i>This is the way we rejoice in the gathering of kegites.</i>			
4b(ii)	Gbó ohùn àwọn Àngélì tí n ̀ kọrin (2ce) Wọn n ̀ kọrin ògo, ògo (2ce) Gbó ohùn àwọn àngélì tí n ̀ kọrin.	Gbó ohùn àwọn kégáitì tí n ̀ kọrin (2ce) Wọn n ̀ memu ọpe ọpe (2ce) Gbó ohùn àwọn kégáitì tí n ̀ kọrin.	“Singing angels’ was replaced by ‘drinking kegites.’	As the angels sing and rejoice, the kegites drink palm wine and rejoice.	Kegites.
	Here the voice of the singing Angles.	Here the voice of the drinking kegites.			

Tables 4a and b talk about the kegites themselves. In 4a(i) the Christians rejoice that they belong to Jesus, the kegites assert that they rejoice that they belong to the kegites group. In 4a(ii), ‘praise the Lord’ in the Christian chorus is replaced by ‘say kegites’. This suggests that just as the Christians are happy to be Christians, the kegites are happy to be associated with the group. In 4a(iii) ‘Angels are singing’ is replaced with ‘kegites are singing’. Here, the kegites are saying that the kind of happiness and gladness that accompany angels’ songs accompany their gyrations where singing, drumming and dancing are the order of the day. In 4b(i), the joyous singing and dancing that characterise the gathering of the Christians also take place in the gathering of the kegites. The implication of this is that, if Christians are happy in their fellowships to sing choruses to God, kegites are equally happy in their gyrations. In 4b(ii) ‘the singing angels’ is replaced with ‘the drinking kegites’. Here again, the implication is that kegites liken their gyrations to the singing and dancing of Angels.

**Table 5: Beer**

5(i)	<p>Jésù şeun fún mi Ó ti şeun fún mi. Ohun baba kò le şe Ó ti şe fún mi. <b>(Exalts Jesus)</b></p>	<p>Emu şe fún mi Ó ti şe fún mi Ohun <u>beer</u> kò lè şe Ògùrò şe fún mi. <b>(Exalts palm wine)</b></p>	<p>(i) ‘Jésù’ (Jesus) was replaced by ‘emu’ (palm wine); ‘Baba’ (father) was replaced by ‘beer’.</p>	<p>Jesus is gracious to the Christians, palm wine is delicious to the kegites.</p>	<p>Beer. Actually, palm wine is the theme here, but beer is made a sub-theme, while palm wine is appreciated, beer is relegated.</p>
5(ii)	<p>Bí Jésù badé Á bámi lènu ìhìnrere (2ce) Kò ní bámi nílé aláwo Á bámi lé.nu ìhìnrere.</p>	<p>Bí shífù bá dé Á bámi lènu ògùrò funfun (2ce) Kò ní bámi ní beer parlour Á bámi lènu ògùrò funfun.</p>	<p>When Jesus comes was replaced by when chief comes. ‘He will meet me evangelising’ was replaced by “He will meet me drinking palm wine, and not in the beer parlour.</p>		<p>Beer. (To the kegites, beer is inferior in quality to palm wine.)</p>
	<p>When Jesus comes He will meet me evangelizing He will not meet me in the herbalist’s house When Jesus comes, He will meet me evangelising.</p>	<p>When chief comes, He will meet me drinking palm wine He will not meet me in beer parlour He will meet me drinking palm wine.</p>			

Table 5 talks about ‘beer’. In the two songs in which ‘beer’ occurs, it is compared with palm wine. In each case, palm wine is said to be superior, that is, it is better than beer. Kegites are therefore discouraged from patronizing beer parlours and encouraged to rather stick to palm wine, which they consider to be very nutritious.

## **Ethnographic Analysis of the Data**

In this analysis, the songs of the kegites are treated as a communicative event underlined by different contextual variables.

### **1. Setting**

The setting of these songs is the kegites' shrine in the evening from 6.00pm till around 8.30pm. The shrine itself is a very small building, but it has a wide space in the front. So, the kegites usually gather in the open space. The 'songito', that is, the composer of songs is surrounded by drummers and they are faced by the other members. The drummers are referred to as 'drummitos'.

### **2. Participants**

All the members of the kegites club are involved. They are up to twenty-five in number. The songito raises a song and the other members chorus it, while the 'drummitos' beat their drums heartily.

### **3. Ends**

The general goal of the singing and dancing, according to the members that were interviewed, is to ease tension and relax. They believe that the academic community is very tense and boring and the only way to avoid boredom is by creating a relaxed, happy and lively environment through their gyrations.

### **4. Acts Sequence**

The songito is the first to lead every song while the other members chorus it after him. He determines the appropriate songs to sing in each gyration. The tone of the song would determine the activities of the drummitos.

### **5. Key**

An environment of jubilation and joy is created so that everybody is lively and happy. There is no room for sobriety. Every member sings and dances lively.

### **6. Instrumentality**

The singing is accompanied by clapping, drumming and dancing. Each participant sings loudly and heartily. As seen in the data, some songs are composed in the English language while others are in Yorùbá. However, many of the songs are in Yorùbá. This must have been because of the fact that the institutions studied are located in the South Western part of the country, where Yorùbá is the dominant language.

## 7. Norms

In each gyration, the sòngito appears to be the leading force. He is the one that raises each song, while the other members sing along with him. The drummers are not left out. The tune of the song will determine the tone of their drumming.

## 8. Genre

Kegites gyration is dominated by singing, dancing, clapping and drumming. Some members noted that it was the songs that first attracted them to the group.

## 9. Topic

Each song has a theme. The songs in table 1 have 'palm wine' as their central theme. The songs in table 2 have 'chief', (the leader of the kegites) as their subject matter. The ones in table 3 talk about the palm wine tapper who supplies the group with wine. The songs in table 4 revolve around the kegites themselves. The songs in table 5 all revolve around the fact that palm wine is better than 'beer', so beer is discouraged among the members. The summary of this analysis is that when the kegites sing, they are communicating among themselves. This communicative event serves the purpose of easing off tension, eliminating boredom and expressing their identity on the campus.

## The Use of Slang and Coinages

Some coinages and slang were used in the songs of the kegites. Let us examine some of them briefly.

- (1) **The chief:** This is the president/chairman of the club. He is the Chief Executive and he wields great powers in the club.
- (2) **Kegites:** The word 'kegites' itself was coined from the word 'keg'. Palm wine is kept in the keg for preservation. The keg is gourd.
- (3) **The elder:** The next person to the 'chief' kegites in hierarchy is the elder, typical of a counsellor.
- (4) **Palmy:** This is a coinage which refers to palm wine. See 2b(iv), above.
- (5) **Holy Water:** Palm wine is referred to by the kegites as holy water. See 2b(iv), above.
- (6) **Feda:** This refers to the general secretary of the association. The word was coined from 'feather'. In ancient times, the feather was used with ink to write.
- (7) **Parrot:** The Public Relations Officer (P.R.O.). The 'parrot' is noted for its 'talkativeness'; so also does the P.R.O. talks much in trying to project the image of the kegites.
- (8) **Songito:** A coinage from 'songs'. It refers to the chief composer/singer of the kegites. He is otherwise referred to as 'cricket'.

- (9) **The H.O.D.:** The Head of Drummer is the officer that leads the beating of drums.
- (10) **The cricket:** (That is the ‘songito’) see number 7 above.
- (11) **Marshal:** This officer is in charge of discipline and security. Discipline is a very strict affair among the kegites.
- (12) **The purse:** The treasurer is referred to as the purse, knowing fully well that money is kept in the purse.
- (13) **The cowny:** This is the ‘Financial Secretary’. In ancient times, the cowrie was used as legal tender (money).
- (14) **Pourer:** This officer is in charge of sharing and serving palm wine. He pours it inside the calabash called ‘ahá’.
- (15) **The curator:** This is the officer in charge of the club’s property.
- (16) **Kètékèté:** This refers to the chief transport officer. The word Kètékèté is the Yorùbá word for ‘donkey’.
- (17) **The tapper:** This is the person that climbs the palm tree to tap palm wine.  
The officers have been arranged in hierarchical order.  
All these words could be described as the ‘register’ of the club.
- (18) **Biscuit:** Pieces of calabash, broken when a ‘comrad’ is dekegged (that is excommunicated) for misconduct.
- (19) **Fellow:** Jesus, it also refers to senior members of the group, who are not students. They regard Jesus as a fellow for turning water to wine in Canaan of Galilee.
- (20) **Comrade:** An official member of the kegites.
- (21) **Comrado:** A non-member.
- (22) **Emblem:** Calabash for drinking palm wine.
- (23) **Regalia:** The uniform of the group.
- (24) **Capito:** Cap
- (25) **Solidify:** Food.
- (26) **Manya:** Amen (response of the kegites members to Chief’s prayer).
- (27) **Obeng:** An official outing on the group (the group occasionally goes out on invitation by a member of a fellow. For instance, Chief Olúségún Obasanjó (the former President of Nigeria, is a fellow and he usually invites the group to his house).
- (28) **Òpékè/Òpésìs:** Lady/ladies.
- (29) **Òpákà/Òpákàsìs:** Guy/guys.
- (30) **Drummito:** Drummers.
- (31) **Jarass or Informajara:** Information.

## Conclusion

This paper has examined thirty songs adapted by the kegites from Christian choruses. These songs are regularly sung by kegites in their gyrations to attract the non-initiates. The adapted songs maintain the lyrics of the Christian choruses from which they were derived, but the register changed. Lexical items associated with Christianity were changed to the ones associated with kegites. This is so cleverly done that a casual listener might not notice that the songs have been adapted by kegites to suit their own purpose. We can refer to this as secularization of sacred songs. Each Christian song that is adapted has its own theme, the same way each kegites' song has its own theme, which is associated with the kegites. These gyration songs of the kegites are major tools members of the group register their presence on the campus as well as create a unique social identity for the group. The kegites' gyrations attract non-members. Each time they are 'gyrating', one would see students who are not members gather as onlookers. So, in our analysis, we treated the songs themselves as a communicative event.

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