

Evoked emotional responses in the performance practices of
selected Yorùbá *dùndún* ensembles

Cecilia Durojaye

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, through whose love and grace I successfully completed my doctoral programme. Also, to Adetoke, Adeposi and Mario, for their unconditional love and inspiration.

Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Date: 20/01/2019

Signature:

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Abstract

The study aims to investigate and describe the communication of emotion through *dùndún* music of the Yorùbá ethnic group of Nigeria. The two-pronged focus is on (a) the strategies that *dùndún* performers employ to potentially arouse emotions in their listeners, and (b) the responses elicited in the listeners. The study is situated in the field of music psychology, while taking into consideration the socio-cultural background and belief systems of the Yorùbá.

A mixed methodology combining primarily qualitative with an element of a quantitative approach (QUAL→quan) is adopted within a convergent design. Data from *dùndún* musicians and listeners were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews as well as a short questionnaire-based survey that consisted of open and closed-ended questions. Two field trips were undertaken to six towns: Igbó-Orà, Ìlọra, Ede, Òşogbo, Ìpetumodù and Òyó located within south-west Nigeria. Qualitative analysis consisting of thick description in addition to a grounded theory approach was used to generate themes from the data, and the findings were also derived from a small-scale quantitative component. Concepts and theories around emotions from relevant literature are combined with the findings of the study to explain emotional communication in *dùndún* music. Data collected were used to answer the research questions in particular and contribute to the broad body of knowledge of music perception and evoked responses to music.

The study reveals in general that, for the most part, ‘successful’ communication of emotion through dundun music occurred as the *dùndún* musician employs culture-specific as well as universal cues in arousing emotions. The listeners reacted accordingly, using the same cues as a result of the communication of shared cues in the Yorùbá sub-culture and the performer. Hence, communication of emotion in the world of *dùndún* consists of an interaction between the performer, the listener, the music and the culture, which also encompasses the context of performance.

The findings of the study could be beneficial for further understanding of non-Western indigenous music from music cognitive perspectives.

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Chapter One

Introduction, Rationale and Methodology

1.1 Purpose statement

The link between music and emotion has fascinated people since antiquity. Empirical research on emotional expression and communication through music, however, spans about a hundred years and has been booming in the last decade. This study aims to understand how emotional communication in terms of expression, perception and induction takes place in the type of music performed on the *dùndún*, – a musical instrument (‘talking drum’) mostly identified with the Yorùbá people of Nigeria – and the associated performance practices. By investigating the interaction between the *dùndún* performer and listener to *dùndún* music, the findings could potentially provide detailed information on emotional communication through *dùndún* music-making practices.

1.2 Background: situating the study

The relationship between music and humans is significant, as from the ancient past up to the present day human beings have experienced the phenomenon of music in more ways than one (Nettl 2000). This synergy is evident in the role that music plays in processes of mediation, communication, and the evocation and regulation of moods and emotions (Merriam 1959; Nketia 1974; Feld 1990; Nzewi 1991; Gabrielsson & Lindström Wik 2003; Keil & Feld 2005; Juslin 2009a; Gabrielsson 2010, 2011)

In indigenous sub-Saharan African societies, the musical arts¹ play a vital role in dominating the total life pattern of society in social, psychological, philosophical and religious realms. The presence of the musical arts in a community serves utilitarian, aesthetic and entertainment purposes. It serves as a communication tool, a medium of expression (for example, of emotions and ideas), and a tool for generating feelings and responses (Merriam 1959, 1964; Nketia 1974; Euba 1977; Olabimtan 1981; Ihekweazu 1985; Feld 1990; Agawu 1995; Okafor & Emeka 1998;

¹ The term ‘musical arts’ as employed in this study, derives from the integrated nature of art forms in sub-Saharan African communities. This use is informed by the fact that most African societies do not have a specific word for ‘music’. The act of musical practice integrates various art forms including singing and drumming, dance, drama and poetry, amongst others (Nzewi 2003:13).

Nzewi 1980, 1985, 1991; Nzewi *et al.* 2008).

Idolor noted, in discussing the power of music, that in some societies in Africa music is seen as ‘life’ (2002:55). In a similar vein, Nzewi quotes Basden who stated that the ‘vital power’ of Igbo music ‘touches the chord of [a person’s] inmost being, and [stirs their] primal instincts’. Apart from demanding the full attention of the performer, the music is ‘intensely passionate’ (Basden in Nzewi 1991:101). According to Oehrle and Emeka, ‘every element of this [music] phenomenon is made to address the emotions and the personalities of the indigenes of the host [African] culture. The sound [...] stirs the moods, expresses identity and talks the language of the soul’ (2003:40).

The testimonies of the experiences of sub-Saharan African peoples in relation to music prompt curiosity as to the nature of the responses evoked when listening to indigenous African music, and of the factors that would contribute to these responses. Listening in this context takes cognisance of the fact that both performers and audience actively engage in the music if one takes into account the communal nature of music-making in indigenous African societies. This communal practice, which Turino (2009:98) describes as ‘participatory performance’, seemingly seldom isolates the audience from the performers, given that everyone participates in an event through dancing, singing, clapping, drumming or at times as a mere observer (Nzewi 1991). However, for the purpose of this study, a distinction is made between a performer and a listener, where the performer is seen as the one with the mastery of his instrument (in this case, *dùndún*) and who consciously plans to evoke musical-related and non-musical responses in others, and the listener as the one in whom responses are to be evoked. The division is also appropriate because the term ‘listener’ (used interchangeably with ‘audience’ and ‘patron’) is the closest translation of the term used by *dùndún* performers in the study to refer to the people for whom they perform.

Whereas the multifaceted uses and functions of the musical arts have been widely discussed as indicated above, in the field of music psychology, perception and responses evoked in relation to music expressiveness involving sub-Saharan Africa are still largely unexplored. In contrast, issues around musical expressivity, perception, aesthetics, musical meaning and emotion have received much scholarly attention in Western cultures, especially in relation to Western classical music (for example, Hevner 1935a, 1936; Meyer 1956; Cooke 1959; Kivy 1989; Davies 1994; Sloboda 1994, 2005; Robinson 1997; Gabrielsson 2002; Juslin & Sloboda 2010;

Koelsch 2015; Bowman & Yamauchi 2016; Irrgang & Egermann 2016). The interaction between music and human experience in its totality has recently emerged as a research interest in various fields including psychology, education, musicology, philosophy, anthropology, neuroscience and biological sciences, to mention but a few. While most studies have been carried out in laboratory settings, the way has recently been paved for the inclusion of naturalistic settings in research (Hargreaves & North 1997, 2010; North & Hargreaves 2008).² The literature on music cognition and perception, expressivity and responses has addressed such topics as (a) the various experiences people have when engaging with music (Gabrielsson 2010, 2011; Gabrielsson *et al.* 2016); (b) emotional expression (for example, Juslin & Laukka 2003; Juslin & Lindström 2010; Silveira & Diaz 2014; Eerola *et al.* 2015; Bowman & Yamauchi 2016); (c) expression and communication in music performance (for example, Juslin 1997a; Clayton 2005; Juslin & Timmers 2010); (d) aesthetic response to music (Lychner 2008; Hargreaves & North 2010; Nieminen *et al.* 2011; Nusbaum *et al.* 2014); (e) emotional response to music (Lundqvist *et al.* 2009; Irrgang & Egermann 2016; Juslin 2016; Sakka & Juslin 2017); and (f) a few relevant cross-cultural studies (for example, Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Fritz *et al.* 2009, 2013; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Egermann *et al.* 2015). Some studies have also examined the other elements contributing to evoked responses and expression, namely contextual, musical and individual factors (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005; Juslin *et al.* 2008; Hargreaves & North 2010; Liljeström *et al.* 2013).

Important to this study are emotional expression and responses as influenced by the music performer alongside the abovementioned factors; the working assumptions are that (a) music can be expressive of emotions and even induce them (Scherer 2004; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Gabrielsson 2009; Koelsch 2015); (b) emotional expression is one of the most important components of music expression (Juslin *et al.* 2002; Juslin 2003, 2009b); and (c) performers strive to optimise their listeners' music experience.

The optimum experience with music may depend on the expressiveness of the music, as manifested or transmitted through performance and the structure of musical elements (Juslin & Laukka 2004; Gabrielsson 2010; Juslin & Timmers 2010; Juslin *et al.* 2010). The performer is

² Naturalistic settings involve the observation of the behaviour of an organism in its natural environment (for example, observing listeners in a concert or a festival in the case of music) while a laboratory setting is a controlled artificial setting sometimes simulating the natural situation.

therefore an important facilitator in people's experiences with music, the 'performer' being the entity who is responsible for bringing out the sense of a piece of music, and the one who possesses the skill to wield the structural elements that are inherent in a piece of music to express emotions which are either perceived by a listener (Behrens & Green 1993; Juslin 1997a, 1997c; Dahl & Friberg 2007; Gabrielsson & Lindström 2010; Fritz *et al.* 2009) or in some cases induced in a listener (Juslin 2000, 2001; Timmers *et al.* 2006; Grewe *et al.* 2007a; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Egermann *et al.* 2015).

Music is expressive, and performers strive to optimise their listeners' music experience, as mentioned above. Studies have addressed some of the tools utilised by performers or in music pedagogy to address expressivity, for example, through the use of 'imagery and metaphor', or performers who 'feel emotion' in order to evoke the same in their listeners, among other things (see Woody 2000; Persson 2001; Laukka 2004; Woody & Mcpherson 2010). However, studies dedicated to outlining how a performer might generally or through expressivity contribute to evoking responses to music, even in relation to emotion, are still very limited in number (see Timmers *et al.* 2006; Nagel *et al.* 2008; Vuoskoski *et al.* 2016, on aspects of performance that may enhance reactions).

1.3 Rationale

Although the recent literature on music perception in the field of music psychology has contributed towards a greater understanding of music beyond its utilitarian functions, as is the case in sub-Saharan indigenous and traditional African communities, the existing research suggests that a clearer understanding is still needed on aspects such as strategies employed by performers to achieve expressive performance (see, for example, Woody 2000, 2002a, 2002b on learning expressivity), and the role of performer in contributing to evoking responses. In addition, as already mentioned, the majority of studies are carried out in a Western cultural, laboratory-based setting, and with Western participants or specifically what Henrich *et al.* (2010:61) referred to as the 'WEIRD' people (that is Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich and Democratic). Where music stimuli have been used, they are mostly from Western classical music (Eerola & Vuoskoski 2013). There is little representative data on the multitude of non-Western cultures. These limitations have been pointed out by some scholars; for example, Juslin and Timmers (2010:480) indicated that 'one limitation is that most studies have focused on Western music [...]. Hence, it remains to be seen how much of the current findings will

generalize to other musical cultures’. Similarly, Thompson and Balkwill (2010:758), in a comparison across cultures, state that ‘a full understanding of the cognitive basis of music is not possible unless similarities and differences across cultures in the perception, experience, and production of music are taken into account’.

A few researchers have attempted to bridge this gap by carrying out cross-cultural studies, especially as they relate to recognition of emotional expressions or emotional responses in the music of other cultures (for example, Gregory & Varney 1996; Balkwill & Thompson 1999, Balkwill *et al.* 2004; Fritz *et al.* 2009; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Egermann *et al.* 2015). In their study to test recognition of emotion from unfamiliar music, Balkwill and Thompson (1999) asked 30 listeners steeped in Western culture to rate the degree of peace, joy, sadness and anger in 12 Hindustani raga excerpts. Their study draws attention to the notion that recognising emotional expression in music is dependent on cultural and universal cues, as their findings suggest that listeners are able to perceive the emotional expression in the music of other cultures through perceptual cues such as tempo, pitch, rhythmic complexity and other features.³ Their mention of cultural and universal cues, even though relevant to the understanding of perception of emotion both within and across cultures, did not receive much scholarly attention until Laukka and his colleagues (2013) resurrected the idea. To investigate the hypothesis of the influence in-group advantage (related to the notion of recognising cultural and universal cues), Laukka *et al.* (2013) conducted a study that included identification of eleven emotions as expressed through Swedish folk music, Western and Hindustani classical and Japanese traditional music, using 87 subjects from Sweden, India and Japan. Although the emotions were recognised across cultures with a level of accuracy above merely chance, their findings reveal an effect of in-group advantage,⁴ as perception of the given emotions has higher level of precision within cultures than across cultures. Laukka and his colleagues (2013), like Balkwill and Thompson (1999), conclude that both universal and culture-specific cues are implicated in emotional communication.

³ Cultural cues are described as ‘culturally-determined conventions’ stemming from familiarity or enculturation, while universal cues refer to ‘basic perceptual cues’, for example, tempo (Balkwill & Thompson 1999:45. See also Laukka *et al.* 2013:435–436).

⁴ In relation to music-emotion perception, in-group advantage refers to the better assessment of music of a certain culture compared with the discernment of the meaning of a culture’s music by people of other cultures (Laukka *et al.* 2013:435).

Two studies that have included African countries in their investigations of emotion recognition and responses are those of Fritz *et al.* (2009) and Egermann *et al.* (2015). Fritz *et al.* (2009) conducted a study involving Cameroon Mafa and Western participants' judgments of three basic emotions in Western music, as well as assessing the degree of pleasantness/unpleasantness of both Mafa and Western music. Their result show both Western participants and Mafas (who had never been exposed to any form of Western music) recognise the emotions above chance level. The authors suggested that the participants in both cultures depended on temporal cues and modes for their judgement. The finding that the use of these cues is more consistent among Western listeners than Mafas reflects the influence of cultural cues, as the Western music stimuli are unfamiliar to the Cameroon Mafa.

In a recent cross-cultural study focusing on emotional response, Egermann *et al.* (2015) included 80 participants comprising 40 Mzenzélé Pygmies of Congo and 40 Canadians in an experiment that involved listening to excerpts from 8 Pygmy and 11 Western pieces of music. Through subjective and psychophysiological responses to a valence-arousal measurement scale,⁵ Egermann *et al.* (2015) found that while musical cues such as tempo, pitch and timbre may be implicated in the level of arousal, cultural learning very likely has an effect on the dimension of valence. Both the studies by Fritz *et al.* (2009) and Egermann *et al.* (2015) indicate the effect of enculturation (or cultural cues) in their findings. And although the studies featured African participants and music, a greater number of stimuli taken from Western music were used.

The idea of categorisation of cues into culture-specific and universal categories is particularly useful for this study (even though it is not cross-cultural), because the notion of cultural cues provides an avenue for analysis and better understanding of the respective actions and reactions of performers and listeners in this study. However, there is still the need for more studies involving other cultures, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Not only should other kinds of music (particularly non-Western music) be utilised in the research field to make generalisations more widely applicable, but naturalistic settings should also be considered in addition to laboratory settings, and all non-Western culture practices have to be understood within their own context (just as it is being done with Western music) before comparisons and possible generalisations

⁵ Valence refers to the pleasantness or unpleasantness (negative or positive) of a stimulus, while arousal is the intensity of activation (Russell 1980).

are made.

Numerous ethnographic studies have been carried out on the indigenous music of sub-Saharan Africa. Of relevance to this research are studies that have touched on appreciation of music performance and the performer in West Africa, such as Kofi Agawu's *African Rhythm: A Northern Ewe Perspective* and Meki Nzewi's *Musical Sense and Meaning and Musical Practice and Creativity*. In *African Rhythm* Agawu (1995) elaborates on the concept of rhythm and its perception as it relates to the Ewe of Ghana. Instead of simply equating African drumming with African rhythm, the author discusses various forms of rhythmic expression or rhythmic sensitivity. He refers to the relationship between movement and sound when he states that 'the pleasure of participation [of listeners] lies as much in listening to and admiring an expert drummer's improvisations as in dancing to them' (Agawu 1995:91). Agawu (1995:114) emphasises that 'the energy, dynamism, and drive of performance derive principally from [...] rhythmic processes [...] at different structural levels'. He further draws on the 'enclosed nature of performance' regarding aesthetics in Ewe communities, where performers respond to their own performances by actions such as ululating and thus performing the roles of the audience.⁶ This description by Agawu (1995), which exemplifies a society creating room for individual expression and such expression being determined by the society, resonates with Welsh-Asante (1994:2), who proposes that the structure of aesthetics in African society 'is a structured vision and perspective with parameters that permit individual expression but simultaneously support the collective artistic expression'. Analogous to the 'enclosed nature of performance' illustrated by Agawu (1995), Welsh-Asante describes such aesthetic structure as one in which 'distinctions between society and artists and between spectators and performers are not linear and so rigidly separate', but in which there is a large degree of overlap (Welsh-Asante 1994:2). Although Agawu (1995) and Welsh-Asante (1994) did not focus on emotional or aesthetic reactions to a

⁶ Aesthetics and emotion are related but conceptually different and involve distinctive causal processes (Juslin 2013a; Juslin & Isaksson 2014). Although the boundary between these concepts is fluid, nevertheless, as indicated by Juslin (2013:246), 'each phenomenon needs to be investigated in its own right' regardless of the influence they have on each other. From that perspective, even though this study acknowledges that aesthetic and emotional response are not wholly independent of each other, for the sake of clarity and avoidance of conceptual murkiness, taking into account the vast differences between these two phenomena, the major focus of this study is on emotional response, while also acknowledging the interrelation among emotion and other affective phenomena, such as aesthetic judgement, feeling, preference and mood. Hence, the more comprehensive term 'affect' is mostly used in the thesis when referring to the other related phenomena, in addition to the use of the general term 'responses' when the term 'emotion' is not specifically utilised.

work of art, they do throw some light on the nature of performance and comprehension of aesthetics in the traditional African context, allowing room for consideration of the inputs of agent(s) contributing to the enhancement of individual and/or collective expression. Their approach also offers a possibility to investigate the input of each or more of these agents separately, within their communal nature to aid better appreciation of the musical engagement.

The studies *Musical Sense and Meaning* (Nzewi, Anyahuru & Ohiauraumunna 2008) and *Musical Practice and Creativity* (Nzewi 1991) also examine the concept of aesthetics, albeit briefly. In the former source the authors point out that aesthetic rationalisation among the Igbo is based on a performer's skilfulness in recreating and reinterpreting a familiar musical style. This product of the performer, according to the authors, is 'expected to heighten the emotive as much as motive identification with the performance' (Nzewi *et al.* 2008:227). Thus, aesthetic evaluation (by the Igbo) is based not only on the effectiveness of the music in fulfilling the performance objectives, but also on the responses to the quality of performance elicited in the audience and the performers. In the second source the author gives a list of expressions used by the Igbo to appraise a performance within the context of general socio-cultural musical practices. The writings of Nzewi (1991, 2008), just like those of Agawu (1995), provide an insight into the perception and reception of music in some African societies as they relate to the performers.⁷ Indeed the performer is highly implicated not only in enhancing the experiences of humans, but also in augmenting connection with the spiritual. For instance, in his reference to a Yorùbá performer, Omojola observes that 'as liminal agents inhabiting the threshold [between] two spaces, the Yorùbá performer connects the living with the spiritual; life with death; body with soul; as well as the aesthetic with the divine' (2010:233). If performers in some way contribute to aesthetic experience, it becomes imperative to discover the factors employed by the performers to enhance their performances.

It is equally important to note sources that are related to this study in some other ways, for example, on aspects of ensemble music in Nigeria, the social utility of various musical instruments, the structure of various ensembles, classification of musical instruments, and the

⁷ Perception, as defined in Segen's medical dictionary (n.d.) is 'the constellation of mental processes by which a person recognises, organises and interprets intellectual, sensory and emotional data in a logical or meaningful fashion'. In music psychology, perception is sometimes subsumed into reception (see, for example, Gabrielsson 2011:382), while reception is used in musicology to denote how an individual or a society receives music (Everist 1999).

literary function of music instruments such as *dùndún* and *bàtá*, to mention but a few (Thieme 1970; Akpabot 1975; Bankole *et al.* 1975; Adegbite 1988; Euba 1990; Nzewi *et al.* 2008; Sotunsa 2009; Vidal 2012a; Villepastour 2010, 2015). Nzewi *et al.* (2008) draw on the relationship between musical arts and society through a specific focus on the performance practice and musical traditions of the Ese, Ukom and Mgba tuned drum rows of the Igbo of Nigeria. In his book *Musical Sense and Musical Meaning* (2008), just like its predecessor *Musical Practice and Creativity* (1991) mentioned above, Nzewi stresses the importance of context in music and of music in context, which he appropriately describes in the ‘music-event’ and ‘event-music’ scenarios (Nzewi 1991), as well as in the narrative of the socio-musical functions of the tuned drum rows ensemble, particularly in a funeral context (Nzewi *et al.* 2008). The studies, even though focused on the Igbo tradition, are useful in understanding some indigenous African musical practices. Adegbite (1988) adds to our understanding of the role of drums in Yorùbá religion. From the rituals which accompany drum construction to the association of certain drums such as *agèrèrè*, *ipèsè*, *igbin* and *bàtá* with Yorùbá deities, the author notes one of the roles of drums in Yorùbá traditional religion as providing ‘the medium through which devotees are in constant ecstatic communication with their *òrìṣa*’ (Adegbite 1988:24).⁸ He furthermore points out the uniqueness of *dùndún* amongst other drums in that, while *dùndún* is not associated with any *òrìṣa*, it is indispensable in making the ‘ecstatic communication [...] a more meaningful event’ (Adegbite 1988:20). Even though Adegbite did not elaborate on the notion of ‘ecstatic communication’, he provided a better understanding of Yorùbá drums, Yorùbá deities and the devotees of the deities.

Concentrating on the poetry rather than the music of Yorùbá drums (and with more focus on Yorùbá oral literature rather than music), Sotunsa (2009) in her book *Yorùbá Drum Poetry* brings out the aesthetic and stylistic attributes of drum poetry which inescapably shares literary and musical space. Through in-depth analysis of drum texts and the detailed description of drummers’ utility of the texts in certain performance settings, the book highlights the uniqueness of the talking drum in language and music. Villepastour’s *Ancient Text Messages* (2010) deals with *bàtá* drums used as a mode of conveying information based on codes and

⁸ *Òrìṣa* means god or deity. Various definitions of *òrìṣa* from the literature are given in Chapter Four.

explain how these codes generated through drum strokes translate into Yorùbá language.⁹ The most extensive work on *dùndún* is Euba's *Yorùbá Drumming* (1990). In his study Euba broached a wide range of subjects around the *dùndún* tradition, ranging from the historical and social background, to the discourse of the practitioners, their organisation and training, without omitting an analysis of the music of the *dùndún*. However, neither the work of Euba (1990) nor any other studies have particularly addressed the expressive qualities of the musical arts in terms of evoked responses to music listening and participation in relation to the Yorùbá, nor has any work been undertaken on the *dùndún* in relation to music perception and the induction of emotion.

From the foregoing discussion and taking into account the literature in both music psychology and other fields related to the *dùndún*, it is justifiable to stress the need for more studies focusing on expressiveness and evoked responses with regards to indigenous music in sub-Saharan Africa in general, and to *dùndún* music in particular. The special place of *dùndún* as a talking drum is noted by Patel (2008a, 2008b), who in his discussion of perception of music and language in relation to brain response specifically states that it would be an interesting endeavour for modern neuroscience to study 'the cognitive process that enable the production and comprehension of talking drums' (Patel 2008a:727; 2008b:77). Even though responding to Patel's request is beyond the scope of the present study, it represents another pointer towards the inclusion of more non-Western music in music perception studies.

Through a combination of methods from the fields of music psychology and ethnomusicology, the present study investigates perception and emotional responses to indigenous music, within indigenous communities, with participants drawn from the same culture. Specific focus is placed on selected *dùndún* ensembles of the Yorùbá. The study examines the communication process within the world of *dùndún* in terms of the process of sending and receiving (especially of emotions) between *dùndún* performer and listener. It also investigates how performers learn and achieve expressivity. Hence, the study provides a contribution to the shared attempt towards gaining better understanding of how music works in human experience.

⁹ *Bàtá*, a set of conically-shaped drums, are somewhat related to the *dùndún* in terms of their popularity in the culture and speech capabilities. The speech capability of *bàtá* is limited when compared to that of the *dùndún*, which has the capacity to produce a wide range of tones (Euba 1990; Omojola 2012:23).

1.4 Introducing the Yorùbá and the *dùndún*

The Yorùbá are one of the largest ethnic groups in Nigeria, who live in and – because of the diaspora – also beyond the borders of the country (Okafor & Emeka 1998; Olomola 1998; National Population Commission 2006). By spoken language and historical origin, the Yorùbá primarily occupy eight states of Nigeria: Lagos, Ògùn, Kwara, Kogi, Òndo, Òṣun, Èkìtì and Òyó. In addition, native speakers of Yorùbá also dominate the Sabe, Idaisa and Ketu in the Republic of Benin as well as Yanturuku, Atakpame and Oku-oku in the Republic of Togo. Residues of the language and religious practices of the Yorùbá of Nigeria are found amongst the descendants of the Yorùbá transported during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, including the Lucumi in Cuba, Nago in Brazil and Haiti, Aku in Sierra Leone, and others in some parts of Trinidad and Tobago, among others (Olomola 1998; Okafor & Emeka 1998; Akinjogbin 2002; Agwuele 2004; Oyetade 2011).

It is necessary to demarcate the part of the Yorùbá to which reference is made in this study, considering the arguments around what can (or cannot) be referred to as the Yorùbá region (Akinjogbin 2002:11). All references to the Yorùbá people and/or their territory in the following are concerned with the five Yorùbá-speaking states occupying the present south-west geopolitical zone in Nigeria, namely: Lagos, Ògùn, Òyó, Òṣun, Òndo and Ekiti (see Figure 1.1)

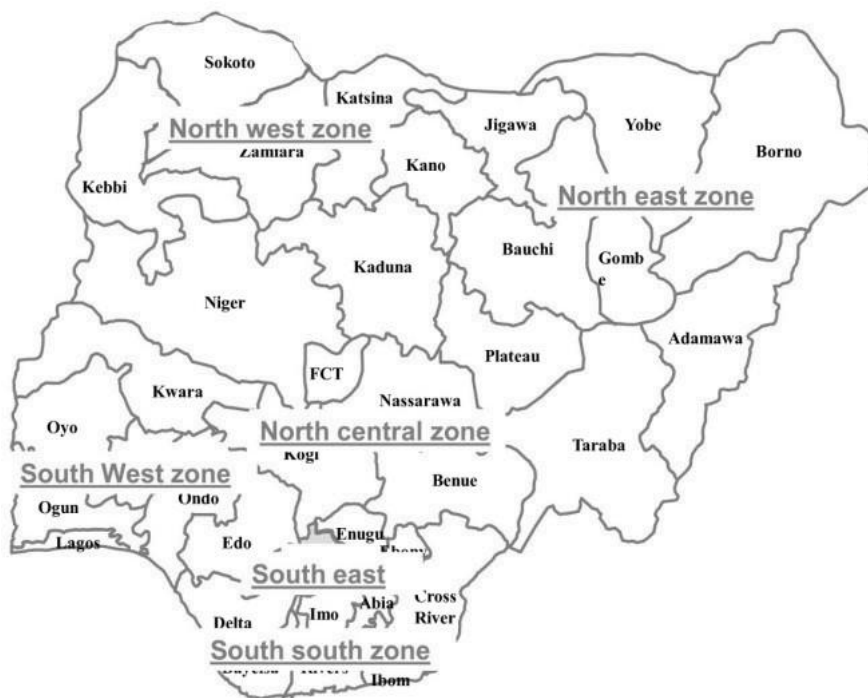


Figure 1.1 Map of Nigeria showing the six geo-political zones <Map>.

The Yorùbá are an ethnic group characterised by diverse but interconnected subcultures (see, for example, Barber 1991:6). Among other things, the diversity is evident in the style of musical arts performed for different occasions, the various media of transmission, such as voice, dance, drama, instrumental practices, and sometimes a combination of two or more of these media, and this diversity also characterises the music instruments used (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990; Vidal 2012a, 2012b). Instrumental ensembles play a pivotal role in Yorùbá communal activities as evident in performances for sacred, social and recreational purposes (Vidal 2012a). Hence, various types of music instruments exist such as *agogo* (bell), *àgídìgbo* (lamellaphone), *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* (rattle), *ehín erin* (ivory trumpet), *igbin* (drum), and *oge* (reed pipe) to mention but a few. However, of the various and numerous music instruments and ensembles found amongst the Yorùbá, drums are predominant (Akpabot 1986:11; Euba 1990:27; Vidal 2012a:43). The connection of the Yorùbá people to the art of drumming is exemplified by the fact that certain families are associated with the art (Euba 1990; Vidal 2012a).

Drums perform various functions in Yorùbá traditional societies: they serve not only as a means of communication between humans, as well as between humans and deities, but they also serve as a means of entertainment, creating cohesion, and evoking and enhancing feelings (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990; Vidal 2012a). Each of the drums used amongst the Yorùbá has its own peculiar time and occasion for which it is used: for instance, the *bàtá* is associated with worshipping *Ṣàngó* (god of thunder), the *agẹ̀rẹ̀* drum is used during hunters' celebrations, *ìpèsẹ̀* (three-legged drum) is used during *Ifá* (divination) celebrations and *gbẹ̀du* (drum) is associated with *Ọba* (the king) throughout the territory of the Yorùbá people (see Euba 1990:8–33, Omojola 2012:17; and Vidal 2012a:45 for other examples).

The *dùndún* drum is, however, unique and appears to be the most popular, probably because of its 'talking' capability,¹⁰ its amenability to all occasions (sacred, cultural, secular etc.), and its usability amongst people of all ages and both genders. It is found everywhere around the Yorùbá territory and has no restriction as to who can use it, when and where it can be used (Euba 1990:29; Vidal 2012a:46). According to Akpabot, the *dùndún* 'is the chief musical instrument of the Yorùbás' (Akpabot 1986:18). The popularity of the *dùndún* transcends the boundaries of

¹⁰ It has been noted that all drums 'talk', but the most eloquent of them is the *dùndún* (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990). In spite of the fact that *bàtá* is labelled as a 'stammerer', there is an argument that *bàtá* is as much a 'talker' as the *dùndún* (Villespastour 2010:18).

the delineated Yorùbá region of south-west Nigeria, as it has been reported that the instrument can be found in some parts of northern Nigeria, and in some other countries (Akpabot 1986:22; Euba 1990:29).

The *dùndún*, widely known as the ‘talking drum’ because of its ability to reproduce the rhythms and tones of the Yorùbá language (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990), can generally be described as an hourglass-shaped, double-sided membrane drum. The term *dùndún* has also been described as a ‘type of music played by any combination of the Yorùbá hourglass tension drums’ (Euba 1990:3). The precise definition of *dùndún* seems elusive as *dùndún* practitioners themselves do not have a specific definition for it. Euba notes that the musicians who participated in his doctoral study (1974) ‘do not appear to have a ready conception of the overall definition of *dùndún*’ (Euba 1990:19). However, in contrast to Euba’s definition, most participants in this research project used the term *dùndún* to describe the hourglass-shaped drum and not the type of music. In the context of this study the term *dùndún* refers to both the drums and kinds of music performed on them.

Ensemble playing is a common practice among the Yorùbá and the *dùndún* is no exception. There are about five drums making up a typical *dùndún* ensemble (or family): the lead drum is known as *iyá ilù* (mother drum), accompanied by *gúdúgúdú* (commonly described as father drum), and the siblings generically referred to as *omele* which include *isáajú*, *ikẹhìn*, *kerikeri* and *kànnàgó* (Euba 1990; Ibisakanle 2007; Vidal 2012a). The basic functions of *dùndún* music are to entertain, communicate and inform, for example, about historic events. In addition, *dùndún* preserves culture, imparts knowledge and, through its sonified texts, expose flaws in society in an attempt to work towards the common good. From the numerous accounts of functions of the *dùndún* amongst the Yorùbá (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990; Ibisakanle 2007; Sotunsa 2009; Vidal 2012a; Amegago 2014) it can be derived that the *dùndún* relates to spirituality as well as to social and psychological wellbeing.

As mentioned earlier, the *dùndún* is commonly known for its utility in the transmission of semantic messages. Hence, drummers can use it to communicate with their household or among themselves within a relatively short distance; it can be used as signal, for example, to inform a king about visitors or occurrences at the palace; or its text can be used in praise, to ridicule or abuse for the purpose of promoting social order (Euba 1990; Ibisakanle 2007; Omojola 2012; Amegago 2014). An in-depth discussion of participants’ views on the *dùndún* appears in

Chapter Four as a way of preparing the background for the music psychological findings presented later in the thesis.

While acknowledging various forms of information that can be conveyed through the *dùndún*, reference to communication in relation to the *dùndún* in this study goes beyond the sonification of text. The concept of communication also applies to affect or emotion, viewing the functionality of the *dùndún* and its communicative attributes from an affective psychological perspective.

1.5 Research questions and objectives

The aims of this study are broadly twofold: (i) to investigate, identify and describe the relationship between performers and listeners in terms of the process (methods) and strategies (tools) performers employ to achieve expressivity and arouse responses from their listeners; (ii) to examine responses elicited in the listeners in an indigenous setting as exemplified by the selected *dùndún* ensembles of the Yorùbá. As such, the following main question guided the research to achieve the main objective:

How is emotion communicated through and in *dùndún* music?

The sub-questions informing the larger research question are:

- How do *dùndún* performers learn expressivity?
- What strategies are employed by *dùndún* musicians in approaching expressivity during performance?
- What are the emotion-inducing tools utilised by *dùndún* musicians in communicating emotions to their listeners?
- What observable and self-reported emotional responses does *dùndún* music elicit in the listeners?
- How is successful emotional communication indicated within the *dùndún* performance tradition?

1.6 Theoretical framework

Two of the defining elements of human culture are music (Blacking 1987; Nettl 2000; Cross 2003; Patel 2008b, 2010; Gabrielsson 2011; Honing *et al.* 2015) and emotion (Izard 1994; Plutchik 1994; Ekman 1999; Wierzbicka 1999). They are at once separate and intertwined. It can be said that emotion is perhaps the most prominent of all our experiences with music

(Gabrielsson & Lindström Wik 2003; Gabrielsson 2010, 2011). Studies indicate one of the reasons people listen to music is because of emotion: ‘to change emotions, to release emotions, to match their current emotion, to enjoy or comfort themselves and to relieve stress’ (Juslin 2009a:131) implying that music is useful in creating emotion or regulating it. Viewing music and emotion as that which interrelate in time and space forms the theoretical basis of this study. The functionality of the *dùndún* in both sacred and secular settings of its culture is exemplar of how not only music, but also emotion is experienced.

To explore the relationship between these two essential, human-defining elements in the performance of indigenous instrumental music, the study is significantly influenced by various theoretical positions and models. These include, the *Referential-expressionist* theory of Leonard Meyer (1956), the *Lens model* (Juslin 2000, 2009b; Juslin & Timmers 2010), the *Reciprocal feedback model* (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005), the BRECVEM model (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008) updated to the BRECVEMA model (Juslin 2013a),¹¹ Koelsch’s (2015) evoked-emotion principles, as well as causal factors in the arousal of emotion to music (Gabrielsson 2010, 2011; see also, Juslin *et al.* 2008, 2011). Also influential is the embodied music cognition theory (Schiavio *et al.* 2016). Other theories that have been applied in music-emotion studies, such as the basic, dimension and music-specific theories, also have some influence on this study.

These theories and models and their relevance to the study are discussed in Chapter Two. These theories guide the exploration of the communication of emotions in this study: if *dùndún* music communicates extra-musical information such as emotion and arouses emotions, what transmits the information to the listener and what factors contribute to emotional responses to *dùndún* music? Assuming a performer has an influence on responses as a mediator between the music, the listener and the situation, the question arises as to what his or her role is, and which emotions are involved in the interaction.

In addition to Western-based ideas and paradigms, the study also draws on the experience of the participants to answer the research questions. According to Bonini Baraldi (2011:76), ‘it is now widely accepted that the analysis of the way people feel should not be separated from the way people think and act: affect should therefore be explored [...] in relation to the local beliefs,

¹¹ BRECVEMA stands for: Brainstem reflex, Rhythmic entrainment, Evaluative conditioning, Contagion, Visual imagery, Episodic memory, Musical expectancy, Aesthetic judgement.

values and cultural institutions’. Concepts that are of relevance to the Yorùbá, and especially related to the *dùndún* tradition, are applied to arrive at an understanding of the views of the participants. These include the concepts of *àṣà* (style or tradition), *orí* (head), *ìwà* (character) and the role of *òrìṣà* (deity or god) discussed in the respective findings in Chapters Four and Five. Knowing what is important to the participants in terms of these concepts is imperative in utilising an analytical lens from the participants’ perspective, without total subjection to the study of Western constructs, which might be inadequate to analyse the way that the world of *dùndún* is constructed in relation to emotional communication. Hence, combining the listed theoretical lenses serve as a framework for the inquiry and analysis. Whereas prominence is given to the primary sources of information in the form of the data elicited from the performers and the listeners, the findings of the study are constantly compared with the findings and propositions of the secondary sources.

The above discussion suggests that various perspectives can be embraced in an attempt to comprehend the communication of affect in music. Such research can be addressed from various perspectives, such as the philosophical (see, for example, Davies 2010), music educational (Hallam 2010), musicological (Moran 2007) and ethnomusicological (Keil & Feld 2005; Bonini Baraldi 2013) or anthropological (for example, Becker 2001, 2004). However, this study is undertaken from a music psychology perspective, because it offers the opportunity to discover the intricacies involved in communication, especially of emotion, which is the focus of this research. The methodology adopted for the study as described in the following section is in line with this perspective.

1.7 Methodology

This study raises the question of whether it is possible to focus on indigenous music performance by using Western constructs and what reasons could be offered for doing so. This question becomes more valid especially in the light of the recent debate on decolonisation of methodologies (Smith 2012) and the use of indigenous research methods (Chilisa 2012). However, it is important to state that this study takes cognisance of the participants, acknowledges their voices, their knowledge and their views. Hence, the methodology utilised positions the study in the global discourse of music psychology, while serving as a respectful and representative account that includes the voices of the indigenous participants, as proposed by Smith and Chilisa. Their quest for ‘decolonisation’ argues for ethical treatment of subjects

and subject matter, the need to take cognisance of indigenous theoretical frameworks as this study does. To take the cultural context into account, the thesis presents a literature survey of music psychological trends alongside discussions of *dùndún* performance practices and Yorùbá belief systems.

1.7.1 Definition

This research was carried out within the context of mixed methods employing qualitative research and a small component of quantitative research (Creswell 2003, 2009, 2014, 2015). Johnson *et al.* (2007:123) define mixed methods research as a ‘type of research in which a researcher [...] combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration’. In another definition, Creswell sees mixed methods research as ‘an approach to research [...] in which the investigator gathers both quantitative (close-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data, integrates the two, and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths of both sets of data to understand research problems’ (Creswell 2015:2).

Various names have been given to approaches using more than one method for a study, for example: mixed methodology, multimethod, combined research, mixed research and methodological triangulation (Johnson *et al.* 2007:118; Creswell & Plano Clark 2011:22). Whereas the definition of Johnson *et al.* (2007) is similar to that of Tashakkori and Teddlie, called the ‘mixed model’ because it combines the two different approaches of qualitative and quantitative research in all the stages of a research process (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998:19), the process involved in this study is closely aligned with a definition that approaches data collection and analysis from a mixed methods perspective (for example, Morse 2010; Creswell 2015).

The choice of mixed methods in this study is imperative, as it assists in providing alternatives to answering the research questions, especially where questions cannot be addressed adequately with a single method. In addition, integrating different methods helps in gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study. Perception studies carried out in music psychology mostly make use of quantitative methods (such as experimental and questionnaire surveys); however, to use only a closed-ended method in a setting where music making is very contextual seems insufficient. This study therefore endeavoured to utilise methods that take into

consideration the setting of the study to provide answers to the research questions from various perspectives.

1.7.2 Research design

According to the design taxonomy of Creswell (2015), this study makes use of a *convergent design*, which is characterised by the researcher aiming to gather both qualitative and quantitative data, analyses both and combines the results for the purpose of corroboration (Creswell 2015:6). Specifically, a dominant/less dominant design is adopted in this study, where qualitative data are more dominant than quantitative data. A qualitative approach takes precedence over a quantitative approach in the successive data collection and analysis processes (QUAL→quan) (Hanson *et al.* 2005; Johnson *et al.* 2007; Creswell 2009; Morse 2010; Creswell & Plano Clark 2011; Creswell 2015). The quantitative aspect of this study only takes into account the use of a closed-ended data-collection method developed in the field when the researcher has to find an impromptu avenue to gain insights not yielded in the interviews. The results of the data in this study are interpreted in descriptive statistics and incorporated into the study for further exploration of the qualitative data. Hence, the study is principally qualitative – an approach which is characterised by naturalistic settings for inquiry, the use of several sources of data, limited number of people or locations, reporting of participants’ voices, in-depth description of phenomena under study (Creswell 2013, 2016) in addition to the use of a grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2014).

1.7.3 Philosophical orientation

The philosophical paradigm informing this study is pragmatism (Patton 2002; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009; Biesta 2010; Johnson & Gray 2010; Greene & Hall 2010). The reason for this choice of paradigm is guided by the technical procedures underlying pragmatism: the importance given to research questions which in turn allows for flexibility of combining methods. Although issues of a philosophical paradigm most appropriate for mixed-method research (MMR) are still a matter of debate in scholarly communities, it is fair to say that pragmatism takes the upper hand (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Biesta 2010; Johnson & Gray 2010), even if there are different types of paradigm being proposed (see, for example, Johnson & Gray 2010).

As certain research communities (namely positivists, post-positivists and constructivists) tend to divide in terms of worldviews or paradigms, which are the belief systems that inform a field

of research (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 2005; Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998, 2010; Creswell 2016), pragmatism as a paradigm for mixed methods research was borne out of the need to stress that different orientations can coexist regardless of issues causing arguments and divisions, such as the nature of reality (ontology), the relationship between the knower and the known (epistemology), the roles of values and bias in inquiry (axiology) in addition to the logic of inference (deductive versus inductive) (Teddlie & Johnson 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). The paradigms adopted by research communities not only shape their orientation, but also guide the process of research and the method(s) used in collecting data. Hence positivists and post-positivists are associated with quantitative research, while qualitative inquiry is believed to be constructivist in nature (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998; Johnson & Gray 2010; Creswell 2013). Whereas all these communities focus on the philosophical underpinnings that in turn inform the entire research process including the methods used in data collection, the main concern of a pragmatic community is the research question and how best to solve a problem, rather than abstract concepts dictating how research should be conducted. In other words, for pragmatists, the research question is more important and should be addressed with ‘what works’ (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson *et al.* 2007; Johnson 2009). Philosophically, pragmatists embrace the tenets of both positivists and constructivists by maintaining a middle ground, and methodologically, pragmatism permits combination of methods (Johnson *et al.* 2007; Teddlie & Johnson 2009). As against the paradigm informing the method of the other communities, pragmatism uses the question informing the method approach. This orientation of giving most importance to the questions in choosing what methods best suit a study influences the researcher’s approach, and hence the study in terms of going by what works. Furthermore, the belief that post-positivist and constructivist orientations can coexist has an influence not only on the choice of methods in the study, but also on the adoption of the inductive and deductive logics of inference of the two orientations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004; Schwandt 2000, 2006).

1.7.4 Demarcation of the study

The study is demarcated based on location, type of musical instrument and participants. To gather rich information, purposeful sampling, which involved consideration of issues such as who, what and where, and the size of the sample, was utilised in the study (Ritchie & Lewis 2003; Patton 2002, 2015).

Of the six states presently making up the Yorùbá states in Nigeria, only Òyó and Òşún states

were included in the study. This is because the majority of the towns located in these states have been noted for their strong *dùndún* traditions (Euba 1990:5). There are several reasons for the choice of the *dùndún* ensemble specifically for this study. Firstly, being a family tradition passed on from one generation to another (Euba 1990; Idamoyibo 2002), the *dùndún* provides a source of rich data to reach the objective of this study. Secondly, the *dùndún* is a favourite among the Yorùbá, being the most popular (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990) and, as such, it is a satisfactory exemplar to reach an understanding of musical culture among the Yorùbá. Lastly, because the *dùndún* drum is believed to be expressive in nature (Vidal 2012a), it easily lends itself as a perfect candidate for the study.

1.7.5 Data collection and capturing

The research involves two components of data collection: pre-fieldwork literature surveys and fieldwork. Data collected were used to answer the research questions in particular and contribute generally to the body of knowledge of music perception and responses to music. Archival sources were used to gather secondary data in the form of knowledge of what has been done in relation to investigating the link between music and emotion, such as expression, perception and arousal of emotions, as well as information on Yorùbá belief systems and indigenous instrumental music. Primary data from the fieldwork were collected using interviews and observation, as well as experimental and questionnaire methods (Babbie 2004, 2016). A participant-observation method was also adopted as the researcher takes up lessons in *dùndún* while in the field (Koning 1980; Baily 2001). The interview and observation components constitute the qualitative components of the study, while the quantitative data were collected using a questionnaire with a close-ended response format, as well as an experiment developed and carried out by the researcher while in the field. Detailed procedures of each method are described in Chapter Three.

Data were captured in text format in form of field notes and memo writing (Charmaz 2006; Thornberg & Charmaz 2013) as well as through visual and audio recordings (Myers 1992; Loizos 2000). Audio and audio-visual recording of interviews and observations were made with three digital camcorders: a Lenovo 8" tablet, HTC One (1080x1920 pixels) android phone and one audio recorder. The choice of various data-capturing methods was informed by the researcher's need to obtain information that might be missed with one mode of data capturing, and also to generate accurate interview transcriptions. Furthermore, the use of multiple devices helps in preventing failure of any kind (as a result of, for instance, power outages), as well as

create room for a wider scope of recording and capturing as many events as possible in the various contexts of *dùndún* performance.

1.7.6 Data analysis

Analysis of data was carried out using inductive and deductive approaches. Inductive logic emphasises moving from ‘the particular to the general’, meaning that weight is placed on the collected data from which theory is generated. The deductive approach proceeds from ‘the general to the particular’, from an existing theory which is subsequently explored and validated through data collection (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998:7, 10; Babbie 2004:24, 25; Thomas 2006:238). The theoretical framework developed from the literature explored in Chapter Two serves as a foundation for deductive inquiry and provides a guide to focus the study as well as for data collection and analysis. Software used for organising and preparing the quantitative and qualitative data for analysis were Stata (version 14.0) and NVivo (version 11.4.1) respectively. Thick description analysis (Geertz 1973) and a grounded theory approach were adopted for data analysis. Grounded theory is a method of data collection and analysis that emphasises theory development grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Bryant & Charmaz 2011, 2012; Thornberg & Charmaz 2012, 2013; Charmaz 2008, 2014; Corbin & Strauss 2008, 2015). Interview data were transcribed in Yorùbá and translated into English for the benefit of non-Yorùbá speakers. Only the Yorùbá version was analysed to retain the nuances and deeper meanings which could have been lost during translation to English language. Text, audio and video data were imported in NVivo, where codes and categories were generated from the data to form the emergent themes on which the study is based. Chapter Three explains further the process of coding and analysis.

1.7.7 Language use

Rhetoric, according to Creswell, entails, among other things, ‘belief in the use of language that varies from formal to informal’ (Creswell 2016:6). The presence of the word ‘belief’ basically indicates the use of language represents another dividing line between different research approaches; for instance, while the constructivist’s language may be personal, post-positivists adopt formal scientific language (Creswell 2016). The first-person voice is mainly for the field notes which feature in Chapters Four and Five and presented in boxes with a grey background. Words and quotes written in Yorùbá within the text are italicised and the meanings indicated in a bracket. Furthermore, to allow for participants’ to ‘speak’ in their own voices, citations are represented in Yorùbá language and presented in indented quotations, followed by the English

translations in italics.

1.8 Ethical consideration

The issue of ethics in a research project is crucial, ranging from the use and citing of sources to collection of data from human participants (Booth *et al.* 2008). In the light of such importance, the UCT Code of Ethics (University of Cape Town 2013) and relevant literature addressing ethical issues in research were consulted (Beaudry 1997; Booth *et al.* 2008; Creswell 2013), following which ethical clearance from the Higher Degrees Committee, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town was obtained, before the commencement of fieldwork.

Participants were verbally given research information containing necessary details about the researcher and the study. Participation in the study was voluntary. Participants were informed of their roles in the study and were informed they were at liberty to discontinue their participation at any phase of the research should they so desire. In addition, at the commencement of fieldwork the participants' consent was sought by reading the contents of the consent form (see Appendices A and B) and asking them to indicate their understanding of the contents and their willingness to participate. The entire protocol was audio-visually recorded to cater for participants who could not read and/or write. Where participants could read and write, they were given hard copies of the consent form to sign. Consent of minors (below 18 years) was obtained through their parents or family representative. Participants also indicated their interest in having their names and pictures appear in the thesis. That is, they did not insist on anonymity or confidentiality.

1.9 Thesis outline

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter outlines the rationale of the study, provides the background to the study and describes research design. Beginning with a general overview of responses to music, Chapter Two presents key concepts and subjects related to emotion in music as they are relevant for this study. These include factors influencing responses to music, emotional response and theories of emotions. Topics on expression, communication, perception and induction of emotion, including theoretical propositions and models that guided the study, are also presented in the chapter.

Chapter Three describes in detail the process of data collection, data treatment and analysis. It details the contexts of the study including the research locations and the participants. Also

included in the chapter are the step-by-step procedures of each of the methods adopted, as well as preparation of data for analysis and steps taken for validity checking.

The fourth chapter discusses important and relevant information about the world of the *dùndún*. The chapter combines accounts of the literature on the *dùndún* with data from this research to provide foundational information which allow the subsequent chapters focusing on communication to be understood better. With the use of thick description, the *dùndún* as seen from the participants' perspective is presented, including the origin of *dùndún*, roles of individual drums in the ensemble as well as functions of *dùndún* amongst the Yorùbá. Some of the activities of the *dùndún* tradition are explained in terms of the concepts of *àṣà* and *òrìṣà* mentioned above. Chapter Four also discusses the teaching and learning process of *dùndún* and the essential features of the world of *dùndún*, all of which have relevance for the findings of the study.

Chapter Five delves into the description and analysis of communication of emotion in the performance practices of the *dùndún*. It addresses the question of how expressivity is learned, what tools are used in expressing and communicating emotions as well as emotions commonly associated with *dùndún*. Also included in the chapter are indicators of emotional reactions to *dùndún* music, for example, by rewarding performers with gifts. Apart from the impact of the literature on the subject, the findings presented in this chapter are largely influenced by the participants' views and some of the findings are explained in terms of the belief system of the Yorùbá, for example, *orí*. The account of the participants given in this chapter exemplifies the use of cultural and universal cues in the communication of emotions. Chapter Five represents the qualitative part of the findings of the study.

The sixth chapter, which can be described as the chapter corroborating Chapter Five, details the experiments conducted in the field. It includes an account of the strategies used by the performers to express five emotions, as derived from the interview content discussed in Chapter Five, and the literature on the link between music and emotions. The chapter also gives examples of the content of each of the emotional expressions. The rest of the chapter presents data gathered from the questionnaire designed by the researcher in the field, to explore listener's perception of the emotions. Beginning with the demographic and musical profiles of respondents, analysis of data is presented in descriptive statistics followed by the discussion of findings in a qualitative manner, as the overall design adopted prioritises qualitative over

quantitative data. The last section of the chapter discusses the combined findings of the study in the light of the theoretical frameworks, with the use of a diagrammatic representation that illustrates the interaction of performers and listeners, as well as the communication of emotion in *dùndún* music.

The concluding chapter gives the summary of findings that addresses the major research questions. This is followed by an account of the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two

Music and Emotions

2.1 Evoked responses to music: an introduction

Music manifests itself in human experience in various ways and the effect of this manifestation is evident in responses elicited when engaged with music. Responses evoked or mediated by music may be construed as having many facets: some responses are internal (heart/pulse rate, brain activity), others are external (head nodding or other forms of motor movements); some may be seen as cognitive (memory, aesthetic judgement), while others can be construed as affective (mood or emotional response). Different aspects of responses to music have been investigated which include, but are not limited to physiological responses, studied through

- (a) measurement of skin conductance (Blood & Zatorre 2001; Khalifa *et al.* 2002; Rickard 2004; Grewe *et al.* 2007a; Lundqvist *et al.* 2009; Stephenson *et al.* 2016);
- (b) respiration (Baumgartner *et al.* 2006; Bernardi *et al.* 2006; Gomez & Danuser 2007; Egermann *et al.* 2015; Cheng & Tsai 2016); and
- (c) heart rate (Lundqvist *et al.* 2009; Nardelli *et al.* 2015; Lee *et al.* 2017) to mention but a few (for an overview, see Hodges 2009, 2010; Juslin & Sloboda 2010; Hodges & Sebald 2011; Hallam *et al.* 2016).

Functional neuroimaging studies have also recorded responses to music reflected in changes of brain activity (Koelsch *et al.* 2006; Green *et al.* 2008; Mcpherson *et al.* 2016. See Koelsch *et al.* 2010 for an overview). In addition to emotional responses (Juslin 2009a; Juslin *et al.* 2015; Martarelli *et al.* 2016; Arjmand *et al.* 2017) and aesthetic responses (Hargreaves & North 2010; Nusbaum *et al.* 2014; Colver & El-Alayli 2016), music has also been noted to evoke autobiographical memories (Baumgartner 1992; Janata *et al.* 2007; Janata 2009; Schulkind *et al.* 2013), visual images, and associations, among others.

Although responses to music may be addressed as separate entities that are independent of one another, the different forms of responses most likely have some interaction with one another (Gabrielsson 2011; Gabrielsson *et al.* 2016). For instance, imagery evoked by music may lead to an emotional reaction (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008), or physical actions such as dancing or

clapping to a musical performance as a source evoking a physical response in functional music such as in indigenous sub-Saharan music, or as a response out of sheer pleasure. Hence, some studies have attempted to investigate the connection of the various responses to one another, for example, finding correlations between emotions and physiological and/or physical responses (see Hodges 2010:279–311, for a review).

As indicated in Chapter One, this study focuses on emotional expression and emotional responses, which are separate entities while also interrelated, especially in the context of this study, which investigates the communication between performers and listeners. Juslin and Laukka note when referring to non-verbal communication that there is ‘(a) a socially shared code, (b) an encoder who intends to express something particular via that code, and (c) a decoder who responds systematically to that code’ (2003:775). From this description of communication, it is apparent that the expression of emotions and emotively driven responses can be construed as a form of non-verbal communication. Viewing communication in this broad way enables the bringing together of different concepts to advance a better understanding of the interaction between *dùndún* performers and listeners.

Against this background, this chapter explores the literature relevant to the question posed by this study: how is emotion communicated through and in *dùndún* music? Beginning with the definition of music and emotion, this chapter specifically touches on music and meaning, theories of emotion, emotional expression, communication, performers and expressivity, as well as specifically emotional responses to music. Woven into this literature overview are various theoretical positions and models that make up the theoretical background of this study, which is rooted in music psychology. The following diagram provides an overview of the structure of this chapter.

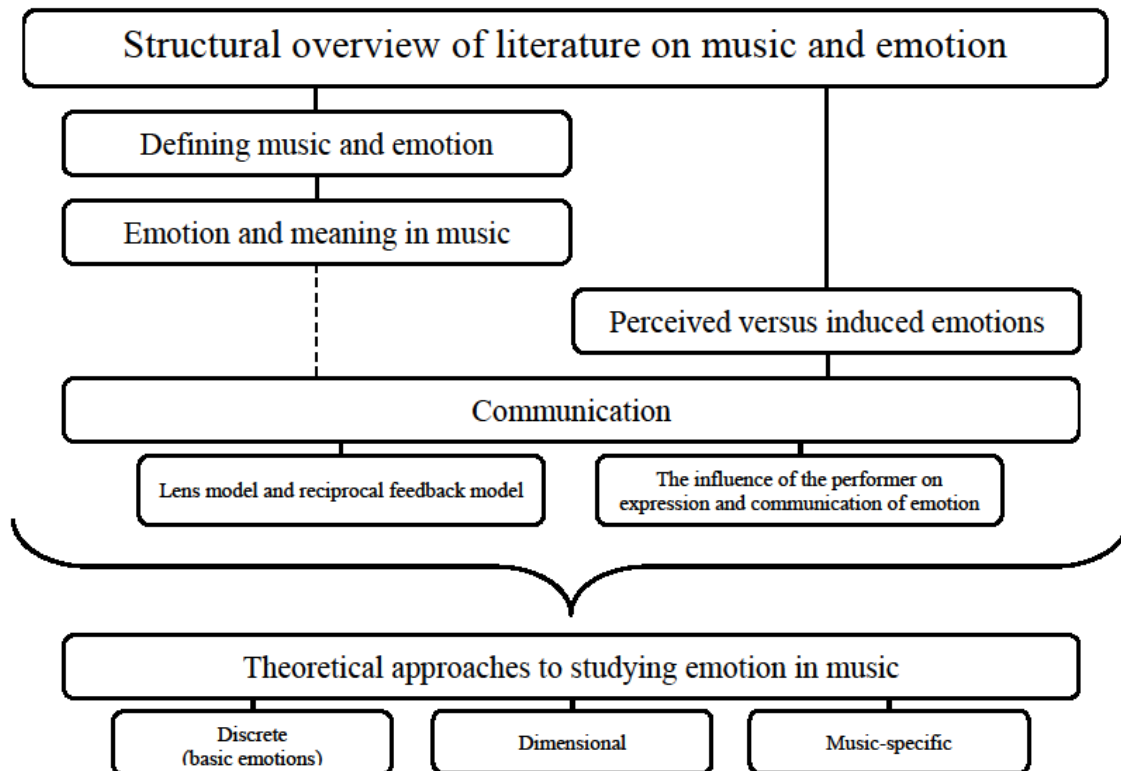


Figure 2.1 Structural overview of literature on music and emotion

2.2 Defining music and emotion

Numerous scholars have attempted to define ‘music’ and ‘emotion’ over the centuries. Whereas the two phenomena are inherently linked to human experience, neither has been characterised with a unanimous definition. The concept of ‘music’ poses more problems, as it has been argued that music has different meanings in different contexts, over and above the fact that some cultures do not even have a word for ‘music’ (Gourlay 1984). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa the concept incorporates various art forms such as drama, visual arts, singing and drumming. Hence, for some scholars in Africa (for example, Meki Nzewi), the term ‘musical arts’ is preferred, as it captures the essence and interrelatedness of the performing arts.

According to Blacking, ‘music is a product of the behaviour of human groups [...] it is humanly organized sound’ (1976:10); ‘organized into socially accepted patterns’ (1969:36). For Blacking, ‘music is inseparable from its value as an expression of human experience’ (1969:34). Also seeing music as a feature of human behaviour, Welch (2001:4) suggests that music is ‘sounds that are subject to some form of human organisation [...] and communication that is

not the same as spoken or written language'. In a broader definition by Cross and Morley (2009:67, 69):

Music as a universal human behaviour is marked by sound, action, interaction, non-efficacy, and a multiplicity of social functions and emotional effects.

Music might be defined [...] as embodying, entraining, and transposably intentionalizing time in sound and action, typically expressed by voices and instruments that articulate patterns in pitch, rhythm and timbre, and involving correlated gestural patterns of movement that may or may not be oriented towards sound production.

Regardless of the different conceptions of music, it appears there is an agreement regarding the universality of music as a characteristic element of human behaviour. Considering music as a broad phenomenon, referring not only to sound, but also to the interactions generated by such sounds as reflects in the definition of Cross and Morley (2009), is the position adopted in this study.

The phenomenon 'emotion' equally occupies much space in philosophical, biological, psychological and even musicological studies, perhaps because it could be argued that emotion plays a vital role in human existence. Emotions allow for human beings to be able to relate to their individual selves, to others and to the environment (Ekman 1992a, 1992b, 1999). It could also be argued that emotion is essential for human survival (Tooby & Cosmides 1990; Izard 1991, 2007; Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1992; Ekman 1999; Lerner & Keltner 2000), just as music is (Cross & Morley 2009; Honing *et al.* 2015). It could be expected that the numerous studies on emotions would have yielded a working and agreed-on definition of emotion, but there is no such agreement as to the precise definition of emotion (Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981; Scherer 2005; Fridja 2007; Izard 2007; Sloboda & Juslin, 2010; Mulligan & Scherer 2012). Mulligan and Scherer (2012:345) attribute the lack of a commonly accepted definition to the varied conventions of the disciplines involved in emotion studies, while Sloboda and Juslin (2010:74) highlight the complexity of explaining and measuring emotion. As a result, numerous debates have ensued in studies of music and emotion, dealing, for example, with different opinions as to what could be categorised as musical emotions, theoretical underpinnings and methods of investigations. Attempted definitions differ on the basis of explaining emotion as referring to mood, feeling or any other affective phenomena. Some of the definitions of the terms related to 'emotion' are listed below.

Affect: The all-encompassing term for evaluative phenomena such as mood, preference and emotion (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin & Sloboda 2010; Konečni 2010).

Mood: Although sometimes used (and wrongly so) interchangeably with emotions, mood is characterised, unlike emotions, by a less apparent arousal agent, less intense affective state, gradual onset but continuous time pattern, and longevity which may span days (Ekman 1994; Parkinson *et al.* 1996; Scherer & Zentner 2001; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin & Sloboda 2010).

Feeling: Usually measured by self-reports, feeling is a term denoting a person's subjective experience of their emotions or mood (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin & Sloboda 2010). While feeling is sometimes substituted for emotion, it has been pointed out that feeling is only one component of emotion (Juslin & Sloboda 2010; Mulligan & Scherer, 2012).

Aesthetic response: As defined by Juslin and Isaksson, aesthetic response refers to a 'more complex process which involves a combination of perceptual, cognitive and emotional factors related to judgements of the aesthetic value of an artwork' (2014:179–180). Even though aesthetics and emotional response are closely related, and the terms associated with them are sometimes used interchangeably (Lychner 1998), 'aesthetic judgement will *not necessarily* arouse an emotion' unless '(at least) one of the evaluative criteria [for aesthetic judgement] reaches a certain level' (Juslin 2013a:255, original italics).

Emotion: Five different definitions of 'emotion' are given below to indicate the various attempts at defining emotion over recent decades. Three definitions are taken from the 92 definitions discussed in Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981), two other recent definitions are from Sloboda and Juslin (2010), and Mulligan and Scherer (2012).

Emotion may be defined as a quality of excitement which accompanies operation of an instinct, or a kind of drive under which the organism whips itself into action, or a certain kind of stimulus (Bentley 1928 quoted in Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981:360).

Emotion is a way of feeling and a way of acting. It may be defined as a tendency of an organism toward or away from an object, accompanied by notable body alterations. There is an element of motivation – an impulsion to action and an element of alertness, a hyperawareness or vividness of mental processes. There is of course the opposite, a depression of movement (Vonderahe 1944 quoted in Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981:369).

Emotion is a complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural/hormonal systems, which can (a) give rise to affective experiences such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; (b) generate cognitive processes such as emotionally relevant perceptual effects, appraisals, labelling processes; (c) activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and (d) lead to behaviour that is often but not always expressive, goal-directed and adaptive (Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981:355).

Emotions are relatively brief, intense and rapidly changing responses to potentially important events (subjective challenges or opportunities) in the external or internal environment, usually of a social nature, which involve a number of sub-components (cognitive changes, subjective feelings,

expressive behaviour, and action tendencies) that are more or less ‘synchronized’ (Juslin & Sloboda 2010:74).

One definition that can be described as clearly distinguishing emotion from other psychological processes is that by Mulligan and Scherer (2012), who state that

x is an emotion *only if*

x is an affective *episode*

x has the property of *intentionality* (i.e., of being directed)

x contains *bodily changes* (arousal, expression, etc.) that are felt

x contains a *perceptual or intellectual episode*, *y*, which has the property of intentionality

the intentionality of *x* is inherited from the intentionality of *y*

x is triggered by at least one appraisal

x is guided by at least one appraisal (2012:346, original italics).

Even though the Mulligan and Scherer definition can be said to be comprehensive, with detailed explanations of each of the prerequisites of emotion from both philosophical and psychological viewpoints, they also point out the incompleteness of their definition. For Scherer, the synchronisation of the components (being one of the factors that delineate emotion) needs to be included, while Mulligan indicates that ‘different types of emoting [...] that combine with [...] propositional and nonpropositional’ contents are important for the definition (Mulligan & Scherer 2012:355–356).

Factors that are indicators of an emotional episode include feelings (subjective experiences), bodily reactions (physiological experiences) and expressive behaviours (Izard 1977; Ekman 1993; Scherer 2005; Lundqvist *et al.* 2009). Emotions are directed at tangibles; they are characterised by high intensity, and last a short time, although there is currently no agreement as to the specific time span of an emotion (Ekman 1992b; Mulligan & Scherer 2012).¹

Given the various interpretations of emotions and their complex nature, some scholars have questioned whether the concept of emotion is worth retaining in psychology (for example, Fantino 1973, quoted in Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981:379), while others have argued that ‘intervening variables like emotion may be useful for theory construction and understanding subjective phenomena’ (Kleinginna & Kleinginna 1981:353). Even though there seems to be

¹ Whereas various durations lasting from seconds to hours have been proposed, Ekman (1992:186) proposed that ‘emotions usually last only for seconds, not minutes, hours or days’.

inconsistency in the way emotion is defined among researchers, there is – to a large extent – agreement on the features and components of emotion (Izard 2007; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008). The definition of emotion is often dependent on who is defining it.

The Yorùbá language does not have a precise term that translates as ‘emotion’. The Yorùbá-English dictionary (2015) gives the meaning of emotion as ‘*ìmí èdùn*’ and translates it as ‘groan’ or ‘sigh’. The term ‘feeling’, translated as ‘*ìmòlára*’ (‘to feel in one’s body’), is used in the vernacular. However, the lack of a precise word for emotion does not translate into the absence of the concept. There are many emotion terms that describe what a person is experiencing, for example, anger, happiness, sadness fear and so on. Wierzbicka notes the same phenomenon in some other cultures. According to her, while the concept of ‘feeling’ is universal, the term ‘emotion’ is ‘a culture-specific word [...] that doesn’t have equivalents in other languages’ (1999:9). Nevertheless, because terms for emotions exist in the language of the participants, and to serve the purpose of this study, the term ‘emotion’ is retained. (For a discussion on the issues surrounding of emotions, language and culture, see Wierzbicka 1999, 2013).

2.3 Emotion and meaning in music

Before continuing with the discussion on emotion and music, it is important look at ways in which emotion contributes to meaning in music. Any discussion of the relationship between music and emotion, or the communication of emotion in music, cannot completely ignore the question of meaning. Emotional responses to music have been attached to ‘meaning’ in philosophical and aesthetic theories from the ancient times in Western intellectual thinking as well as in indigenous sub-Saharan African practice (Omojola 1989; Nzewi *et al.* 2008; Cross & Tolbert 2009). A few notes on how meaning is assigned to music in aesthetics will suffice to help an understanding of the sections that follow and make clear the thinking underlying the conception of this study.

Prior to the emergence of empirical studies addressing expression in music, it was a matter of debate among aesthetic theorists whether music refers only to itself or to other extra-musical phenomena. In his landmark study *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, Meyer (1956) revisits the theories and describes the opposing schools of thought in terms of (a) the absolutists who hold that ‘musical meaning lies exclusively within the context of the work itself’ and (b) the referentialists, whose view is that it is the ‘extramusical world of concepts, actions, emotional states and character’ that music denotes (Meyer 1956:1). Meyer goes further to highlight the

'intellectual' and 'emotional' position of formalists and expressionists respectively. To the formalists, 'the meaning of music lies in the perception and understanding of the musical relationships set forth in the work of art and that meaning in music is primarily intellectual'. In contrast, an expressionist argues that 'these same relationships are in some sense capable of exciting feelings and emotions in the listener' (Meyer 1956:3). To a formalist, music is appreciated based on what is contained within the musical structure. Hence emotion words are incapable of describing, or not necessary to describe, an appreciation of a composition (Brown 1981; Budd 1989). The opposing view, however, is that emotion is inherent in a piece of music and the representation of this feeling is perceived as such. Some expressionists believe the emotion of the composer is what is being expressed in a piece of music, but some do not regard it as plausible that a work of art could express any emotions or portray the actual emotions felt by the composer (Davies 1994). Another view, however, is that music expresses a range of emotions that are characteristics of human beings and which are embedded in the understanding of the composer (Callen 1982). While Budd (1989) would be cautious about imposing any emotional meaning on music, Davies (1994:229) thinks that 'the expressiveness of music depends mainly on a resemblance we perceive between the dynamic character of music and human movement, gait, bearing, or carriage' (see also Davies 2003). Langer says music only represents 'forms of feeling', for example, tension (1942:191), while Kivy (1989, 1990) thinks that music only *expresses* emotion through its likeness to expressive behaviour.

Despite the numerous and contrasting positions, it is generally accepted that music is expressive and imbued with meaning, even though there is not consensus around the exact meaning (Budd 1985; Walton 1990; Robinson 1997, 2005; Levinson 2006). The question only remains whether emotion is a characteristic of music, or whether music merely resembles emotion. Some scholars have argued that all theoretical approaches can account for 'meaning' in music (Meyer 1956; Storr 1992). The way 'meaning' is construed depends on the perspective adopted by individual theorists, or the field in which the concept of meaning is being applied (see, for example, Cross & Tolbert 2009). Cross (2005:30) indicates that music 'can be thought of as gathering meaning from the contexts within which it happens', while Hargreaves *et al.* (2005:2) propose that the 'broader social context' is necessary to shape an understanding of a referential meaning of music (see also Bonini Baraldi 2009). This suggests that the meaning of music is dependent on where music occurs (the context) and on who is constructing the meaning. From this perspective, one can regard the different opinions on musical meaning, and especially as they relate to the emotion, not so much as being at odds with one another, but rather as

complementary to one another in a single musical experience. This position resonates with the views of Keil and Feld (2005), who are neither aesthetic philosophers nor music psychologists. In their book *Music Grooves*, in which they discuss feeling through music and communication, among other things, Feld argues that the musical and extra-musical factors are inherently intertwined. He states that ‘one cannot encounter the [musical] object without making associations; the character of the associations is musical and extramusical’ (Keil & Feld 2005:84). Similarly, in his critique of Meyer, whose argument on musical communication rests solely on music structure, Keil notes that ‘specifically of African and African-derived genres, illumination of syntactic relations or of form as such will not go far in accounting for expression’ (Keil & Feld 2005:54). Feld furthermore indicates that such an emphasis on purely syntactic relationships ‘leaves out an entire dimension of performance dynamics, which, particularly in improvised, spontaneous, or nonwritten musics, are deeply linked to expressive and emotive feelings and responses on the part of the listener’ (Keil & Feld 2005:84).

The above arguments provide the basis for the point of departure of this study, which takes the extra-musical into consideration in relation to the musical. Although the work of Meyer (1956) focuses on written music, the referential-expressionist position he outlined represents the fundamental theoretical foundation upon which this study is built. The assumption of this study is that *dùndún* music is inherently imbued with extra-musical information that is not only semantic but also emotional, and that the information contained in the *dùndún* music can generate affective responses in a listener. This point of departure is further strengthened by the points made by Keil and Feld regarding non-written and/or African music (2005:54, 84). It should be noted that, although the study focuses on the extra-musical information the *dùndún* communicates, a discussion of music and meaning within the context of the semiotic theory of Charles Peirce (1839–1914) is beyond the scope of this study (for an example of the application of Peirce’s theory to music, see Turino 1999).

While aesthetic philosophers continue to argue whether music is expressive of emotion and how this expression takes place, empirical evidence in music psychology suggests a high level of consistency in the view that music is expressive of emotions (for example, Lindström *et al.* 2003; Juslin & Laukka 2004; Laukka 2004). Based on the fact that people in reality (as against abstract conceptions) agree that music can express emotion, a useful point of departure then is an elaboration of the philosophical position of emotional expressiveness in music psychology,

where a distinction is made between perceiving an emotion in music and the actual feeling of emotion: perceived and induced emotion as discussed in the next section.

2.4 Perceived versus induced emotion

An important aspect of the music-emotion relationship in the field of music psychology is the discourse on perceived and induced emotion. Perceived emotion refers to a situation whereby a listener intellectually perceives music or its elements as being expressive of a certain emotion, for instance, when a piece of music is discerned as sad or happy, or when a fast tempo is perceived as an expression of happiness, excitement or anger. Induced emotion refers to the emotion *felt* in reaction to music (Gabrielsson 2009; Juslin 2009b). These two concepts can be related respectively to the cognitive and emotive dimensions positions outlined by Kivy (1989, 1990). That a piece of music is perceived as expressive of an emotion (for example, if someone describes a piece of music as ‘sad’) does not indicate that the individual actually feels the same emotion. Depending on the situation, the individual or the music itself, it is possible to feel the same emotion, a different emotion or no emotion at all. Until this distinction was raised by Gabrielsson (2002), researchers hardly distinguished between these two concepts. The result was a fuzzy understanding of the field. Perceived and induced emotions are different (Evans & Schubert 2008); they have different underlying mechanisms and are not measured in the same way (Juslin & Laukka 2004). Moreover, the types of emotions induced by music are not always the same as those perceived in music (see, for example, Zentner *et al.* 2008). The concepts of perceived and induced emotions related to the philosophical positions outlined earlier are acknowledged in this study: if music is construed as communicating emotions that can be perceived by a listener, or even in some cases arouse emotions in a listener, it is valid to explore these communication processes, which thus justifies the focus of this study and the questions it sets out to answer.

Below is an overview of the two concepts and their aspects that are of relevance to this study such as communication, as well as factors influencing emotional responses and the underlying mechanisms of induced emotion.

2.4.1 Perceived emotion

Music may be seen as expressive of extra-musical phenomena such as emotions (Gabrielsson 1988, 1999a, 1999b, 2003; Juslin 2000; Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Gabrielsson & Lindström 2010; Thompson & Balkwill 2010); human characteristics (Thompson 1989; Clynes 1995; Watt

& Ash 1998; Tagg 2006); motion (Gabrielsson 1988; Davies 1994; Madison 2006); identity (Dibben 2002; Gabrielsson & Lindström Wik 2003); and religious faith (Gabrielsson 2009). However, of all referential meanings that may be given to music, the most common appear to be the expression and perception of emotion (Gabrielsson 2009:142). Although perception and expression can be separated from each other, they are also interrelated.² In the context of music and emotion, while perception can be said to relate to the listener, expression is more associated with the performer. Juslin and Timmers note that the concept of expression has been applied to ‘the relationships among a performer’s interpretation of a specific piece of music and measurable small-scale variations in timing, dynamics, vibrato, and articulation that make up the “microstructure” of the performance’ (2010:454). Expression has also been referred to as ‘a particular set of perceptual qualities that reflect psychophysical relationships between “objectives” properties of the music and “subjective” impressions of the listener’ (Juslin 2009b: 377). One can generally say that expressiveness points towards the way a performer shapes or interprets a piece of music.

According to Juslin (2003, 2009b), expression in music performance is better conceived as multidimensional, and can be traced to five different sources, known as the GERMS model: Generative rules, Emotional expression, Random fluctuations, Motion principles and Stylistic unexpectedness (see also Juslin & Timmers 2010). However, it appears that emotional expression is taken as one of the most important components of music expression (Juslin *et al.* 2002). High levels of consistency among listeners’ judgements support this notion. For example, in a questionnaire survey conducted by Juslin and Laukka (2004) listeners were asked what music can express. Among other options, 100% of the participants chose emotion, followed by 82% for beauty. A similar response was obtained from music teachers, 98% of whom chose emotion as what music can express (Laukka 2004; see also Lindström *et al.* 2003). Listeners and performers in the respective studies by Juslin and Laukka (2004) and Lindström *et al.* (2003) were also asked what it means to play expressively. They agreed that to play expressively is to communicate emotions and/or messages or to ‘play with feeling’. Moreover,

² According to Scherer *et al.* (2011:403), expression and perception are conceptually not the same, but are hardly separated from each other because of the paradigm mostly utilised in emotional expression studies, including music and emotions. Their intertwined nature is, however, comprehensible as understanding them depends on both.

the communication of the ‘message’ to the listener is considered the most important aspect of music performance (Lindström *et al.* 2003; Juslin & Laukka 2004; Juslin 2009b).

Emotion in music can be expressed or perceived by anyone including children (Boone & Cunningham 2001; Nawrot 2003), hence perception of emotion does not necessarily imply that a listener should be trained musically (Juslin 1997a; Gabrielsson & Juslin 2003; Bigand *et al.* 2005; Bigand & Poulin Charronant 2006). Listeners perceive emotion precisely even when excerpts are very short (Peretz *et al.* 1998; Bigand *et al.* 2005), but in comparison to complex emotions, basic emotions (which will be elaborated on later in this chapter) are easier to express and/or to perceive as indicated by performers (Juslin 1997a), music students (Lindström *et al.* 2003), music teachers (Laukka 2004) and listeners (Juslin & Laukka 2004). This is probably because basic emotions are distinguishable in non-verbal communication, for example, facial expression (Ekman 1993, 1994, 1999). It is also an indication that basic emotion can be associated with music.

Different approaches have been employed to investigate perception of emotion in music, but the most common has been described as the ‘standard paradigm’. This approach is particularly associated with production-recognition (expression-perception) studies, which involves instructing a performer to play melodies or rhythmic pattern to different emotions chosen by the researcher. Listeners are then asked to listen and judge each of the emotions (Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Paquette *et al.* 2013). Listeners’ responses can be measured in various forms, but the self-report approach, which include, adjective checklist and adjective rating are most common (see Zentner & Eerola 2010 for an overview). Although any emotion can be reported as perceived by a listener, researchers base measurement of perceived emotion on *agreement* among listeners about what the music expresses and/or how *accurately* the listeners are able to decode the intention of the composer or performer (Juslin & Laukka 2004:219).

Closely related to listeners’ perception of expression is the question of how music expresses emotions. From the music psychological point of view, musical features such as tempo, mode, rhythm, dynamics, harmony, pitch and timbre, among others, are all implicated in the expression of emotion (Hevner 1937; Thompson & Robitaille 1992; Juslin 1997a; Schellenberg *et al.* 2000; Ilie & Thompson 2006; Lindström 2006; Bowman & Yamauchi 2016; Gabrielsson 2016). Timmers and Ashley (2007) also investigated the use of ornaments in emotional expression on flute and violin, and Bonini Baraldi *et al.* (2006) explored expressiveness through

improvisation of a single piano note. Each musical feature influences the expression of emotion (Gabrielsson & Lindström 2010). For instance, a fast tempo may be associated with the expression of joy or happiness, whereas a slow tempo may depict sadness or peace. In the same vein, each emotional expression may be achieved by varying the structural features of a piece; for example, expression of anger can be associated with high pitch, complex rhythm, harmonic dissonance, a fast tempo and a high sound level (for an extensive compilation of emotions and the structural features involved, see Gabrielsson & Juslin 2003 and Juslin 2009b). Thus, two or more emotional expressions may rely on the same acoustic features (for example, slow tempo and low pitch used to express sadness or tenderness), indicating that no single feature is exclusive to any emotion. The emotion being conveyed depends on which configuration of musical features are involved. Some researchers have traced the connection between musical features and different emotions to cues related to emotion in speech, for example, tempo and loudness (Juslin 2001; Juslin & Laukka 2001, 2003), or human gestures (Davies 1994; Jackendoff & Lerdahl 2006). Sundberg (1993:251) notes there are similarities between the features of musical expression and speech prosody.

The formal association of musical features with the expression of emotion dates to the 1930s with the seminal papers of Kate Hevner (1935b, 1936). Some recent studies have combined the performer's expression and the listener's perception in such a way that the process of expression and/or perception is seen as a form of communication between performer and listener, a phenomenon which is explored in a later section.

2.4.2 Induced emotion

As mentioned earlier, induced emotion (also known as 'felt emotion') refers to the emotion experienced in response to listening to music, in contrast to mere detached recognition of an emotion in music. Several methods have been used in the study of music-induced emotions such as self-report, indirect measures and physiological measures, among others (for an overview of respective measures, see Hodges 2010; Koelsch *et al.* 2010; Schubert 2010; Västfjäll 2010; Zenter & Eerola 2010). However, a single method may not be sufficient to address musical emotions because, as stated earlier, emotion is made up of different components and understanding it in depth necessitates a combination of methods. It also appears that a natural or social context of music may need to be identified for an adequate study of induced emotion, because 'it is not obvious that emotions will be readily aroused in artificial

laboratory environments featuring unfamiliar and/or experimenter-selected music' (Juslin 2016:199). Empirical evidence seems to support this assertion (for example, Lamont 2011).

There have been controversies about the plausibility of music evoking emotions other than those which are perceived, and if music does evoke emotions, what kinds of emotions. Scherer (2005) argues that music is only likely to produce 'aesthetic emotions' (for example, wonder, nostalgia). Juslin (2016:200) notes that music can arouse an extensive range of basic and complex emotions in people, and Vuoskoski and Eerola (2012) contend that music is capable of arousing genuine sadness. Although an array of emotions can be induced by music (Gabrielsson 2011), the factors that come into play in musical emotion determines which emotion is aroused: the individual experiencing the emotion, the context of the event and the music. Some studies report specific emotions such as *happiness, love, sadness, nostalgia*, among others, are more common reactions to music (Juslin 2001:133). To establish this point, a questionnaire study involving 706 Swedish participants was conducted by Juslin and his colleagues to collect self-report data on emotional responses to music in everyday life, especially the prevalence of musical emotions. Using free responses, the results show that 92% of the population of interest chose specific emotions, and 84% chose positive affective states. When the responses were grouped into emotion 'families', it was discovered that happy-elated, sad-melancholic, nostalgic-longing, calm-contented were the most frequently reported (Juslin *et al.* 2010. See also, Juslin *et al.* 2011 for a larger sample).

In a similar study using a different method known as ESM (Experience Sampling Method), Juslin *et al.* (2008) instructed 32 college students to fill in a questionnaire at the signal of a palmtop computer which beeps seven times every single day for two weeks. The ESM study involved monitoring the everyday lives of the participants for occurrence of emotional episodes to music and other stimuli over the period. The participants were to choose from 14 emotions, which covered basic emotions and music-related terms such as pleasure and expectancy. The study also measured the valence-arousal dimension of the circumplex model and music-related terms such as pleasure and expectancy. In comparison with emotions evoked by other stimuli, happiness-elation and nostalgia-longing were reported as more frequently evoked by music. The reports that positive emotions are more commonly felt when listening to music can be associated with studies that report positive reactions towards sad music (Garrido & Schubert 2011, 2013; Vuoskoski *et al.* 2012; Eerola *et al.* 2015). They are also consistent with the result

of Zentner *et al.* (2008), who proposed the GEMS model (described in a later section), which suggests that some emotions are more felt when listening to music than others.

Another area of study focuses on the distinction between everyday emotions and aesthetic emotions. Some authors hold that utilitarian emotions be separated from aesthetic emotions (Scherer 2004, 2005; Scherer & Zentner 2008). The concept of ‘aesthetic emotion’ has been used in two ways: first, to express the view that the entire range of emotions felt when attending to a work of art (including music) is aesthetic; and secondly, the belief that some emotions are unique to listening to music, for example feelings of awe, being moved, bliss, solemnity (see, for example, Konečni 2005). However, an argument against this second notion would point out that so-called unique or music-specific emotions are also experienced in everyday life, although they may involve different processes. Juslin *et al.* (2010) reject the use of the term ‘aesthetic emotions’ on the grounds that aesthetic responses and emotional experiences are conceptually different. Juslin (2013a) regards aesthetic emotions in relation to the causal processes of responses to music, rather than as some kinds of emotions being of special kind when listening to music.

At the centre of all these arguments are the questions of what, how and why emotions are evoked when listening to music. Induction of emotion when hearing music can be viewed from two perspectives: factors influencing emotional responses, and mechanisms underlying the arousal of emotions when listening to music. This study takes account of both these factors in the collection and analysis of data.

It has been proposed that responses to music are a function of an interplay between three factors, namely the music, the listening individual, and the situation in which listening takes place (Gabrielsson 2010, 2011; see also Juslin *et al.* 2008, 2011; Liljeström *et al.* 2013). Causal variables in the music include complexity or simplicity of structure, the style of the music, and even the internal relationships within the music itself such as rhythmic variations, harmonic structure, tempo or dynamics. Some researchers, for instance, have recorded thrills, chills or a ‘frisson’ in response to music (Gabrielsson & Lindström Wik 2003; Huron 2006; Grewe *et al.* 2007a; Konečni *et al.* 2007; Huron & Margulis 2010). The study by Zentner *et al.* (2008) investigating the emotion felt in response to five different musical genres reveals that emotions aroused varied across musical styles, thereby indicating the influence of musical genre. Individual factors may include familiarity with the music, cultural background, preference, liking, age, musical training, mood, the function of music in the general context in which it is

being used, and the goal relevance of the music in relation to the situation of the individual (Gabrielsson 2011; Juslin *et al.* 2011). In addition to individual and musical influences, the context of engagement with music is equally important. Questions of *when* (morning or night, weekend or festivals), *how* (live performance or recordings) and *where* (alone or with company, at the workplace, religious centres, in a store, public transport, in traffic or at home) musical experiences take place are all significant in the emotional responses evoked through music (Juslin *et al.* 2008; Juslin *et al.* 2010). Hence, the basic premise of the causal factor proposition is that the music itself is not the only influence on the emotional response to music, since it is plausible that different listeners will experience the same piece of music differently, or for the same piece of music to elicit different response in a listener in different situations (Gabrielsson 2011:436; Juslin *et al.* 2011:175).

Causal influences represent one perspective in answering the questions of the *how* and *why* of musically-induced emotion. Another perspective is to look at the underlying mechanisms of evoked emotion. Various researchers put forward a range of propositions in this regard (for example, Meyer 1956; Dowling & Harwood 1986; Baumgartner 1992; Scherer & Zentner 2001; Scherer 2004; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Konečni 2008; Juslin *et al.* 2010; Juslin 2013a; Koelsch 2015). Scherer and Zentner (2001) propose that the factors enabling the production of emotion include the structure of the music, features of performance, features of the context, for example, where an event takes place or the nature of the event, as well as qualities of the listener such as expertise or personality. The authors then note two broad mechanisms involved in evoking emotion in response to music: *central routes*, which include appraisal, memory and empathy, and *peripheral routes*, such as proprioceptive feedback. Koelsch (2015) identifies seven *emotion-evoking principles* that mostly overlap with the *production rules* formulated by Scherer and Zentner (2001), and the *induction mechanisms* described by Juslin and Västfjäll (2008). The principles listed by Koelsch (2015) include evaluation, resonance, memory, musical expectancy and tension, imagination with the addition of understanding and social functions of music. The most extensive list of mechanisms, however, is that of Juslin and his colleagues (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin *et al.* 2010; Juslin 2013a). Based on the combination of ideas from the literature, Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) initially proposed six mechanisms apart from the process of cognitive appraisal. The list was updated to seven by Juslin *et al.* (2010) based on commentary on the first proposal, and further updated by adding one more mechanism by Juslin (2013a) in the theoretical model known as BRECVEMA. As this model overlaps with the other theories mentioned, it partly explains some of the mechanisms mentioned in those theories. In

the discussion to follow two principles by Koelsch (2015) are also included in addition to BRECVEMA, because they are not featured in BRECVEMA but are relevant to this study.

Brainstem reflex. This is a subconscious and automatic reaction to events. Such a reaction may occur in situations where the brainstem reacts to sudden or abnormal sound events in the environment through the auditory and thus the central nervous system; for instance, the reflex to a sudden loud sound. Because various brain areas are implicated in the music-emotion interaction and because the brainstem has among its many functions the purpose of supporting an organism's motor and sensorial functions (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; see also Koelsch 2015), the brainstem could serve the purpose of giving the brain and motor functions information about potentially important or dangerous events. The brainstem interprets music that is, for example, suddenly loud, or of extreme frequencies (high or low), or has abrupt dynamic shifts, or sudden dissonant musical insertions, as events that are important and in need of urgent attention. This is because the brainstem construes music as just sound, sound in the sense of any auditory effect arising from any causal agent (Juslin *et al.* 2010:620). This mechanism might contribute to a universal emotion-arousal to music in human beings, because of the brain being hardwired in terms of the brain stem. Ontogenetically, this mechanism develops before birth and is characterised by a low level of cultural learning. Hence, a high level of cross-cultural agreement could be expected in reactions evoked through this mechanism (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008).

Rhythmic entrainment. As defined by Clayton *et al.* (2005:4), 'entrainment describes a process whereby two rhythmic processes interact with each other in such a way that they adjust towards and eventually "lock in" to a common phase and/or periodicity'. Two things must happen for entrainment to occur: (a) there must be two autonomous oscillators and (b) these oscillators must interact (Clayton *et al.* 2005:3). The concept of entrainment was first established when in 1665 the scientist Christiaan Huygens found that two pendulum clocks of slightly different periodicity would synchronise when placed closed together. What followed from Huygen's discovery were different disciplinary studies applying the concept. Clayton *et al.* (2005) were the first to apply the concept of entrainment to ethnomusicology.

In relation to the emotion-induction process, Juslin *et al.* (2010:621) propose that emotion may be induced when an entrained bodily rhythm of a listener circulates into other components of emotion. This entrainment occurs as a result of a synchrony between a listener's internal body rhythm (for example, heart rate) and the external rhythm of a piece of music. The assumption made by Juslin *et al.* (2010) is consistent with the concept of 'proprioceptive feedback'

discussed by Scherer and Zentner (2001), who noted that it is possible for an individual to have an emotional reaction through manipulation of any of the components of emotion because of an interaction between internal and external rhythms. According to Scherer (2004:245), the ‘contagious’ nature of musical rhythm is evident when people make head movements, tap their feet or dance to music. Madison (2006) also mentioned the relationship between entrainment and emotional reaction. He states that a major characteristic of dance is the ability to entrain to a common pulse in music performance or music listening, where dance is closely related to positive feelings. The concept described by Bharucha and Curtis (2008) as ‘synchronisation’ as a factor in the elicitation of emotion in music is closely related to entrainment. They note that people’s recognition of synchronisation, which may be derived from but not limited to motion and structure, may contribute to arousal of emotion. In this case, music arouses the synchrony, which in turn arouses emotion.

Evaluative conditioning. A certain kind of music might have at several times been associated with a particular event that constantly evokes a certain emotion. An evaluative conditioning mechanism is triggered when the music elicits that specific emotion even if a person is not in that moment which has separately been paired with the specific music. Evaluative conditioning may be viewed, to a certain extent, as having its roots in long-term memory or past occurrences (see, for example, Dowling & Harwood 1986; Scherer & Zentner 2001; Scherer 2004). Conditioning may be associated with episodic memory. However, while the individual experiencing the emotion may be consciously aware of the context and the music that has caused the emotion in episodic memory, it is possible that the individual whose emotion has been triggered by evaluative conditioning may be unaware of the cause of his/her emotion (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008).

Contagion. As humans, we have a tendency to imitate the actions of others: movement, facial or vocal expression, or even emotion (Hatfield *et al.* 1994; Neumann & Strack 2000; Preston & de Waal 2002; Vickhoff & Malmgren 2004). This process of contagion, labelled as ‘emotional resonance’ by Koelsch, refers to ‘the evocation of an emotion due to any kind of mirroring, “copying,” or mimetic process’ (Koelsch 2015:194). In relation to music, Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) note that contagion is the mechanism activated when a listener internally imitates an expression they perceive in a piece of music. They propose that contagion is possible where there is autonomic neural response to the voice-like features of music, such as for example, some instruments that sound like the human voice (for example, Paquette *et al.* 2013).

According to Juslin, ‘a “brain module” responds automatically to certain stimulus features *as if* they were coming from a human voice expressing emotions’ (2013a:241, original italics). Koelsch proposes that emotion may be evoked through ‘feedback’; for instance, a listener may copy the expression of joy in music by ‘(covert or overt) smiling, vocalization and/or bouncing, and the (peripheral) feedback of these motor acts evokes an emotion’, or the perceived structure of a piece of music may be mirrored in a listener. Emotion may also be evoked through the process of empathy by ‘relating an emotional expression of music to a previous musical context and/or by adding knowledge about emotions and one’s own emotional experiences’ (Koelsch 2015:195). Scherer and Zentner (2001) also suggest that a listener may imitate an emotion they assume is felt by a singer or performer through their expression, in which empathy or contagion then produces an emotion in a listener (see also Scherer 2004).

Visual imagery. In the process of listening to music, a listener may recall mental images in relation to the structure or content of a piece of music. For instance, when musical dynamics are imagined as an ocean wave, or when a listener visualises a beautiful landscape. In some cases, these images may evoke emotions, as it has been noted that mental imagery is one of the catalysts of emotional reactions (Plutchik 1984). Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) suggest that it is possible for a listener to have the same kind of response they would in a real-life situation to the conjured-up image. Moreover, just about any emotion can be evoked through visual imagery, given that it is personal (Juslin *et al.* 2008) and the listener can manipulate the mechanism at their own volition.

Episodic memory. Human beings possess the ability to recall past events, and one of the agents aiding this memory is music. As stated by Scherer (2004:245) ‘music seems to be one of the most powerful cues to bring emotional experiences from memory back into awareness’. The episodic memory mechanism is activated when an emotion is triggered because music triggers a listener’s recollection of specific events that might have occurred at some time or another in the person’s life (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008). In other words, an emotion that is attached to a specific memory may be evoked when the arousal agent (in this case, music) comes into play. In addition to autobiographical memories, Koelsch suggests that semantic memory can also play a role in the evocation of emotion. For instance, a ‘symbolic sign quality’ of music that is inherently linked to a certain emotional quality may call forth an emotion (2015:195), thereby suggesting that the function of memory in relation to music and emotion may go beyond

episodic memory.³ Scherer and Zentner (2001) contend that the emotion aroused through memory may not be as intense as that of the main experience, even though the emotions are same. Juslin (2013a, 2016) states that the emotion may be strong if the memory preserves the ‘physiological response pattern’ associated with the initial event. Empirical evidence may help in gauging the intensity of emotion that may be evoked through this mechanism. Despite being one of the most common processes of emotion-induction in relation to music (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008), the mechanism of episodic memory has a low dependency on music structure, when compared to some other features such as, for example, musical expectancy.

Musical expectancy. Of all the mechanisms that have been proposed, musical expectancy is mostly related to the music structure and it has been widely researched (for example, Bharucha & Stoeckig 1986; Bharucha 1994; Krumhansl *et al.* 1999; Huron 2006; Huron & Margulis 2010). An emotion may be evoked when a listener’s expectation of the internal structural relations within a piece of music is in some way violated. Expectancy theory has its foundation on Meyer’s proposal (1956) of how music meaning is constructed. According to Meyer, emotion in response to music may be aroused when expectation is inhibited or delayed. This theory requires that a listener be familiar with the musical style in question (Meyer 1956:25–32). The prior knowledge of the musical style thus paves the way for expectations dependent on the sequence of the musical event or structure. The expectation could be fulfilled or hindered. When this happens, it stirs up tension or educe relaxation (see Koelsch 2015:196). The implication of this theory is that emotion may not be aroused in a listener not familiar with the style of music, since familiarity gives rise to the expectation which will then lead to tension, relaxation or surprise. In his account, Huron (2006) suggests predictability as against familiarity in the expectation theory. According to Huron and Margulis (2010:589), when expectations are met, evoked responses will be positive whereas an unexpected outcome leads to negative feelings.

³ Tulving (1972), who was the first to propose that episodic and semantic memory are dissimilar, describes the former in terms of memory of an event in a person’s life which has temporal-spatial relations with other events, while the latter refers to memory of general concepts and their interrelations which surpasses any particular context. In relation to music, Platel and his colleagues apply semantic musical memory as ‘referring to “well-known” excerpts of music stored in memory without it being possible to retrieve the temporal or spatial circumstances surrounding the encounter’, while episodic memory entails the ‘capacity to recognise a musical excerpt [...] for which the spatiotemporal context surrounding its formal encounter [...] can be recalled’ (Platel *et al.* 2003:245).

Aesthetic judgement. The process of emotion evoked through aesthetic judgement (Juslin 2013a) is an addition to the earlier proposed mechanisms by Juslin and his colleagues (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin *et al.* 2010). The addition is pertinent to finding middle ground for those who conceptualise emotions in response to music as ‘everyday emotions’ and those who are of the opinion that such emotions are ‘aesthetic’ and not functional, because they have no goal implications (Scherer & Zentner 2008) or those who believe that responses to music belong to the ‘aesthetic trinity’ of *awe*, *being moved* and *thrills* (Konečni 2005). According to Juslin (2013a), if emotions aroused by music are conceived in these ways, it implies that the earlier mechanisms (BRECVM) are not useful to explain aesthetic emotions but only everyday emotions. Juslin (2013a:238) proposes that both types of emotions (everyday and aesthetic) operate using different mechanisms.⁴ The theory of aesthetic judgement thus explains the process through which aesthetic emotions may be induced. The premise is that an aesthetic judgement must be made before an aesthetic response takes place. The aesthetic judgement process requires first that a piece of music be classified as *art*, where art is understood in terms of many dimensions including expression, originality, emotional arousal and artistic skill (see Juslin & Isaksson 2014: Figure 3). Following the consideration of music as art, an *aesthetic attitude* is developed. The *judgement process* begins as soon as an aesthetic attitude – which may be related to the content of the music, the situation or any other – is adopted. It is inescapable to have *perceptual* and *cognitive inputs* in the process of aesthetic judgement, but *emotional input* is not a requirement, although it may occur (Juslin 2013a:249). Emotional reactions through aesthetic judgement are aroused when one or more of the criteria an individual use for judging music (for example, beauty, skill, emotion, expression, novelty) attains a ‘certain level’ (Juslin 2013a:255). For instance, an emotion may be aroused in someone if they judge a piece of music to be exceptionally beautiful.

While most of the mechanisms outlined in the BRECHEMA model are only mediating between music and emotion, and not directly moving from music to emotion, Juslin (2013a:241) contends that the mechanisms operate on a different processing level and ‘each mechanism may respond in its own manner to information in the music, the listener and the situation’. In other

⁴ Juslin clearly did not accept the notion of ‘aesthetic emotions’ if it means these ‘emotions [occurred] when and only when art is apprehended aesthetically’ (Juslin 2013a:238). He does, however, apply the term to emotions that occur following an aesthetic judgement, while ‘everyday emotions’ in this context are those activated by any of the other seven (BRECVM) models (Juslin 2013a:256)

words, the mechanisms are better construed as responding to a *musical event* rather than directly to musical properties (Juslin 2013a, 2016).

There are considerable overlaps between the BRECVEMA and the underlying principles of music-evoked emotions outlined by Koelsch (2015). The underlying mechanisms that are of relevance to this study include evaluation, episodic memory, visual imagery, contagion, resonance, aesthetic judgement in addition to the principles of understanding and social functions described later.

Understanding. Koelsch proposes that understanding the musical or extra-musical meaning of a piece of music could bring about a sense of reward and lead to what he refers to as an ‘aha moment’. He notes, as an example, that ‘understanding the intricate structure of musical pieces provides a feeling of reward and pleasure’ (2015:197). Hence, an emotion may be evoked when an individual feels fulfilment and accomplishment for comprehending musical information.

Social function. Engagement in musical activities with others can evoke emotions or regulate them. Koelsch (2015) notes different situations in which the social functions served by music have a psychological effect on people. For instance, social contact in the form of group music making promotes cohesion, which in turn increases people’s wellbeing. Also, feelings of ‘belonging’ arising from such cohesion have rewards such as building trust and confidence. The ‘sense of group identity’ that may result from the synchronisation of movement may provide satisfaction or sense of pride for individuals in the musical situation (Koelsch 2015:198). The need to sustain social function, illustrates the importance of the context in which one is engaged with music, in addition to the music itself in evocation of emotion to music.

The proposed mechanisms and principles appear to be able to account for the range of emotions a person can experience through music. The kinds of emotion that may be evoked, however, depend on the activated mechanism as influenced by the situation, the individual and the music, or even the performer. For instance, where musical expectation may evoke emotions such as surprise or awe, memory may evoke emotions such as nostalgia, and social function could produce more positive emotions (see, for example, Juslin *et al.* 2015).

It is valid to ask whether the proposed mechanisms can account for musical emotions across cultures. Juslin (2012) suggests that there may be cross-cultural similarities in the psychological mechanisms that arouse emotion but differences in musical features and aroused emotions. This is plausible, given that some mechanisms, for example, brainstem reflex, are ontogenetic, while

others such as social function appear to be constant across cultures because, as Koelsch puts it, engaging in ‘social functions are part of what makes us human’ (2015:198). It should be pointed out, though, that the study does not set out to test any of the models or impose the models on the findings. Rather, the models are theoretically influential in the study in that they are used where applicable to explain the similarities between the phenomenon being described in the study and the features of the existing theories. The theories may therefore be seen as being substantiated by the findings of the study, while also validating the findings.

2.5 Communication

Although expression and communication are sometimes used synonymously, for the purpose of this study expression and communication are treated as conceptually different but related. Some studies have suggested that ‘communication’ takes place when a composer and/or performer intend to express something (for example, emotion) and the intention is recognised by a listener (Juslin 2003, 2009b, 2013b; Juslin & Timmers 2010). Juslin and Timmers (2010:455) go further to say that, although not a necessary requirement for communication, ‘the listener may, additionally, come to experience or *feel* the emotion in question’ (original italics).

While it explores communication in terms of perception and ‘feeling’, this study does not adopt the above description of communication based on the problematic nature of the concept of ‘intention’, or to be precise, the ‘intentional fallacy’ (Dickie & Wilson 1995).⁵ There is no clear indication that the defining criterion for communication should be based on the listener’s recognition of the intention of the composer and/or performer to express ‘something’. It is not absolute that every composer and or performer intends to express anything in particular. It is also not impossible that a listener recognises what a composer or performer does not intend to express. The idea of intention in relation to the composer becomes more problematic in

⁵ Intentional fallacy falls within the discourse of intention and meaning. Specifically, it is an argument which denies the intentionalist school of thought about the relevance of the artist’s intention to the meaning of an artwork. As defined by Beardsley, intentionalism is the ‘view that interpretations of literature can be supported by appeal to knowledge of authors’ intentions’ (Beardsley in Dickie & Wilson 1995:235). To an intentionalist, meaning is determined by intention. On the contrary, Beardsley argues that the specific meaning (of words) can be derived ‘independently of anyone’s intentions’ (Dickie & Wilson 1995:235). Dickie and Wilson examine intentional fallacy in the light of Monroe Beardsley anti-intentionalism in comparison with various intentionalism theses such as those of Hirsch, Grice, Tolhurst, Carroll and Watson. Building a strong defence for Beardsley’s argument by highlighting the flaws and by refuting the claims of their selected intentionalists, Dickie and Wilson conclude among other things, that the ‘artists’ intentions are frequently unknown or unclear’ (2005:248).

indigenous African music where the boundary between the composer and performer is fluid. That is, in contrast to the notion of composer in Western thoughts, there is hardly a distinction between the performer and the composer in indigenous African music (Herbst *et al.* 2003). *Dùndún* music has emotional qualities that are recognised by the performers and listeners alike, where both parties are deeply assimilated members of the Yorùbá culture. Therefore, reference to communication in this investigation deals with the exploration of the ways in which musical sounds, structures and social contexts mediate between the aims and expressive attitudes of the *dùndún* performers and the emotional experiences of the encultured listeners. The idea of viewing emotional expression and responses to *dùndún* music as a form of communication is based on the notion that there may be some interaction between a performer and a listener in a way that enhances the listeners' responses.

Studies show there is a high level of communication accuracy (Juslin 1997a, 1997b, 1997c), because the same *cues* (that is acoustic features) such as tempo, timbre and pitch used by a performer to encode different emotional expressions are received by a listener to decode what is being communicated (Juslin 1997a; Juslin 2009b; Juslin & Lindström 2010). The few cross-cultural studies in perception of emotion corroborate the consistency identified in the use of the acoustic cues, whether universal or cultural (for example, Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Laukka *et al.* 2013). By applying a functionalist perspective, Juslin and his colleagues propose that the origins of the code (or cues) used by performers and listeners, and which make the use of codes in communication of emotion possible, can be traced to the same cues used in the vocal expression of emotion, as well as in social learning (Juslin 2000, 2001, 2009b; Juslin & Laukka 2003; Juslin & Timmers 2010). In addition to the musical features, the performers' body movements and gestures also contribute towards the communication of expression and the quality of the listeners' perception (Davidson 1993, 2005; Thompson *et al.* 2005; Dahl & Frieberg 2007; Castellano *et al.* 2008). Furthermore, the type of musical instrument involved has an influence on the precision of communication. For instance, it has been noted that expressive contents are more easily portrayed, and the intention understood better when certain instruments are used rather than others (Sheldon 2004. See also Behrens & Green 1993; Gabrielsson 1999b; Paquette *et al.* 2013).

Different models can be adopted in discussing the communication process in music. However, one model that has been widely adopted is the *transmission model* influenced by the information theory (see, for example, Shannon and Weaver 1949), in which a sender transmits information

to a receiver through some channel (see Cohen 2005 for a detailed discussion). This model has been widely criticised, also for its application to music. According to Hargreaves and his colleagues, such a view suggests a ‘power relationship’ involving an active performer and a passive listener, whereas a ‘listener may well play an active role in shaping the content and meaning of the message’ in various musical communication processes (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005:4). The transmission model was later refined to depict a mutual relationship between the transmitter and the receiver through the use of a code mutually understood by both parties. For example, Kendall and Carterette (1990) proposed a model that features three layers involving the composer, performer and the listener. The communication process involves some form of coding and recoding of a musical ‘message’ from one agent to another. In other words, a composer transmits a coded message to the performer who, through recoding, transmits the information to the listener, who also recodes what is transmitted by the performer. The encoding and decoding process is subject to implicit and explicit knowledge mutually understood by the individuals involved (see Kendall & Carterette 1990:132 for the model).

2.5.1 The lens model and the reciprocal feedback model

The transmission model by Kendall and Carterette (1990), involving three parties in the communication process, is similar to the Brunswik’s lens model, which was adopted and expanded by Juslin and his colleagues to study the communication of emotion in music. The expanded lens model also features a composer, a performer and a listener, and successful communication is dependent on a shared common code (see, for example, Juslin & Timmers 2010:476). The *lens model*, which excludes the composer (for example, Juslin 2009b; Juslin & Timmers 2010), is shown in Figure 2.2. The lens captures the relationship between the performer, the listener and the code.⁶ The communication process features the way that the performer encodes, and the way that the listener decodes the acoustic cues respectively. The model proposes that an emotional expression is intended by the performer, who uses acoustic cues (such as tempo and timbre) to communicate this intent. Precision of communication has occurred when a listener recognises the intended expression.

⁶ The use of the performer-listener model and exclusion of the expanded lens model involving the composer does not mean that the input of the composer is not recognised. However, the model featuring performer-listener interaction is much more relevant for this study, given that the performer and composer are usually one and the same in sub-Saharan African indigenous settings (Euba 1990:387; Strumpf *et al.* 2003:121; Herbst *et al.* 2003).

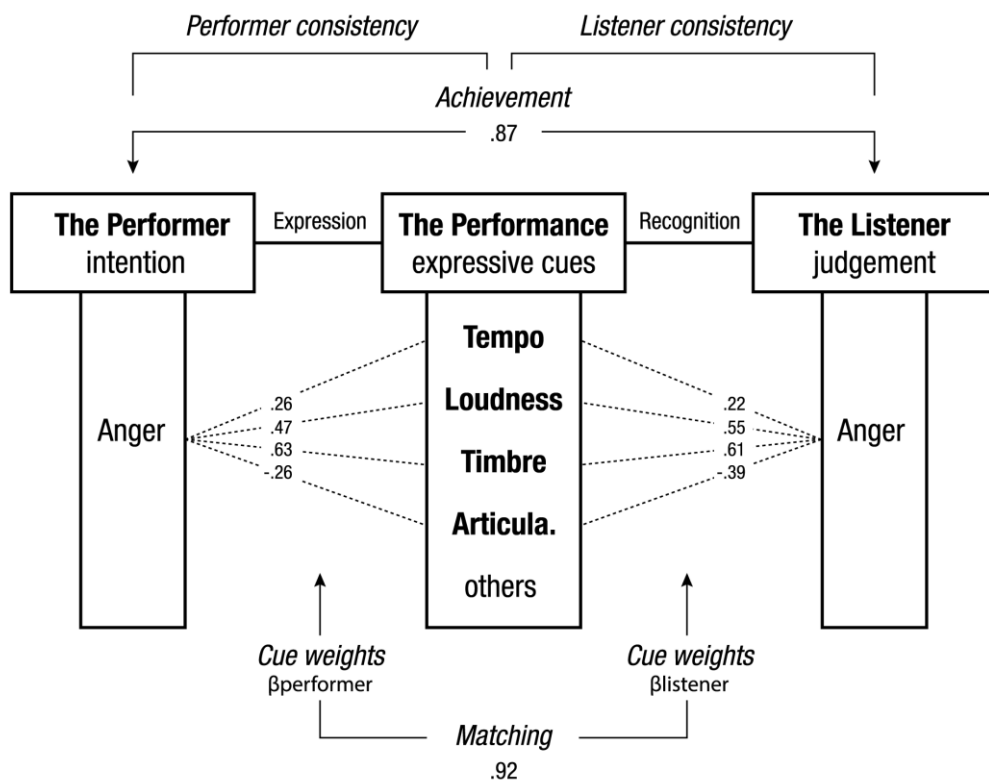


Figure 2.2 Lens model (Juslin 2009:386)

Four indications of successful communication are important as captured by the model: (a) ‘achievement’, which assesses the accomplishment of the communication of emotion from a performer to a listener; (b) ‘cue weight’, which refers to the utilisation of cues (for instance, using fast tempo to express (i.e. code) or decode happiness) by the performer and the listener; (c) ‘matching’, implying the extent of agreement between the performer and the listener regarding use of cues; and (d) ‘consistency’, which looks at how consistently the listener and the performer utilise the cues (Juslin & Timmers 2010:472–473). Juslin and Timmers justify the use of the lens model in examining emotional communication in music by stating, among other things, that the model ‘may explain why there is accurate communication of emotions, even when the cues are used inconsistently across different performers or pieces of music’ (2010:474).

Apart from the lens model there is the *reciprocal feedback model* of Hargreaves *et al.* (2005). While one can see the former model as principally dealing with perception, as it indicates that the listener may or may not feel the emotion as intended by the performer, the latter model encompasses different responses covering cognitive (perception), behavioural and emotional factors. To Hargreaves *et al.* (2005:3), ‘the specific link between the performance event and the

response [is] the defining property of communication’. The authors argue that in asking *how* and *why* questions, one is immediately faced with the *what*, *who* and *where* of musical communications, because the sonic element to which musical meaning is collectively ascribed by people is as important as the ‘social and cultural context within which those sounds exist’ (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005:2). Hence, their model takes into consideration the interaction between an individual and other entities such as other people, or situation within an immediate environment. Based on the idea of ‘reciprocal determinism’ in Bandura’s social cognitive theory, Hargreaves and his colleagues propose that the communicative process in music is determined by the interrelationship of three factors: the music: the individuals involved (such as the performer, composer and/or listener) and the situation. According to Hargreaves *et al.*, the reciprocal feedback model of musical communication was developed from a combination of two models: the ‘reciprocal feedback model of musical response’ (2005:8), and the ‘reciprocal feedback model of musical performance’ (2005:15). The idea put forward by these models is that the interaction of the three factors mentioned above (the music, the situation and the individuals), informs a musical performance as well as response to music. Hence, while the response model shows how music relates to its listening context and the listener, the performance model depicts the feedback relationships between the performer and the context, the music and the listener. The resultant model of communication (Figure 2.3) thus takes into consideration factors that give rise to a performance and those that enable a response.

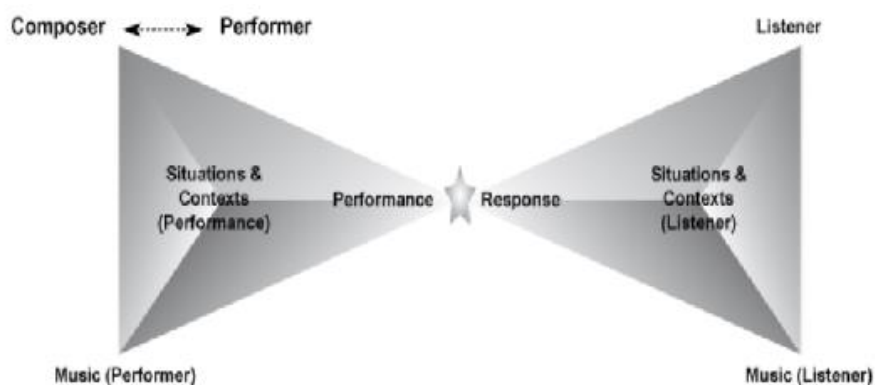


Figure 2.3 Reciprocal feedback model (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005:18)

The reciprocal feedback model shows the composer and/or performer, music and situation and context in the performance pyramid, while the response pyramid depicts the interaction between the situation and context, the listener and the music. The authors contend that the combination

of the pyramids gives rise to ‘a model in which musical communication is defined as the “spark” which occurs when the performance event gives rise to a response’ (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005:18).

To understand the communication of emotion between the *dùndún* performer and listener, the study combines the ideas put forward by the *lens model* (Juslin 2009b; Juslin & Timmers 2010) and the *reciprocal feedback model* (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005). It is useful to combine these models for various reasons: while the first has been applied to the study of expression and communication of emotion, which sees a performer transmitting information through a code to the listener, who uses the same code to decipher what is being transmitted, the second model considers musical communication as an interaction between a musical situation (involving the music, listener, and situation and/or context) and the ensuing responses such as physiological, affective and/or cognitive responses, hence encompassing more than an emotional response. Whereas the lens model prioritises the physical properties of sound in the form of acoustic cues, the reciprocal feedback model allows for consideration of the social context as well as other variables such as those involving the performer. Although reciprocal feedback is applied to communication in music in general and not specifically for the communication of emotion, it provides a useful framework for the investigation of the emotional response aspect of the study. Hence, while the lens model can be valuable in determining the specifics of the information such as the cues used in encoding and decoding, reciprocal feedback is helpful for analysing factors influencing communication and the interrelationship among these factors, thereby providing the basis to fully comprehend emotional communication in *dùndún* music.

It should be noted that although the lens model provides a useful guide for this study, the study did not consider isolating acoustic cues and determining correlations between the acoustic parameters and a performer’s intention to express an emotion, or the listeners’ judgements or recognition of the emotion, as presented in the model. The rationale behind the use of the model is to indicate that a performer, by means of certain elements, interacts with a listener, who interacts with the performer using the same elements. Combining and relying on the lens and the reciprocal feedback models as guides enables the study to identify and describe strategies used by the *dùndún* performers in approaching expression and communication of emotion, modes of transmission of emotion, the channel through which the listeners connect with the performer and the music, as well as the determinants of successful communication.

To complement the lens model and the reciprocal feedback models, this study also considers research that tried to understand emotion as an element of embodied and participatory musical

contexts involving interaction between performers and audience. *Dùndún* music is mostly encountered in live contexts, however, music and emotion literature have focused mainly on recorded music. There is a dearth of literature exploring face-to-face audience performance interaction or focusing on the factors that involves emotion in the performance-audience context.

Because the functions of indigenous music in, for example, Nigerian society ‘are primarily social rather than hedonic’ and contains many characteristics of a communicative medium, it is not clear how ‘music may fulfil these functions’ (Cross 2014:812). One possible solution could be to investigate music as a common feature at events such as weddings, funerals, initiation rites, etc. as ‘moments of potential social transformation’ (Cross 2014:812). There are a number of circular models by several ethnomusicologists such as Arom, Fùrniss, Vallejo and Nzewi (Agawu 2016:59–63), that explore sound as a social structure peculiar to the culture of the individual author’s focus. These models, however, do not provide specific information on the emotive aspects attached to an event, even though they might be implied as discussed later in the thesis. As *dùndún* performance provides its own unique experience, and as the study is focused on performer-audience emotional interaction, these models do not provide information on music cognition, but rather on social structures. As such they do not contribute to a theoretical framework for music cognition but could be of assistance when discussing social functions of music.

A few studies addressed communication as a mutual process between performer and audience such that the behaviour of one is influenced by the other and vice versa. The embodiment theory as an example stresses the ‘ongoing process of dynamic interactivity between an organism and its environment’ (Schiavio *et al.* 2017:785). It attempts to answer the question of ‘who’ the owner of the ‘emotional message’ is: composer, listener, the music, or combinations of inner psychological dispositions and musical structure (Schiavio *et al.* 2017:788). The embodied or enactive approach emphasises the ‘circular interactions’ and interplay between organism and the environment, thus representing an evolving dynamic system (2017:795): ‘[M]usical emotions may be understood to emerge from the complex and recurrent patterns of interaction that unfold between music user and their environment’ (Schiavio *et al.* 2017:796).

In relation to musical communication, Bishop and Goebel (2018:2) describe embodied music cognition as that which ‘considers communication to be a nonlinear process characterized by dynamic interactions between performers, listeners, and their shared environment’, also

described as ‘action-perception loops’. Gesture forms an important part of the ‘musical product’ in that ‘the performance can be viewed as well as heard’ (2018:3), leading to improved interperformer coordination and perception. The theory stresses a process of reciprocal interaction in a common musical context (Trevarthen 2012). This stance is similar to the position of Cross (2014:809) who sees the music communicative process as an ‘interactive participatory medium’. He identifies two properties by which music communicate shared meanings: entrainment and floating intentionality. The former involves the alignment of the behaviours of two or more individuals to a common periodicity. The theory proposes that the act of making music together and the alignment of behaviours to a shared time will lead to a ‘regular pulse structure around which each participant organizes their contribution to the musical event’. The resultant effect will be that participants not only synchronise their behaviours to a common pulse, but ‘when making music together, participants [also] entrain their attention, actions and sounds with those of other participants’ (Cross 2014:813). The latter property, floating intentionality, stresses the differences in attributing meaning to music among individuals even in the same context. Despite the individual experiences in meaning making, the music experience is also shared, for example, in relation to the ‘intrinsic attribute of the music’. Hence, the ‘social uncertainty’ of music experience creates room for ‘a sense of mutual affiliation between participants and [allows] them to experience the significance of a joint event as both deeply personal yet shared’ (Cross 2014:814). Reference to individual and shared meaning is relevant to the study in that such meaning making process is likely to be more enhanced in *dùndún* music where music and language interact. And as pointed out by Cross, both are better construed as ‘overlapping categories of interactive behaviour’ (2014:815). Similarly, the entrainment hypothesis of communication is important in understanding the interaction between participants (that is, performers and listeners) in the *dùndún* performance context. The assumption is that, if entrainment allows for the synchronisation of various elements amongst participating individuals, it is thus probable that the synchronisation of emotion will also not be found wanting. Especially, as the process is reciprocal, individuals feed into one another’s actions and reactions.

From the foregoing, it can be assumed that in the context of emotional communication, the ways in which a performer presents or represents emotion (for example, through body movement and gestures) will to some extent, be determined by the audience responses and will in turn shape the responses. This has been established by studies that explore the impact of visual cues on expression and perception (for example, Behne & Wöllner 2011; Vuoskoski *et*

al. 2016), as well as those focusing on the effects of contextual factors on listeners' affective responses such as the study by Coutinho and Scherer (2017). The study focuses the effect of the listening environment on emotional responses of listeners. Using the Geneva Emotional Music Scale (GEMS) (Zentner *et al.* 2008), the authors examine, among other aims, the similarities and differences between a live performance setting and a laboratory context of listening. The laboratory study involved three recorded listening conditions: audio-visual, audio only and visual only of the same stimuli involved in the live performance. Their results show a strong correlation between visual only and audio-visual conditions. There is also a similarity between listeners' emotional experience in the visual only and live conditions, thereby highlighting the effect of visual aspects of performance on emotional experience. Another important finding is the higher consistency of emotional responses in the live performance compared to the laboratory context involving recorded music, thus showing the difference between affective responses to recorded and live music, and especially the importance of a listening context that involves visual cues. Another example of the effect of context could be found in the study of Clayton and Leante (2015) that focuses on roles and hierarchy in North Indian classical music. Even though not specifically about emotion or embodied cognition, the study reveals the interaction between the performers and audience in a live performance setting and how status is negotiated between the participants such that the audience is as much active and essential to the outcome of a performance as the performer. Referring to the roles of expert listeners or other musicians in the audience, the authors note that 'when such listeners show their appreciation verbally or gesturally [...] they are understood by others to have a key role in the creation of an ideal performing environment for the musicians and [...] in the success of the event' (Clayton & Leante 2015:33). Thereby showing the importance of not only the context of the performance, but also the ongoing interaction between the performers, the audience and their environment.

In contrast to the lens model that underscores a pattern of performance of an active performer transmitting information to a passive listener, and which resonates more with Western art music, embodiment theory (and by extension, entrainment) could be useful in a study of non-Western musical contexts such as the *dùndún*. This is because in the world of the *dùndún*, the audience is as much active and essential to the outcome of a performance as the performer.

Given the lack of a holistic music cognitive model that could be adopted for a study of music and emotions in non-Western contexts, this study combines the different models and theories

as highlighted above in combination with the lens and the reciprocal feedback models. Combining these models help to focus the study on the who, what, how, why and where aspects of emotional communication in performance practices of the *dúndún* as well as answer the research questions posed in Chapter One.

2.5.2 The influence of the performer on expression and communication of emotion

A discussion of expression, perception and/or communication in music in one way or another implicates a performer, especially when one looks at the subject from the performance or performer's perspective. The performers' contributions to people's experiences with music have raised different questions such as how performers achieve expressive performance, how they communicate with listeners, and what the effects of emotions are in the lives of performers themselves (for example, Woody & Mcpherson 2010). A number of researchers have also investigated how performers approach expressivity, whether expressivity is learned and how it is being taught or learned. While some researchers, teachers or musicians would believe expressive skill to be an innate talent, others believe expressivity can be learned (Marchand 1975; Woody 1999). To some the acquisition of expressive skill is a combination of both inherent talent and learned skill (Lindström *et al.* 2003; Laukka 2004); to some others, however, 'there is no technique to perform expressively. You have to use your soul' (cited in Woody 2000:21). There is as yet no consensus on the subject; however, from a pedagogical perspective, it has been suggested that expressive performance is achieved through verbal-based and model-based approaches. A verbal-based approach consists of (a) verbal instruction addressing the acoustic properties of music, and (b) figurative language including imagery, metaphor and analogies (Woody 2002a; Sheldon 2004; Black 2015). Expressive performance is also achieved through modelling (Tait 1992; Barten 1998; Woody 1999, 2000), and performers' 'felt emotions' (Woody 2000, 2002a; Lindström *et al.* 2003; Woody & Mcpherson 2010).⁷

Relevant to this study is not only how performers approach expressivity, but also what the influence of a performer is on responses to music listening. Viewed from the perspective of

⁷ The use of imagery, metaphor and modelling to address performance expression seem to be common compared to direct verbal instruction addressing the properties and structure of a piece of music (Sheldon 2004). Modelling is believed to produce better expressivity than verbal instructions (Sang 1987). Figurative language (metaphor and verbal imagery) has been noted to aid the understanding of music as a broad whole as opposed to separate notes or phrases (Barten 1998; Woody 2002a; Sheldon 2004). In addition to modelling, imagery and metaphor, some schools of thought hold that expressivity is a product of a performer's felt emotion. For example, the musicians in the studies by Lindström *et al.* (2003) and Laukka (2004) believe emotions have to be felt before they can be communicated to the listeners.

expression or perception, a performer is responsible for manipulating the acoustic cues to express any emotion, as seen in the *lens model*. In addition to the manipulation of acoustic cues, performers can also optimise a listener's musical experience through expressiveness in their body movements or facial expressions (Davidson 2005; Thompson *et al.* 2005; Turner & Kenny 2010). The significance of the performer is also seen in the *reciprocal feedback model* of communication. Similarly, some of the mechanisms of evoking emotion outlined earlier involve the contribution of the performer with respect to, for example, expectancy or contagion. In addition, the context, music and listener factors of the causal factors theory also in some way involve a performer. Exponents of the theory (for example, Gabrielsson 2010, 2011) consider the performer and/or the performance together with the musical factor). In a similar version, Scherer and Coutinho (2013) identify three factors of the performance, the listener and the context on emotional responses to music. The framework of Scherer and Coutinho (2013) clearly shows the impact of the performer in the emotion-arousal process (see also, Coutinho & Scherer 2017). These ideas that various factors besides the music play some roles in reactions to music have a bearing on the study in that they allow for the consideration of the role of the performer in the interaction, especially as *dúndún* mostly involve live performances in natural settings. The position of this study is that insofar as performers in some way impact on people's experiences with music, for instance, as variously encountered in Gabrielsson's exploration of Strong Experiences with Music (SEM), (see for example, Gabrielsson 2011:322–354), the role of the performer deserves to be studied. Whereas the study assumes that in some situations the performer may influence the music and the reactions of the listener to the music, there is no contention of a cause and effect relationship, or prediction in terms of the relationship between performer and emotional reaction. The aim is to look at the general contribution of the performer in the music-listener-situation interplay and emotional responses to music.

2.6 Theoretical approaches to studying emotion in music: discrete, dimensional, music-specific models

The study of music and emotion invites different questions that entail theoretical approaches in finding answers to these questions. Some questions revolve around perception and induction of emotion (discussed in the previous section) in terms of the kinds of emotion that can be expressed, perceived and/or induced by music, and what emotions are relevant to music. Others are about the appropriate model of emotion to apply to music given that the study of the music-emotion relationship largely adopts mainstream models of the general field of emotion. Three

major models have been implicated in music-emotion studies, namely discrete, and dimensional and music-specific.

Although this study does not focus on the central arguments of these theories, some concepts which have been associated with these theories and to which references are made in the chapters on the findings are relevant. These include labels frequently associated with basic emotions, for example, happiness, sadness and fear (Ekman 1994, 1999); hedonic tone in terms of pleasantness-unpleasantness or positive-negative valence commonly associated with the dimension theorists (Russell 1980, 1983, 1989; Russell & Barrett 1999), and ‘suitability of emotion’, which can be said to resonate with the music-specific position. An overview of these theoretical approaches is given below.

2.6.1 Discrete model (basic emotions)

The concept of discrete emotions, otherwise known as basic or fundamental emotions in general emotion studies, has been applied to mean three things: (a) that emotions are distinct but share common features; (b) their functionality in and adaptivity to important life events; and (c) the notion of mixed emotion, which contends that non-basic emotions are a blend of basic emotions. Basic emotions are characterized by their distinct features, universality and the purpose they serve in important situations in one’s life (Izard 1977, 1991; Ekman 1992b, 1999; Plutchik 1994; Panksepp & Watt 2011). These categories of emotion are said to be fundamental, because they are instrumental to an organism’s survival or adaptation as they shape how the organism thinks or acts. Fundamental emotions are evolutionary; hence, they can be found in other primates (Plutchik 1980). They are characterized by their own distinguishable feelings, facial expressions (Ekman 1992b, 1999), vocal expression (Tomkins 1962) and physiological patterns (Levenson *et al.* 1990). Basic emotions can be said to be universal and they become apparent early in ontogeny; for example, emotions such as joy or interest appear as early as at birth, while expressions of anger are functional from when a child is about four months old (Izard 1991, 2007). It must be said that some basic emotions researchers take exception to the stance of considering ontogeny as a major characteristic feature of basic emotion (for example, Ekman 1999). Categories generally found in the literature on basic emotions include joy/happiness, sadness, disgust, fear, anger, including (depending on the theorist) surprise, contempt, and interest (see Tracy & Randles 2011, for an overview).

One criticism against the theory of basic emotion is that its proponents describe such a wide range of basic emotions, that there appears to be a lack of consensus as to what kind of emotions

should be regarded as ‘basic’ (Ortony & Turner 1990:315), but a counterargument is that at least six emotions have been reported in terms of universality of facial expression (Ekman 1992b). Also, Juslin debunks the argument against basic emotions on the grounds that coming across different lists of basic emotions may be expected as long as the term ‘emotion’ itself is defined differently. Hence, what should be noted instead is the ‘agreement about which emotions are basic amongst those who define emotions in a similar way’ (Juslin 2013b:6).

How does this theory relate to music and how has it been applied in music and emotion studies? In relation to music, basic emotion has largely been applied especially in perception studies (Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Balkwill *et al.* 2004; Resnicow *et al.* 2004; Kallinen 2005; Vieillard *et al.* 2008; Fritz *et al.* 2009). However, considering the (ir)relevance of some basic emotion terms to music (for example, disgust), some researchers include in their studies musically suitable terms such as ‘peacefulness’ and ‘tenderness’ (Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Vieillard *et al.* 2008). It has been argued that the basic emotion model has dominated the field of music and emotion. In their review Eerola and Vuoskoski (2013) note that more than 30% of studies carried out in the field of music and emotion studies between 1988 and 2009 adopt a basic emotion model. This could probably be due to the assumption that basic emotions require less effort to express and decode in music (Gabrielsson & Juslin 1996; Gabrielsson & Juslin 2003; Lindström *et al.* 2003). Basic emotions are easy to perceive to the extent that children can encode and decode them (Cunningham & Sterling 1988; Adachi & Trehub 1998; Nawrot 2003). Juslin (2013b:5) notes that ‘basic emotions are privileged in the sense that they are biologically prepared for effective communication’, hence it should not be surprising that the codes used for vocal expression of emotions are similar to those used in the musical expression of emotions. The meta-analysis by Juslin and Laukka (2003) on discrete emotion involving a review of 41 studies of music performance and 104 studies of vocal expression make the point that musical expression and vocal expression of emotion share similar cues. Although a very limited number of studies have been carried out cross-culturally, the existing literature (for example, Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Fritz *et al.* 2009) suggests basic emotions are also perceived across cultures. Moreover, across cultures the cues used for perception of emotion in vocal expression are similar to those used to detect emotion in musical expression (Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Laukka *et al.* 2013).

Despite the popularity of the basic emotions model in the field of music and emotion studies, its authority has been challenged by researchers in the field. One major argument pointed to the

relevance of the premise of basic emotions to music, for example the survival functions of basic emotions (Scherer 2004). To support this, Scherer proposes two kinds of emotion differentiated by how they are appraised: utilitarian and aesthetic emotions (2004, 2005). Whereas utilitarian emotions are those that are consequential to human existence in that they are needed for survival, aesthetic emotions are those felt in reaction to nature's beauty or a work of art, including music, and are not goal-oriented. According to Scherer, there are many emotions and they involve various levels of processing. This position, closely related to the discrete model in terms of its placing emotions as distinct from one another, is known as the 'component-process theory'. Its basic premise is that all emotions are appraised based on how relevant an event is to the appraiser (Scherer 2001, 2005). From this perspective, the emotions falling under the label 'basic' might be irrelevant to music.

Further limitation of the basic emotion model includes the use of limited choice of emotion categories. Hence, there are constraints in the exclusive adoption of the basic/discrete approach to the study of musical emotion. Juslin (2013b:8) suggests the approach may only be suitable for studies focusing on emotional expression in music performance. Regardless of its shortcomings, however, the model has been widely adopted in both studies of perceived emotions (Bresin & Friberg 2000; Timmers & Ashley 2007) and induced emotions (Scherer *et al.* 2002; Baumgartner *et al.* 2006), and it is fair to say the discrete model is more common to perception studies. Juslin (2013b) warns that an author is not necessarily a basic emotion theorist because of a mere focus on any of these emotions; rather, a basic emotion theorist is someone who adopts the fundamental assumptions surrounding basic emotions. The author thus advises that the designation 'basic emotion' should be applied 'only when one is embracing the theoretical basis of this concept, and to use the term "everyday emotions" when one is simply referring to emotions such as *happiness, anger, surprise, fear, and sadness* without wanting to commit to the underlying theory of basic emotions' (Juslin 2013b:5).

2.6.2 Dimensional approach

Another dominant approach to the study of emotion in psychology is the dimensional approach. The dimensional approach conceives of emotion in terms of their placement along a continuum depicting aspects such as the activation of emotion, potency, and valence. The most common dimensions however are valence (pleasant/positive or unpleasant/negative aspects of emotion) and arousal (degree of activation). Dimensional theorists are unsatisfied with the argument that emotions are distinct from one another. To a dimensional theorist, there is a degree of

interrelationship among emotions. According to Bullock and Russell (1984), this idea was first conceived by Woodworth in 1938. Since then several scholars have adopted the use of variants of dimensional models (for example, Schlosberg, 1954; Watson & Tellegen 1985; Russell 1980, 1983, 1989; Russell & Barrett 1999; Schimmack & Grob 2000; Barrett 2006). One of the most favoured, however, is the circumplex model devised by Russell (1980), which places emotions in a two-dimensional affective space: valence and arousal. In the model, emotion terms are arranged around the circumference of a circular structure showing *pleasure* and *arousal* dimensions. The words are arranged in such a way that emotions which seem alike in characteristics are contiguous (although, their similarity levels are not the same), while those that are regarded as opposite emotions are placed across from the others on the model. Even though various forms of dimensional approach have been applied in general psychology, the valence-arousal model has been the most prominent amongst the proponents of the dimensional approach in the field of music psychology. Eerola and Vuoskoski (2013) note in their review that the dimensional model has been used in one third of studies in the music and emotion domain, and more than 70% of them make use of valence-arousal. However, the inadequacies of the model in capturing various music emotions have been pointed out (Bigand *et al.* 2005; Ilie & Thompson, 2006). For this reason, some researchers such as, for example, Ilie and Thompson (2006) have added other dimensions. Despite its shortcomings, the dimensional model has been useful in the study of perceived emotion (Kallinen & Ravaja 2006; Vieillard *et al.* 2008) and even more in music-induced emotions (Husain *et al.* 2002; Grewe *et al.* 2007b; Evans & Schubert 2008).

2.6.3 Music-specific: a middle ground

Looking at the limitations imposed on music research by the current theories of general emotions, one is tempted to question their application to music in the first place. In retrospect, one can see that to some extent they are relevant to music. For instance, while the discrete approach may be useful for studies on perceived emotion, the dimensional approach is more likely to be useful in studies focusing on induced emotion. Juslin (2013b:3) cannot see the two approaches as complementing each other empirically, given that their theoretical foundations are in opposition to each other, while Zentner *et al.* (2008) think the two approaches cannot adequately cover all musical emotions. In view of the inadequacies of the basic and dimensional models, some researchers have attempted to develop models that are more specifically applicable to music. To these researchers the existing ‘approaches may not be suited to capture

the essence of musically-evoked emotions' (Zentner *et al.* 2008:495). Hevner's (1936) arrangement of eight clusters of emotion terms on a circle known as the *adjective clock* is an example of a model specifically designed for music. The adjective clock was expanded by other authors (for example, Schubert 2003. See also, Wedin 1972; Asmus 1985; Bartel 1992 for other models). The most comprehensive of the models is the GEMS model of Zentner *et al.* (2008), which was derived from a set of four interrelated studies, including a collection of emotion terms (66 in total) considered to be relevant for music. The frequency of the emotions in terms of felt emotion and/or perceived emotion was also investigated. To validate the model, the study includes various listeners to different genres of music such as jazz, rock, world music along with classical music. The authors think that the lack of a systematic classification of emotions that is applicable to music allowed room for the application of the general models of emotion.

The Geneva Emotional Music Scales (GEMS) of Zentner *et al.* (2008) features nine categories of emotions that are more related to music, namely *wonder, tenderness, transcendence, peacefulness, nostalgia, power, joyful activation, tension and sadness* with their various nuances (see also Juslin & Laukka 2004; Laukka 2007; Juslin *et al.* 2008). The model features more positive emotions, probably because a listener is more likely to perceive than to feel negative emotions in listening to music (Zentner *et al.* 2008), or because music rarely arouses negative emotions compared to everyday situations (Juslin *et al.* 2008; Juslin *et al.* 2011). In comparison to dimensional and discrete models, the music-specific model is found to account better for emotions in response to music. However, it covers more felt emotion than perceived emotion, which is better captured by the basic emotion model. What is interesting in the GEMS model is the occurrence of emotions such as nostalgia and transcendence which are not part of the core emotions considered by either the basic or the dimensional model. This indicates that music involves a range of emotions which seem to surpass any designation of emotions in listening to music in terms of basic, dimensional or even aesthetic emotions.

Critique of the GEMS scale has noted the absence of musically and aesthetically relevant terms such as interest, surprise and awe, as well as placing unrelated emotions under one category (Juslin 2016:208). Be that as it may, the wide range of emotions captured by the music-specific model points out the uniqueness of the growing field of music and emotion studies. It also points towards the need to look beyond the limited emotion terms or concepts imposed by the basic emotions or dimensional models, and embrace as many emotions as can be perceived or felt in response to music. Moreover, the state of the field appears to have developed so much

that it would be not be far-fetched at this time to incorporate different methods and/or models that will enable a deeper understanding of music and emotion in relation to perception, responses, communication and the associated intricacies. Ultimately, there is a need for more cross-cultural studies and examination of a greater variety of musical styles from various perspectives to enable generalisations that in turn will impact on learning, research and application (Juslin 2016).

2.7 Conclusion

It appears that music can hardly be separated from emotion, and the universality of both phenomena makes them unique. This chapter focused on the relationship between the two and especially how they have been approached in relation to music expressiveness and emotional reaction in the field of music psychology. By highlighting the referential meaning of music as it relates to emotion, to the overview of expression, perception, communication and emotional responses to music, this to some degree shows the state of the field of study, as well as indicating gaps that need to be filled in terms of the inclusion of other musics and cultures. The importance of music in the life of humans is evident in the wide range of responses that music can evoke that are consciously or unconsciously processed through an interaction of the music, the individual and the situation. As can be seen from the literature overview, the performers play a crucial role in the interaction as they seem to be highly implicated in the expression and communication of emotion in music. Taking the performer into account, the interrelatedness of emotional expression and emotion responses amounts to communication, as described at the introductory section of the chapter. The themes presented in this chapter lay the theoretical foundations upon which the major question of the thesis build: How is emotion communicated in *dùndún* music? An attempt to answer this question follows in the subsequent chapters, beginning with an account of the detailed process of data collection, treatment and analysis in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis of *Dùndún* Performance Practices

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed description of the research journey and methods used to collect data on the performance practices of Yorùbá *dùndún* ensembles, with specific reference to the emotional responses evoked by *dùndún* music. Data were collected during two periods of fieldwork that spanned about eight months in total. Three major factors influenced the choice of fieldwork as a way to collect data: firstly, there is no study that explores indigenous *dùndún* ensembles in Nigeria from a music psychological perspective that focuses on evoked emotive responses. Secondly, conducting fieldwork is not only necessary, but assists in generating rich and complex data for analytical purposes in comparison to merely consulting the sparse literature available through a music psychological lens, or to listen to recordings of *dùndún* performances without the much needed and multifarious perspectives of performers and listeners. Thirdly, the objective of the study, namely investigating the communicative processes between performers and listeners necessitates immersion in a musical and sociocultural context for observations, interviews and direct interaction with musicians and listeners. In addition to describing the detailed methods and procedures of data collection, the chapter also includes a discussion of the data-analysis procedures.

3.2 The field: gaining access

Two separate but related fieldwork trips were carried out to gather primary data for the study. The first fieldwork trip took place between October 2015 and February 2016, and the second between July and November 2016. Altogether six towns were visited in the Yorùbá communities. They included Eḍe, Igbó-Orà, Ìlọra, Ìpetumodù, Òşogbo and Òyó (Figure 3.1). Four *dùndún* ensembles were chosen for the interviews, observation and experiment, from the towns of Igbó-Orà (Òyó state), Ìlọra (Òyó state), Eḍe and Òşogbo (both in Òşun state) during the first fieldwork session. The choice of the locations was based on two major considerations: (a) locating areas rich in *dùndún* tradition, and (b) gaining authorised access to the chosen sites. In addition to the four ensembles that participated in all the stages of the data collection process, two other ensembles were also visited to conduct interviews: a chief's ensemble in Òyó and the

palace drummers of Timi of Ede.¹ The second trip involved participation in annual cultural festivals and interviews with drummers and dancers at Oşogbo, Ede, Igbó-Orà and Ipetumodù.

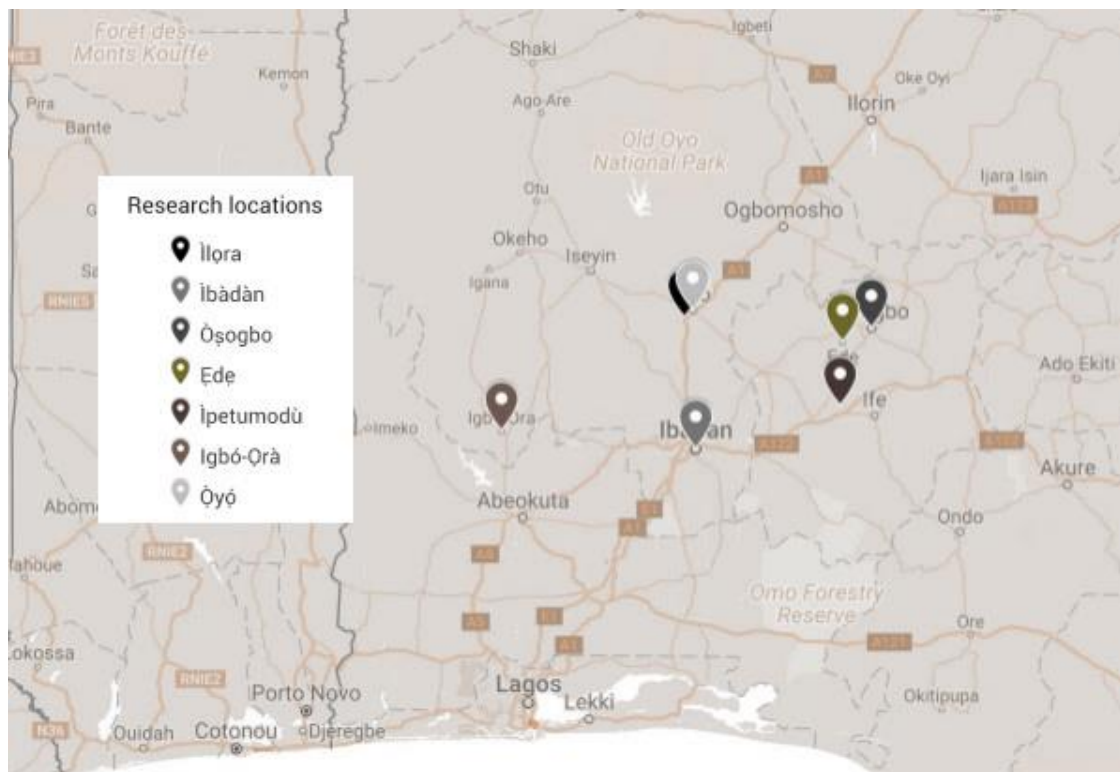


Figure 3.1 Map showing the locations of fieldwork including the researcher’s work station in Ibadan. Map captured by researcher on 23 May 2017 with Google Imagery and TerraMetrics (2017).

As noted by Charmaz (2014:39), ethnography is about gaining access to the setting as much as it is about gaining ‘access within the setting’. For this study, the researcher had some concerns regarding access to and within the field. These included getting a local contact or informant, dealing with dialect language issues² and ethical concerns regarding making payments to participants. While some researchers in the humanities have ethical concerns in making payments to participants such concerns are often not present in studies situated in music psychological studies or studies situated in the natural sciences. Within the current sociocultural

¹ Timi is the title given to a reigning king in Ede, a historical town in Oşun state, South-West Nigeria.

² One of the major concerns for gaining access in the setting was language. Even though the researcher speaks Yorùbá, which is the language spoken by all the communities involved in the study, the dialects spoken in the respective towns are different from that of the researcher, whose Yorùbá is not fluent enough for having long conversations with the members of the communities. The researcher was born and raised in the cosmopolitan city of Lagos, which means her using Yorùbá contains various kinds of mixtures. Lawal Ismail, a secondary school Yorùbá teacher in Ede who lives in Oşogbo, therefore assisted with the majority of the interviews. The lack of fluency of language turned out to be an advantage as the participants were excited because of an ‘urban’ individual’s interest in the indigenous culture, and hence were more willing to initiate the researcher into the culture.

setting in Nigeria it would have been impossible to have access to the participants without paying a small complimentary fee to the elders in the villages and the ensembles as well as giving them a few bottles of what is known as ‘elders’ drink (gin). Given these concerns, the towns in the respective states were also purposefully chosen where there were contacts such as family and friends who had direct access to the ensembles in these towns, ensuring smooth negotiations between the researcher, the participants and the larger community. Besides having local contacts, and having a Yorùbá language expert, an honest attempt to learn the art of drumming strengthened the process of gaining access to the field through earning the participants’ trust. The researcher was fully admitted to the communities when showing an interest in learning to play a *dùndún* drum. Within this specific sociocultural environment, the request to be taught the art of drumming is associated with being ‘humble’ (humility being one of the virtues the elders in Yorùbá culture look out for in younger ones). The ‘humble student’ status thus allowed the researcher to be privy to information and access to occasions meant for only the initiates (for example, the *Àyàṅàgalú* rituals).

3.3 Data-collection processes during fieldwork trips

The two field trips mentioned above were employing various methods of data collection (see Figure 3.2). Data collection took place in a musical performance context as well as in non-musical contexts. While the data in the first phase of the fieldwork were collected in both ‘artificial’ and ‘naturalistic’ settings, in the sense that some performances occurred outside of the real performance context (artificial), the second phase was entirely naturalistic (within the context of festivals). As can be seen in the flow diagram, data from the first field trip were gathered through in-depth structured and semi-structured interviews, observations of performances (both at ceremonies and those performed specifically for the researcher), and an experiment developed in the field and tested by a questionnaire survey. Additional data were collected through field notes, audio-visual recordings as well as formal and informal conversations.

The second fieldwork trip involved interviews and visits to cultural festivals. Cultural festivals observed included the *Ọ̀ṣun* festival in Ọ̀soḡbo, the *Égúngún* festival in Ìpetumodù, the *Ìgunnukó* and *Égúngún* festivals in Igbó-Orà, and *Ìṣẹ̀ṣe* and *Ṣàngó* festivals in Ọ̀soḡbo. Methods of data collection were interconnected and interwoven in both phases of the fieldwork in that the methods used in the second phase of the fieldwork were informed by the first. Also, in some cases, two or more methods were employed simultaneously; for instance, conducting interviews

during observation, or combining open-ended responses to interview questions with close-ended questionnaire survey.

While the first field trip involved only the performers, the second trip included non-*dúndún* players for observations and interviews. It was observed during the first fieldwork trip that the ensembles mostly participated in ceremonies such as burials and weddings. However, data gathered from the observation of the events and responses from the interviews suggested a need for more information that would lead to a deeper understanding and a substantiation of the information supplied by the participants during the first fieldwork trip. During this first trip, an experiment was developed in the field as well as a questionnaire to collect responses on the experiment from insider listeners. The second phase of fieldwork involving dancers and other listeners served as a follow-up on the information gathered from, and initial analysis of, the first phase. Although some research questions and methods of data collection had been pre-designed before the fieldtrip, occurrences in the field and initial analysis led to more questions emerging. The process of collecting and analysing data simultaneously with developing more questions forms part of the processes of grounded theory applied in the study.

Research activities and methods of data collection in each of the trips are explained in detail in the sections to follow.

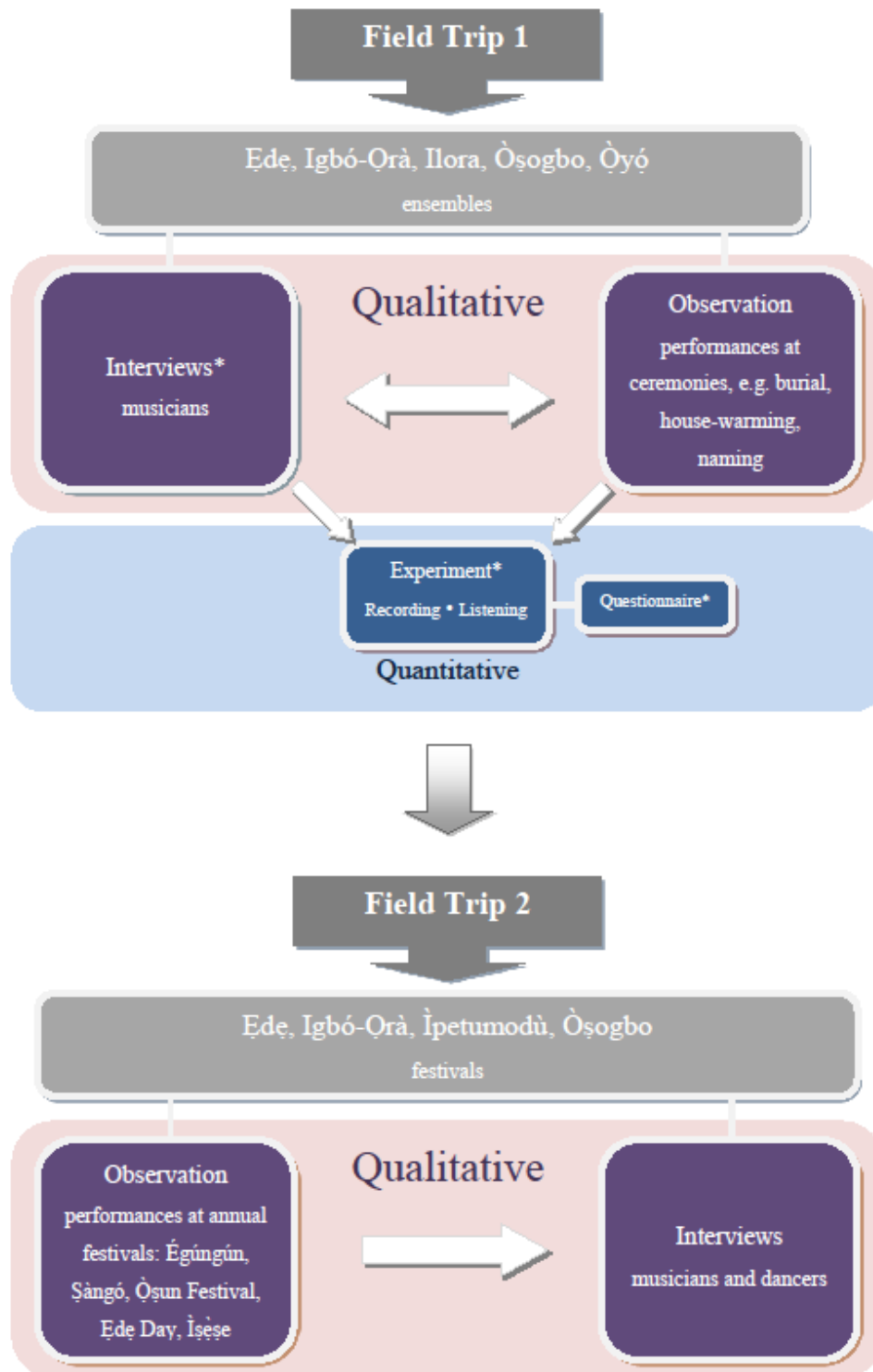


Figure 3.2 Flow chart showing qualitative and quantitative data-collection processes and research activities during the two field trips. The use of the asterisks (*) indicates a non-performance context.

3.3.1 Interviews

In-depth, semi-structured and open-ended interviews were conducted with selected members of each ensemble during the first field trip (Table 3.1). The interviews provided qualitative data on the methods of teaching and learning *dùndún*, performance practices and musicians' views on their contribution to emotional responses. Charmaz (2014:62–63) notes that developing an interview guide assists in honing a researcher's skill in asking questions and obtaining data and helps in focusing the topic and following up on aspects the researcher may not have been aware of. Forty guiding questions addressed different aspects of the study such as the roles and organisation of the drums in each ensemble, knowledge systems as well as evocation of emotions and expression during performance (see Appendices C and D). Other related questions were influenced by observations made in the field, as well as the direction of informal everyday conversations.

The second phase of interviews was conducted in the context of festivals, including selected prominent musicians and performance groups, dancers and audience members at the festivals (Table 3.1). Interviews were conducted in the Yorùbá language and were all audio-visually recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

The first interview started with the ensemble in Igbó-Ọrà. Given that *dùndún* is a family tradition, and Igbó-Ọrà is said to be one of the remaining towns that still maintains its richness in *dùndún* performance, there are a lot of drummers in the Adegbite family (about 20 drummers, excluding the children). Deciding on whom to include in the interviews proved to be a difficult process. The larger group assisted in this process by nominating five people as their representatives, based on members' experience, position and gender. This group consisted of the head of the family, who is also the vice-president of the *dùndún* drummers' association in Igbó-Ọrà, his immediate younger brother who is next in rank to the head of the family, a member who follows in terms of seniority, the head of the youths in the family, and the only female member of the group at the time of the first trip.

Table 3.1 Interviewees and their locations

Location	Interviewee
Èdẹ	Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo* Ayanjimi Ayantunji Ayansipe Saibu Ayantayo Kamiu Lasisi Ayantunji* Waidi Ayanleke*
Igbó-Ọrà	Azeez Ayansola Bashiru Ayandamilare Kabirat Ayantayo** Rasaki Ayamndiran Sikiru Ayanwale
Ìlọra	Ayanbanji Ayankunle Ayanjimi Ayansegun Ayanjimi Ayansoji Ayanniyi Samuel
Ìpetumodù	Waidi Ayansola*** Alalade Ehero Eunice*** Femi Bankole*** Kayode Ladubo***
Òşogbo	Adebisi Akanji*** Ajike Atanda*** Akeem Ayanyemi Ayanlowo*** Lasisi Ayantoyinbo† Ojetundun Alam Òyó *** Ojetundun Alam Òyó ***
Òyó	Ahmed Ayansola Shittu Ayanlola
* Timi of Èdẹ's palace ** Female ensemble member *** Festival interviewee † Deceased	

Four people were interviewed in Ìlọra out of the five-member group, because the fifth member had travelled out of town on the day of the interview. Three people were chosen from the Èdẹ ensemble to take part in the interviews and six participated in the performances staged for the researcher. The group was also comprised of a large number of drummers in the family, who usually divide into subgroups whenever they go on outings, basing the choice of participants on their rank in the ensemble. Also, in Èdẹ three of the four-member palace drummers of the king of Èdẹ were interviewed to provide additional information on the *dùndún* tradition.

Only the master musician (who passed away in February 2017) was chosen at Òṣogbo, because the other adult members believed his vast knowledge was sufficient to provide all the information needed. In addition to the four major ensembles and Èḍe palace drummers, a focus-group interview was held with a chief's ensemble in Òyó for the same reason as for the palace drummers.

The duration of the interviews ranged from 10 to 50 minutes, depending on the interviewees and their position in the group. Most of the interviews during the first phase were conducted in drummers' homes or sitting areas (as in the case of the Èḍe palace and the Èḍe ensemble). Because some of these locations were either close to a market or an open area where friends and family came around to greet and/or see what was going on, sometimes other voices appear in the recordings. The curiosity and presence of people in neighbouring compounds show the communal nature of living in indigenous African communities. The performance-based context for interviews included background noise, but the use of an audio recorder helped in isolating the voices of interviewer and interviewee. The *Şàngó* and the *Ìṣẹ̀ṣe* festivals in Òṣogbo, however, posed a problem in terms of transcription of interviews. As the festival was held on the same day as the *Égúngún* and the *Ìgunnukó* festivals in Igbó-Ọ̀rà, a decision was made to use assistants in Òṣogbo. These field assistants had only one camera to work with, meaning that there was a wide distance between the camera and the subjects to the extent that background noises at times overwhelmed the subjects' voices. As a result, numerous words and sentences were missing from the interviews as also reflected in the transcripts.

Nine interviewees were selected during the second phase of the fieldwork, alongside the ensembles that participated during the first phase. The selection criteria took the following four factors into account: the audience size a particular *dùndún* ensemble was able to attract; reactions of the listeners through dancing and/or clapping; the variety and quality of audience comments; and the length of time for which an ensemble was able to engage the audience. As listeners' actions and reactions have a direct bearing on the performance, the performers and dancers chosen were those evaluated as showing outstanding performance skills at the festivals.

3.3.2 Observation

Observation as a method of data collection affords the researcher informal yet informative conversations with the members of the ensembles, allowing for insight into some of the ensembles' traditions which were not immediately apparent in the interviews (such as the ensembles' teaching-learning practices). Engaging with the musicians furthermore allows for an understanding of how a *dùndún* performer interacts with other musicians, the listeners and

the community at large, and how this interaction shapes the musicians' performances. Listeners' reactions to *dùndún* music were observed and supplemented with information gathered from interviews and questionnaire. The process of observation of the ensembles involved following the groups to various performances in and around the communities. Performances specifically staged for the researcher took place outside the musical performance context. Data from the observations were collected in audio-visual format and field notes.

On days when there were no outings during the first trip, the researcher would sit in the family compounds of the respective ensembles from morning till evening, engaging in conversation with the families and taking part in other activities, while making field notes and writing memos for analysis. Since some of these drummers have daily jobs other than drumming, it was impossible to stay in a particular town for more than four days at a time, except in Igbó-Ọrà, where the researcher was learning *dùndún* drumming. Moreover, it was often the case that while in one town, there would be a call to attend an event or interview a participant elsewhere. Therefore, observation during the period involved moving between the six towns and five ensembles (including the Ẹḍe palace). The performances witnessed by the researcher during the first field trip included occasions such as wedding ceremonies, funerals and house-warming ceremonies, with the most common being funerals. A different occasion that took place in Ẹḍe was the celebration of Ẹḍe day, which involved the two groups I was working with as well as numerous other drummers from the town and beyond. At times the celebrants invited the drummers, but on most occasions the drummers attended out of their own volition. Observation thus involved attending these occasions with the ensembles besides watching performers' activities around their respective homes.

The cultural festivals attended during the second fieldwork trip featured numerous and various drum ensembles, but most prominently *dùndún* and *bata* ensembles. All the festivals took place on a large piece of land with various ensembles performing simultaneously at different places on the festival ground. *Ọṣun* is one of the Yoruba deities and the festival is held annually in Ọṣogbo in honour of the deity (see Omojola 2011 for a comprehensive account). At the *Ọṣun* festival, while some *dùndún* drummers moved around to entertain different guests arriving at the grove estimated to be about 75 hectares of land (Omojola 2011:79), others were stationed in particular locations with dance groups. The latter group of drummers enjoyed the company of the audience in comparison to the former group, who were constantly changing locations. *Ìṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀* and *Ṣàngó* festivals in Ọṣogbo are similar to the *Ọṣun* festival in the manner in which drummers operate. *Ìṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀* (meaning, tradition) is a festival that is held annually in different

Yoruba towns. It is a celebration of the Yoruba tradition, religion and culture; as such, celebration of *Ìṣẹ̀ṣe* also involves worship and celebration of various deities such as *Sàngó*, *Esu*, *Égúngún* and *Yemoja* by their devotees. The *Sàngó* festival attended by the researcher in Òṣogbo was attached to the *Ìṣẹ̀ṣe* festival.

The *Ìgunnukó* and *Égúngún* festivals in Igbó-Ọ̀rà were also held on an *Ìṣẹ̀ṣe* day, as different from the *Égúngún* festival in Ìpetumodù, which was celebrated as a major event with different activities for one week culminating in a big celebration on the final day. *Éégun* or *Égúngún* in the Yoruba belief system refers to a symbolic representation of ancestors on earth. Hence, a human figure adorned as *Égúngún* is highly revered in the culture as a materialisation of the spirit. *Égúngún* is also a family tradition and they usually have drum ensembles attached to their families. For the celebratory occasions in Igbó-Ọ̀rà and Ìpetumodù, those without family drummers paid other drummers for entertainment. As a result, most of the *Égúngún* at the festival had their drummers following them everywhere on the festival grounds where they performed. Some members of the audience, who enjoyed a particular drum display or *Égúngún* dance, might choose to stand and watch the displays. Regardless of being attached to any specific *Égúngún*, the drummers were also at liberty to perform or eulogise other patrons or *Égúngún* families.³ This liberty was much enjoyed by drumming groups that had attended the occasion by their own choice, and were not attached to, or paid for by, any *Égúngún* family. Because the drummers were so mobile, it was not uncommon to have ensembles mixing up at some point to perform or eulogise a patron, but they only did this for few minutes before going their separate ways.

At the various festivals different groups were being formed from time to time to involve drummers, dancers and audiences, even with drummers who were moving around to entertain guests. The group formations were dictated by the audience in the sense that, when any drumming group was performing for a guest or an *Égúngún* or *Igunnuko*, the audience would encircle them, thereby creating a performance space as a separate stage for the drummers. Whoever wished to dance would come to the centre where the drummers would create a space for him or her. The ongoing display at any formed group would end when the individual being entertained is on the move again, or when the bystanders were reducing in number. The researcher also changed groups whenever it was noticed that another group had

³ *Dùndún* drummers eulogise with the drum through the use of *oriki*, proverbs or other accolades that describe a person's origin, family, social status and/or personality.

formed somewhere else. This observation process allowed room for analysing the interaction between performers and audience, while at the same time recruiting the interviewees to which reference was made above.

3.3.3 Experiment

The experiment carried out during the first field trip took place in a non-musical context. Using the recognition task approach in perception studies, which involves performers expressing different emotions as instructed by the researcher and the listeners assessing the emotions (Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Timmers & Ashley 2007; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Paquette *et al.* 2013), the experiment with *dùndún* can be seen as exploring emotional expression, perception and emotional response to *dùndún* music. The experiment involved four *dùndún* ensembles located in Ede, Igbó-Orà, Ìlora and Òṣogbo. It should be noted that this experiment did not follow the common structure outline of most perception studies; it was also not subject to months of planning or conducted in a laboratory setting, especially given the nature of the environment of a compound. The decision to include recordings of emotional expression and the listening tasks (including the questionnaire) was based on the information gathered during interviews and observations, terms used during interviews, the researcher's knowledge of the culture, and general discussions with the participants. Instructions given to performers were based on the language used in the community. A performance setting was simulated in which the ensembles were requested to perform different repertoires of their choice to depict different emotions. The reason for the simulation was threefold: first, to create a way to provide potential explanations for the content of interviews; second, to find if there is a relationship between what is being said and what is actually done by the musicians (that is, the relationship between theory and practice); and third, to verify responses that cover different emotional terms that were not obtained from the interviews.

An experiment was conducted to test if the performers would be able to play some music that could be perceived as conveying and inducing certain emotions in their listeners. The researcher consciously chose four basic emotions that have been applied in some music-emotion studies (for example, Balkwill *et al.* 2004; Kallinen 2005; Vieillard *et al.* 2008; Fritz *et al.* 2009) and added one other which was mentioned during the interview sessions. The emotions are *inú dídùn* (happiness/joy), *ibànújẹ* (sadness), *ibínú* (anger), *ibẹ̀rù* (fear) and *orí wíwú* (literally meaning 'head swelling'). These emotions can be construed as relating to people's daily lives and to music. The listening session, which involved *dùndún* performers from groups other than the performing groups as listeners, tested whether the intended communicated emotion was

perceived according to the performers' intentions. The performances were audio-visually recorded (Appendix H) and enabled observation of non-verbal communication and behaviour of the ensembles, as well as creating familiar conditions for the listeners during the listening phase.

All the four ensembles participated in the emotion-production phase. The following instruction was given to each of the performing ensembles: 'Play the drum as you would normally do to depict [each of the emotions, e.g. happiness] in such a way that a listener could understand your intention and may also feel happy/sad/angry/fear/*orí wíwú* in response to what you play'. The first group was Igbó-Ọrà. No fixed duration was specified for their performance. Depending on the emotion being depicted, the duration of the performances ranged between 2.5 minutes to 5 minutes. For instance, the duration of 'fear' was very short because the drummers were of the opinion they would indeed create fear in the people with what they were about to play. True to this assumption, people from the community started coming around to inquire what had happened, as they feared that someone had died. After Igbó-Ọrà, the instruction given to the other three groups regarding time was to depict a certain emotion within 2 to 2.5 minutes. This was done to have near-uniform duration for analytical purposes. The decision not to give a fixed time for the performance was borne out of the emergent nature of the method in such a setting, coupled with the nature of *dùndún* performance. Most of the studies carried out to study perceived expression make use of short excerpts of few seconds to a minute (Eerola & Vuoskoski 2013).

Of the 20 samples collected from the four ensembles, only five (one representing each emotion under study) were used as stimuli for the listening task. The five were chosen at random, given that the renditions across ensembles had more similarities than differences and any of the 20 samples could have been effective at representing the emotion being depicted.

One of the major means through which emotional response is measured in the field of music psychology is self-reporting (see, for example, a review by Eerola & Vuoskoski, 2013). This can take the form of free responses, or a choice using a Likert scale, or selecting from a range of adjectives (Juslin 1997a, 1997c; Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Adachi & Trehub 2002; Schubert 2003; Juslin & Laukka 2004; Zentner *et al.* 2008; Garrido & Schubert 2013; Paquette *et al.* 2013; Eerola *et al.* 2015, Egermann *et al.* 2015). Following the practice in music-emotion studies, a questionnaire was developed in the field to explore participants' responses to the experiment (see Appendices E and F). The choice of a questionnaire allows for limited responses that could be analysed and facilitates comparison of results from each ensemble.

Taking into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of different response formats, the results of the questionnaire are combined with interview responses to compensate for the shortcomings of each method and complement each other. The results are also combined because, as previously mentioned, the qualitative part of the study takes precedence over the quantitative. Detailed information about the questionnaire and the procedure is given in Chapter Six, where the results of the experiment are presented.

3.4 After fieldwork: procedure of analysis

Qualitative researchers have been criticised because qualitative research seemingly lacks methodological rigour and systematic analytical procedures (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Morse *et al.* 2002; De Wet & Erasmus 2005). In an attempt to counter the criticism, researchers started to document the analytic procedures of their studies in great detail and several manuals focusing on conducting rigorous qualitative research have been published (for example, Basit 2003; De Wet & Erasmus 2005, Campbell *et al.* 2013; Saldana 2013; Charmaz 2014; Creswell 2016). Because ‘social researchers are held accountable for how research is conducted and the processes of data analysis and representation of findings’ (Roulston 2013:297), this study follows the same trend of explaining the procedure from the data-collection phase to data interpretation.

Initial analysis of data in this study began simultaneously during data-collection phases. Emergent themes from the initial analysis generated more questions related to the study and also resulted in the development of additional data-collection methods. Simultaneous collection of data and performing an analysis is in line with grounded theory methodology (Thornberg & Charmaz 2013; Charmaz 2014).

Text transcription: The first stage in the qualitative data-analysis process was the transcription of interview data. At this stage all audio-visual recordings of structured interviews were transcribed into the Yorùbá language by the researcher using the guidelines of Ayo Bamgbose’s (1965) *Yorùbá orthography*.⁴ Yorùbá E-component (Yorùbá writing software) was used for special Yorùbá characters such as *ṣ*, *ẹ*, *ọ*. The software was also utilised for the high and low tone marks of the Yorùbá language. Transcription guidelines provided by the Unified Committee of the Afro-American contribution, and the Southern Maryland Folklore Project

⁴ Only the Òyó ensemble and *Ṣàngó* festival interviews were not fully transcribed because the former was a group discussion and the audio quality of the latter was poor.

(2003), were adopted for the transcriptions. Except for semi-structured interviews and directly-coded interviews (such as audio materials), a total of 20 text transcripts were made.

Translation of text: The interviews were translated and transcribed into English using the same method of transcription as for the Yorùbá version. English language transcriptions were carried out by the researcher, voluntarily assisted by Elijah Odewunmi, Gbolahan Olayemi and Deji Akintonde, all postgraduate students residing in Lagos, Nigeria. To represent the Yorùbá version and participants' voices adequately, the interviews were translated literally without paying attention to grammatical correctness in the English language. However, there was an awareness that the general meaning of the texts could be lost in translation, and hence exceptions to the rule were admitted whenever the need arose. Verbatim translations of idiomatic expressions, figurative, or poetic language proved to be very difficult, if not impossible.

Before coding the data in this study, a close read-through of the transcripts was carried out. As pointed out by De Wet and Erasmus, reading the data closely 'gives the researcher an initial sense of issues arising from the data' (2005:29). The reading carried out in this study enabled the researcher to have a general idea of the statements of the majority of participants, as well as immediately apparent connections among concepts. From closely reading the data, likely codes that would later be refined were developed.

Some qualitative researchers, especially grounded theorists, have argued that researchers should allow the data to generate codes and eschew imposition of data on preconceived ideas or codes (for example, Thornberg & Charmaz 2013:156). This study does not agree with this argument. The argument is valid only in a situation where a researcher does not have (even vague) knowledge of the direction that the research may take at the time of data collection, or in the unlikely situation that a researcher collects data before developing research questions. If research questions are developed before or during the data-collection process, it is possible that a researcher has ideas of likely codes and uses these during the initial coding phase (even if they would be reviewed during subsequent coding phases). Because the phenomenon of emotion is important to this study, the researcher intended to look out for any occurrences of emotional terms in participants' responses, and have a code labelled 'emotion' even before fieldwork takes place. Similarly, because the teaching-learning process is important when investigating the teaching of expressiveness, the idea of having an initial code labelled 'teaching and learning' was conceived prior to coding based on the collected data. As much as it is advised that a qualitative researcher should let the data 'speak' and allow the data to guide the coding,

it is impractical or even impossible for a researcher to start analysing data with a completely blank mind or lack of direction as to what to look for in the data.

Coding is a process of ‘naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes and accounts for each piece of data’ (Charmaz 2014:111; see also, Miles & Huberman 1994, Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Saldana 2013, 2016; Thornberg & Charmaz 2013; Creswell 2013, 2016). Coding clarifies the information contained in a set of data, because it helps the researcher to organise data and discover important trends. In other words, coding helps researchers to make sense of the data, enabling them to relate to their data and their respondents (Star 2007:80). What follows is a description of the layers of coding carried out in this study.

3.4.1 First level: initial coding

The initial coding (also referred to as open coding by Thornberg & Charmaz 2013:156) or the first-cycle coding method (Saldana 2016:115) of the transcribed Yorùbá text involved two phases: electronically with the use of qualitative data analysis software, NVivo (Bazeley & Jackson 2013), and semi-manually using Microsoft Word. The first phase of first-level coding carried out in NVivo was descriptive in nature (Miles & Huberman 1994; Saldana 2013:88). During this process a section of the text (three sentences at the maximum) were selected into nodes (name given to ‘code’ in the software), which would later form the ‘parent nodes’. The nodes use single words or phrases that capture the essence of the passages (Figure 3.3). In a manner similar to Miles and Huberman (1994), and De Wet and Erasmus (2005), the researcher developed many codes from the general ideas in the data, in addition to the preconceived codes developed on the basis of the research questions. After coding four transcripts in full, the rest of the transcripts were analysed by using the codes developed from the initially-coded transcripts. New codes were created in the remaining transcripts only in cases where new concepts occurred. In some situations, one segment of text was assigned to two or more codes (this occurs in cases where a sentence, for instance, can be described or interpreted with multiple codes).

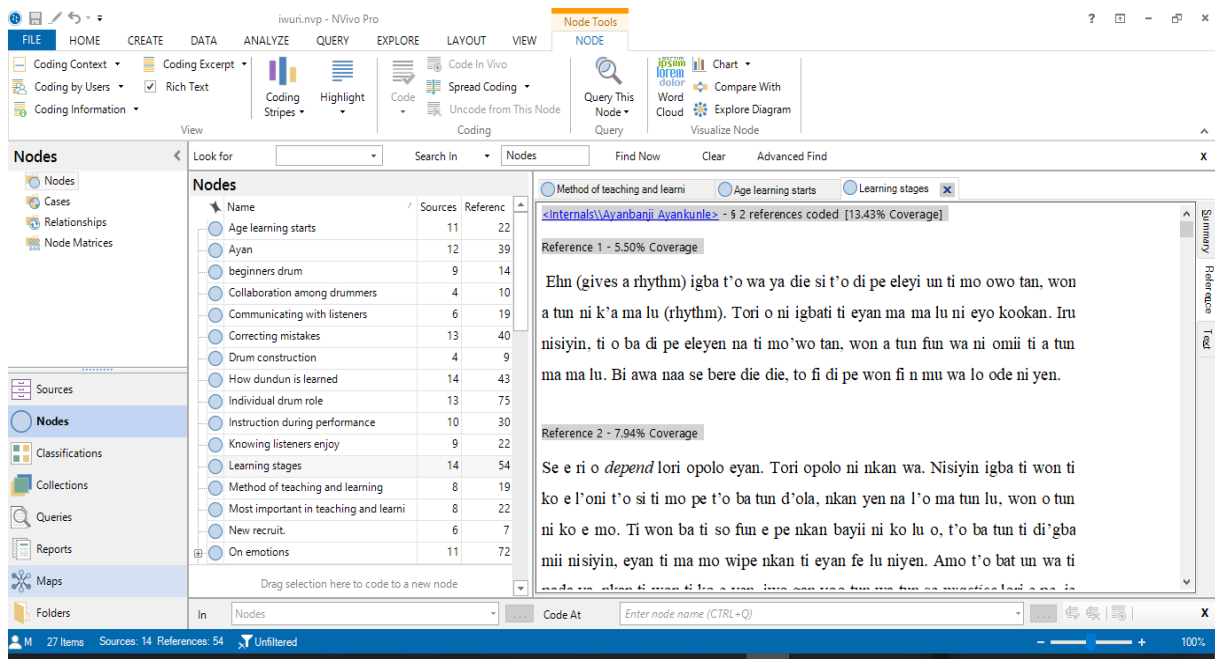


Figure 3.3 Screenshot of initial coding on NVivo

A second phase of the first-level coding was manually carried out to verify the validity of the first coding. Unlike the first coding, which was descriptive in nature, the second stage of coding was done in a line-by-line fashion (see Figure 3.4) as an initial coding procedure encouraged by grounded theorists. According to Charmaz, line-by-line coding enables reliable analysis in that it ‘reduces the likelihood of imputing your motives, fears, or unresolved personal issues to your respondents and to your collected data’ (Charmaz 2008:94). Three types of coding methods (namely process coding, in vivo coding, and open coding; Charmaz 2006, 2008; Corbin & Strauss 2008; Saldana 2013, 2016) were utilized in the line-by-line coding system. Each transcript was fully coded, and the highest number of codes generated for a transcript was 121 initial codes. To compare the line-by-line coding and descriptive (whole section) coding done manually and with the use of software respectively, the researcher checked the number of codes generated by ten transcripts in each of the coding methods and found out that the codes were close in number. Also, there were occurrences of similar codes for same segments of data. This process of checking and comparing codes is termed ‘inter-coder agreement’, which entailed two or more coders comparing and checking for agreements in coded data (Miles & Huberman 1994; De Wet & Erasmus 2005; Campbell *et al.* 2013; Creswell 2016).

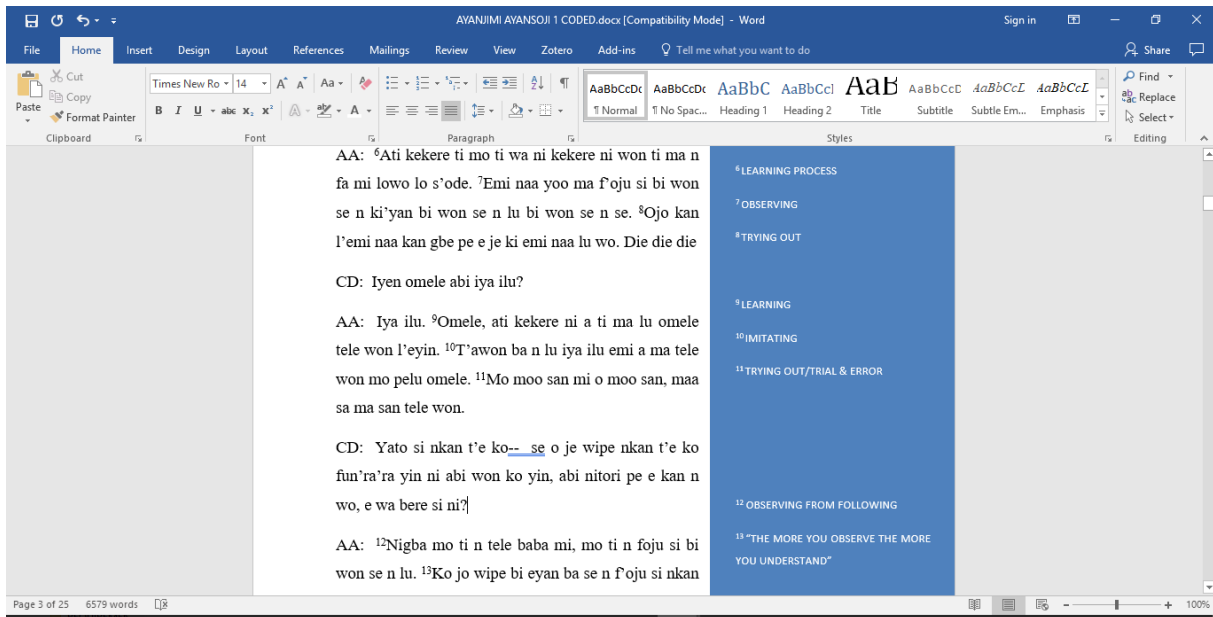


Figure 3.4 An example of line-by-line coding of interview data using Microsoft Word

3.4.2 Second level: focused coding

Focused coding is a second-cycle coding method (Saldana 2016:239), which according to Charmaz, is a 'selective phase that uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate and organise large amounts of data' (2014:113). The focused coding phase of this study generated what was labelled 'refined codes'. The coding process of the second level took place in two phases, just as in the first level. The first phase involved the manually coded data, while the second phase of the second level was carried out with the NVivo data. Although the first level involved two phases of coding to validate initial codes, the reasons for two phases of second level was, first, to merge both manually and electronically generated refined codes, so as to choose the most appropriate or relevant of the codes; and secondly, bringing the manual codes into the software enabled work efficiency for the rest of the analytic process (see, for example, Basit 2003).⁵ At the first phase of focused coding all initial codes similar in characteristics were grouped together under a single code, with a definition which captured the entire idea of other similar codes. The refined codes generated first (from first four transcripts) were used to categorise the initial codes of the rest of the transcripts, with few additions wherever an idea did not fit into the existing refined codes. Other texts that were coded which did not fit adequately into any of the refined codes were labelled 'others'.

⁵ NVivo or any qualitative data-analysis software helps to store, sort, organise and retrieve data for easy analysis. Although QDAS helps in the process of analysis, it does not do the analysis for a researcher.

Data in the second phase of focused coding were reduced by demarcating the unit of analysis in the data already coded in NVivo (at the first level of coding) and merging with the refined codes from the first phase of the second level. With fewer data to work with, line-by-line coding was again carried out with the use of the refined codes as categories, and new codes fitting into the categories as their dimensions. Following this process was identification of relationships and patterns in the data. This was carried out by checking reports on occurrences and frequency of each code against a single source as well as across all sources. Checking for patterns amongst codes and sources also included checking for contradictions. By coding of processes and patterns, the researcher could see the order of events and occurrences, as well as the relationships among codes and concepts, which thus allowed for possible interpretation(s) and explanations.⁶

Throughout the entire process (from data collection to analysis), analytic memos were written and updated. Memo writing is a technique closely associated with grounded theory methodology, whereby researchers put down their thoughts about the research process, participants, data, and codes and their relationships (Lempert 2007; Thornberg 2012; Thornberg & Charmaz 2013). Analytic memos are also coded alongside other data in grounded theory (Thornberg & Charmaz 2013; Charmaz 2014). Writing analytic memos in this research provided the opportunity to see what questions needed to be followed up, and to which questions the participants did not give full or direct responses. Memo writing also helped the process of developing concepts that are explored in the study, in addition to creating an opportunity for the researcher to evaluate the research process from time to time.

Interpretations and their validity were checked through a triangulation procedure. The different kinds of validity check as listed by Creswell (2016:191–194) were utilised in this study. The ‘researcher’s lens’ validity check was done by generating definitions of refined codes and their dimensions and comparing the definitions to the segments of data in the form of quotations that are related to the codes. ‘Member-checking’ (Creswell 2016:192) was carried out by telephone calls to the leaders of the ensembles who participated in the study, to confirm if adequate accounts of their statements have been made. Discussions of the interpretations with Bolaji Ayan, an Ayan-born *dùndún* drummer who resides in Cape Town, assisted in verifying the findings. Through informal discussions (without disclosing the nature of the study), and

⁶ As coding in grounded theory focuses on actions and processes, grounded theorists code with the use of gerunds rather than mere descriptive codes. In the words of Charmaz, the use of gerunds enables one to ‘gain a strong sense of action and sequence’ (2014:120).

answers to questions from the researcher, Bolaji confirmed some of the inferences drawn by the researcher.

Quantitative data were captured by the researcher using statistical analysis software Stata (version 14.0). Each respondent was assigned a unique identifier; codes were allotted to each question in the questionnaire and to the responses of the respondents. No inferential statistical test was conducted because of the low number of respondents. As such, only descriptive analysis with frequencies and percentages was used in presentation of results. Excel (2010) was used to construct the graphical representation of data.

3.4.3 Combining qualitative and quantitative data

The quantitative data were informed by the categories developed in the qualitative data. Having computed the frequencies and percentages generated from the questionnaire survey, the results were interpreted in line with the findings from the interviews and observations. The qualitative data were used as a shell that incorporated the quantitative data following separate analysis of both. Whereas the fieldwork-based experiment is interpreted quantitatively, the researcher cautions that the results of the quantitative component are not to be taken as conclusive on their own. Rather, the quantitative data are only used to support and expand qualitative results.

3.5 Summary

The chapter describes the process of collection of data from *dùndún* musicians and listeners to answer the research questions. In addition, the procedure of data analysis that was consistent with the grounded theory approach is also presented. The description of various field locations and the table indicating the interviewees serve a means of introducing the participants whose voices would be heard in the next two chapters.

Chapter Four

The World of *Dùndún*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of *dùndún* and what constitutes its world. The importance of *dùndún* music among the Yorùbá and the musical and social-cultural roles of the *dùndún* drums are discussed on the basis of the ensembles selected for the study as well as the relevant literature. The chapter also looks at the practitioners of *dùndún* by highlighting their organisation, training process, belief in the drum deity and their performance practices, among other things. The authority on Yorùbá drumming, Akin Euba (1990), has written extensively on the *dùndún* tradition and has touched on some of the topics broached in this chapter. Hence, it is not the purpose here to replicate his work or reiterate what is known. Rather, the primary intention is to advance a better understanding and appreciation of the drums and the *dùndún* tradition. Secondly, given that this chapter also includes some of the findings from the fieldwork, it can be seen as further contribution to, and an update of, the literature on the Yorùbá *dùndún*.

4.2 *Dùndún*: drummers' perspectives

According to the participants in this study, *dùndún* originates from Òyó, an ancient city of the Yorùbá. Ibisankale (2007) records that a man called Kunsanri Àyàn invented *dùndún* in the old Òyó empire (see also Euba 1990:38–39 for similar and other versions of the origins of *dùndún*). To corroborate the records of Ibisankale that link the *dùndún* to Òyó, the participants in this study, who were drawn from different locations, state that they originated from Òyó before dispersing to their various destinations, and for this reason they always refer to themselves as *omo Àyàn* ('the offspring of Àyàn'). This saying could also explain why it is a tradition for the family of drummers (be it *dùndún* or *bàtá*) to prefix their names with 'Àyàn', for example, Àyànlere, Àyàntunde, Àyàndiran and so on, tracing their lineage to the origin (see Akinjogbin 2002 on the importance of origin and lineage to the Yorùbá). Furthermore, the belief in a common Òyó origin could explain why, in spite of different dialects spoken among the Yorùbá, *dùndún* only imitates the Òyó dialect (Akbabot 1986:80; Euba 1990:218). Generally, the drummers who participated in the study would metaphorically refer to *dùndún* as 'king', perhaps because it is associated with kingship in Yorùbá communities, as it is said that there is

hardly a Yorùbá palace without *dùndún* drummers (Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo, interview, December 2015). *Dùndún* is also perhaps called ‘king of drums’ because of its popularity and its use on many occasions among the Yorùbá. Furthermore, *dùndún* drummers referring to their drum as the king could also be a part of the struggle for identity and recognition noted by Omojola, where *bàtá* drummers also refer to their own instrument as the ‘king of all drums’ (Omojola 2012:28–29). Nevertheless, referring to *dùndún* as ‘king’ is an indication of the prominent status of the *dùndún* within Yorùbá culture.

As mentioned in Chapter One, while *dùndún* could be defined as a ‘type of music played by any combination of the Yorùbá hourglass tension drums’ (Euba 1990:19), or as hourglass-shaped drums, *dùndún* musicians’ conception of *dùndún* in relation to ‘music’ appears to be different to Euba’s definition. The participants in this study, for instance, do not see *dùndún* as ‘music’, as described by Euba. They rather described the musical sounds produced on the drum using terms such as ‘*ilu éégun*’ (‘*éégun* drum’), ‘*àlùjò*’ (‘dance music’), ‘*oriki*’ (‘praise poetry’), without referring to these art forms as ‘*dùndún*’ either on their own or collectively. When asked, some participants (for example, Azeez Ayansola in Igbó-Ọrà and Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo in Èdẹ) what *dùndún* is, they point at the lead drum of the ensemble, *iyá ilù* (literally: ‘mother drum’) as *dùndún*. They also mention that the other drums in the *dùndún* ‘family’ shaped as *iyá ilù* are also called *dùndún*, with the difference being their sizes and adornment of *iyá ilù* with brass bells. From the terms that the participants used in this study, it can be deduced that *dùndún* is an hourglass-shaped, double-sided membrane drum, sometimes adorned with brass bells (see Figure 4.1). This description is not fully adequate, given that the *gúdúgúdú* drum is part of the *dùndún* ensemble, but conically shaped. Euba also pointed out that the ‘hourglass [shape] alone does not place a drum in the *dùndún* category’ (1990:19).

4.2.1 Àyàn

A discussion of the world of *dùndún* is incomplete without some mention of *Àyàn*. Briefly, in the Yorùbá belief system, *Àyàn* is the drum god (*òrìṣà*). Lindon (1990:205) defines *òrìṣà* as ‘deified remote ancestors and/or natural forces’, a definition that can be said to be inadequate in capturing all that the Yorùbá categorise as *òrìṣà*. In a broader definition, Barber describes *òrìṣà* as a ‘combination, in varying proportions, of deified human hero, force of nature, and a being of heavenly origin’ (Barber 1990:313). Although there are numerous *òrìṣà* recognised among the Yorùbá with each performing different roles (McKenzie 1976; Barber 1981, 1990; Lindon 1990; Alana 2004; Omojola 2010), the belief system of the Yorùbá places Olódùmarè

(‘the supreme deity’) as the head of all *òrìṣà* (Idowu 1962; Ekanola 2006) and below him are all other *òrìṣà*. The Yorùbá *òrìṣà* can be classified into: a) those that exist with Olódùmarè from creation; b) great humans who have been deified; and c) those who evolve by being associated with natural objects (Omojola 2010:32). All three categories are in some way related to the *dùndún*, but *Àyànàgalú*, the deity directly related to the drumming tradition, falls under the second category of great humans that are deified. *Àyànàgalú* is believed to be the first Yorùbá drummer to have been gifted in the skills and art of drumming by Olódùmarè (Euba 1990; Ibisankale 2007). The prowess of *Àyàn* led to him being made a deity (Ibisankale 2007), and hence referred to and worshipped as the god of drums and the patriarch of all Yorùbá drummers (Euba 1990:90; Villepastour 2015:3). Welsh-Asante (1994:7) notes that the aesthetic of African cultures is closely linked to the world-view of the culture encompassing elements of knowledge, belief, morality and customs, and a common belief that recognises the God as creator and his ‘ministers’ such as spirits, ancestors, divinities and life forces that are ‘believed to permeate the whole universe’. This is true for *dùndún* drummers, in whose lives *Àyàn* plays an important role. Not only does *Àyàn* determine the names of Yorùbá drummers, but he is also believed to control their activities (Euba 1990; Ibisankale 2007; Omojola 2010, 2012; Villepastour 2015). Because of the importance attached to this deity, drummers worship *Àyànàgalú* once every year. Commonly, each family sets a day apart for this worship, but it is also possible to find that two or more families, or associations of drummers in a locality come together as one to observe this tradition. It is usually a major festival among the families that involves lots of cooking and merriment. People (drummers and non-drummers) believe in the god to answer their prayers or requests, and so the ritual is for the most part characterised by prayers and appreciation of *Àyàn*. It is not only during *Àyàn* worship that prayers are said; drummers also pay homage and pray to the god before they proceed to any performance. This they do by reciting the *oríkì* of the god, which serves to ask for his blessings and protection. *Dùndún* musicians believe that when they bring joy to *Àyàn* (through homage and *oríkì*), their wishes will be granted (Euba 1990:71).

It is not only once a year that *Àyàn* can be worshipped. Some special circumstances usually call for worship at any time during the year. For instance, someone born into a drumming family could be asked by a diviner to worship the god, if he or she is facing a problem. It is believed that a person might face some predicament, if they do not respond to the call of *Àyàn* to play a drum (for example, someone who has chosen to go into another profession or a drummer who leaves the trade for something else). Appeasing the god of the drum thus becomes necessary

for such an individual. An example is a story told by one of the participants in a personal communication. He recalled an occasion where he organised a special worship/propitiation of *Àyànàgalú*, when he was unable to succeed in the tailoring business for which he was trained. On different occasions, he would have dreams about the drum being brought and played to him in a ceaseless manner, to the point when he began to have sleepless nights. He was then told to appease *Àyàn* and should also go on drumming outings. Only then would he be able to succeed (Sulaiman Ayantoyinbo, personal communication, 11 November 2015). Apart from worship for appeasement in time of troubles, *Àyànàgalú* is also worshipped when a new master drummer is installed or at the demise of a master (Ibisankale 2007).

I witnessed an *Àyànàgalú* festival on the 13th of December 2015 in Ede. The festival was organised by two drumming families. Merriment, dancing, drumming had started the night before in preparation for the main event. On the day of the worship, drummers numbering about 40, from different ensembles in and around the town gathered in a large room where the ritual would be performed, as *Àgalú* does not have a designated shrine. Placed on a mat at the centre of the room were two *iyá ilù*, two *omele* and one *gúdúgúdú*. Items to be used for the ritual such as water, rooster, gin, kolanut, *èko* (corn meal), *èkuru* (a local meal made of white beans, ground and cooked), and palm wine. *Gúdúgúdú* (one of the drums making a *dùndún* ensemble) was the first to be placed faced down on the mat, and on it was set *èko* cut into about four moulds, and *èkuru*. The presence of *gúdúgúdú* symbolised the presence of the *Àyàn* god himself. After a few talks and exchange of pleasantries, the ritual proper proceeded at about 11 am. The chief drummer from the front seat squatted in front of the drums and began to pay homage to *Àyàn*. After praying, he put some gin in his mouth, swallowed some and sprinkled the rest on the *gúdúgúdú*. He repeated the same process with the rest of the drums. The priest (chief drummer) went on to pluck a feather of the rooster and put on the *gúdúgúdú* as he kept saying prayers of blessings for the drummers, the drum tradition and profession, and the community at large. When he was done, other elders present also came out one after the other to drink the gin and offer one or two words of prayer. Gin and alligator pepper were passed round for everyone to taste, after which one of the elders started a song marking the end of the rituals. Festivities followed with eating, drumming, singing and dancing. The performing drummers went around the neighbourhood accompanied by women and children in the families. They entertained people and to show their appreciation, the people being entertained gave money, wine or other items to the drummers.

While the musicians were entertaining guests and neighbours, various people went into the room, knelt in front of the drums to either thank *Àyàn* for what he did during the past year or make a request such as for money, a child, success and so forth. Some came bearing gifts in the form of money, a cock and farm products to appreciate the god. Others made promises as what they would offer to *Àyàn* in the following year, should their request be granted. The activities continued until about 7 pm when everyone dispersed.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 13 December 2015)

The excerpt from the field notes suggests the extent to which *Àyànàgalú* is revered in the world of *dùndún*. The practice of the drummers worshipping *Àyàn* and seeking his blessings and protection represents a microcosm of the wider culture of the Yorùbá in which *òrìṣà* and their control over human life represents a vital aspect of their belief system (see Akiwowo & Font-Navarrete 2015:35).

As mentioned in Chapter One, the belief of the Yorùbá in *òrìṣà* is relevant to the *dùndún* tradition because drummers attribute their knowledge, skills, abilities and even their social and economic status to *Àyàn*. Hence, the discussion with the performers on how they learn or ‘move’ their listeners, for instance, was influenced by the contribution of *Àyàn* and the larger belief system of the culture. The belief in *òrìṣà* as depicted in *dùndún* drummers’ relationship with *Àyànàgalú* is also linked to the concept of the *àṣà* (tradition), which is evident in the above account. According to Abiodun (2001:17), *àṣà*, which may connote style or tradition, can be ‘conceived as any set of ways, approaches, or practices that characterize a person’s behaviour or mode of work of a group of people or a period’. The conception of *àṣà*, whether as style or tradition, is similar to Omojola’s interpretation of *àṣà* as ‘social reality and cultural practices’ and *ẹ̀sìn* interpreted as ‘spiritual devotion’ (Omojola 2010:30) as they fall within the definition that highlights certain practices defining an entity. Applying Abiodun’s idea that tradition evolves from style (2001:17), *dùndún* practices can be seen as a style, which subsumes artistic formulation and expression within the general religious and socio-cultural practices that form tradition. Such cultural practices or traditions as the *dùndún* involves allowing room for evolving and ever-changing styles of the society, hence forming a link between the past and the present as is evident in the worship of *Àyàn*. As a practice that defines people and behaviour, seeing *dùndún* as a form of style, tradition (Abiodun 2001), social reality and cultural practice or spiritual devotion (Omojola 2010) helps in understanding the world of the *dùndún* beyond performance.

Àṣà reflects in different aspects of the world of *dùndún*, such as the name prefix of the drummers, the worship of *Àyàn*, the structure of the *dùndún* ensemble and in the uses and functions of the drum in the society. A tradition of *dùndún* does not only represent the wider Yorùbá culture, but also includes practitioners and the performance activities, which are largely influenced by the broader cultural practices such as the important position of deities.

4.2.2 The *dùndún* family

Dùndún and the other drums that make up a *dùndún* ensemble are referred to as a ‘family’, as mentioned above. This is because *dùndún* drummers assign family status and roles to each drum. The family consists of the father, the mother and the children or siblings (see Figure 4.1). The *gúdúgúdú* is referred to as *bàbá ilù* (‘father drum’), and the lead drum as *ìyá ilù* (‘mother drum’). Sometimes during conversations about sizes and roles, drummers refer to drums such as *omele* as siblings. The siblings are also assigned a gender status as male or female.



Figure 4.1 Family of *dùndún*: L–R *omele*, *ìyá ilù*, *gúdúgúdú*, *ìyá ilù*, *kerikeri*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 15 January 2016

The organisation and power structure of the drums in a *dùndún* ensemble, and the general organisation of the *Àyàn* family, symbolises Yorùbá cultural values, especially the traditional *ẹbí* (family) system, which is one of the most important social systems in Yorùbá communities (see Afolayan 1998; Akinjogbin 2002 for discussions on social systems among the Yorùbá). The performance and/or occasion determines the number of children the family will have, but the father (*gúdúgúdú*) and the mother (*ìyá ilù*) must always be present. Although *gúdúgúdú*

does not share the same physical attributes as other instruments in a *dùndún* ensemble, participants noted that it is inseparable from *dùndún*. The siblings include *kẹríkẹrí*, *omele* and *kànnàgó*. *Omele* are assigned the gender of *omele akọ* (male) and *omele abo* (female), depending on how they are tuned. Both male and female *omele* are also known as *omele ìṣájú* (front guard) and *omele ìkẹhìn* (rear guard) respectively (also see Euba 1990). Altogether about four or five drums make up a standard *dùndún* family. Where there are more drums, they are used as doubles for the existing ones. *Dùndún* drums are better played when there is a combination of two or more drums to form an ensemble. It is believed that they produce sonorous songs and/or rhythms when combined instead of any of them playing as solo instruments. Apart from *ìyá ìlù* and sometimes *gúdúgúdú*, others such as *omele* cannot be played alone during performances. This is because while *ìyá ìlù* and *gúdúgúdú* can improvise at will, the single tone of *omele* does not allow for improvisation.

Members of the *dùndún* family share certain similarities but also have some differences. They all have straps, but while the other drums hang on the arm, *gúdúgúdú* is hung with its strap (*oja*) across the neck. Apart from *gúdúgúdú*, conically-shaped with a membrane only on one side, all the drums making up *dùndún* family are hourglass-shaped and have membranes at both sides. None is played by placing it on the ground or held by the thighs (except when *gúdúgúdú* is being played in a sitting position). Other than using the *ìrélù* techniques,¹ and the playing of *kẹríkẹrí*, none of the drums is played with the bare hand. *Gúdúgúdú* is played with two thongs (dried, intertwined leather strips, Figure 4.7), while the others are played with a stick known as *òpá* or *kòngó* (a curved stick shaped like lower case ‘t’ without the cross (Figure 4.6)). Leather strings (*osán*) running from one end of the drum to the other connect the two drum heads of the *dùndún* drums, and the strings have to be manipulated to get the desired tone. *Gúdúgúdú* is not tonally manipulated by the strings, as the strings running from its ‘face’ (membrane) are already fixed with the aid of pegs attached to the bottom. To perform, the leather strings or thongs of *ìyá ìlù* are held and tensioned is applied by the drummer to achieve different tones, but *omele* and *gúdúgúdú* do not use such manipulation of strings. All the drums differ in size. *Ìyá ìlù* has *ṣaworo* (brass bells). However, a drum in the hourglass category without *ṣaworo* can also be referred to as *ìyá ìlù* when the leather strings are left unfastened, giving it a broad range of pitches. The drum becomes *omele* when the strings are tied in the middle so that the drum can

¹ *Ìrélù* is a technique of playing which involves hitting the drum with fingertips of the hand used in holding the tensioning strings, in addition to the use of a stick. Another technique of *ìrélù* is to use the side of the stick to play close to the rim of the drum.

only produce one fixed pitch. In other words, the position of each drum at the time of performance determines the designation of the drum in that context.

4.2.3 Roles of individual drums: musical and socio-cultural

The drums of a *dùndún* family each have a unique role to play in the socio-cultural and musical setting. A detailed description of each of the drums is provided below.

Ìyá ilù (mother drum): this is the lead drum in a *dùndún* ensemble (see Figure 4.2). It gives direction to the other members of the family during performances. Unlike other drums that have either one or two tones, *ìyá ilù* has a broad range in terms of pitch, whereby the pitches are achieved through tightening and releasing the leather strings connecting the two heads (membranes). *Ìyá ilù* performs both literary and musical functions in a performance setting: it is highly implicated in the instrumental performance of Yorùbá oral poetry, for example, *oríkì* and proverbs (Sotunsa 2009; Vidal 2012a). Hence it is the drum doing most of the ‘talking’ in the group (Example 4.1). *Ìyá ilù* also has the ability to lead songs and play a variety of the most complex of rhythmic patterns in the ensemble (Idamoyibo 2002:76; Vidal 2012a:44). The drum imitates the Yorùbá language, which is tonal in nature, and has the ability to simulate the glides of the speech tones (Akpabot 1986; Euba 1990; Sotunsa 2009; Vidal 2012a).² Because there are three tones of low, middle and high in Yorùbá language, the pitches of the *ìyá ilù*, despite being broader than the Yorùbá speech tones, are mostly perceived in the manner of the language (when interpreting drum texts for the researcher, *dùndún* drummers mostly dealt with the three tones of the language). During performance, high, middle and low tones on *ìyá ilù* require tightening, reducing or completely releasing the tension on the thongs (see Figures 4.3, 4.4 & 4.5). *Dùndún* is the last of the drums practitioners to learn to play because of its complexity; hence, it is not uncommon to have the *ìyá ilù* being played by the oldest person in an ensemble. *Ìyá ilù* is easily recognisable through the *şaworo* (brass bells) attached to its rims on both sides. But, as stated earlier, where there is no *şaworo*, *ìyá ilù* can be distinguished in an ensemble by the position of the leather strings during performance. Aesthetically, accessories of *ìyá ilù* are designed in such a way as to enhance its visual effect: the *apa ilù* (strap) is made of a colourful designed fabric, and the same type of fabric is used as *ìgbàjú* (a leather band used in covering the rim of the drum). Among *dùndún* drummers, *ìyá ilù* is always metaphorically referred to as

² For more information on the tonal system of the Yorùbá language, refer to Pulleyblank (2004), who discusses the asymmetry and stableness of the three tones from a phonological perspective. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the tonality of the language in great depth.

‘human’ with a saying *Òkú ewúré tí ñ fòhùn bí ènìyàn* (‘A dead goat that sounds like human’), *Isòyè* (A local medicine believed to strengthen the memory.) and an ‘ornamented woman’.

Example 4.1 Transcription of *dùndún* music (drumming for *Şàngó*) showing text played on *iyá ilù* (Euba 1990:495–496)

$\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

The score consists of several systems of music. Each system includes a Gd. (Gugu) part in the top staff and an Iy. (Iya) part in the bottom staff. The Iy. part includes lyrics in Yoruba and English translations. Measure numbers 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13 are indicated in boxes above the Iy. staves. The Gd. part at the bottom is labeled 'Gùdùgùdù Variant'.

3
Gd. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Sán-gó dé | Sán-gó dé Sán-gó dé | Ó - ba kò so | Ó - ba kò so Ó -
(Sàngó has come) | (The King did not hang)

5
Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

- ba kò so | Dí - dé ló dé o | dí - dé ló dé o dí - dé ló dé o Ó -
(He has suddenly come)

7
Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

- ba kò so Ó - ba kò so Sán-gó dé Sán-gó dé

9
Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Ó - ba kò so | Ó - ní bǎn - tẹ a - wó jín - win - ni |
(He with a loin-cloth profusely adorned with coins)

11
Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Ó - kọ A - dé - rín | Ó - bọ - sọ - kọ - tọ - fẹ - pón - ọn lẹ - ẹ |
(Husband of Adérin) (He that wears his-trousers leaving his-scrat um-exposed)

13
Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Ó - kọ A - dé - rín Sán-gó dé | Ó má lún dé o |
(He has come again)

Iy. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$ etc.

Ó - ba kò so

Gd. $\text{♩} = \text{♩} = \text{ca. } 84$

Gùdùgùdù Variant



Figure 4.2 *Ìyá ilù dùndún*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 14 November 2015



Figure 4.3 Wrist position of low tone on *ìyá ilù*. Minimal tension on *ọsán*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 21 August 2016



Figure 4.4 Middle tone on *ìyá ilù*. Moderate tension on *ọsán*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 21 August 2016



Figure 4.5 High tone on *ìyá ilù*. High tension on *ọsán*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 21 August 2016

Şaworo (brass bells) are an important adornment to *ìyá ilù* as it is perceived as performing several roles. First, it is regarded as *ẹwà ilù* (literally: ‘beauty of the drum’) (see Figure 4.6) and likened to jewellery that adds to a woman’s beauty (Shittu Ayanlola, interview, November 2015). Hence, *ìyá ilù* perceived as a woman is conceived as needing ornaments for it to be

beautiful. To stress the importance of the visual effect and beauty to *dùndún* drummers even from the older generation, Rasaki Ayandiran (interview, November 2015), a drummer in Igbó-Orà, states that ‘*nígbà tí àwon bàba wa tí wọn wà nì àtèkòṣe wọn ri wípé tí ilù bá wà ni ordinary, kò ní ni... ko le fine to, ni wọn fi fi si ní etí*’ (‘when our forefathers in the olden days saw that if a drum is ordinary, it will not... it will not be fine enough, that is why they fix them [*ṣaworo*] at the rim’).

Some drummers even believe that their performances will not be appreciated by the audience if there are no brass bells on *iyá ilù*. It is extremely important to have them on occasions that involve kings and chiefs because, according to Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo (interview, December 2015), the presence of brass bells on a drum not only represents beauty, but they are also a form of ‘prayer’: ‘*Bí a tí n lu yẹn, tí à n lu ti a n mi, bóyá ọba la n lù fun ni o, bóyá ijòyè kan ni o, bóyá olówó kan ni o, yòò ma ṣe àdúrà fún wọn [...] àdúrà ló n ṣe*’ (‘As we drum, drum and shake them [*ṣaworo*], whether we are playing for kings, or some titled chief, or some wealthy individual, they [*ṣaworo*] are saying a prayer for them [...] it is a prayer’).

During a performance brass bells are also believed to bring honour to the drum as well as to the drummers themselves. Rasaki Àyàndiran (interview, November 2015) in discussing the value placed on the drummers when there are brass bells on their drums states: ‘*Ó gbé iyì fun-- ó gbé iyì fún àwa gan. Írí tí wọn bá ri gan, tí wọn bá rí ilù t’ó ní ṣaworo l’etí, ó yàtò si eyi ti ko ní ṣaworo l’etí, wọn á gbé iyì fún wa*’ (‘They [*ṣaworo*] give honour... they also give us [drummers] respect. When people see us with our drums with *ṣaworo*, and see other drums without them, they respect us more’). Furthermore, it is a common saying amongst drummers that a drum without brass bells can never be found with expert drummers, as it is believed that a drum without *ṣaworo* will not be regarded highly, which in turn means disregard for the ones using such a drum. To underline this point, there is a saying by the drummers and often drummed on *iyá ilù*: ‘*Saworo nì’lu wa, ilù tí ò ní ṣaworo kì n ṣe’lù gidi*’ (‘*Saworo* is our drum; a drum without *ṣaworo* is not genuine’). To some, the brass bells are what made drums to be called ‘*Àyàn*’, because they (brass bells) confirm the authenticity of drums and authentic drums are the ones found among *Àyàn* descendants (Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo, Rasaki Ayandiran, interview, November and December 2015).



Figure 4.6 *Saworo* (brass bells) attached to *iyá ilù*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 27 November 2015

Gúdúgúdú (also known as *Ọpón*): The only differently-shaped drum in the family of *dùndún*, the *gúdúgúdú*, is a conically-shaped, single-membrane drum (see Figure 4.7). This is the second most important drum in a *dùndún* ensemble (both musically and in the social organisation of the *dùndún* drums). According to the drummers, legend has it that *gúdúgúdú* was invented before the other drums in the *dùndún* ensemble. It is therefore given a leadership role and called ‘father of drums’ (for example, Lasisi Ayantunji, Waidi Ayanleke, interview, December 2015). There are two Yorùbá proverbs used amongst the drummers that indicate the superiority of *gúdúgúdú* over *iyá ilù*: *gúdúgúdú bàbá ilù* (*gúdúgúdú* father of drums) and *gúdúgúdú kílì ẹ̀ ojùgbà fún dùndún*. *Gúdúgúdú ti ń lò’gbà kí’ya ilù ó tó dé* (‘*Gúdúgúdú* is superior to *dùndún* as it existed before *dùndún*’). In addition to its role as ‘father’, *gúdúgúdú* is assigned a spiritual role. According to Azeez Ayansola in Igbó-Ọ̀rà (interview, December 2015), *gúdúgúdú* is regarded as sacred amongst all the drums, because it is the most important drum during any ritual activities of the *Àyàn* family, for example, *Àyàn bíbọ* (rituals of *Àyàn*, god of drum), the naming ceremony of a child born into the *Àyàn* family, initiation and so forth. It is noted by the participants and observed by the researcher, that it is the first drum to be placed down before the other drums during *Àyàn* rituals. Also, all the items for the rituals, such as *obì* (kolanut), *èkuru* (meal made of white beans) and *èko* (corn meal) are placed on the *gúdúgúdú*. Ayansola also adds that *gúdúgúdú* is revered by drummers as they believe that it is the representation of *Àyàn*, the god of drums.

Musically, important functions are attributed to *gúdúgúdú* as well. All the drummers interviewed in different locations agree that for anyone to know how to play *iyá ilù*, the person must first have been able to play *gúdúgúdú* at the highest level. Hence, it is mandatory for a lead drummer to have full knowledge of *gúdúgúdú*. The researcher observed that during performances *gúdúgúdú* serves as a ‘guide’ to other drums, as it starts playing after *iyá ilù* begins the music, before the other drums join in. In performances staged for the researcher in Igbó-Orà and Èdẹ, *gúdúgúdú* alone was used as an accompaniment to *iyá ilù* in one rendition to demonstrate its indispensable role in an ensemble. Bashiru Ayandamilare, a drummer in Igbó-Orà, mentions that their ensemble will not give a good performance should *gúdúgúdú* be absent (personal communication, 24 November 2015). At the centre of the drum is a black, round pigment of wax known as *ida* that is responsible for the two ‘voices’ (tones) it has. Without the *ida*, there is no *gúdúgúdú* as the expected sound will not be produced. The area around the *ida* gives the lower tone, while the edge of the drum gives higher tone. The two voices of the *gúdúgúdú* are called male and female. *Gúdúgúdú* does not require any tuning before performance as long as there is the wax on its ‘face’ (membrane), and the pegs holding its strings are properly placed. The ‘prepared’ state of *gúdúgúdú* is explicated with a proverb: *Gúdúgúdú ò fi ìgbà kan tú’ra lẹ* (‘*Gúdúgúdú* is always alert’), meaning that the drum is always ready to take on its roles (Sikiru Ayanwale, Lasisi Ayantoyinbo, interview, November 2015). Idamoyibo (2002:78) notes that *gúdúgúdú* executes the roles of both front and rear *omele*, thus strengthening the inner voice parts during a music performance. It was observed that, unlike *omele*, which is mostly characterised by a fixed repetitive rhythm, *gúdúgúdú* is suitable for rhythmic improvisations. This is also confirmed by Bashiru Ayandamilare (interview, November 2015), who says of *gúdúgúdú* that ‘*Iṣẹ pé l’óri è. Iṣẹ tí óún n ẹe nínú ilú, ó pọ̀ ju t’àwọn ìyoókù lọ [...] oríṣiríṣi ni system ẹ*’ (‘It has a complete work. Its work is more than the other drums [...] it has different systems [rhythm and style]’).



Figure 4.7 *Gúdúgúdú*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 15 November 2015

Kerikeri (also known as *Aguda*): *Kerikeri* serves as assistant to the *iyá ilù*. During performance, when the *iyá ilù* pauses for a while, the *kerikeri* fills in the space. As it is a secondary instrument, it does not perform the verbal phrases meant for *iyá ilù*, but it can play both simple and more complex rhythmic patterns. Just like *iyá ilù*, *kerikeri* is low-pitched. The manner of playing *kerikeri* is described by Rasaki Ayandiran with the Yorùbá proverb ‘*Igbájú igbámú là n lu kerikeri*’ (‘*Kerikeri* is ferociously slapped’) as it is played with two hands (playing stick in one hand and the palm of the other). All the features of *iyá ilù* are present in a *kerikeri* except the brass bells (refer to Figure 4.1).

Omele: In a *dùndún* ensemble, all the other drums serving as backups for the mother (*iyá ilù*) and father (*gúdúgúdú*) are generally called *omele*, but the drums specifically referred to as *omele isáájú* and *omele ikẹhìn* are relatively smaller in size than *kerikeri* and *iyá ilù*. The *omele* gives the standard, simple, recurring rhythmic patterns upon which *iyá ilù* improvises. It is either tuned to *akọ/isáájú* (male/front or lead) or *abo/ikẹhìn* (female/back). However, it is common to have at least two *omele* in an ensemble, so that the lead and back voices are shared between them. The leather strings of *omele* are fastened around its belly to produce tension in the rhythm when played. It is also necessary to tighten the thongs as this helps to get the desired ‘voice’ of lead and back (see Figure 4.8). The *omele isáájú* is usually tighter when tied than the *ikẹhìn*. In other words, the tighter an *omele* is, the higher the voice the drum produces. Hence, the tone of *isáájú* is high, while that of *ikẹhìn* is low. *Omele* come in different shapes and sizes, but the major difference between them and *iyá ilù* is the brass bells and the position of the *osán*

(thongs) as at the time of playing, which then influences the tone(s). *Omele* *ìṣáájú* and *ìkẹhìn* are also important to *dùndún*, because according to the participants of this study, the training of *dùndún* begins with *omele*. These reports from the participants are different from Euba's account, where *gúdúgúdú* is noted as the first drum in training (1990:104).



Figure 4.8 Tied *omele*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 6 December 2015

Some other drums in a *dùndún* ensemble are *àdàmọ* and *kànnàgó*. These two drums are very small in sizes. *Kànnàgó*, a high-pitched drum, is the smallest of the *dùndún* family and the drum used in teaching *Àyàn* children between ages 3 and 9 years (see Figure 4.9). *Àdàmọ* can be seen as a smaller version of *iyá ilù* as it can also be used for drum speech, but with the voice not as deep as that of *iyá ilù*. *Àdàmọ* as a member of the *dùndún* family has transcended the boundaries of indigenous communities of the Yorùbá and has found its way to the world of popular music such as *Fújì* and *Juju* in urban areas. It is mentioned as the favourite of musicians of those types of music (Sunday Obey, 4 September 2016).



Figure 4.9 A young boy playing *kànnàgó* at a burial ceremony in Igbó-Ọrà. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 14 November 2015

4.3 Functions of *dùndún*

As mentioned above, the *dùndún* is a popular drum among the Yorùbá and plays important roles in Yorùbá communities. Vidal notes three functions of musical instruments in Nigeria: musical functions, socio-linguistic functions and symbolic functions (Vidal 2012b:74–75). Amegago documented the uses and functions of drums in traditional African societies in great detail. Among other things, he mentioned the role of drums in communication, sacred and secular occasions, and the utility of drums in contemporary African music (2014:55–90). Stressing the importance of the *dùndún* in the society, Sikiru Ayanwale (interview, November 2015) likened it to ‘salt’: ‘*Dùndún ẹ̀ pàtàkì púpọ̀. Bí iyò ní. Ẹ̀ ẹ̀ mò pé iyò ẹ̀ kókó nínú ilé, bẹ̀ gan ní dùndún ní ilẹ̀ Yorùbá*’ (‘*Dùndún* is very important. It is like salt. You know salt is essential in a household, so is *dùndún* in Yorùbá land’). Against this background, a few of the functions of *dùndún* will be highlighted.

Dùndún as a form of entertainment: A prominent function of the *dùndún* is to entertain. It is employed at both social and sacred events, including cultural festivals, investitures, naming ceremonies, and weddings, house warming gathering and other ceremonies (Euba 1990;

Omojola 2012; Amegago 2014). Through the entertainment function of the *dùndún*, the drums contribute to people's emotional upliftment on different occasions.

Dùndún as a mediator: It is believed that *dùndún* serves as a link between humans and *Olódùmarè* (supreme god), deities, ancestors or spirits. For instance, during deity worship, songs and dances constitute the largest percentage of activities at the shrine (Akpabot 1986:43–45). As singing and dancing are accompanied with drumming, the drums are expected to lead in invoking the spirit of the deity being worshipped (Ibisankale 2007) Unlike some other drums that are particularly associated with a certain deity, the *dùndún* is autonomous, which means that it is not exclusively connected to any specific deity, but is yet present in all deity worship including *Ọ̀ṣun* festival, *Ọ̀rìṣà oko*, *Ọ̀dún èṣù*, among others (Ayangboyega Ayantotinbo, personal communication, 17 December 2015).

Dùndún in cultural preservation: According to the participants, a *dùndún* drummer is expected to be adept in Yorùbá oral history and oral praises such as *oríkì*, which can take the form of historical commentary. It is the drummers' knowledge of historical facts that enables them to probe into the past and as a result enlighten the people. *Dùndún* thus serves to enrich people's knowledge. In addition, the *dùndún* functions as a 'memory device', as it helps in recalling past experiences, reminding people of their roots and aiding people's recollection of their ancestors. *Dùndún* can therefore be said to be a link between the past and the present. *Dùndún* also prevents culture extinction as besides recollection of the Yorùbá people's general history, culture, legendary acts among others, some phrases, proverbs, words and songs that have been used in the past are maintained into the present through the *dùndún*, thereby making it an important agent of culture preservation.

Dùndún as a communicator and informant: In addition to verbal communication amongst Yorùbá, the *dùndún* drums are used as a means of communication. *Dùndún* does not function in its totality as a speech surrogate in Yorùbá, and it has been noted that only the drummers and (depending on the context) those who understand the drum language can interpret what is being said on the *dùndún* (Euba 1990; Sotunsa 2009) Nevertheless, *dùndún* transmits information and, according to the participants in this study, every Yorùbá person is expected to be able to decode the language of the drum. Communication as a prominent function of *dùndún* comes in various forms. As mentioned in Chapter One, drummers use it for short-distance communication. Another aspect through which the communicative ability of *dùndún* has been useful in the past was during war. A village used *dùndún* drum signals to inform the other

villages of enemy invasion. Moreover, the *dùndún* is used to embolden warriors to fight bravely during war. Through tools such as proverbs and songs played on the *dùndún*, Yorùbá warriors are advised or encouraged not to despair whenever they were weary. An example of such songs played for a warrior goes thus:

Example 4.2 Poetry to a warrior

O ò lè ẹ̀ se bíi babaa reẹ̀
Bí ẹ̀rù bá ní bà ọ́ o wí o
Ẹ̀rù kò b'ọ́mọ Balógun

You cannot outdo your father
If you are afraid indeed say
The child of a warlord is not afraid

Ẹ̀ni ó dúró d'ogun
Áwówó á wo
Ìtākùn t'ó ní k'érin má gòkè àlọ

Whoever waits for war
They will crumble
The stomp that prevents an elephant from ascending the
mount of *àlọ* (kind of yam)

Àtòhun àt'erin ni wọn jọ ní lọ

Both it and the elephant go together

In some Yorùbá villages drums are used to break the news of a king's death. When a king passes away, hunters in the village or town alert *dùndún* drummers through a special gunshot; at the alert, drummers march to the palace with their instruments, where they begin to call on the dead. An example of such a message is:

Example 4.3 Announcement of death

Ògúntúsà òdide òdide òdide òdide
Dide làá se olú
Dide òdide làá se ìyàwó alé ànà
Iyawo alé ànà tí kò gbodọ́ p'ọ́kọ́ l'órúko

Ògúntúsà rise rise oh rise
The mushroom is made to rise
A [new] bride is made to rise
The [new] bride that must not call her groom by
name

Part of the communicative function of *dùndún* is its use as a 'signal' in some Yorùbá palaces. Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo, a drummer at the palace of Tìmì of Èdẹ, states that any palace without *dùndún* drummers at its entrance is most likely not the dwelling of a first-class king in the Yorùbá cultural area (interview, December 2015). *Dùndún* is used to communicate with the king about occurrences in the palace; for example, to inform the king about visitors. The richness of the drummers' historical knowledge enables them to keep reciting the *oríkì* of the guest if he/she is a known person. However, another signal will be used to announce the arrival of an unknown caller at the palace. At the palace of Tìmì of Èdẹ, for instance, *dùndún* drummers at the entrance usually drum a proverb *Ìlekè ilé tí í bọ̀ 'pìlẹ̀ mólẹ̀* (meaning obscure), to inform

the king about an unidentified visitor. Other important messages or happenings about which the king must be aware are also transmitted through the *dùndún*. Drums are used to praise the king on the throne, and to enlighten the incumbent about the deeds of past kings through eulogising them (see also Ibisankale 2007 for perspectives from palace drummers of Alááfin of Òyó). *Dùndún* is used to awaken a king in the morning through a eulogy played by the drummers at dawn. For example, they may say:

Example 4.4 Praise poetry to a king

Èrù ọba ni mo ba ọba tó	I am in awe of the king, able king
Kábiyèsí o	Oh! Your majesty
Oò jíí' re bí o	I hope you woke up well
Emọ jíí re lópó ilé o	The brown rat wakes up in the house
Àfẹmójó jíí re ní sààrè	The dawn wakes up
Ọlálékan o jii re bí o	Ọlálékan I hope you woke up well
Olúgbón ò jííre ju beẹ lọ	Olúgbón did not wake up [better] than that
Ọba ló jẹ	He was a king
Arẹsa ò jííre ju beẹ lọ	Arẹsa did not wake up [better] than that
Ọba ló jẹ	He was a king
Má pe mo bá ọ l'óyè	Do not say I met you at dawn
Mo pè ọ l'órúko	I call you by name

During performances *dùndún* drummers use their texts for different purposes, which in turn depict the inherent socio-psychological attributes of the Yorùbá people and their general way of life. According to Akpabot, in African music 'song texts [...] are either of praise or abuse designed to regulate the social order. Sometimes they are philosophical or humorous [...]' (1986:43). These features of song texts can also be found in *dùndún* drumming. For instance, *dùndún* drummers can use their instrument to condemn or ridicule, tease one another or taunt people, among other things. Examples include the following:

Example 4.5 Various texts used by *dùndún* drummers

- Condemn or ridicule
A ó débi t'a fẹ dé
È báà t'ẹnu b'èpè, k'ẹ t'ẹnu b'àşẹ
A ó débi t'a fẹ dé
We will get to where we want to get to
Even if you dip [your] mouth in curse and dip [your] mouth in authority
We will get to where we want to get to
- Teasing
È şenu b'ó ti wà
È má şenu yákan yàkan sí wa mó
È şenu bo tí wa
Make [your] mouth as it were
Do not wobble/jiggle [your] mouth at us anymore
Make [your] mouth as it were
- Taunt or evoke fight
Bóyá Ọlórún a şé
Bóyá Ọlórún a şé
Perhaps God will do it
Perhaps God will do it

Enìkan a sòrò tó j'enu baba rẹ̀ lọ
Bóyá Ọlórún a ẹ̀

Someone will speak words greater than their father's
mouth
Perhaps God will do it

These days *dùndún* drums also have a relevance in urban areas. They have been incorporated into popular music genres and religious places (Euba 1990:440–444; Omojola 2012:35; Amegago 2014:85). According to a *dùndún* drummer residing in Lagos, Nigeria, *dùndún* drums used in religious places, especially churches, make ‘music sound more captivating, more appealing, and much more danceable’ (Sunday Obey, personal communication, 4 September 2016).

4.4 Learning the *dùndún*

It is evident from the accounts of the participants that the *dùndún* can be learned by anyone regardless of age or gender,³ but one seldom sees an ‘outsider’ (someone not born into the family of *Àyàn*) learning to play the *dùndún*. It is mandatory to teach (especially) the male children the art of drumming as this is a family profession passing from one generation to another. Tacit learning for a child born into the *dùndún* family starts at about 3 years old (but following the older ones to performances does not start until about 5 or 6 years old). Drumming is taught from childhood as it is believed that the earlier a child begins, the better the child is at playing in adulthood. Also, it is felt that an adult who has come to learn *dùndún* from the outside will not only take longer to learn but will also not be as dexterous as a child, especially one born into the *Àyàn* family. The teaching and learning of drums in traditional African societies includes aspects of formal and informal training (Amegago 2014:100). To *dùndún* drummers, a child born into the *Àyàn* family does not learn *dùndún*. It is a combination of *àjẹbí* (genetics) and *ẹ̀bùn* (a gift). They not only believe that the child will play naturally as *Àyànàgalú* himself will teach him; they also believe the child will discern the drum language naturally (see also, Amegago 2014:99).

During a naming of an *Àyàn* child I witnessed in Igbó-Ọrà, the rituals involved the *ìyá ilù* drum being beaten right next to the child’s ear. A ritual activity I was told is very important, as it contributes to the child possessing drumming skill. A lot of questions come to mind during my observation: What makes a child born into an *Àyàn* family proficient in the art of drumming?

³ *Dùndún* drumming used to be an exclusively male affair. This is still prevalent, but females are now seen with *dùndún* (though not often). The Igbo Ora ensemble has three female members.

The rituals, genetics, gift or the experience the child garners as a result of observing and imitating older ones? Or is it a combination of two or more factors? There is the belief held by the participants which depicts the role of *òrìṣà* in the belief system of the people as well as the conviction that an *Àyàn* born does not learn *dùndún*.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 15 November 2015)

The major requirement for learning *dùndún* is ‘interest’. While an outsider has to be very keen in their quest for *dùndún* knowledge, an *Àyàn* born also needs to show interest for the inner ability to be developed (Ayanniyi Samuel, Bashiru Ayandamilare, Kabira Ayantayo, interview, November 2015 and January 2016). That interest is an important factor to being adept at *dùndún* playing, is consistent with some studies that have recorded the significance of intrinsic motivation for the acquisition of musical skill (for example, Ericsson *et al.* 1990; Davidson *et al.* 1995). Apart from intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation that is found in the family environment is an equally important factor, as *dùndún* playing usually takes place in families. Drumming is likened to a highway or an endless path: ‘*Kíkó è ó gùn lọ tíí ní. Ibi tí oṣoṣo oníkálukú bá gbe dé náà ló mọ*’ (‘Its [*dùndún*] learning is endless; it stops at the extent to which each person’s brain can accommodate it’) says Bashiru Àyandamilare (interview, November 2015). Similar to the records of Euba (1990:104), it was found that the first drum given to an *Àyàn* child is *kànnàgó*. The child is not taught anything specific on the miniature drum but is expected to play aimlessly as a child scribbling on a piece of paper. This process continues for about three or four years, when the child can comprehend rhythm and can give a steady basic and simple rhythm. Then the child moves on to *omele*. For an adult beginner, the first drum is *omele*, followed by *gúdúgúdú*, *kẹríkẹrì* and then *iyá ilù*. Proficiency in oral praises of every family in the community is very essential for every drummer. Therefore, training and drilling in this act is included at every stage of learning of *dùndún* (Bashiru Ayandamilare, Sikiru Ayanwale, Waidi Ayanleke, interview, November and December 2015).

Dùndún ensembles are organised in a way that at the early stage of learning, the younger ones are encouraged to follow the oldest members of the family, for example, the grandfather or great uncles, for performances. When they are a little older, the child follows the younger uncles, his father and/or people of his fathers’ age. The process of a child’s mentors gradually being younger people as the child grows older continues until the child is old enough to go out with his peers. The rationale behind this process is based on the need for ‘patience’. This process is explained by Rasaki Ayandiran:

Bí a ɕe n kò àwọn ọmọ wa, ó bèrè lórí-- gégébi kí ọmọ kókó fẹ bèrè ilé ìwé, yóò wà ní class one, *primary one*. Ɛ́ ẹ̀ mò wípé ẹnítí ó bá wà ní *primary one* yen, wón á fi ẹnítí o jẹ pé inú ẹ̀ tí ó rò, òun naa ni ó le kò ọmọde. Àwa t’á jẹ-- t’á kù ní àgbàgbà nísìyìn, lẹ̀yìn wa ni àwọn ọmọ kékèké ma ma wà. Àwon tí o je pe won d’agba, a ó ja wón sí ọ̀dò àwọn tí wón ti n play diẹ̀diẹ̀. *Class one and two, three, four* títí lọ ɛ̀ six, bí ilù ɕe wà niyẹn.

Teaching of our children starts from ... like a child who is just starting school; he/she would be in class one, primary one. You know that when someone is in primary one, it is a patient person that can teach children. Those of us remaining as elders, the little ones would be with us. Those that are older will follow those that are playing gradually. Class one and two, three, four up to six is how drumming is.

(Interview, November 2015)

As can be seen from Rasaki’s account, patience is one of the qualities required of a *dùndún* trainer. Younger ones in *dùndún* ensembles are made to follow the older ones as they (the elders) are believed to be more patient than the youths. A patient trainer is also needed for an adult recruit, because the trainer would have to bear with the mistakes and use discretion to correct the adult recruit. Concerning how the older drummers⁴ know when to move a child to the next mentor or stage of learning, Sikiru Àyànwale, in a similar fashion to Rasaki Ayandiran, likens the promotion process to the Western system of education:

Bi k’ọmọ wà ni *primary one*, t’ó bá yá tí ó bá ti n di pe ọmọ yi ti n good ó ti yẹ kó kúrò ní one k’ó lọ sí *two*, torí ó tó bí-- bí a ɕe ma n lọ ọ̀de yẹn ó ma n tó bí *group* bi méréin sí márùn tí a ma n lọ sí ọ̀de yẹn. T’á bá wà ní *primary one*, àwọn bàbá àgbàlagbà yẹn ni a ma n bá lọ. T’ó bá yẹ pé ọmọ yi ó yẹ kí ó ti tó lọ sí *primary two*, ọmọ t’ó bá ti lọ sí *primary two* nígbà yẹn, ó dúró fún wípé àti *three*, àti *four* ó ti kó gbogbo ẹ̀ ja, ọmọ yẹn ti good ni yẹn. Wón á já wa kúrò lẹ̀yìn àwọn bàbá bàba wa, a d’èrò ọ̀dò baba kékeré.

It is like when a child is in primary one, when the child is good and ready to move to primary two, because we are about four or five groups that go on outings. When we are in primary one, we follow those very old fathers. When a child is good enough to move to primary two, a child that has progressed to primary two then, it means the child can also pass on to primary three and four, and that the child is good. At that stage, we would be removed from our fathers’ fathers to small/little father [older uncles].

(Interview, November 2015)

⁴ Given that expertise in *dùndún* drumming is linked to the age of the drummer, the use of ‘older drummer’ in this study refers to both age and years of playing. An ‘adult learner’ will be used for someone old in age but not in *dùndún* drumming, i.e. starting *dùndún* later in life.

A beginner drummer starts with simple and standard rhythms often turned to onomatopoeic words or common phrases for ease of learning. Examples of such drum mnemonics are shown below:

Example 4.6 Drum mnemonics

The image displays three musical staves representing drum mnemonics. The first two staves are labeled 'Omele' and the third is labeled 'Gudugudu'. Each staff shows a rhythmic pattern with corresponding words or syllables written below it. The Omele staves use 'gba' and 'di' as mnemonics. The Gudugudu staff uses 'Bo', 'tan', 'ma', 'tun', 'ro', and 'ko' as mnemonics. Above the Gudugudu staff, there are also letters 'H' and 'L' indicating high and low notes.

After this stage, a child moves on to other semi-complex rhythms and, with constant practice and experience, the child is expected to learn to play these rhythms correctly and must be able to synchronise with the whole ensemble. To stress this point, Idamoyibo, citing Nketia, notes that ‘performing in a drum ensemble means [...] knowing the role one’s instrument is supposed to play [...] the rhythms assigned to it and precisely where they fit into the music’ (Idamoyibo 2002:74). The drummers in Èdè and Ìlọ̀ra state that before an adult learner can be given an *omele* to drum, he/she must be made to perform some administrative duties which include, but are not limited to, holding and caring for drums in outings, helping to save money realised during performances, and helping to keep other gifts items such as clothes or drinks offered by listeners in appreciation of drummers’ services.

Learning of *dùndún* in indigenous Yorùbá communities is not done in a rigidly fixed venue or specific days for learning. Children learn through playing with their peers around the house after school hours, while relaxing with adults, during outings or in general entertainment in the household. Although drummers would say the art of *dùndún* drumming is inborn and not learned, still they agree that innate potential is honed through constant engagement with the art and experience through years. Adult and experienced drummers learn more repertoire whenever they are out in other communities, villages or towns. For instance, if a certain ensemble hears additional lines of an *oríkì* that is already known to them, they include these lines in theirs, and upon returning home they tell or show the others what they have learnt. Through this process, ensembles and expert drummers build their wealth of repertoires. New skills are also learnt through observation of other drummers, for instance, taking note of other drummers’ techniques of playing. The process by which expert drummers build on their wealth of knowledge corroborates the idea that learning of *dùndún* is an endless process. Moreover, the exchange of

knowledge depicts collaboration amongst drummers, which in turn supports the drummers' idea that *dùndún* in Yorùbá is 'one' and drummers throughout the Yorùbá culture are one big family (Ayantayo Kamiu, interview, December 2015). By tracing their root to Òyó and collaborating with one another, *dùndún* musicians can be said to be joined together historically by tracing their roots to Òyó, and socially by their art.

4.4.1 The recruit

A beginner in an ensemble who is not born into *Àyàn* family is in most cases known to the drummers. He/she must have been close to the ensemble and known of their activities, in which case the ensemble members will readily reveal all there is to know. The recruit should also be humble and patient if they want to be welcomed into the world of *dùndún*. The recruit comes around daily, sits with the drummers and observes the drummers' daily activities. He/she follows them to every outing and when the drummers are satisfied the recruit is truly interested in learning, he/she will be given the *omele* to start with. Learning then continues from one drum to another until the person 'graduates' to *iyá ilù*. Even though it is said that *iyá ilù* is easy to master, *dùndún* drummers also believe that an adult coming to learn *dùndún* may end up not graduating to *iyá ilù*. This belief is captured in a saying quoted by Bashiru Ayandamilare (interview, November 2015): '*À f'àgbà kò'lù l'órí omele yẹn ni yóo wà*' ('One who learns drumming at an old age will remain on *omele*') In other words, to the drummers, not only is it easier to teach a child than an adult as they contend children grasp concepts faster, but also the endless nature of learning *dùndún* will prevent the adult from moving on to another stage.

Throughout the process of learning a trainee observes all activities including the techniques for handling and playing. After some period of following the ensemble to performances, and at the end of a particular occasion, the recruit is given a drum to hold, during which time he/she is expected to try out some things observed during the event and to recall the same some days later. Gradually, through trial and error, and constant practice, the individual acquires the knowledge of the art. It is clear that every *dùndún* drummer is expected to possess good listening skills as well as observational and memory skills (Ayantayo Kamiu, Azeez Ayansola, Azeez Ayantoyinbo, interview, November/December 2015).

Ayanjimi Ayansoji in Ìlọra (interview, November 2015) added that besides accepting a novice drummer into an ensemble, sometimes a veteran on *dùndún* might want to join an ensemble. In his ensemble, such an individual would be asked to bring a sum of five thousand naira and a

bottle of schnapps.⁵ An initiation ceremony that involves *Àyàn* ritual is then held to formally welcome the new member.

4.4.2 Method of teaching and learning

Because of the communal nature of music making in an indigenous African setting, music education is predominantly a social experience. Methods of music instruction in indigenous African cultures have been noted in the literature; these include but are not limited to observation, imitation, becoming familiar with the oral tradition and apprenticeship (Euba 1990; Berliner 1993; Abrokwa 1999; Abdallah 2010; Amegago 2014). Teaching and learning of *dùndún* is no different from teaching and learning in other indigenous African musical cultures. *Dùndún* musicians would say one does not ‘learn’ *dùndún*, and this is not farfetched, given that it is part of an oral tradition where learning is ingrained in the culture itself and not a discrete activity. So, asking a question such as ‘How did you learn *dùndún*? Or how does one learn?’ produces the general response that ‘we do not learn’. Such a response is perhaps influenced by the conception of ‘learning’ as a formal method applied within a given period of time, to a curriculum and/or contents as found in Western contexts. So even if *dùndún* drummers say they ‘do not learn’ the art, one has to take into account *how* the knowledge is transmitted through generations as gathered from the participants’ accounts and researcher’s observation in the field.

In the past one of the major methods of learning *dùndún* in indigenous communities was through apprenticeship (see, for example, Abdallah 2010; Amegago 2014). Recent years, however, have seen a decline of this practice. On the one hand, the decline could be attributed to the perceived low economic status ascribed to drummers,⁶ or to some other economic reasons, as youths are attracted towards more lucrative trades; on the other hand, migration to urban areas to play for churches or as popular musicians could account for why it is no longer a practice for someone to be formally allocated to a master to learn *dùndún*. Having said that,

⁵ Schnapps is a generic name given to a local gin (Yorùbá name: *ogógóró*) in Nigeria. It is an indispensable item in every cultural practice as it is not only used as libation, but it is also known as *otí àdúrà* (prayer beverage), and as the beverage of the elders and ancestors. During the fieldwork the drink was always present, no matter what the occasion.

⁶ Even though *dùndún* drummers are highly regarded in the community in terms of their services, musicians in Ilorin stated they are sometimes derogatorily called *alágbe* (beggar). One of the informants explained further that among indigenous Yorùbá the drummers’ families must exhibit their ‘beggar’ status by having the mother of a newly-born Ayan child go to the market to solicit for a sponge and soap to be used in bathing the baby (Ayaniyi Samuel, interview, January 2016). In another account the musicians in Ede and Osogbo stated that begging for things for a newly-born Ayan is only a myth.

dùndún is learned through various other methods. One is through *following* older drummers to all performances (also interpreted as a method of participation), and performing such duties as caring for the drums taken out, among others. This method of ‘on-the-job training’ serves two purposes for an adult learner especially. Firstly, the method is used to train the learner in the virtue of patience and perseverance, which are believed to be necessary if one is to play the *dùndún*. Secondly, the method tests the level of interest of the learner. A less enthusiast learner will stop going out with the ensemble within a short period, especially because of the mundane duties.

In an apprenticeship, a keen individual (whether an *Àyàn* offspring or outsider) is expected to try out some rhythmic patterns on the drum on his/her own, while carrying or caring for them. These try-outs are taken as one way of learning. Following the older drummers to performances is also important, as it is a method by which learners gain the knowledge of and about patrons and their *oríkì* (an important element in the art of *dùndún* drumming). It is also important to build up knowledge of different types of occasions, including the kind(s) of music suitable for such occasions. Following the older drummers and participating in activities of the group appear to be the foremost requirements and the primary method of training in an apprenticeship, as both old and young, insider and outsider must undergo this process.

Another way through which teaching-learning of *dùndún* takes place is *modelling*. Outside of the performance arena, the modelling method is more pronounced as an older drummer can be seen in a family compound showing the younger one how to carry out a task. In this method, both the expert drummer and the learner will each have a drum to work with. As the trainer plays, the trainee imitates the same.⁷ This practice occurs frequently, especially in the evening, when everyone has finished their daily chores and just unwinding in the compound. The modelling method is somewhat similar to, but different from, the observation method. Observation does not necessarily entail the trainee having a drum to work with, and the trainer is not consciously or intentionally showing the trainee what to do, but these are mandatory in the modelling method.

⁷ An uncommon variation of this method involves a trainer holding and guiding the hand of the trainee (see also Amegago 2014:103). I personally experienced learning through this method from Azeez Àyànsola in Igbo Ora many times during my training. In some cases, for ease of learning, children are placed on the lap while the trainer holds his or her hand to drum (see also Euba 1990:105)

Observation and *imitation* are two inter-connected methods. As drummers play during or outside performances, younger ones watch their behaviours. Through constant watching the observable behaviour of adults, the younger ones tend to imitate what they are seeing. While learning through observation can be an unconscious act on the part of the trainee, imitation can sometimes be deliberate. In comparison with modelling, which can be perceived as formal, imitation can be seen as an informal method that involves children just remembering and copying the actions of adults. The contexts of these methods also differ. Observation and imitation occurs anywhere and everywhere; modelling is usually applied outside the performance, while participation is bound to the context of performance. The following statement of Waidi Ayanleke explains the methods of observation and imitation:

Tí àwọn t'óbá dàgbà jùwá lọ, tí wọn bá n lù-- irú gúdúgúdú báyì (points at gúdúgúdú), tí wọn bá n lu, àwa náà ma n wo ọwọ wọn, àti bí wọn ẹ n ẹ. Bí wọn ẹ n ẹ un, àti irú ilù tì wọn n lù, a máa wo. Tí àwọn bàbá wa-- tí wọn bá tún tì wá dá irú ilù un lẹ ní jọọ mi àwa náà ó wa sáré rántí wípé bí àwọn tó jù wà lọ ẹ san sí n'jọ onii yi re, òun làwa náa fi n *pick up* die die, tó fi di pé...

When our elders perform, for example, this gúdúgúdú (points at gúdúgúdú) when they drum, we look at their hands and how they do it. The manner of their performance and the type of drum beat they give, we observe. Some other time when our fathers start the same pattern, we quickly remember this is how our elders did it the other day. That is how we pick up little by little, until... [now]

(Interview, December 2015)

Verbal instruction telling the trainees what to do or play is another method *dùndún* drummers employ. This method is seldom used, and it is useful especially at the stage of playing *iyá ilù*, when 'talking' on the drum is necessary. It is also used in teaching *omele* by means of drum mnemonics. Sometimes, if a trainee does not get the perfect intonation of any word, or if she/he plays an incomplete proverb, the trainer gives instructions verbally. It was mentioned earlier that older drummers add to their repertoire by collaborating with other drummers both within and outside their community. The knowledge thus garnered from the outside is passed on to the others through verbal instruction (Azeez Ayansola, Waidi Ayanleke, interview, December 2015).

4.4.3 Instruction during performance

Even though instructions for playing *dùndún* are not written down as the art evolves in an oral culture, there are means of giving directions and achieving an excellent performance. As noted by Euba (1990), the lead drummer who is on *iyá ilù* has the responsibility of directing the

activities of the ensemble. He starts the music, dictates the pace and/or changes it at will during a performance. If he wants the tempo fast or slow, he increases or decreases it and others follow suit. The lead drummer can use body movements to give instructions. At other times he can use a phrase or proverb. For instance, in Ìlora, when *iyá ilù* says ‘*Àfira nì'jàkadi*’ (Wrestling is performed briskly), it means that the ensemble should increase the tempo and/or put in more energy. It is important for *dùndún* performers that they sound concerted in performance and not playing as individuals, hence the lead drummer instructs that they play with more energy whenever he perceives the ensemble is sounding disjointed. Playing as one group, they believe, makes the music more interesting. At other times they play with more energy to make the music sound louder. ‘*Òrò ikòkò ní gban gba ló n bọ*’ (‘Words spoken in secret will come out in the open’) means to stop playing or pause for a while. In Igbó-Orà, the leader after a long performance of *oríkì* cues the ensemble in for rhythmic accompaniment with ‘*J’ògun ómí j’ògun ó sinmi, àwa ‘rawa rí rawa*’ (‘Allow the war to recede, allow the war to rest; those of us (that are of us) have seen ourselves’). For all the different ensembles, the common way to indicate ‘stop’ or ‘pause’ is to have the leader strike the *iyá ilù* once. If the other members do not see or hear him, another person signals by raising his stick (*òpá*) to tell the others to stop.

Dùndún performers describe their actions with everyday language, but musically there is meaning to what a reference is being made. For instance, when they talk about *òkè* (literally ‘up’) or *ilẹ̀* (‘down’), in terms of music, they are talking about register (high or low), dynamics (loud or soft), or tempo (fast or slow). At other times they may talk about *sáré* (‘run’), which means ‘fast’. Aesthetically, they may talk about music as being ‘sweet’ as the term is used for food, for example, ‘the song is sweet’, which in terms of music means ‘interesting’, or they can refer to poor sound as being ‘austere’. More examples of terms used in the world of *dùndún* to refer to the drum and/or playing mechanics are listed below (Table 4.1). All the words used in the world of *dùndún* are meaningful, and even though one word in the use of Yorùbá language might refer to different things in the language of music, the context of use determines the exact reference of the word.

Table 4.1 Examples of terminology used in the world of *dùndún*

Term	Literal meaning	Musical/Performance meaning	Context of usage
<i>Àlùjá</i>	Breakable drum	Tuned too tight	Used when the tensioning strings are too tight
<i>(Ọsán) dẹ</i>	Soft tensioning strings		Normal condition for tensioning strings which aids good sound production
<i>(Awọ) rọ</i>	Soft membrane		Good sound production
<i>Ìsẹ̀lù</i>	Sounding the drum/morning greetings	Pre-performance	<i>Ìsẹ̀lù</i> is performed by drummers at the house of a celebrant before the commencement of the main event
<i>Já wale</i>	Drop it down	Slow; soft; low pitch	
<i>Le/ Èle</i>	Hard/strong	Fast; high pitch; vigorous	
<i>(Ìlù) le</i>	Firm drum	Tuned tightly	Used in the context of tuning and comparing the voices of drums
<i>Òde</i>	Outing	Performance	
<i>Ọwọ rọ</i>	Soft hand	Wrist technique (for better sound production)	Used when talking about the right technique of playing
<i>Sa ilù</i>	Drum display		
<i>San</i>	Tighten	Tune	
<i>(ilù) Sọ ara lẹ/rọ/jáwọ</i>	Drum is loose/soft/ drop down	Well-tuned	Used when tensioning strings are in a good condition for use
<i>Ẹ́án ọ̀dì</i>	Playing the opposite	Make mistake	

4.4.4 Correcting mistakes

Given the repertoire of knowledge *dùndún* drummers garner over years of engaging in the art, they are naturally aware when a performance is up to their expectation or not. In the words of Bashiru Ayandamile (interview, November 2015): ‘*Mímọ yẹn, lórí ẹ̀kọ̀ ní [...] nínú brain àti etí ní ẹ̀kọ̀ yẹn wà*’ (‘Knowing, is based on learning [...] the knowledge is embedded in [engaging] the brain and the ears’). To expand on this point, Rasaki Ayandiran (interview, November 2015) explains that ‘*Kí èyàn gbóná nínú ilù, àti inú ní. Gbogbo ohun tí a n rò tì a n se yẹn, láti inú ọ̀kàn ní. Láti inú ọ̀kàn ló ti ma wá sí orí, t’ó ma wá wá sí ọ̀wọ̀*’ (‘Prowess in drumming comes from within. The thoughts and all that we do spring from the heart. From the heart it comes to the head, and then to the hands’). The tacit knowledge stemming from experience gained over the years through the engagement of the mind and the ears allows drummers to be aware when someone makes a mistake during a performance. The erring individual (if he/she is not a beginner) is also supposed to know. One way to know a mistake has been made is if the tempo gradually slows down, without the deliberate action of the lead drummer, who is on *iyá ilù*. Another means of realising an error is if the steady rhythm of the ensemble suddenly ‘scatters’, or if the person making mistakes realises that his/her rhythm is no longer in sync with the others. Where the individual is not cognisant of their mistakes, the others in the group, but mostly the

lead drummer, detect them and they immediately bring the attention of the individual to the errors. If it is a child, the lead drummer or another adult hit them lightly on the head with *òpá* (drum stick) to draw their attention and then corrects them. Eye contact in form of a glare or eyes rolling, or hand gesture to indicate ‘stop’ is used for adults. During performances any mistakes are corrected by making the individual concerned stop playing for a while, observe and listen to the others, and then join in again. In some situations, the person may not pause (for example, in a smaller ensemble), but the other members of the ensemble must quickly cover up so that the error will not be apparent to listeners. If, for example, the action of slowing down the tempo comes unintentionally from *omele* drummer, the person on *gúdúgúdú* has the responsibility to pick up the pace. Another way of correcting mistakes is through individual A switching over – as soon as a mistake is detected – to play what individual B, the person making the mistake, was supposed to be playing. In most cases individual A, in rectifying the error, will face individual B, who then realises that A is trying to remind him/her of his/her (B) rhythm. Individual B thus adjusts his/her playing accordingly.

Correcting mistakes may also take a form of verbal communication, where someone tells the erring drummer ‘*ò n fà wá lọp’lẹ*’ (literally: ‘you are pulling us down’), meaning the person is destroying the music. The person may also be asked to stop and told verbally to go back to what he/she was playing before. If the individual has forgotten the rhythm, someone in the ensemble prompts him/her. The *iyá ilù* drummer can also communicate through his drum. Àyànjimi Àyànsoji in Ilọra, for instance, corrects someone by using the drum to call the person’s name and adds ‘[...] *oun t’o n se yi ò da*’ ([...] you are doing a wrong thing’). Azeez Àyànsola in Igbó-Ọrà hits the drum twice, which means *dúró* (wait or stop).

These examples show the common means of making adjustments during performances. They also indicate that anyone in an ensemble can detect and correct mistakes. However, the biggest responsibility lies with the lead drummer, who is on *iyá ilù*. Others who take up such responsibility are only seen as assisting the lead drummer in his duties. The fact that any member in an ensemble can in some way or other take on the role of the leader while still acknowledging the leader shows the innate structure of teaching practice in the world of *dùndún*.

4.5 Essentials of the world of *dùndún*

Just as in many other professions or trades, there are some essential aspects of art of *dùndún* drumming that must be realised for someone (old or new) to be acknowledged as a *dùndún* drummer. Highlighted below are the essentials as observed by the researcher as well as reported by the interviewed *dùndún* musicians.

- a) Participating in performance activities: any old, new or aspiring member of a *dùndún* ensemble must go with the others to performances. Apart from serving as a major method of learning, it is an avenue for gaining more experience, meeting people, making money, fostering relationships amongst drummers and other musical arts practitioners. These relationships are essential for the growth and survival of any ensemble, including *dùndún* drumming as an art. *Dùndún* music thrives through performances and as an art that is handed down through generations, hence it is imperative to make the subsequent generations adopt the culture of going to events. This ensures the survival of *dùndún* through the ages (Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo, Azeez Ayansola, Lasisi Ayantunji, Rasaki Ayandiran interview, November and December 2015).
- b) One major way of learning and gaining experience amongst the Yorùbá is associating with elders. A proverb *Ọmọdé ló l'orin, àgbà ló nì'tàn* ('The youths might know the popular song, but only the elders could relate the story behind it') is an indication that an elder in Yorùbá culture is regarded as a repository of knowledge and wisdom. Hence it is considered prudent for anyone who wants to succeed in the world of *dùndún* music to mingle with the elders in the society (including non-drummers). Such a person is required to have good personality, especially humility, and predisposition to learn. A Yorùbá saying '*Ọmọ t'ó bá mọ'wọ wẹ, á bá'gbà jẹun*' ('A child who knows to wash his/her hands will dine with elders') brings home this point. A *dùndún* drummer must know every aspect of the history of the community in addition to knowledge of *oríkì* (praise poetry) and *òwe* (proverbs). It is therefore imperative for *dùndún* drummers to be as close to the elders as possible, even in social settings such as evening games (Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo, Waidi Ayanleke, interview, December 2015).
- c) Retentive memory: It is an essential requirement for a *dùndún* drummer to possess good memory skills. There are numerous gods worshipped amongst the Yorùbá and most of the gods are linked with particular drum patterns (Euba 1990; Ibisankale 2007). A drummer is expected to be versatile in the separate beats of the gods. He/she must know every family in a local community and their individual *oríkì*, which must not be mixed up with one another.

A *dùndún* drummer must have the knowledge of as many proverbs as possible. Given that almost every event among the indigenous Yorùbá calls for *dùndún*, a drummer is expected to know different drum patterns/beats for different occasions, and how to stimulate the interest of the audience in any situation. He/she must know the history of the land, and the history of past kings and the incumbent ruler, among other things. From the accounts of the drummers, *dùndún* drumming is not for a feeble or forgetful mind. To explain how it is possible to acquire knowledge of all there is to know, and especially the *oríkì* of every member of the community, Sikiru Ayanwale (interview, November 2015) says he follows the routine of ‘*ojúmọ kan oríkì kan, ojúmọ kan òwe kan*’ (‘one *oríkì* per day, one proverb per day’). Participants always say that the most important component of the *dùndún* profession is the ‘heart or mind’ (for example, Ayanjimi Ayansoji, Azeez Ayansola, interview, November and December 2015). From the accounts of the drummers, it can be said that three requirements cover the process of developing prowess in *dùndún* music: first is the requirement of ‘interest’, second is that one has to completely focus one’s mind on every aspect of the *dùndún* tradition: the requirement of attention; and thirdly, one has to retain and recall everything learned.

- d) All the interviewed drummers noted that the most difficult and the most important aspect in the teaching-learning process of *dùndún*, especially *iyá ilù*, is the knowledge and skill of reciting *oríkì*. It was pointed out that the primary function of *iyá ilù*, besides giving information, is to say *oríkì*. Hence, a *dùndún* drummer has the responsibility of making the most of the drum by his/her ability to recite as many *oríkì* as possible (for example, Ayanjimi Ayansoji (Ìlọra), Rasaki Ayandiran (Igbó-Ọrà), Waidi Ayanleke (Èdẹ), interview, November and December 2015). Closely associated with the acquisition of the knowledge of *oríkì* is knowing the *òwe* (proverbs) (Sikiru Ayanwale, Waidi Ayanleke, interview, November and December 2015). These two are very important, as they are part of the major tools used by drummers to arouse the emotions of their audience (discussed in detail in the next chapter).
- e) Knowledge of *àlùjọ* (literally: dance beats or dance drumming) is very important for any *dùndún* musician. As explained by Sikiru Ayanwale,

*Music nàà dẹ ẹ kókó. Music ẹ kókó gidi. Ẹ ẹ mò pé t’á bá bẹrẹ sí orin kọ nisyin-
- tí Ọ̀ṣùpá tí Paso bá n k’orin nisyin, gbogbo orin ẹ ló ní music. Bí Wasii Ayinde
nisiyin, t’ẹ bá wo live kan báyii ó ní pé “óyá ẹ fún mi l’álùjọ”, àwọn onílu yẹn dẹ
lu. Onílu ẹ lu gbogbo ẹ t’ó dẹ pe.*

Music too is important. It is very important. You know if we begin to play now... for example, when Osupa or Paso sings, all their songs have music. For example, Wasiu Ayinde, if you watch one of his live [music] he says, “now give me àlùjò [dance rhythm]” and the drummers played it. His drummers drummed everything completely.

(Interview, November 2015)

When asked what he meant by ‘music’, he said *àlùjò*. On the one hand, the statement by Ayanwale points out the importance of *àlùjò*, and on the other hand, by referring to popular musicians such as Osupa, Paso and Wasiu, shows it is important for *dùndún* musicians to follow new trends. However, what is trending seems to be predominantly applicable to the younger generations of *dùndún* musicians. As various types of music have found their way into the rural areas, probably through migration, social media or some other means, it appears that it is important for the younger generations to be relevant. This is revealed in a further statement by Sikiru:

Nkan tí àwa bá ẹ̀ nísíyìn àwọn bàbá yẹ̀n wọ̀n ò le ẹ̀ irú ẹ̀ mọ̀. Wọ̀n ti d’àgbà. Wọ̀n ò lè lu *àlùjò* àbí kí wọ̀n lù’lù fún àwọn obìrin kí wọ̀n jó mọ̀ pé b’a ẹ̀ ma n lù’lù. Àbí k’á *travel* lọ sí Èkó nítorí a ma n *travel* lọ sí Èkó, a má n lọ Ìbàdàn, a má n lọ Abuja, a ma n *travel* káàkiri be. Àwa l’a wà ní’ta nísíyìn. Bí àwọn onífújì náà ẹ̀ wà nísíyìn, ẹ̀ ẹ̀ mọ̀ pé àwọn kan kókó ti wà pé àwọn ni wọ̀n kókó n kọ fújì k’ó tó di pé èmi l’àwọn Paso, èmi l’Osupa yẹ̀n de [...] Àwọn ẹ̀ni yẹ̀n ti di t’àná, wọ̀n ti di *old*. Àwọn Osupa èmi l’àwọn Paso, àwọn l’ó si wa ní ìta nísíyìn, gégé b’ó ẹ̀ jẹ̀ fún wa gan nì yẹ̀n.

What we [the youths] do now, the elders can no longer do. They are old. They can no longer play àlùjò or drum for women to dance the way we would play it. Or we can travel to Lagos, because we do travel to Lagos, to Ibadan, to Abuja; we do travel everywhere like that. We are the ones in vogue now. You know some people have been before Fuji musicians such as Paso and Osupa [...]. They are now old-fashioned. The likes of Osupa and Paso are trending now. That is how it is for us also.

(Sikiru Ayanwale, interview, November 2015)

The need for relevance through *àlùjò*, corroborates the notes of Omojola (2012) that *àlùjò* is one of the creative materials stemming out of Yorùbá drummers’ ‘process of adapting a predominantly sacred tradition [of Yorùbá drumming] to the social needs of modern Yorùbá society’. *Àlùjò* is also a ‘representative of the desire of Yorùbá drummers to survive in a fast-changing world’ (Omojola 2012:68). The need for survival and relevance could explain why younger drummers (as was discovered through observation) in this study, create their *àlùjò* by means of common slang and/or current happenings, in contrast to older ones who

make their dance rhythm predominantly by combination of proverbs. Be that as it may, amongst drummers of all ages knowledge of *àlùjò* is imperative as it is a means of relating to people who do not understand the drum language. *Àlùjò* is also employed when the occasion calls for lots of dancing and, according to Sikiru Ayanwale, when the event is for women, since occasions involving women are characterised by dance (interview, November 2015).

- f) Outside of performance it is imperative for every *dùndún* musicians, old and new, young or elderly, to know how to make and repair a drum (Figure 4.10). The membrane of the drum wears out after some time and sometimes it tears open while in use. *Dùndún* drummers must know how to fix the membrane or fit a new one. In fact, apart from the carving of the drum skeleton, which is a job of another family, every other aspect of drum construction must be known by every *dùndún* drummer (Ayanjimi Ayansoji, Ayantayo Kamiu, Azzez Ayansola, interview, November and December 2015). Coupled with this knowledge is the ability to tune the drum. ‘Voice’ is very important to each drum making up the *dùndún* family. Different voices include high, medium, low (for *iyá ilù*), and hard and soft, or male and female (for *gúdúgúdú* and *omele*). Hence, even though the *dùndún* drummer does not have a precise way of determining the exact pitch of any of the drums, through experience they are able to compare the voices of the instruments and determine when voices are blending with one another. Apart from the tuning done in preparation for performance or to distribute ‘voice’ parts, it is important for a *dùndún* drummer to know when the membrane is generally in shape for good tone production. Adjustment of voices is made on *osán* (the thongs): stretching the thongs from one end to the other produces a hard tone, while tightening a rope around the drum (to loosen up the tension on the thongs) and leaving it for some minutes or hours will give a soft tone (Rasaki Ayandiran, Azzez Ayansola, interview, November and December 2015).
- g) The need to have a personal drum and *òpá* (stick) is very important for any drummer. According to Ayantayo Kamiu (interview, December 2015), his ensemble always takes money from their donations during meetings, or proceeds from outings, to purchase drums; furthermore, an individual shows his/her level interest and commitment when he/she possesses a personal drum.
- h) During performances it is necessary for all drummers, including the very young ones, to be conversant with the language (drum signals and gestures) of instruction in the *dùndún* world.

This they learn through careful observation, attention to detail and having retentive memory (Azeez Ayansola, Basiru Ayandamilare, Sikiru Ayanwale, interview, November 2015).

While the above list of requirements for recognition as a *dùndún* musician is far from being exhaustive, it highlights common practices among all the musicians in the visited towns. They are also important to note, because they provide an insight into some important factors influencing *dùndún* performance.



Figure 4.10 Ràsáki Àyándìran fastening *osán* to the other end of the drum shell to make *iyá ilù*. Photo: Cecilia Durojaye, 14 January 2016

4.6 Differentiating between performers and listeners of *dùndún*

It is necessary to include a section on the audience or the listeners of *dùndún* music. In different places in this study, mention was made of *dùndún* performers and listeners. The following questions arise: Is there a distinction between performers and listeners in the *dùndún* performance contexts? If there is a distinction, what does it mean to listen to *dùndún* music? The first of these questions arise because of the problematic nature of the application of the term ‘listening’. When people talk about listening or listeners, the thought that came to mind is usually a distinction between what listening denotes in Western music practices (especially Western classical music) versus African music practices, which stems from the contemplative and functional music dichotomy. This categorisation, which places African music only in the

utilitarian realm and that which is tied to its socio-cultural context, is what Chernoff had in mind when he says that ‘it is a mistake “to listen” to African music’ (Chernoff 1979:33). Similarly, in a discourse bordering on listening to instrumental music in sub-Saharan Africa, Cooke argues that Africans ‘may well listen in a different way from the way Europeans do’ (1999:73). While Cooke may be right, these positions about listening no doubt stem from the continued and clichéd search for differences between what could be labelled as Western and African. That African music does not involve listening as some might misconstrue Chernoff’s statement, cannot be further from the truth. In the case of *dùndún* music, listening takes different forms and these require contemplations. For example, it takes active and contemplative listening to detect the changes from text-based to pure rhythmic modes of *dùndún* drumming styles. Contemplative listening could be in form standing by and observing the performance, while also evaluating the music. It could be conveyed in the form of dancing or swaying to the sound of the music. It may also be externalised through participants’ verbal comments about the music among other things. Certainly, *dùndún* music offers a unique room for contemplation because of its language and music capacity. Its various texts about philosophical, social, moral, political, psychological and cultural subjects provide varieties of opportunities for reflection in the part of the drummer who produces the texts. Reflections over the texts, the music or quality of performance are manifested in the listeners through various responses (comments, clapping, or dancing) to the music during and/or after its performance. The listening practices in the *dùndún* world strongly influence the way music is experienced as well as the perception and communication of emotions which are the focus of the subsequent chapters.

Closely related is another commonplace misconception that no distinction can be made between performers and audiences in African indigenous or traditional music performance settings. As argued by Agawu

[D]espite its communal, inviting nature, performance in African society *does not* necessarily support claims that no limits are placed upon acceptable modes of behaviour during performance, that there is only a thin line between spectators and performers, that everyone is musical, or that everyone participates in musical activities.’ (1995:112, emphasis added)

Perhaps the general notion that listeners cannot be separated from performers in indigenous settings explains why it is common in African music texts to refer to ‘audience’ or ‘participating audience’ instead of merely ‘listeners’. The term ‘listeners’ have been used in this study because firstly, even though everyone participates in some form or another in a musical event, not everyone plays the *dùndún* at such events. The group being referred to as performers here are

professionally trained *dùndún* musicians who are clearly distinguishable from ‘the others’. The others, such as, guests at an occasion, a patron who responds to the praise of the *dùndún* musician, the dancers, the audience cheering dancers and even the by-stander observing the performances are categorised as listeners. Secondly, as mentioned in Chapter One, the participants in the study refer to their audience as ‘*olùgbọ*’, which literally translates to ‘listener’ thereby justifying its usage in the context of this study.

4.7 Conclusion

The role played by *dùndún* musicians in indigenous Yorùbá communities cannot be underestimated. From their repository of knowledge, they bring life to *dùndún*, an instrument which is in itself full of life. The functions of *dùndún* and its drummers are multifarious, and they have not all been identified here or in the literature. Largely unexplored is the area of how *dùndún* works in peoples’ mind, body and behaviour, aspects which are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Emotional Communication in *Dùndún* Music: Qualitative Findings

5.1 Introduction

The functional and sociocultural aspects of *dùndún* within the Yorùbá context as discussed in Chapter Four indicate that through its performance *dùndún* establishes a communicative interaction between its performers and listeners. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this study approaches communication from a music psychological perspective, basing its premises on the expressivity of music and its inherent quality to induce feelings and emotions in a listener. Consequently, this chapter focuses on exploring and providing answers to the questions posed earlier in this study: How do *dùndún* performers learn expressivity? What are the emotion-inducing tools utilised by *dùndún* musicians in communicating emotions to their listeners? What observable and self-reported emotional responses do *dùndún* music elicit in the listeners? How is the success of communication determined within the *dùndún* performance tradition? The answers to these questions are presented from the perspectives of *dùndún* musicians and listeners under the broad categories of *dùndún* performers and expressivity, emotional communication in *dùndún*, and emotional responses to *dùndún*.

5.2 *Dùndún* performers and expressivity

There is no equivalent single Yorùbá word for ‘expression’. However, if expression is construed in terms of the way a performer shapes or interprets a piece of music, playing with feeling (Lindström *et al.* 2003), or the relationship of a piece of music to the perception of the listener (Gabrielsson 1999, 2003; see Chapter Two), it can be said that playing with expressivity in *dùndún* music is present despite the lack of a specific term in the Yorùbá language.

During interviews with *dùndún* musicians, the researcher used the words ‘to bring something out’ in questions related to musical expression to enable interviewees to understand the question. Initially it looked as if participants tended to describe various activities in terms of broad performance practices. A more thorough interpretation of information gathered from interviews, personal communications and observation of the performers’ activities, however, revealed that music expressivity is deeply embedded in *dùndún* performances. *Dùndún*

performers are not only aware of the importance of music expression, but also use terms to indicate the presence of expressivity. In an explanation of different techniques and tones of playing, the musicians made a clear distinction between (*ilù*) *ògeere* ('straight playing', interpreted as without expression) and *iréwó* ('turning the hand', a technique of wrist movement, associated with skillful performance) or *alùdùn* ('sweet playing', interpreted as playing with expression). They mentioned using *ohùn arò* ('sad or sorrowful tone') to get certain effects in certain situations such as funeral context. A few of the terms used by *dùndún* musicians in describing expressivity in performance are presented in Table 5.1 below. The terms were collated from the musicians in different localities, for example, Ayanjimi Ayansoji in Ìlora, Rasaki Ayandiran in Igbó-Orà, Bashiru Ayandamilare in Igbó-Orà, Lasisi Ayantunji in Ede, amongst others.

Dùndún performers also make use of proverbs to indicate performance expression, for example, *àfira nì'jàkadì* (wrestling is performed briskly) cited in the previous chapter as being used an instruction to play 'with energy'. Besides using their instruments, *dùndún* musicians also indicate their use of body movements to express their music, thus agreeing with studies which record the use and significance of performers' gestures in expression (for example, Davidson & Correia 2002; Davidson 2012).

Table 5.1 List of terminology used in describing expressivity in *dùndún* performance

Term	Literal meaning	Musical/Performance meaning	Context of usage
<i>Àfikún</i>	Additions	Elongation of speech pattern with texts that have no formal meaning	Used in dance music, to enhance the dance/dance steps
<i>Alùdùn</i>	Sweet drumming	Bright and vibrating tone derived from light swing of the wrist	Used in almost every context to avoid 'straight' playing
<i>Àlùjò</i>	Danceable rhythm	Dance rhythm	Pure rhythm with no text
<i>Àwídùn</i>	Sweet speech	Playing speech texts in a singing style; use of figurative texts	
<i>Èlẹ̀</i>	Calm	Slow tempo; rhythmic change	
<i>Fi ilù sukún</i>	Cry with the drum	Playing with expression	Embellished playing that is achieved by having additional subtle strokes on one tone. This technique gives a vibrato effect
<i>Ìjálù</i>	Breaking the drumming	A technique of playing with both hand and stick	Used when intensely focussed on performance to display excitement (for instance, during dance music performances)
<i>Ìrélù</i>	Drum display	A technique of playing that involves hitting the drum with fingertips of the hand used in holding the tensioning strings, in addition to the use of stick. Another technique is to use the side of the stick to play close to the rim of the drum	Used in moments of excitement or to enhance the dance

<i>Ìrẹwọ</i>	Turning the hand	Technique of stick use and movement of wrist	Used when referring to perfection or skilful drumming to enhance text rendition. Manner of wrist movements is one of the determinants of a good drummer
<i>Jamọra</i>	Hit (drum) on the body	Technique of playing that involves manipulating the tensioning strings and at the same time activating the brass bells by vigorously hitting the drum on the hip bone.	A movement by the lead drummer during moments of excitement, to make music move/faster or just to display skill
<i>Kan (ilú kan)</i>	Austere	Poor sound or tone	For example, when the <i>òpá</i> is too long, it is believed it can bring about a poor sound
<i>Ohùn arò</i>	Sad or sorrowful voice	Sombre timbre/dirge	The tone is used in the context of performance of sad music; for example, burial
<i>(Ìlù) Ògeere</i>	Straight drumming	Plain drumming with no expression	Used when referring to expressionless playing
<i>Şan dáadáa</i>	Play well	With energy	Used in moments of excitement to change the tempo, or the dynamics of the music

As *dùndún* drummers tend to assert that their art is not taught or learned, the question of how *dùndún* performers learn expressivity generates no more response than the view that expressive skill is a function of innate talent. A good example is Rasaki Ayandiran (interview, November 2015), quoted in Chapter Four for his response to the vast knowledge and inherent skill required for excellent performance on *dùndún* that ‘*kí èyàn gbóná nínú ìlù, àti inú ni. Gbogbo ohun tí a n rò tí a n şe yẹn, láti inú òkàn ni. Láti inú òkàn ló ti ma wá sí orí, t’ó ma wá wá sí ọwọ*’ (‘Prowess in drumming comes from within. The thoughts and all that we do spring from the heart. From the heart it comes to the head, and then to the hands’). This idea is comparable to a statement by one of Woody’s subjects: ‘there is no technique to perform expressively. You have to use your soul’ (Woody 2000:21). While we can agree with the musicians that expressive performance comes from the heart, it would also be safe to say that learning of expressivity in *dùndún* comes with the other learned skills and experiences achieved through imitation, observation, participation and verbal instruction that have been outlined in the previous chapter. For instance, a technique such as ‘*àfikún*’ (additions used in dance music to enhance dance) is highly likely to be learned first through experience, after which the drummer can then add other things through his imagination and creativity. The case of *dùndún* musicians can therefore be seen as the combination of both innate and learned skills. The notion that *dùndún* musicians learn expressivity through imitation, modelling and verbal instruction is consistent with what

has been noted in studies of expression in music in other parts of the world (for example, Woody 2000, 2002a; Sheldon 2004; Karlsson & Juslin 2008).

5.3 Emotional communication in and through *dùndún*

Emotional expression has been noted as one of the important sources of expression in music performance (GERMS model, Juslin *et al.* 2002; Juslin 2003, 2009b; Juslin & Timmers 2010), and according to Gabrielsson (2009:142), emotion appears to be the most common of all referential meanings that may be given to music. That expression of emotion is a significant component of music performance can be said to hold true for *dùndún* musicians as deduced from the tools used by them to achieve expression, as well as the intention behind each performance (discussed in detail later). However, *dùndún* performers do not only *express* emotion, but they also *communicate* it, in that they strive to optimise their listeners' music experience, to assist the listeners *feel* the effect of the music. In other words, emotions are embedded and encoded in the performance of *dùndún*, and listeners decode the same by their perception as well as reactions to the music. In Yorùbá communities *dùndún* musicians are (in addition to other roles mentioned in Chapter Four) believed to be charged with the responsibility of exciting people and moving people to the climax in both sacred and secular settings. *Dùndún* drummers are also aware of their inevitable role in the society, and with this awareness, they utilise different tools to achieve the aim of moving their listeners. The means by which *dùndún* musicians potentially arouse emotions in their listeners as garnered from observation and interview data are discussed under the following headings:

- *Oríkì*
- Proverbs
- *Àlùjọ*
- Body movement
- Others (including familiarity, preference, performer's prowess and dexterity, the general context of the occasion, and so on)

5.3.1 *Oríkì*

Oríkì has been described at various times by various authors as 'praise poetry', 'descriptive poetry', 'descriptive song' and 'hymn of praise' (for example, Vidal 1969/2012c; Awe 1974; Lindon 1990; Barber 1991; Olaniyan 1993; Adeeko 2001; Olatunji 2005; Sotunsa 2009). Vidal, writing in 1969 (republished 2012), defines *oríkì*, conceived as a musical art, as 'one of the oldest traditions in Yorùbá music consisting of a unification of poetry and music' (Vidal

2012c:151). In the same vein, Omojola (2012:7) categorises *oríkì* under Yorùbá vocal music. As a literary art, *oríkì* is seen as ‘a poetic phrase that is used to describe or praise’ (Beier & Gbadamosi quoted in Olatunji 2005:71). Barber describes *oríkì* as a ‘genre of Yorùbá oral poetry that could be described as attributions or appellations [...] addressed to a subject’ (1991:1). *Oríkì* is very important to the Yorùbá as it is found in the everyday life of the culture; for instance, parents use *oríkì* to respond to a child’s greeting in the morning – this is to show the child that his attitudes are satisfactory or appreciated. Older people generally make use of *oríkì* to encourage younger ones to develop good character. Mothers and grandmothers say *oríkì* to soothe crying babies. *Oríkì* functions in important ceremonies and festivals among the Yorùbá, and it also functions as a signal, for instance, to alert a monarch or chief of arriving guest (Barber 1991; Olatunji 2005). In addition to describing or praising, *oríkì* is a means of documenting or preserving history (for example, Awe 1974).

There are various treatises on the *oríkì*, including studies of its history, structure, content, style and form, to mention but a few. Of relevance here, however, is the psychological importance of *oríkì*, especially in terms of how *dùndún* performers utilise *oríkì* in evoking responses. The psychological effects of *oríkì* have been noted (albeit in passing) in the literature. Awe (1974) notes that *oríkì* ‘provides the Yorùbá a great deal of psychological satisfaction’. He states further that ‘by listening to the *oríkì*, they [the Yorùbá] are reminded of their ancestors and memories of the latter’s achievements’, hence a ‘feeling of solidarity with one’s blood relations, and [...] pride in one’s pedigree’ (Awe 1974:332–333). Babalola states that ‘the reciting or chanting of the appropriate *oríkì* in honour of the ancestors of particular family causes members of that family who hear the performance to feel very proud of their pedigree, and if they are then away from home, they also feel exceedingly homesick’ (Babalola in Olatunji 2005:67). In relation to the effect of *oríkì* on kinetic and physical responses, Vidal notes that when *oríkì* music is being performed, ‘a man suddenly jumps up and starts performing various feats. A woman can dance through the whole night without showing any signs of fatigue. Timid leaders and kings are given courage when they hear the praises and attributes of their ancestors. They start performing wonders’ (Vidal 2012c:158). *Oríkì* is also believed to have an effect on spirits, ancestors and deities just as much as it does on living beings. According to Vidal (2012c:157), ‘*oríkì* invokes the spirits of the ancestors, propitiating them and soliciting them for help and support’. In corroboration, Babalola records that ‘it is traditionally believed that the correct performance of *oríkì* in honour of a progenitor gladdens the progenitor in the world of the spirits and induces him to shower blessings on his offspring on earth’ (Babalola quoted in Olatunji

2005:67). These mentions of the effects of *oríkì* are brief and are submerged within other discourses that are of greater relevance to the individual authors.

Oríkì is an indispensable tool in the performance of *dùndún*, and every good *dùndún* drummer knows how to wield this tool, where emotional and other psychological responses are concerned. According to Vidal (2012c:159), ‘An *oríkì* musician knows [the psychological effects of *oríkì*] and can manipulate his audience and direct its mood in whichever way he wants, be it humour, joy, anger or fright’. This assertion is true insofar as *dùndún* musicians who participated in this study clearly stated they can and do manipulate their listeners’ reactions with the use of *oríkì*. When asked how he *moves* his listeners, Ayanjimi Ayansoji states:¹

Tí n bá gbé ìlù lówó tí n bá fẹ́ kí èyàn nì ìmòlára oun tí mo n lù, màá kii, màá ki ìdílé bàbá baba rẹ́ [...] Tí n bá fi ìlù yi kí pé ọmọ lágbájá ọmọ lágbájá báyii, báyii báyii ni bàbá rẹ́ ti má n ẹ́, bàbá rẹ́ kii ẹ́ báyii. Ọun náa yóò wo pè ah ha, óní bí baba ọun ti ma n ẹ́. Kò ní mọ́ ìgbà tí ìlù yen á wọ ọun náa lára.

When I am with the drum and I want someone to feel what I am doing [in their body], I will say his oríkì, I will recite it to the father’s lineage [...] When I say lágbájá [so-and-so] the child of lágbájá, this is how your father used to do; your father does not do that. On hearing this [the deeds of the father], he/she [listener] would realise the father behaves in a certain manner. He would not be conscious of when the music will move him/her.

(Interview, January 2016)

Another drummer, Azeez Ayansola (interview, December 2015) says ‘*k’órí wọ́n wú, oríkì bàbá wọ́n l’a lè fì... l’orí wọ́n fì lè wú. Èni tí a bá n ki oríkì baba è, orí ẹ́ gbódò wu tí kò bá jẹ́ ol’orí òkúta*’ (‘for their [listeners’] heads to swell [for them to be moved], we drum their father’s *oríkì* ... to make their head swell. Anyone to whom I recite their father’s *oríkì*, their head must swell unless they have a stone head [emotionally dead]’). The statements of the drummers show not only the importance of *oríkì*, but also its effect on the listeners of *dùndún*. *Oríkì* is believed to perform many roles, and as indicated in the previous chapter, it is taken as one of the most important features to learn in *dùndún*. Waidi Ayanleke in *Èdẹ* elaborates on the role of *oríkì* in the following statement, in response to a related query:

¹ The literal translation of the question is: ‘If you want your listeners to feel your music [in their bodies]’. It is changed to ‘move’ here to indicate the emotional and cognitive dimension meant in the responses, as opposed to physical movement, which the use of ‘in their bodies’ may connote.

CD:² Mo n gbò tí ẹ n sọ oríkì oríkì, oríkì. Kínni işé tí oríkì yẹn ma n şe? (*I have been hearing you mention oríkì oríkì oríkì. What is the role of oríkì?*)

Waidi Ayanleke: Ş'erí oríkì, ó n şe oun tó pò. Ó n jé k'elòmii şe oun tí kò fẹ şe. Ẹ mò wí pé ni... bóyá oríkì tiyìn bóyá Ayíléwọlá ní nje, mo fi se *example* ni o. Tí n ba wa gbe ilu k'òrùn nísiyin, tí mo bá n lù'lù ti mo n ki Ayíléwọlá un, tí n bá ki dé bi tó yẹ kí n ki dé, ẹ mò pe orí yín o wu, inú yín ó dùn. Bóyá, *for example, if you wan spend fifty-naira fún mi, è é şe jube lọ, tó bá ti wọ yín l'ára. Oríkì n şe bẹbẹ. Ni wọn fi ni pe ní, ẹnítí kò ba mọ oríkì nínú àwa ońilù, ilàjì ilù ló mọ. Bo şe wulẹ ko mọ lu'lu to, ilu ẹ... kò mú ná dóko. K'éyàn mọ óriki.*

Waidi Ayanleke: *You see oríkì, it does a lot of things. It makes some people do what they would ordinarily not want to do. You know... maybe your oríkì as an example is Ayilewola. If I carry the drum now and begin to cite Ayilewola, if I recite it to a point where I should, you know your head will swell, you will be happy. For example, if you wan spend fifty naira [if you wanted to spend fifty naira] for me, you would do more than that when you are moved. Oríkì does so much great things. That is why it is often said that one without the knowledge of oríkì amongst us drummers only knows half of the art. No matter how good the person appears to be, his expertise is very limited. To know oríkì is very important. Oríkì... does a lot.*

(Interview, December 2015)

Dùndún drummers believe saying someone's name is important in arousing responses in the listeners. Shittu Ayanlola in *Ọyọ* clarifies this point with a proverb 'Akìí pe orúko ẹni ki á ba ni wí, A kii pe oruko odò kí ó gbé ni lọ, bẹẹ ni a kii so oríkì ọmọ ki inú rẹ ma yọ si ni.' ('One does not mention a person's name and get rebuked, one does not mention the name of a river and get drowned by it, neither is the *oríkì* of a child chanted without him/her warming up to one' (Shittu Ayanlola, personal communication, 27 November 2015). This proverb simply indicates the value placed on names amongst the Yorùbá, as well as the effect of names on an individual. In another discussion on the importance of name as *oríkì*, Rasaki Ayandiran likens a name to a 'magnet'. He says 'Oríkì yẹn gan ni Yorùbá... oun na lo jé kinní... orúko dàbí magnet. Tí a bá wípé lágbájá ọmọ lágbájá. Aa w'ẹhìn báyi wípé ah (turns), ẹmi ni wọn n fi ilù ki yii, a w'ẹhìn, t'ó bá ti w'ẹhìn a t'owọ b'apò, à fùn wa lówó.' ('Oríkì amongst Yorùbá... it is the ... a name is like a magnet. When we call *lágbájá* the child of *lágbájá*, he/she would look back (turns) realising that they are being summoned with the drums, they would look back and when they do, they will dip hands into the pocket and give money to us [drummers]').

² CD is an abbreviation for Cecilia Durojaye.

In addition to *oríkì*, knowing the importance of ancestry to a Yorùbá, *dùndún* musicians also sometimes use a drum pattern associated with a family or family's profession to enhance the effect of *oríkì* on their listeners. Hence, someone from *Egúngún* family, for instance, can have *Egúngún* drum beats, in addition to *oríkì* of *Egúngún*. As an example, Ayanjimi Ayansoji (interview, November 2015) says of himself '*Onílù ni mi, idílé eleeḡún ni mo s̀ ti wá. Tí wón ba lu ilu éeḡún ilé wa fun mi, màà dide màà jó. T'émí naa bá tún rí eḡomii ti n bá lu ilù-... ilu idílé yàtò sí ara wón. Kò si ẹni ti wón lu ilù idíle rẹ àti oríkì idílé rẹ fun ti inu rẹ ò ní dùn.*' ('I am a drummer and I am from *egúngún* family. If my family *egúngún* drum is being beaten, I will get up and dance. If I see someone else while I drum ... family drum patterns are different from one another. There is no one to whom their family drum and *oríkì* is being presented and who would not feel happy'). There are exceptions to this, however. For example, a legend is told of an ancient warrior known as *Oníkòyí*, an audacious warrior who was famous for his bravery and his lack of mercy for his enemies. Some of the drummers interviewed in Òṣogbo and Ìlọra mentioned that whenever they are to perform for an *Oníkòyí* offspring, they must be very selective in the content of *oríkì* of *Oníkòyí* to recite, and they also have to be gentle in their rendition of the same. Otherwise, the offspring might be moved with the memory of the ancestor's deeds to the extent of depicting the deeds. For example, responding with rage (which *Oníkòyí* was known for) by destroying a function. Hence, while some family *oríkì* can make some people happy, they can elicit negative reactions from others.

While all responses to *oríkì* may not have an emotional basis, participants agree that *oríkì* is a means of creating deep emotional feeling in people, and that different emotions can be aroused through it. *Oríkì* does not evoke only positive emotion as is generally insinuated through designation of *oríkì* as 'praise poetry'. Negative emotions are also aroused (for example, sadness in the context of a burial, or arousal of anger through certain types of *oríkì* such as that of the *Oníkòyí*). *Dùndún* drummers are therefore conscious of their choice of contents which they include in or omit from their repertoire during performances.

Questions that need answering are why *oríkì* is so important and what is inherent in *oríkì* that affects people? While these questions might be difficult to answer psychologically, a possible explanation could be found in the worldview of the Yorùbá people. It can be deduced from the content of *oríkì*, as well as from the accounts of the participants, that the use and appreciation of *oríkì* is informed by the larger belief and value systems of the Yorùbá. The contents of *oríkì* as utilised by *dùndún* musicians indicate the role of culture in processing music. To better

appreciate the way that the contents of *oríkì* shape the reaction to it, it is important to briefly discuss the source of *oríkì*.

Some writers contend that the origin of *oríkì* derives from ‘elaborations of individual names’ (Adeeko 2001:182), while to others (such as Olaniyan 1993) *oríkì* originates from *orí kíkì* (‘citation or description of head or origin’), as in *orí* (‘head or origin’) and *ki* (‘cite or describe’) (see also Awe 1974:332). Azeez Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016), a participant in Osogbo, described *oríkì* as a person’s origin. According to him: ‘*Oríkì òun ni orírùn. Orí kíkì; iṣẹ̀dálẹ̀ tí wọ̀n gbé bí èyàn oun ni wọ̀n n pè ní oríkì.*’ (‘*Oríkì* means origin. Praising or description of origin; the origin which is a place where one is born is what we regard as *oríkì*’).

Orí, literally translated, refers to the physical head. However, in Yorùbá traditional thought, *orí* not only denotes a physical property, but also a spiritual or inner head (*orí inú*) (Balogun 2007:117). The latter meaning is particularly relevant to this study. Although controversial (see, for example, Ofuasia 2016), the inner *orí* is believed to be an individual’s destiny (or origin) and that which controls human personality (Makinde 1985; Oduwole 1996; Gbadegesin 2004; Ekanola 2006; Balogun 2007). Through the belief that someone’s destiny is prescribed by their *orí* (Gbadegesin 2004; Ekanola 2006; Balogun 2007), *orí* is given the status of an *oríṣa* (deity) in its own right, being worshipped and propitiated by Yorùbá as the determinant of all that is done in life (Balogun 2007:119). Whereas destiny denotes ‘origin’ (Balogun 2007:117), origin can also be construed as one’s lineage (see, for example, Akinjogbin 2002:27). From this perspective, all accounts of the origin of *oríkì* stated above are interrelated since *orí* is seen as origin, and origin as destiny or lineage (from whence one’s name comes). Construed in this manner, *oríkì* can be said to be a form of appeasement or praising of destiny, and destiny cannot be overlooked in Yorùbá cosmology. It is not within the scope of this study to delve into various philosophical debates and controversies around interpretations of *orí* and human destiny (for more perspectives see, for example, Ekanola 2006; Balogun 2007; Ofuasia 2016). The concern here is the indisputable importance of *orí* in the Yorùbá belief system and its link to individual’s personality, as well as the link of personality and destiny to a person’s name, which then give *oríkì* its effect.

As it is believed that a person’s success or failure is dependent on their *orí*, so is a person’s name and *ìwà* (Abiodun 2001). In relating name to *orí*, Abiodun says of the Yorùbá thought system that ‘names given at birth are closely linked to and identified with the essence of one’s

personality and destiny' (2001:18). Indeed, *orí* – whether construed as destiny or lineage – is related to names to the extent that every name given to a child among the Yorùbá has a meaning and history, and the names in the Yorùbá worldview are believed to determine destiny (Olatunji 2005:68). From this perspective, *orí* and name can be argued as being one and the same. Therefore, given that a name plays a role in destiny, calling someone's name in *oríkì* may be referring to their destiny (origin), which is the same as referring to their lineage. In other words, *oríkì* can be related to a name as well as origin.

Having established the relationship among *orí*, name and *oríkì*, one can look at the content of *oríkì* and how they contribute to generating psychological effect. From the researcher's observation and account of the participants, it can be said that *dùndún* musicians make use of three kinds of *oríkì* in creating the desired effects in their listeners: *oríkì orúkọ/inagijẹ* (personal names/aliases), *oríkì orílẹ̀* (lineage), and *oríkì ilu* (derived from person's town) (Awe 1974; Barber 1991; Olatunji 2005).³ Whereas the threesome of name, family/lineage and origin (all important to a Yorùbá) may constitute an *oríkì* used by *dùndún* musicians, performances of *oríkì* as observed by the researcher suggest that personal and lineage *oríkì* are more commonly utilised.

The content of *oríkì* as used by *dùndún* drummers incorporates individual names given at birth, and sobriquets that depict the person's unique attributes including behavioural, temperamental, emotional, physical and other personality traits developed over time. Additional contents are derived from an individual's social status and important accomplishments. Naming amongst the Yorùbá is a significant practice (Olatunji 2005). As mentioned, the belief is that the name given to a child influences the child's life, its fate and/or destiny. This belief is reflected in the proverb *Orúkọ ní ro ọmọ* ('A child's name affects him/her') and better captured by Adeoye in the proverb:

A sọ ọmọ ní Sódé, o lọ s'Ébì, ó dé, a sọ ọmọ ní Sóbò, ó lọ àjò, ó bọ; a wá sọ ọmọ ní Sórínlọ, o lọ s'ájò kò dé mó, à ñsò; tani kò mò pé ilé l'ọmọ ti mú orúkọ anù lọ?

A child is named Sode (Oso has arrived), he goes to Ebi and returns, a child is named Sobo (Oso has returned), he goes on a journey and returns; a child is then named Sorinlo (Oso has walked away), he goes on a journey and fails to return,

³ Awe (1974:332) lists *oríkì orílẹ̀* (lineage), *oríkì ilu* (town) and *orúkọ inagijẹ* (individual personalities). Barber (1991:13) identifies *oríkì òrìṣà* (gods), *oríkì orílẹ̀* (origin or town), and *oríkì* of individuals. In Olatunji (2005: 67), *oríkì orílẹ̀* (lineage) and personal *oríkì* derived from *orúkọ* (name, including all its sources) are recognised.

and people start to complain; who is it that doesn't know that it is from home that the child has taken a name that inflicts loss?

(Adeoye in Olatunji 2005:68)

To expand on the importance of naming among the Yorùbá, there is a saying that *ilé làá wò k'á tó sọ omọ l'órúkọ* (family antecedents influence the name given to a child), hence *oríkì* can reflect as names known as *orúkọ oríkì* (*oríkì* name) such as Àbíké, Àkànmú, Àshàké, or *orúkọ àmútòrunwá* which describes the circumstances around a child's birth, for example, Dàda (name given to a child born with curly hair), Ìgè (a child born with feet first), Àjàyí (name for a child born face down). *Oríkì* names can also describe an individual's family. Names such as Àyántúndé, Àyánjímí, Àyányemí (of drumming family), Adékólá, Adéyeyè (of royal family), Òjètúndùn, Òjèlabí, Òjètádé (*Egúngún* family) are a few examples. The different sources from which a child's name is derived among the Yorùbá (including conditions around birth, the experiences of the parents before or during pregnancy, family history, profession and religion, social and economic status of the family (Barber 1991; Olatunji 2005) are a manifestation of the importance given to names in the culture. Indeed, Abiodun states that amongst the Yorùbá, calling the name of a person is 'believed to have the ability to arouse or summon to the surface a person's spiritual essence and can cause him or her to act according to the meaning of those given names or some other way desired by the caller' (2001:18). This succinctly describes not only the significance of names, but also indicates a tool at the disposal of a *dùndún* musician insofar as a caller can arouse the desired reaction from an individual through calling their name.

Apart from the importance of a person's name and social eminence in the formation of *oríkì*, the history of an individual's lineage is equally important. As Sotunde notes in his book *Yorùbá proverbs and philosophy*, 'a people without roots are but zombies walking the streets' (Sotunde 2009:371). The Yorùbá believe every person who is worthy of being regarded as a 'full person' must be identified with a family, otherwise he or she is a slave, a bastard or a 'strange being who did not qualify for any civil rights' (Akinjogbin 2002:27). The proverb *Odò t'ó bá gbàgbé orísun rẹ̀ yóò gbẹ̀* ('A brook that despises its source shall soon dry up') sums up the importance of origin/lineage to a Yorùbá. It is also believed the family values must be upheld by its members alongside identification with their roots. According to Sotunde, upholding the family values means jealously guarding the family name, among other things, as it is shameful to desecrate the family name. Hence, any Yorùbá who is aware that *Orúkọ ẹni ni ijánu ẹni* ('A

man's name is his bridle') guides their actions and strives not to tarnish the family name (see also, Sotunde 2009:381–382).

One of the important elements in the content of *oríkì*, which relates to name and lineage, and reflects the values of the Yorùbá, is *ìwà* (character). Like a name, *ìwà*, whether construed as personality and/or character, or as existence, is closely related to the conceptualisation of *orí* (Abidoun 2001). Possessing a desirable character is important to the Yorùbá as it defines a person's existence and essence. Hence, to be deemed a complete being, every Yorùbá attempts to develop a good character, which includes conformity with societal values, respect for elders, worthy achievements, humility, hard work and every other good attribute a person can be identified with (Oyeshile 2003; Fayemi 2009; Sotunde 2009). The significance of *ìwà* is highlighted in the proverb *Iwà la á kọ ní k'á tó ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àwùre* ('Good character enhances the efficacy of a good-fortune charm'). Because of the importance given to character among the Yorùbá, *oríkì* is used to reveal an individual's (good or bad) deeds, where good deeds are commended. Character also plays an important role in how a person's name, family name and history are perceived. A person therefore is careful to maintain a sound character to preserve their names. As a 'very detailed source of information in Yorùbá community life' and an indispensable tool in the world of *dùndún*, *oríkì* can also feature an individual's character and personality (Olaniyan 1993:2. See also Abiodun 2001:18–19).

It should be noted that the contents of any *oríkì* used by *dùndún* drummers are almost always inclusive of the combination of names, lineage, town, character and other attributes that distinguish an individual. An example is shown below:

Example 5.1 *Oríkì* as used by *dùndún* drummers

Àdìgún ìjà	Àdìgún combat
Ọmọ Ajíbiké, ajímáperin	Child of Ajíbiké, [one] who wakes but does not kill elephants
Àdìgún ìjà	Àdìgún combat
Ọmọ onígbo obì	Child of [a] kolanut orchardist
Àdìgún	Àdìgún
Ò wọ sòkòtò fenu rẹ sọlẹ	He that wears trousers which touches the ground
Ọmọ Lákésin, ọmọ Ìjẹmò	Child of Lákésin, of Ìjẹmò
Ọmọ olóhùnmérindínlógún	Child of sixteen voices
Bẹẹ ri ẹ bá mi ki	If you see him, help me greet him

In the above example, the first line mentions the addressee's name combined with a sobriquet derived from the attribute of the person. The person being addressed is traced to their ancestry

through an individual named Ajíbìkẹ́ in the second line, with the addition of Ajíbìkẹ́'s qualities. The wealth and economic status of the lineage is alluded to in the fourth line (in former times kolanut plantations were a great source of wealth) leading in the fifth line to the behaviour characteristic of the one being addressed. The seventh line traces the origin (town) with which the person is identified, while the last line wraps up the process of heralding the recipient of the *oríkì*. The example shows the robustness of the contents of *oríkì*. This richness bestows on *oríkì* its uniqueness among the Yorùbá, and also defines its special place in *dùndún* music. The statement by Ayanjinmi Ayansoji quoted above succinctly describes not only how the threesome of name, ancestry and character can form a content of *oríkì*, but also the awareness of the musicians in utilising them, and their subsequent effect in arousing listeners. Ayansoji says 'when I am with the drum and I want someone to move (*intent*), I will say his *oríkì* (*name*), I will recite it to the father's lineage (*ancestry*). When I say *lágbájá* the child of *lágbájá* (*name+ancestry*), this is how your father used to do (*character*); your father does not do that. On hearing this [the deeds of the father], they [listener] would think "my father has good character". They would not be conscious of when they start moving to my music (*reaction*)'.

It is clear from the above that *oríkì* is important for listeners and has its effects because it is an expression of identity (see also, Barber 1991:136). By being identified with an origin, a good name, a family and acceptable character, *oríkì* indicates and creates in an individual a sense of belonging to, and being accepted by, a community and a family. It effectuates individual contentment within themselves and in sound relationships with others, where these sensations are rooted in the individual listener's personal and communal life experiences. It is therefore highly likely that when *oríkì* is being recited, it produces emotional effects, which are tied to the experiences. In other words, it is speculated that if possession of a name, identity and good character are gratifying in the culture of the Yorùbá, then the feeling of satisfaction, happiness and pride in one's identity (in its totality) is what gives *oríkì* its emotional effect. Another possible explanation is that the actual instance of a reaction to a certain *oríkì* could be dependent on the relationship of that *oríkì* to *oríkì* performance in general (in terms of familiarity and/or experience), the performance context or the general Yorùbá culture, in which case the hearing of that *oríkì* creates a sense of recognition and relationship, which then in turn generates the emotional response.

5.3.2 Proverbs

Apart from *oríkì*, *dùndún* drummers also make use of different proverbs to get the desired emotional response from their listeners. A proverb is defined as a ‘short familiar sentence expressing a supposed truth or moral lesson’ (Sotunde 2009:1). In another definition, Chilisa (2012:132) sees proverbs as ‘tools to describe and express sociocultural events and practices and to hand down from one generation to another a community’s cultural traditions and folklore; they also communicate expected codes of behaviour’. Proverbs reflect the ‘philosophy of a people’ (Sheba 2006: vii) and are meant to impart knowledge as well as guide people’s relationships with others (Sotunde 2009:1). The meaning of a proverb is usually not taken literally as they are mostly metaphorical, and this attribute makes them applicable in many and various context, where the immediate context of use helps in deciphering the meaning (Sheba 2006; Sotunde 2009). As reported by the participants, proverbs used in *dùndún* music perform three functions: *àpónlé* (regard) *ìyèsí* (honour) and *èébú* (vilification or vituperation). Just as in the case of *oríkì*, it is the belief of the participants that the content and context of a proverb contributes to its effect. Hence, in the words of Sikiru Ayanwale (interview, November 2015), a proverb such as *E fi sùru si, àrò kan ò gbóná giri giri giri k’ó má tutù* (Apply patience, a hearth does not get so scorching hot that it does not cool down’) is used in a context of conflict, or for someone in sorrow, so that it will contribute to pacifying or soothing them. In his response to the question of the roles of proverbs in eliciting reactions, Ayanjimi Ayansoji in Ilora states

Òwe wà fun... bi nisiyin t’ènikan àti ènikan bá n jà... tí n bá n bá èyàn jà, tí n bá pàdé ẹ lóde, maa ma pa òwe mò débi tí yoo fi mò pé òun ni mo n bá wí, tí inú yoo tun fi ma bi [...] Oun t’ówe wà fun ni yèn. Òwe sì tún jẹ k’eyan ó tún parí ìjà. B’ówe ẹ wà laarin ara wọn ni yèn.

Proverbs are for ... for instance when two people are engaged in a fight ... if I am fighting someone and I meet with the person in an event, I will start to direct different proverbs at him/her to the extent that they must know they are being referred to [with the drum] and become angrier [...] That is the role of proverbs. Proverbs also allow for truce where a fight is. That is how proverbs interrelate with one another.

(Interview, January 2016)

The response elicited in the scenario discussed above can be seen as more about another person, or stronger external influence than it is about music. However, the fact that the instance of using the proverbs and the elicited responses occurred in the context of music making shows how music mediates between humans and their experiences with and around music.

The following is my observation of the role of *dùndún* music and its use of proverbs in conciliation.

On the 22nd of November 2015 I attended a special burial ceremony organised by one of the *dùndún* drummers in Igbó-Ọrà. The ceremony was special because it required ritual worship and display of an *Égúngún* called *Olúfàlé*. *Olúfàlé* is exclusive to drummers-only occasions in the village. Because of the uniqueness of the occasion, different drummers (including *dùndún*, *bàtá*, *àpèsì*, *apónrón* drummers) from the seven villages that make up *Ìbàràpá* local government were present with their different groups. The villages are Igbó-Ọrà, Ìdèrè, Èrúwà, Lànlátè, Ayètè, Tápà and Gàngán. There were adult groups, as well as youth and children's groups. They were all performing and preparing to usher in the dance of the two *Égúngún* dedicated to *dùndún* and *bàtá* respectively. The occasion began at about 12 pm with different patrons, family members, celebrants and other well-wishers coming to the centre to dance and engage in various displays. The different groups of drummers take turns to perform and enhance the various exhibitions. Classification of groups was made on the basis of the type of instrument; that is, all *dùndún* drummers, irrespective of their personal ensemble or location come together as one, the same with *bàtá* drummers and other types of drums and drummers present.

The *Égúngún* came out at 4:10 pm, danced round the square and came to the centre stage at 4:37 pm. Because there were two *Égúngún* representing two drum families (*bàtá* and *dùndún*), a fight on different levels broke out amongst the drummers: there was a disagreement about the group entitled to accompany each *Égúngún*. In other words, there was an argument about whether the *dùndún* group should perform for the *Égúngún* representing the *dùndún* and whether the *bàtá* group should entertain the *Égúngún* representing them. There was another controversy over whose and which ensemble's technique of playing is better amongst the same family of drums. The third argument developed from the other drum types present about being marginalised. The dispute persisted, and the occasion was halted, except for the women of the family singing somewhere nearby. All the elders present tried to call a truce but to no avail. Just about that time four members from the *dùndún* youth group began to drum (one played *gúdúgúdú*, another took *omele* and the other two were each on *iyá ilù*). The two on the *iyá ilù* began to say different proverbs on the drum, translated for me thus:

J'ògun ó mí, j'ògun ó sinmi àwa 'rawa rí 'rawa ('Allow war to recede, allow war to rest, we have seen ourselves')

È f'ara yín m'óra, at'èni kinní, at'èni kejì, ara ò kíí sá f'ára, è f'ara yín m'óra ('Embrace one another, the one and the other; bodies are not repelled by one another, embrace one another')

Ìjà ò d'òlà, è jẹ ká seré wa, ìjà ò d'òlà ('Fights do not translate to wealth, let us play [our play], fights do not translate to wealth')

È má pè wá l'álejò mọ, àwa yín l'a ni'lú ('Do not refer to us as visitors anymore, we with you, own the town')

By the drumming of the third proverb some of the adults in the fighting groups joined in the performance, and those who had refused to heed the intervention of the elders kept silent. They turned back with their drums and headed back to the centre. Peace and tranquillity were restored with the sound of proverbs on the *dùndún*. All the groups eventually took turns to entertain the two *Égúngún* and others at the scene.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 22 November 2015)

Proverbs are very much implicated in *dùndún* performance. However, in contrast to *oríkì*, which requires adequate knowledge of the listener, musicians conjure up proverbs and apply them instantly based on different factors such as the physical attributes of the listener, the general context of the occasion, and current events at the time of the performances, among other things. Besides mixing different proverbs with *oríkì* and/or *àlùjò* (dance rhythm) during performances, musicians employ proverbs when they have little or no information about a listener. Proverbs are also used in cases of deliberate attempts to evoke negative emotions such as anger, for example, provoking someone by saying *Ó l'òun ò bá mi se olóriburúkú se ti è l'ótò ó l'òun ò bá mi se* ('S/he said s/he would have nothing to do with me. The unfortunate one does his/hers separately, s/he said s/he would have nothing to do with me' (Rasaki Ayandiran, interview, November 2015). Utilising proverbs to elicit reactions from an audience can also be in response to a direct request. For instance, Azeez Ayantotinbo in Osogbo (interview, January 2016) says if he wants someone to dance, he may use such proverb as *Òrẹ mi dide o paradà, a kù fi'sẹ ìgbònsẹ rán'mọ ẹni, dide o paradà* ('My friend, rise and transform, defecation is not an errand to send one's child on, rise and transform'). Similarly, where others in a gathering have already shown their appreciation with a monetary reward, he may nudge someone to give money by saying *Iwọ l'ó kù ko múra ẹni yì ti gòkè odò k'áfàrá ó tóo já, iwọ l'ó kù ko múra* ('It is you who are left to prepare, this [other] person has reached the shore before the collapse of the bridge. It is you who are left to prepare').

A *dùndún* musician psychologically assesses a situation and the individual before choosing a proverb, as it is important to make a choice that would ‘work with the [listener’s] brain’. That is choosing a proverb that would have the intended effect on the listener. In the words of Azeez Ayantoyinbo in Osogbo:

T’éyan ò bá ti p’òwe, wọn ò lè mọ... orí wọn gan ò lè wú. Àmọ tí a bá dé iwaju wọn t’o bá ẹ pe wọn ò ẹ kinni, t’a bá p’òwe kinni kejì, nígbà tí a o ba fi pa mēta, a o ri èyí tí yòò bá ọpọlọ wọn mu níbè. Bii “ó wùwà ire kó tóo kú”. B’ó bá ẹ iya rẹ ni a o sọ wípé “ìya rẹ lọ ko ẹ ẹnikan lówó”. Nígbà ti wọn bá ní iya eyan o ẹ ẹnikan lówó, ẹ inu rẹ ò ní dùn? Báun laa ma n pa orísirìsi òwe.

If one [a drummer] does not use proverbs, they [listeners] would not know ... their head will not even swell [they will not be moved]. But when we are in their presence and they are not [responding], when we say the first proverb, the second, by the time we say the third, there must be one that works together with their brain. For example, “He/she was of good deed before his/her demise” (referring to some deceased person). If it was the mother of the person, we would say “the mother passed away and was indebted to no one”. If someone hears their mother owes no money, would they not be happy? That is how we use various proverbs.

(Interview, January 2016)

Although it appears the varied semantic contents of proverbs allows for the possibility of evoking just about any emotion, the accounts of participants, however, suggest that proverbs are not as potent as *oríkì*, but can be viewed as a subordinate element in evoking responses to *dùndún*. Moreover, the foregoing accounts suggest that a single proverb may not only acquire different meanings in different situations, but it may also generate different reactions in different contexts even for the same individual.

5.3.3 Àlùjọ

Àlùjọ (dance beats or dance rhythm) is one of the tools *dùndún* drummers use for music expression and to elicit listeners’ emotional responses. *Àlùjọ* is characterised by a combination of various elements to create a type of drumming known as ‘rhythm for dance’ (see also Omojola 2012:54). Various *àlùjọ* drum patterns by the drummers indicate that *àlùjọ* rhythms can originate from phrases of proverbs, combination of vocables, onomatopoeic sounds, common slang expressions, individual physical appearance and attributes, as well as current happenings in the immediate environment and the community at large.

A *dùndún* performer’s creativity comes to play with the type of elements used on their own or combined to create the *àlùjọ* rhythm (for instance, a drummer might use a person’s appearance

to come up with a proverb and/or some non-linguistic rhythms). In addition, the swiftness of the performer in bringing the elements together and the manner of delivery, which makes the rhythm distinctive as *àlùjò*, are part of a performer's ingenuity. Apart from serving the purpose its name suggests, *àlùjò* rhythm is also utilised when the *oríkì* of someone is not known to the drummers. *Àlùjò* is important to *dùndún* drummers and listeners because the dance reaction elicited in response to the music indicates a state of happiness for both parties. The rhythm excites the listeners, and the excitement in turn enlivens and encourages the performers.

In a performance I witnessed in Igbó-Ọrà the drummers were moving from house to house performing for people in the neighbourhood and were being given money and other gifts in appreciation. In one of the compounds I saw the lead drummer face a woman but did not say any *oríkì* as he had been doing with other people. But I heard him drum some phrases that can be translated as the Arabic words 'La ilaha illa 'llah' (There is no other God except Allah") which I (like many other Yorùbá children) have known while growing up. He drummed the phrase repeatedly with rigorous increase in pace. The woman to whom the phrase was being addressed danced for about 8 minutes, after which she gave the drummers some money and a bottle of wine. The second day during our conversation I asked why the lead drummer had played the phrase and his reason for increasing the speed. He said 'it is part of our training. You see that person, I do not know her *oríkì*, but I see she covers her head like [an] Alhaja. Then I thought that using what I saw and saying "la ilaha illa'llah" would work for her. I also had to increase the pace to make what I do penetrate more into her and make her dance more' (Rasaki Ayandiran, personal communication. 23 November 2015).

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 22 and 23 November 2015)

The case that Rasaki Ayandiran narrated above is an indication that *dùndún* performers use a situation and an individual's appearance to their advantage, in the creation of a dance rhythm as much as they do with proverbs and *oríkì*. Also, that the phrase had to be repeated over and over shows that devices such as *repetition* of phrases, words and syllables are utilised to enhance the music's expressiveness and aid in eliciting reactions from listeners. In addition, the statement 'I also had to increase the pace to make what I do penetrate more into her and make her dance more' shows that acoustic properties such as rhythm and tempo, which are more enhanced in *àlùjò*, are also implicated in evoking responses.

Àlùjò rhythm can be in the form of a signal or instructions for movement to dancers and general listeners. For instance, the technique of *ìjálù*, which involves a drummer playing heavy, single successive strokes with the use of hand and sticks, is always accompanied by a dancer making vigorous movements of the torso, in synchronisation with each instance of the stroke of *ìjálù*.

During an *egúngún* festival and *Ọṣun* festival which took place in Ipetu Modu and Osogbo respectively, *dùndún* drummers and dancers at some point engaged in a synchrony of rhythm and movement to phrases later translated thus:

Bó bá ẹ̀ pé mi nì' wọ ni, nì wọ ni ('If I were you, were you, were you')

Ẹ̀ bá f'apá jó, f'apá jó, f'apá jó ('I would dance with arms, dance with arms, dance with arms')

Bó bá ẹ̀ pé mi nì' wọ ni, nì wọ ni ('If I were you, were you, were you')

Ẹ̀ bá f'ẹ̀ sẹ̀ jó, f'ẹ̀ sẹ̀ jó, f'ẹ̀ sẹ̀ jó ('I would dance with legs, dance with legs, dance with legs')

Bó bá ẹ̀ pé mi nì' wọ ni, nì wọ ni ('If I were you, were you, were you')

Ẹ̀ bá fì gbogbo ara jó jìgì jìgì jìgì ('I would dance with all my body vigorously')

“Jigi gigi” is an onomatopoeic sound representing a waggle, which describes the movement of the hips and posterior during dance. The corresponding dance to the phrases entailed the dancer making vigorous movements of the hands, then legs, followed by an energetic movement of the lower part of the body. It was apparent the dance steps were signalled from the drum. The lead drummer would sometimes focus on the dancer’s hands, at other times the legs, and then the drummer would either move to the back of the dancer so that his drum could directly point to the backside of the dancer, or the dancer turns around so that her hips and rear are facing towards the drummer. In addition to the dance signal, the drummer used a lot of proverbs and short phrases to create an *àlùjò* rhythm to which he added *ìjálù* and *ìrélù* technique, which elicits more dance movements. But the drummer-dancer synchronisation occurred not only on a physical level. As the drummer increased his energy, and added more techniques and movements (for instance, kneeling on the floor), so did the dancer. It felt like a competitive conversation between the two.

From time to time the lead drummer and the dancer would lock their eyes and exchange smiles while they continued with their individual but interconnected display. While the eye contact and mutual smile can be perceived as signs of encouragement and challenge for both parties, it

could also be seen from their actions and facial expression that a bond was created through the rhythm of the drum, thereby making room for emotional communication between them, as they feed into each other's emotional aura. The enjoyment felt by the drummers and the dancers also extends to the onlookers, as the entire display was to their delight.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 13 and 19 August 2016)

The process described above can be related to the 'contagion' mechanism or to the empathic process of evoking emotion in response to the music (see, for example, Scherer 2004; Koelsch 2015); in this case the dancer not only mimicked the expression perceived on the drum, but it also appeared that the dancer imitated the emotion felt by the performer. The emotional engagement between the performer and the dancer may be based on the emotion-evocation principle of understanding and/or social function proposed by Koelsch (2015). The principle of understanding is activated when musical information is comprehended, hence, the reaction of the dancer may be based on their knowledge of the music or drum messages, while social function is activated when engaged in musical activities with others. Participants' activities during *àlùjò* performance is also consistent with embodied cognition theory, which stresses the ongoing and reciprocal interaction between the performer, the audience and their shared environment. Furthermore, the engagement between performer and listener can be seen in the light of entrainment theory of communication proposed by Cross (2014), in which participating individuals in a performance context, synchronise their behaviours (actions, attention, sounds) with one another.

The performance of *àlùjò* creates room for individual expression and at the same time establishes a constant communication between the drummers and those listening to them, such that one's action calls forth another's reaction – for example, the case of the increase in tempo creating more energetic dance movement in the first narrative, and the action-reaction reciprocation observed in the second. In reference to connection as a key element in participatory music making, Turino notes that 'music and dance performance have a special potential for creating the experience of direct social bonding' because it is 'a specially-bounded activity about synchrony which includes immediate semiotic feedback (sounds and motion) regarding how the participants are doing, as well as learned, stylized models for being in sync' (Turino 2009:110–111). This observation is particularly true for *àlùjò* performance, as well as other musical styles performed in the world of the *dùndún*.

5.3.4 Body movement

A number of studies have investigated performers' bodily movements and gestures in music expression (Dahl & Frieberg 2007; Juchniewicz 2008; Castellano *et al.* 2008; Davidson 2005, 2012). Studies that directly relate bodily movements to emotions (for example, Dahl & Frieberg 2007; Castellano *et al.* 2008) indicate that performers can express certain emotions in this way and these emotions are accurately perceived. As for *dùndún* drummers, gestures are not only perceived as contributing to music expressivity, they are also believed to play a role in listeners' felt emotions. Hence, *dùndún* musicians' body movements express as well as communicate.

This finding is consistent with the findings of Vines *et al.* (2011) that performers contribute to emotional communication through their actions. Gesture is an important element in conversations and is equally significant as a mode of communication in and of itself. Speaking about the role of gesture in peoples' interactions, Kendon notes that 'gestures are an expressive medium [...] a form of physical action and serve as a means for creating visual representation of things [thereby] making then adapted for a variety of communicative functions' (1997:115). *Dùndún* drummers recognise the value of body movement and gestures in expression and communication such that they are indispensable in the performance of *dùndún*, and especially in eliciting responses from listeners. The statements by Bashiru Ayandamilare and Rasaki Ayandiran both in Igbó-Orà sum up the importance of body gestures, including facial expressions in eliciting responses from listeners:

CD: What do you do if you want to make people deeply feel your drum music?

Bashiru Ayandamilare: Bí a ba wà ní wájú èyàn ti mo si fẹ́ kí ẹ ní ìmòlára nkan tí mo n lù, ka sọ wípe ẹẹ gbọ́'lù, the way ti n ma fi ẹ'ra mó ìlù yẹ... maa dẹ ma r'ẹrin sí wọn (smiles, makes dance and play gesture) ibi tí inú òun náà yoo ti dùn nìyẹ. [...] Mo lè gbé ìlù lówó nísìyín, kí n sọ wípé ki awọn ol'ómele dáké. Ti wọn ba ti dáké bẹẹ (stands), mo kàn lè fàrà lọ iwájú (makes a movement to his right) kí n fàrà lọ èyìn (makes a movement towards his left side) kí n lọ bayii (moves forward) kí n... nigba ti n o ba fi padá dé, ká ti e so pe ẹni yẹ tẹlẹtẹlẹ kò tú'júká tẹlẹ, the way ti mo ba ẹ ẹ yẹ, ẹ e mó inú òun naa á dùn. Ìpadà bọ mi bayii, a tú'júká, òun naa á fún mi ní nkan.

If we are in front of someone and I want to make you feel what I am doing, let us say you do not hear drum [understand drum language], the way in which I would put in energy to the drumming ... I would also be smiling at them (smiles, makes dance and play gesture), that is how they will become happy. [...] I may carry the drum now and ask those on omele to pause. Once they stop (stands), I may run forward (makes a movement to his right) or run backwards (makes a movement towards his left side), I may go this way (moves forward) and... by the time I come back, even for someone who has been sullen before, the way of my actions, you

know he/she would be happy. By my return, he/she would cheer up and give me something.

(Interview, November 2015)

Rasaki Ayandiran: Tí n bá fẹ́ kí wọ̀n mò l'ára, tí n bá tí rí ị̀sẹ́sị́ wọ̀n bí wọ̀n tí se, mo kàn lè mo lè dide báyii (stands up in a swift manner, moves back and forth while displaying different movements), mo lè reverse, ki n ẹ̀ se bayii (holds the drum more firmly lifting it up and bringing it down swiftly) ma ma ẹ̀ se báyii, àwọ̀n nàà o wa ma r'ẹ̀rin sí mi. Bẹ̀ẹ̀ yẹ̀n bẹ̀ẹ̀ yẹ̀n, bí wọ̀n ẹ̀ se ma ma gbádùn ẹ̀ nìyẹ̀n.

If I want them [listeners] to feel [my music], I would observe their behaviour and may just stand up (stands up in a swift manner, moves back and forth while displaying different movements) I may reverse and do this (holds the drum more firmly lifting it up and bringing it down swiftly) I would be doing this, and they would begin to smile at me. Gradually that is how they would be enjoying it [the music].

(Interview, November 2015)

These two accounts (as well as the earlier descriptions of the musicians' movement at the festivals) point to the fact that musicians' actions express and communicate emotions, and that musicians are conscious of the use of gestures in their aim to manipulate the psychological states of their listeners. The account by Bashiru Ayandamilare also suggests that *dùndún* music can make people react regardless of whether they understand the 'drum language' or not.

5.3.5 Other factors

In addition to the tools explicitly highlighted by *dùndún* musicians as being used, additional factors contributing to listener's reactions are also noted. These include familiarity with the music and/or the context, music preference, performers' actions and reactions, prowess and dexterity displayed during performance, the general context of the occasion, the type of listener, and the mood of the listener. The *dùndún* ensembles are aware of all these factors and they take them into consideration when going for performances. The drummers noted that if a listener is not in the right mood prior to and during performance, it may be difficult for them to elicit any response from the individual, meaning that even listeners of *dùndún* do have a role to play in their own emotional states.

In addition, the quality of performance and the listeners' evaluation of the performance also influence their responses to *dùndún* music. Nzewi notes in his discussion of Igbo music that 'aesthetic evaluation is based on [...] the sheer thrill or joy generated by an artistic display [...]; on how effectively performers express the mood of a musical arts situation or a musical arts

style; on how sensitively a performer extends the interpretative range of a known piece of music or dance' (Nzewi 2008 *et al.*:231). He also remarks that music is evaluated based on its ability to fulfil its performance objectives in terms of its suitability for the context of use, and only then is music judged as 'satisfying as an artistic-aesthetic communication' (Nzewi 1991:52). While the same evaluative prerequisites hold true for *dùndún* music, the quality of performance as evaluated by listeners is not limited to the functionality of the music in its performance context, or the assessment of performers' dexterity. The appraisal of those listening to *dùndún* also takes into account the group of performers in relation to other performers in a performance situation. A case in point is the observed *Egúngún* festival mentioned in Chapter Three (which was the rationale for choosing ensembles and dancers for interviews in the second fieldwork trip), where an audience would stay longer and dance with an ensemble they would judge to be better than the others. Confirmation of this is found in the comment by Azeez Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016) that *Bí èyàn bá ẹ n lù' lù tó bá ẹ daa sí bẹẹ ni awọn eẹyàn wọn yòò ẹ mò pé ilù eléyì, ó yàtò. Tí wọn bá sù ti rí'yàtò, ti wọn gbádùn oun ti a n lu, inú wọn ó dùn, wọn á fún wa l'ówó* ('The extent to which one drums, and its perfection, is how people know these ones' methods of drumming are different. When they see the difference, and appreciate what we play, they would be happy and give us money').

Although drummers agree that listeners do evaluate and appreciate, and that – in the words of Ayanbanji Ayankunle in Ilora (interview, January 2016) *Bí èyàn bá ẹ ẹsẹ sí ni inú àwọn èyàn yoo ẹ dùn sí* ('The extent of performance determines the level of people's happiness') – the point should be made that 'appreciation' in and of itself does not translate into an emotional reaction. Juslin (2013a:249) contends that aesthetic response and emotion are conceptually different, and that emotional input is not a requirement in aesthetic judgement. It is therefore possible that the judgements made by *dùndún* listeners occur only at the cognitive appraisal level and ends there, without moving into the other subcomponents of emotion. It is also possible that the listeners' intellectual understanding of *dùndún* performance overlaps with emotional understanding; appraisal leads to an emotional response and thus to the act of 'giving money'. This act is understood by the musicians as an act of showing that listeners have been 'moved'.

Listeners' preferences or tastes appear to be very much associated with their emotional response to *dùndún* music. Mention was made of listeners who give the musicians their preferred song; for example, someone from Òyó town may request for Alààfin Òyó beats (royal beats), and the

person responds only when their request has been met (Sikiru Ayanwale, interview, November 2015). Also, as effective as *oríkì* appears to be, it also seems its efficacy will manifest only if or when there is a preference for it at that point in time. For instance, Ayanjimi Ayansoji (interview, November 2015) mentions that if he wants to make someone dance, he will recite their *oríkì* and that of their forefathers. However, *B'ó bá jẹ̀ ilù òde ni wọn like jù, ilù òde yẹn ni ma wa sáré dáa 'lẹ̀ fun. Tí mo bá ti dá ilù òde yẹn sílẹ̀, inú tiẹ̀ naa yoo dùn pe [...] bí kò ti ẹ̀ dide gan, yoo ma jó lóri àga t'ó bá jóko sí* ('If the person like[s] outside drum [non-*oríkì*] more, that is what I will give to them. Once I switch to that drum mode, he/she will become happy that [...] even if they do not stand up to dance, they will be dancing on their seats'). The account implies that the listeners' preferences have to be in line with other tools of communication in *dùndún* performance to evoke an emotional response.

While we can demarcate emotion and preference conceptually, it seems preference readily translates into emotional reaction to *dùndún* music, as reported by the musicians. For example, in the statement of Ayangboyega Ayantoyinbo

Àwọn tí wọn bá n wo wa ti a ba n lù, tí a bá n lù; tí wọn bá n jó, ti won ba n jó tí a ba ri pé ah, wọn o fẹ̀ jíjó yẹn daadaa àbí àwọn kan ti fẹ̀ lọ jóko, àá tún yí ilù yẹn padà. Ati mò wípé *system* ti a n ba lọ yẹn wọn o *like* ẹ̀, àá wa tún lo *system* mii, wọn yoo tún didé nilẹ̀. [...] a maa n ni ilu ti oníkálukú wọn ma n *like*, tí o jẹ̀ pé ti a bá ti lu bayii, inú wọn ó dun, o ni'fẹ̀ sílù un nu un.

Those watching us while we are drumming, and we keep drumming, if they have been dancing and we see that they are not dancing well anymore, or they want to go back to their seats, we will change the drum [pattern/rhythm]. We have known that they do not like the current system [rhythm], we will then give another system and they will stand up again [to dance]. [...] we [drummers] have the drum beats that every one of them [listeners] like[s] such that once we drum, they would be happy, it means he/she likes the beat.

(Interview, December 2015)

It can be deduced that not only do preferences affect responses, but also that liking and emotional state (in the case of the account above, 'happiness' as expressed through dance) are contiguous. In other words, in the *dùndún* world preference and emotions go hand-in-hand.

Factors affecting a listener such as their mood, preference or aesthetic judgement are not the only causes of responses evoked to *dùndún* music; other factors associated with the music such as stylistic devices and acoustic properties are also all involved. In addition to musical variety during performances, devices such as incessant repetition of drum patterns, and elongation or

truncation of tones/syllables, all contribute to the way that listeners evaluate the music, which may thus affect their emotional response. Vidal notes that a ‘continuous repetition of a simple short melody is electrifying, gratifying and pleasant to an African’ (Vidal 2012c:158). Similarly, Barber’s inference from the statement of an *egúngún* priest in Okuku that the more an *oríkì* is prolonged, the greater its effect (Barber 1991:77) supports the notion that repetition especially is an indispensable element in indigenous Yorùbá music, including *dùndún* drumming, because of its effectiveness in eliciting psychological reactions to music.

Techniques of playing including *ìrèwó*, *àwídùn*, *alùdùn*, *ijalu* and *irelu* (refer to Table 5.1) and sound properties such as timbre (for example, *ohùn arò*), rhythm and tempo all play a role in evoking the emotional reactions of listeners to *dùndún* music. Speaking of the relationship between timbre and emotional arousal, Rasaki Ayandiran describes *alùdùn* as that which ‘makes one strongly moved’. Similarly, Ayanniyi Samuel (interview, January 2016) states his listeners become happy if he plays very well with the right tone on his *aguda*: *t’ó [aguda] bá ti mú bass daadaa jáde, inú t’àwon to n gbọ naa, inu wọn yoo ma dùn* (‘if it [aguda drum] produces rich bass [timbre], those hearing it would become happy’)

It is not only the sound of *dùndún* that functions in listeners’ responses; the sight of *dùndún* is also drawn in. The interaction between the sight and sound of *dùndún*, and the effect of the interaction on people’s *affect*, is evident from the information gathered from drummers and dancers that the neatness of the drums, their design, and especially the presence of *şaworo* (brass bells) on a drum are effective in evoking responses to *dùndún*. *Şaworo* are regarded as the ‘beauty’ of the drum (refer to Chapter Four): *t’èyàn ò bá ni l’ójú ìlù, kò nì... wọn o ni like èyàn gan [...] àwọn mii gan ò ní fún wa l’ówó* (‘if one [drummer] does not have them [*şaworo*] on a drum, they [audience] will not like one [...] some may not even give us money’) says Ayanjimi Ayansoji (interview, January 2016). If monetary gifts and/or liking the musicians stems from an appreciation of visual properties of a drum, and if giving gifts and liking are related to the happiness of the participants, then one can say that the visual perception of beauty plays a role in eliciting an emotional reaction to *dùndún* music.

5.3.6 Drum poetry and music

While an argument can be made that the reactions to *dùndún* (especially *oríkì* or proverbs) are tied to language and not to music, one can also argue for the inclusion of these literary arts into the Yorùbá musical sphere. On another level, an argument can be made based on the widely researched relationship between language and music. The connection between *oríkì*, proverbs

and music can be discerned from the perspective of Yorùbá oral literature. The three share the same space in Yorùbá oral poetry, which comes in three modes: song, recitation or speech, and chanting (Olajubu 1981; Olatunji 2005). Some authors readily subsume drum speech under these categories of oral literature (for example, Okphewo 1985; Sotunsa 2009). In addition, poetry and music have been noted as synonymous in the tradition of the Yorùbá by music scholars such as Euba (1975:471). In a similar vein, Vidal (2012c:151) refers to *oríkì* as ‘song’ consisting of a ‘unification of poetry and music’. The integrated nature of musical performance in indigenous communities categorises singing, drumming, poetry, visual arts and dancing as an interrelated unity (Nzewi 2003; Olatunji 2005). Hence, poetry can be regarded as music, given the broad meaning of the concept of ‘music’ in indigenous sub-Saharan African communities. Furthermore, it can be argued that by being performed on a musical instrument, what is being heard is combinations of sonic elements and not verbal language in and of itself, given that the drum language only *imitates* the rhythm and the tone of human language, which means *dùndún* does not directly ‘talk’ (Euba 1990:194; Sotunsa 2009:48). According to Sotunsa, ‘the [*dùndún*] drum transmits aural signals in the form of drum sounds which are decoded by an experienced or trained ear as a verbal message’ (2009:48).

Even if poetry and music are treated as separate entities, both have been described as two phenomena that depend on each other for optimal emotional experience (Hurray & Day cited in Sotunsa 2009:44). From that point of view, *dùndún* music is acknowledged as exploring the relationship between music and poetry to enhance the musical experience of the people of its culture. It appears, though, that a reaction to *dùndún* will only be successful with listeners familiar with the drum language. Ajayi notes that ‘to appreciate the aesthetic of the Yorùbá talking drum one must be able to understand the Yorùbá language’ (Ajayi cited in Sotunsa 2009:28). He states further that ‘one who interprets [drum language] must have the same semantic universe [as the drummer] which thrives on conventional usage’ (Ajayi in Sotunsa 2009:34). However, if communication takes many forms that extend beyond spoken words, and if drum sounds are being construed as codes and not language in and of itself, it is plausible that reacting to *dùndún* music may not be restricted only to those who understand the ‘language’ of the drum. Indeed, it is possible that the listeners’ reactions to the *dùndún* are based on other language-like features that are not ordinarily indicated as semantic, such as for example, prosody.

Prosody can be described as the pattern of stress, intonation and rhythm of a language including, pitch, intensity among others (Cole 2015; Heffner & Slevc 2015). Brown (2017:2) describes prosody as being ‘characterized by a number of expressive melodic and rhythmic features of an utterance that convey information about emotion, intention, attentional focus, and communicative stance’. According to Cole, the ‘intonational features [of a language, such as pitch] may function individually and in combination to convey utterance-level semantic and pragmatic meaning’ (2015:3). Hence, prosody could also function in the understanding of the language of the *dùndún*, which depends on the tonal Yorùbá language, where the meaning of words is dependent on the tonal inflection (see Pulleyblank 2005 for a discussion on the tonal markedness of the Yorùbá language). However, in the case of the *dùndún* music in which linguistic and musical characteristics are combined, it is difficult to determine in absolute terms whether meaning is attached to musical or linguistic prosody. In finding the connection between language and music, Brown (2017) proposes a two-pronged prosodic model in which he highlighted two systems of prosody: affective prosody and linguistic (or intonational) prosody. He argues that these systems jointly influence the development of language and music. Such a model could be useful in the study of the *dùndún*. Similarly, Heffner & Slevc (2015) found strong evidence in various studies for the similarities between prosodic structure and musical structure. Regarding emotional communication, there is growing evidence found between speech and music (see for example, Juslin & Laukka 2003). However, a study conducted by Quinto *et al.* (2013), investigating melodic and rhythmic contrasts in speech and music, indicates that while speech and music may share the same cues in communicating emotion, these cues may be limited to universal ones (for example, loudness, pitch), with some cues specific to each field. Their results show that emotions are signalled differently in speech and music. Nevertheless, the significance of speech prosody and music in emotional communication is undeniable. As prosody (pitch, rhythm, intensity and intonation) is ‘essential for the comprehension of emotion in speech’ (Heffner & Slevc 2015:6), so is it for emotion in music (Juslin & Laukka 2003), which could then account for the cross-cultural recognition of emotion in speech (Elfenbein & Ambady 2002) and music (Fritz *et al.* 2009). While it is beyond the scope of this study to present a detailed discourse of how the relationship between linguistic and musical prosody may influence meaning, it is speculated that in the world of *dùndún*, prosody-context-related rules are applied at times, and in other instances, musical context overrules prosody. This speculation correlates with Schellenberg’s finding that, although in a tonal language, song melodies are considered in the light of, and matched with speech melodies

for a better comprehension, ‘when things are not equal, music “trumps” language’ (Schellenberg 2012:275). The frequent interchange between ‘linguistic’ and ‘musical’ prosody happens constantly and has an influence on evoked emotive responses, thereby making it difficult to determine whether the evoked emotions were text or musically-based. As such, listeners’ responses to *dùndún* could be a function of the combination of *dùndún* linguistic and musical tonal features, as well as prosody where there is an allowance to infer meanings that are semantic and/or prosodic. In line with this assumption, Sotunsa remarks that ‘with or without an understanding of the drum language, people can enjoy the aesthetics of the art because of the rhythmic and harmonious arrangement of the sounds and the music incorporated into it’ (2009:49). Evocation of responses such as dancing to dance rhythms, which are not necessarily tied to the language (for example, the listener of Rasaki Ayandiran in Igbó-Ọ̀rà), provides an example of enjoyment of *dùndún* music without the need to understand the language.

5.4 Emotional responses to *dùndún*

The words of the participants suggest that numerous emotions can be experienced through *dùndún*. These include but are not limited to happiness/joy, nostalgia/longing, pride, sadness, anger and fear. However, this section limits the discussion to the most frequent ones mentioned by participants and also the most frequently mentioned in music-emotion studies (with the exception of *orí wíwú*). The emotions discussed are

- Happiness
- Sadness
- *Orí wíwú*

5.4.1 Happiness

The most commonly reported emotion is happiness, perhaps because *dùndún* drumming is closely associated with joyful events such as house-warming, child naming and various festivals as indicated in the previous chapter. In reference to *dùndún* and possible emotional reactions, twelve participants in three different locations respond with the statement *Ibi tí ó bá dùn ni dùndún ti ń dùn* (‘The sound of *dùndún* is heard where there is happiness’). All the resources available to a *dùndún* musician are used in arousing a feeling of happiness. *Oríkì* is especially implicated because the primary function of *oríkì* is to ‘make happy’. According to the reports of the participants, becoming happy through *oríkì* is mostly a function of music preferences, pride in one’s lineage and the gratification of being completely acknowledged by

a drummer, among other things. As *dùndún* drummers are always conscious of their choice of repertoire and the effect it will have on their audience, they make enquiries into a patron's circumstances: family background, likes and dislikes, and general lifestyle. Furnished with this information, they convey the same in *oríkì*, proverbs and other pithy sayings. The listeners are struck by the musicians having such in-depth knowledge about them and feel happy. In such situations, admiration of musician's actions leads to the listener's responses of happiness and appreciation. In Barber's observation, a person being saluted with names they have accrued from birth, and especially the use of *oríkì orílẹ̀*, which 'remains the most highly prized social symbol throughout [a] person's life, is a source of [a person's] most profound satisfaction' (Barber 1991:68). Since a *dùndún* drummer's intention is to satisfy his listeners, he knows well to be equipped with complete information about his audience in order to move them. Below are few of the responses of the drummers on this subject.

Sikiru Ayanwale: Gbogbo onílù b'ó ẹ wà yẹn tó bá ẹ pé oní'lù tó jẹ kinní gidi, o gbódò mọ oríkì èyàn dé'lé dé'lé daadaa. Elomii wà nisiyin ó lè jẹ pé ilé iyá lásán l'ó m'oríkì è tí kò mọ ilé bàbá è, t'o ba ki s'ápá ibi kan, kò ní ní *meaning* kankan l'etí ẹ. Sùgbón t'emi bá de'bẹ bayii ti n ba ki l'oríkí ile iyá e ti mo ki l'oríkí ilé baba ẹ, yoo wá wo pe ah! Ó mọ mi dé'lé dé'lé báyii, orí ẹ á wá wú. T'ó bá fẹ fún mi ní bi *fifty naira* nisiyin o le sọ di *hundred naira* pe ki n gbà, ti inu ẹ dùn gidi.

Every good drummer must know an individual's family oríkì in depth. There are some who know only the maternal side and not the paternal. If a drummer chants only the one side, it would not have any meaning to him/her [the person being addressed]. But if I [as another drummer] arrive and recite both maternal and paternal oríkì, the individual will think 'he [the drummer] knows me completely'. His head will then swell. If the initial plan was to give me fifty naira, he/she may increase it to [one] hundred naira because he/she is extremely happy.

(Interview, November 2015)

Waidi Ayanleke: Oríkì n se bẹbẹ [...] K'èyàn mọ oríkì o ẹ kókó. O dẹ un... k'ọmọ kékeré ni siyin, kó ti maa gbó pé wón maa n pe òun ni ọmọ Òkìkìólá ri, sùgbón ko mọ ibi tí ọmọ Òkìkìólá un yorí sí, o sa mọ pé wón maa n pe òun ni ọmọ Òkìkìólá, ọmọ Òkìkìólá; ko kan wa lọ s'ode kan, ko lọ' bi ayeyẹ kan, k'áwọn tó wá mọ nigba kekere rẹ wa ki pé ọmọ Òkìkìólá. Kó kàn gbó ọmọ Òkìkìólá un lásán, ẹ mọ pé inú rẹ ó dùn pe 'aha, wón maa n pè mí l'ọmọ Òkìkìólá n'tooto, un ni baba yi n so', inu rẹ o dùn pe 'ah, wón mọ mi, délédélé báyii, wón mọ mi dele'.

Oríkì does so much great things [...] To know oríkì is very important. And it... if a child has been hearing people call him the child of Òkìkìólá but does not know the full meaning of Òkìkìólá, he just knows he is being referred to as the child of Òkìkìólá. He then goes to an event, a celebration and hears those [drummers] who have known him from childhood call Òkìkìólá. Mere hearing being called the child of Okikiola, you know he will be happy that 'ah, I am always being called the child

of Òkíkíṣá and this man (drummer) is calling me the same', he will be elated that 'ah, they know me, they know me very well'.

(Interview, December 2015)

Waidi Ayanleke states further that a musician not knowing *oríkì* cannot perform '*ilu ilé*' (literally 'insider drum'), since *oríkì* involves knowing an individual comprehensively. The statement seems to imply that it is impossible for a drummer without knowledge of the 'insider drum' to arouse listeners, as thorough knowledge of *oríkì* (involving both maternal and paternal side *oríkì*) helps in arousing emotions. The impact of an in-depth *oríkì* in emotional reaction reflects the idea of some of the drummers that when *oríkì* is said to a 'point where it should be' (including several repetitions of the *oríkì*), there is a reaction. That a certain level of performance must be reached before emotional arousal can occur relates to the point made by Azeez Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016), who talks about the importance of assessing text content which will work better for a listener. Hence, a performer who intends to emotionally affect an audience should have sufficient information about them, so that when the *oríkì* is being utilised during performance, for instance, the performer attempts to recite details of the maternal line should the *oríkì* of the paternal line fail to achieve the intended aim of arousing a listener. According to Sikiru Ayanwale (interview, November 2015), *Elòmii gan, n̄kan tí a n lù ko ní ìtumò kankan létí ẹ tí àà bá lú ilù oríkì tí wòn fẹ* ('To some [audience], our performance is meaningless, if we do not perform the type of *oríkì* they want'). This means that not only is an in-depth and wide knowledge of *oríkì* required of the *dùndún* musicians, but they also have to be conscious of a listener's preference in *oríkì*. In corroboration of the drummers' assertions, Femi Bankole, a dancer in Ìpetumodù made the following points in an interview:

CD: Njé ẹ lè ẹ àpèjúwe ipa ti ilu dùndún n kó l'ára yín? (*Can you describe to us the impact of the dùndún drums on you?*)

Femi Bankole: Ah, dùndún ẹ nkan púpò lára mi. Gégébí ẹ ẹ ri ti mo n jó. Àwọn onílù ìdílé mi rẹ. Ìdílé eléégún ni mo ti wá, idile oníjó sì ni, awa la maa n jó fọ'ba. [...] Àwọn onílù ki mi daadaa, inú mi si dùn. Wòn n mu inú mi dùn wòn n ki oríkì awon baba baba mi. Ìdí ẹ nìyẹn ti mo fí n jó.

Ah, dùndún does a lot of things in my body. As you can see that I am dancing. These are my family drummers (referring to the ensemble surrounding him). I am from an éégúnfamily, it is a dancing family and we do dance for the king. The drummers acknowledge me, I am happy. They are making me happy; they are reciting my forefathers' oríkì. That is why I am dancing.

(Interview, August 2016)

Although more attention is paid to *oríkì* as a cause of happiness felt in response to *dùndún*, this does not imply that *oríkì* is the only catalyst of emotion. Each of the other tools of communication – proverbs, *àlùjò*, body movement and other factors been mentioned above – is sufficient to elicit happiness in response to the music of the *dùndún*. Through the contagious effect of *àlùjò* described earlier, happiness was aroused in the form of dancing and laughter shared between the performer and the dancers. Consequently, perhaps a drummer without the knowledge of ‘insider drum’ can nevertheless arouse listeners emotionally, since there are other means to accomplish this.

5.4.2 Sadness

While *dùndún* drummers agree that *Ìlù ò kí lọ òde ibànújé* (‘Drum does not perform for sadness’), they also believe they can contribute to making a listener sad in some situations, especially in the context of burial or loss. Even though it may seem contradictory given the fact that *dùndún* musicians perform for burials, they contend that drums do not play where there is sadness. The Yorùbá belief system recognises death as the end of one life and the passage to another. As a result, funerals (particularly of old persons) are characterised by celebration (Oripeloye 2016:18). This idea of death and its celebration would explain why sadness would not ordinarily be associated with *dùndún*. The indispensability of *oríkì* in the context of burial and the emotional state the *oríkì* is capable of generating in such a situation are acknowledged. While proverbs are also used in addition to *oríkì*, five of the drummers indicate the desired effect is better realised when *ohùn arò* (‘sorrowful tone’ or a dirge) is applied. In his discussion of impact of *ohùn arò*, Ayanjimi Ayansoji says:

T’a bá dé... ojú oórì, ojú ibi *burial ground* ti wón sin èyàn si yẹn, t’a ba wa dé bè, a wá ma fi ilú pe ohùn arò dé’bi wípé ọmọ olóòkú yẹn t’ó bá n gbọ bi a se n lù, yoo ma sukún. Bí a ẹ se n ki... ni yóò ẹ dùn si pé ah, bàbá oun ni wón n kì báyii, òun ò sù ri mó. Ó lè maa ro débi wípé omi yoo ma bó l’ójú ẹ [...] ó ti ẹ pò débi wípé t’a ba n lu’lu bẹẹ, ọmọ olóku mii wón yoo wa gbe kúrò nibi t’a bá wà ni.

When we [drummers] arrive at... the cemetery, burial ground where that person is being buried; when we get there, we would begin to use the drum for ‘ohùn arò’ to the extent that the offspring of the deceased would begin to cry. As we cite... the more anguished he/she feels that, ah, his/her father is being summoned and he/she could longer see the father. He/she may languish over it to the point of shedding tears [...] there are many [cases] that when we drum in that manner, some children of the deceased would have to be taken away from where we are.

(Interview, November 2015)

The indication that the timbre of the rendition of *oríkì* and/or proverbs has to be manipulated shows the extent to which the tools of communication are intertwined. It also shows the potency of the corroborative interrelation in evoking responses. The report by Ayanjimi Ayansoji above also suggests that the sound of the *dùndún* triggers memories that thus leads to sadness. This suggestion finds support in the statement by Azeez Ayansola:

Olórun ma je a rí àida. Kí ìbàjé ó má kàn wá [...] baba t'ó bí mi, l'aipé yi la se òkú ẹ. Şùgbón nigbà tí àwọn onílù dé tí wọn bèrè sí ni ki bàbá mi gidi gan, orí mí wú, mo bèrè sí ní sukún ni [...] Nígba tí wọn n ki baba mi tí mo... ah baba yi... ó parí naa nu un ni. Tí kò bá se pé k'á l'álà rí'ra wa, mi ò rò pé a lè tún jò sọrò mó, orí mi wú mo sọ ẹkún. Bèè naa ni ẹni ti kii se onilu gangan alára, ti baba ẹ ba ku àbi iya ẹ ló kú ni, ti a ba bèrè sí ní fi ilu ki, bí emi ti n su'kun nni neẹ gan àwọn ẹlomii gan ti kii se onílu gan a maa sọ'kún bèè.

God forbid we experience something bad. Sadness will not be our portion [...] my father, not long ago we had his burial. But when the drummers arrived and started to recite the oríkì of my father intensely, my head became swollen, I began to cry [...]. When they summon my father and I... [reminisce]...ah this man... here is the end. Unless in the dream, I do not think we could talk to each other again; my head was swollen, I began to cry. Similarly, if someone who is not a drummer lost whether their father or mother, when we begin to summon with the drum, the person who is not a drummer would cry the same way I had done.

(Interview, November 2015)

Whereas it can be inferred from the statements by Ayanjimi and Ayansola that the thought of loss is what evokes anguish or sadness and cry, the music is the catalyst for the emotional response. That *dùndún* music sets off episodic memory, which generates an emotional reaction, confirms Scherer's assertion that 'music seems to be one of the most powerful cues to bring emotional experiences from memory back into awareness' (Scherer 2004:245). More support for this notion is found in the account by Rasaki Ayandiran (interview, November 2015), who reports that drummers make listeners remember the dead ones. In response to the question of whether *dùndún* drummers can contribute to making listeners cry (taking 'cry' as an index of sadness), he says *Bèèni, irántí ni a maa n se fún wọn [...] Tí ẹyàn bà ki baba mi nisyin orí mi a wú o. Orí mi á wú torí pé wọn ti ki laimoye beẹ t'ó sè jé pé irántí baba mi ni. Mi ò si fẹ kó tii... b'ó ti d'àgbà tó nee, mí o ti fẹ k'ó lo. Bí a se n se fún àwọn ẹlomii nee ni* ('Yes, we make them reminisce [...] If someone cites my father's *oríkì* now, my head will swell [I will be moved]. My head will swell, because it has been cited several times and it is in my father's memoriam. And I did not... as old as he was, I did not want him to go [pass away] yet. It is the same we do for others').

It was a funeral ceremony of an elderly woman in Ede. The drummers with whom I worked were invited by one of the offspring of the deceased to entertain. As was earlier mentioned, the loss of an elderly person in the Yorùbá culture is marked by celebration. Hence, the atmosphere was naturally merry. The drummers would move from one gathering of guests to another to celebrate the life of the departed. Even though it is a burial and a loss, the purpose of the drumming here is not to invoke sadness but to alleviate it. However, the case is slightly different for the offspring of the deceased. For example, while performing for the daughter of the deceased who had invited my participants, the drummers began by playing different *àlùjò* rhythms for about 3 minutes before the leader instructed the group to pause. He then began to recite the *oríkì* of the dead with some embellishments of the drum tones such that each tone gives a vibrating effect. An effect which I would later learn is called ‘crying with the drum’. The *oríkì* talked about the deeds of the departed, how death has done bad by taking away a good person, how death left the children as orphans and so on. About 8 minutes into this rendition, the woman to whom the music was being directed suddenly burst into tears, while the musicians continued with their performance, knowing that their goal had been achieved. The tears in this case are an expression of sadness over the loss of the parent which is triggered by the *oríkì*. Whereas happiness and other positive emotions are shared communally in the performance of *dùndún*, it appears the feeling of sadness is more personal depending on the effect of the performers’ actions on an individual. The observed phenomenon, especially the content of the *oríkì* which was about the deceased, supports the interview statements of the drummers that they contribute to evoking sadness by triggering the memory of their listeners.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 7 December 2015)

The observation noted above, as well as the reports by Rasaki and the other drummers, suggest that emotions such as sadness, pain, nostalgia or even happiness would be triggered in a listener who has heard the father’s or mother’s *oríkì* at several occasions and hears it again after the demise of the parents. Barber (1991:4) says of *oríkì* that ‘the past is encapsulated and brought to the present, where it exercises a continual pull’. To relate the point to here, one can say that by influencing the memory process of listeners, *dùndún* drummers, through devices such as *oríkì*, help to bring the past into the present. The ‘pull’ can be seen as those emotions such as sadness evoked when a connection to the past is made through *dùndún* music. It appears from observation and the accounts of participants that sadness is more triggered by *oríkì* and

proverbs, but totally detached from *àlùjò*. This is not farfetched, given that *àlùjò* connotes dance, and dance is not associated with sadness in Yorùbá culture.

5.4.3 *Orí wíwú*

Orí wíwú literally means ‘head swelling’. Olaniyan refers to *orí wíwú* as being ‘emotionally touched’. In his words, ‘a Yorùbá would refer to a person emotionally touched by saying “*orí re wu*”, meaning “his head is swollen”’ (Olaniyan 1993:4). When participants (drummers and listeners) were asked to describe the phenomenon of *orí wíwú*, some described it as ‘being moved’; some say it is a state of extreme happiness. There is the notion that when someone’s head is swollen (emotionally touched), they may be exhibiting a range of different reactions; hence someone whose head is swollen can be moved to any emotion, but it is generally agreed that when someone experiences *orí wíwú*, the person can do anything and everything for the performer (for example, giving personal possessions as a show of appreciation). The accounts of the participants confirm what Barber says, namely that people who are ‘deeply moved and elated’ by *oríkì*, ‘respond by giving the performer more money than they can afford. To describe the experience, people say *Orí mí wú*, “My head swelled” – an expression used to describe the thrill and shock of an encounter with the supernatural’ (Barber 1991:75). When asked what *orí wíwú* means, Azeez Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016) says *oun ti o ba dun mo ’yan nii n wu ’yan lori* (‘whatever excites one makes one’s head swell’). This is elaborated further by Ayansola Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016), who says *orí èyàn lè wu... ó lè move èyàn kí eyan ó bú s’èkún. Ó le move eyan kí inú eyan dùn k’èyàn o se eni yen lóore. Orí wíwú dàbí wípé kí ara eyan move* (‘One’s head can swell... it [*orí wíwú*] can move someone to burst into tears. It can move one and make one happy and be generous to that person [i.e. whoever causes or contributes to the feeling]. *Orí wíwú* is like when one is move[d]’).

While one may be tempted to construe *orí wíwú* as an umbrella term for other emotional states in the context of *dùndún* music, a more careful scrutiny reveals that, even though closely related to other emotions, *orí wíwú* possesses its own unique features as an emotional state. *Orí wíwú* could also potentially be seen as aesthetic awe. In describing awe, Keltner and Haidt assert that ‘across disciplines, theorists agree that awe involves being in the presence of something powerful, along with associated feelings of submission’ (2003:303). The authors propose ‘vastness’ and ‘accommodation’ as the central prerequisites for occurrences of awe. Vastness is described as ‘anything experienced being much larger than the self, or the self’s ordinary level of experience or frame of reference’ (Keltner & Haidt 2003:303). Accommodation on the

other hand involves the adjustment of ‘mental structures that cannot assimilate a new process’ (2003:304). In addition to vastness and accommodation, Keltner and Haidt note five other ‘flavouring elements’ of experiences of awe: threat, beauty, ability, virtue and the supernatural. These experiences are related to the experience *orí wíwú*, a powerful emotion that can be seen as vast and requiring accommodation as when dealing with ‘awe’. *Orí wíwú* is also similar to awe in its placement between negative and positive valence, which can be seen in the light of threat and beauty outlined by Keltner and Haidt (2003). Another similarity between *orí wíwú* and awe is the physiological response of goosebumps or chills. The relationship between awe and *orí wíwú* can also be related to Konečni (2005), who identifies the aesthetic trinity of aesthetic awe, being moved/touched and thrills/chills as peak responses to aesthetic stimuli. In his description, ‘aesthetic awe shares with both joy and grief the state of being moved, and, with the former, thrills also. Its requirement of existential safety differentiates it from – but places it on the same continuum as – fear. With joy it shares the experience of thrills, which in fear is felt as chills. With all the fundamental emotions it shares a truly dramatic fluctuation in physiological arousal’ (Konečni 2005:31). Similar to Konečni’s aesthetic trinity, participants’ accounts suggest that thrills/chills, elements of joy and fear and the context of the stimulus are accounted for in *orí wíwú*. Also, ‘fear’ in relation to *orí wíwú* reflects Barber’s example of the use of *orí wíwú* in a non-musical context, ‘for instance, if you meet a spirit on a lonely forest path’ (Barber 1991:75). In other words, *orí wíwú* is a term used in ordinary conversation and – depending on the context – may refer to different emotional states.

Awe is not the only affective experience that can be related to *orí wíwú*. The sublime, which has been discussed in Western philosophical aesthetics could also be applied to *orí wíwú* in certain contexts. In his writing about Burkean sublime, Ryan describes the sublime experience as ‘leading on the one hand, to an overpowering of the self and, on the other hand, to an intense self-presence and exaltation, sometimes even to self-transcendence’ (2001:265). He notes that Burke ‘characterizes the sublime as a natural force that is by its very definition beyond man’s ability to control’ (Ryan 2001:267). The ‘dominating power’, the ‘delight’ as well as the ‘experience of terror’ which characterise the sublime (2001:275) can be seen in *orí wíwú* where participants report being extremely excited and subjected to the power of the emotion. The significance of the physiological in Burke’s approach to the sublime is also an interesting find in relation to *orí wíwú*. In Ryan’s summary of Burke’s physiological analysis, the sublime ‘limits the exercise of our mental and reflective capability [... and] leads not [only] to an

exaltation of our soul or of our mind but to the strengthening of our body, to a strong nervous system, which ultimately compels us to action' (Ryan 2001:276).

Apart from awe and the sublime, the emotion *orí wíwú* can as well be related to the state of 'being moved' which can have elements of thrills, chills or tears (Scherer *et al.* 2002; Konečni 2005). Being moved is also characterised by elements of joy or negative emotions such as sadness (Tokaji 2003; Menninghaus *et al.* 2015), but not the same as joy or sadness (Cova & Deonna 2014; Deonna 2018). However, until absolute similarities between *orí wíwú* and 'awe', *orí wíwú* and the 'sublime' or 'being moved' are determined, the phenomenon of *orí wíwú* is treated as an entity on its own. In addition, to reflect the voices and the realities of the participants, and the lack of an equivalent English word, the term *orí wíwú* is left its original language. Although *orí wíwú* is a metaphor adopted by the Yorùbá to describe a certain heightened emotional state, *orí wíwú* can have either a positive or a negative valence, and it is often characterised as a state of high arousal.

The participants agree that *oríkì* is mostly the antecedent of *orí wíwú*, but the nature of the subsequent reaction depends on the context. In the context of burial, for example, when *oríkì* is being recited, it aids in conjuring up memories which may result in responses such as crying or money contributions. That *oríkì* is implicated in *orí wíwú* to a large extent is clear from the participants' accounts. For instance, Azeez Ayantoyinbo (interview, January 2016) indicates that when *orí wíwú* is being experienced through *oríkì*, *Orí èyàn lè wu débi wípé kò si nkan tí kò nì fẹ́ fún onílù* ('One's head could be swollen to the point that there is nothing he/she would not want to give a drummer'). This implies that *oríkì*, *orí wíwú* and the reaction of giving gifts to performers are all interwoven. However, participants not only point to the relationship between *oríkì* and the range of reactions, especially *orí wíwú*, but also suggest a possible neural operation of *oríkì*:

Oríkì ma n touch brain at times. Tí a bá n sòrò nipa oríkì, tí wọn ba n ki èyàn ti wọn n ki'yàn, t'ó bá touch brain e, orí rẹ le wu, o lè bó sí'lé kó mú owó pé 'oṣeun baba mi l'o n kí'. At the same time a tun le ma ki lọ, nígbà tí ó bá tún touch ibi kan t'ó tún ri pé àwọn ìran ti o n ki, àwọn ìran bàbá oun t'ó ti lọ ni, tí ó sì n mu rántí awon iran baba rẹ àti oun tí àwọn baba rẹ ẹ, orí rẹ á tún wú, ó lè mu bo sílé pé kó mú aṣo, kó mú nkan oríṣiriṣi èbùn, kó fún onílù. Şùgbọn nigba ti o bá di pé oríkí yẹn naa... tí a ba n ki ẹnikan pe baba re akínkanjú ni. Akínkanjú tí wọn royin baba rẹ si yẹn, ó lè touch brain e, kí orí ẹ wu de' bi wípé oun naa yoo fẹ ẹ bẹẹ. Ẹyẹn le fa kí irú ẹni yẹn kí ó fẹ fi'bon ẹ bi akikanju gégébi wọn ẹ ki baba ẹ.

Oríkì does touch the brain at times. When we talk about oríkì, when someone is being cited, if it [oríkì] touches the brain, his/her head could swell, he/she may bring money [and say] ‘thank you; it is my father you are citing’. At the same time, as we continue with the oriki, it can touch another part [of the brain] where the person realises that the oríkì being chanted are of the ancestors, and it makes him/her remember their ancestors and their deeds; his/her head would swell again, he/she could bring clothes or various gifts to a drummer. But the same oríkì... if we recite for someone and say his father is brave. That bravery his father is known for, it [oríkì] can touch his/her brain; his/her head could swell to the extent of wanting to replicate the same [forefathers’ deeds]. That could make someone wants to use a gun to show bravery like it was said of the father.

(Ayansola Ayantoyinbo, interview, January 2016)

Three aspects can be deduced from these comments by the participants: (a) *orí wíwú* aroused through *oríkì* is multifaceted, manifested in different reactions, some of which may have an emotional basis; (b) by ‘touch[ing] [different parts of] the brain’ and the ‘touch’ being evinced in different observable reactions, *oríkì* works from the internal to the external; and (c) the reactions of *orí wíwú* can be positive or negative with different levels of arousal. To support this conjecture, Wùnmí Àdìsá, a linguistics lecturer at the Federal College of Education, Abeokuta Nigeria, describes the reaction of *orí wíwú* to *oríkì* in the following words:

There is no one whose *oríkì* is being chanted that will not experience something. The mood is like a spirit. There is something within you that will come up, and then you begin to experience goose pimples ... It is either you start crying, start rolling on the ground, or start doing anything that is unusual that the natural you would not do [...] *Orí wíwú* is when somebody is praising you and deep joy will come within to the extent that you will give the person anything you have. *Orí wíwú* is always accompanied with gifts (Personal communication, 28 July 2016).

In this comment *orí wíwú* is associated with positive reactions and may be compared with a similar reaction among the Yorùbá she identifies as ‘*ègùn*’ (literally ‘to mount’).⁴ In her opinion, the reactions of *ègùn*, which are highly beyond the normal, can be interpreted as negative. Moreover, *ègùn* is not necessarily accompanied with gifts. In addition, she pointed out that other modes of *dùndún* drumming can also arouse *orí wíwú*, except that the reactions may not be up to the level that *oríkì* chants may evoke.

It can be said of negative reactions attributed to *orí wíwú* that semantics plays a large role. The reaction is much more about what an individual listener deduced than it is about what is being

⁴ From my personal experience, the term *ègùn* is used to describe spirit possession during traditional festivals or rituals, for example, *Egúngún* or *Şàngó*.

transmitted through *dùndún*. The meaning of the information as decoded by the listener, as well as the context of hearing, plays a role in a listener's responses. To explain, Ayansola Ayantoyinbo gave the following example:

Tí orí èyàn bá wú tí wón bá k'iyàn, o lè mu ibínú wá, ó lè mù inù dídùn wa. Ó dàbí ìgbà ti wón bá ní wón ki Olúkòyí kí wón wa sọ wípé 'omọ olè l'osan omọ ole l'oru', tí oní yẹn kò bá mọ itumọ nkan tí wón n sọ yẹn, ó le fa kí ó bínú wípé wón n pè mi l'omọ olè. *Meanwhile*, omọ olè l'osan omọ olè l'oru tí wón ma n wí, òun ni wípé, kii se olè ti n gbé ewúré, kii se ole tí n gbé àgùtàn, kii se olè ti n gbé nkan. Olè ti n gbé obìrin ròbòtò. Tí wón ba ti wa sọ bẹ yẹn fun ẹni tí wón n kì ni'ru oríkì yẹn fún, inú wón yoo dùn láti wa so pe ah, àwọn fí n se faaji ni. Sùgbón ti o ba se pé bi wón se n ki yẹn kò mu dé ibi t'ó yẹ k'ó ki dé pé, omọ olè tí n gbé obìrin rògbòdò rògbòdò, obìrin pupa nkankan tí kò bá sọ bẹ̀, ó lè fa ko bọ sí inu ilé k'ó fà'bon yo. Sẹ ẹ mọ pé orí rẹ n wú síbẹ̀ nìyẹn.

When someone's head is swollen when they are being summoned, it can result in anger, it can result in happiness. It is like when Olukoyi is being cited and one says, 'a thief in the day, a thief at night', if the person does not understand the true meaning behind the aphorism, they could become angry that they are being called a thief. Meanwhile, 'a thief in the day, a thief at night' that is being said, is not a thief who steals goat, sheep or anything. [But it refers to] one who mingles with robust women [a sign of wealth]. Once they [drummers] say that [the meaning of the oríkì] to the person being addressed with such oríkì, they become happy that they are being entertained. However, if the recitation is not completed [by a drummer] by saying, 'a "thief" [rich person] that carries a beautiful, robust, fair woman and so on, it [the misunderstanding of "a thief in the day, a thief in the night"] may cause them [one being addressed] to pull a gun. You know it means their head is swollen to that part [anger].

(Interview, January 2016)

Although the reaction of *orí wíwú* is triggered by *oríkì* (in other words, music), it appears, however, that the reactions are mediated by other external factors. For instance, someone who becomes happy as a result of the lineage *oríkì* being recited first remembers the forefathers and identifies with them. This is then followed by the emotion of pride, joy/happiness or *orí wíwú*. In a similar vein, when *oríkì* arouses *orí wíwú* of sadness (in a burial context, for instance) it might involve remembering the good deeds of the departed, followed by the pain of loss, which then evokes a feeling of sadness or nostalgia, where observable behaviour can take the form of shedding tears. Anger can be evoked in someone who was being reminded of their ancestor's heroic deeds. In these instances, memory plays a role in the transition from listening to the music to experiencing the emotion. This process resonates with the memory mechanism underlying induced emotion theorised by Scherer (2004:245), or the 'episodic memory' described by Juslin and Västfjäll (2008:567), where the authors proposed that emotions are

induced by music through the memories triggered by the music. Whereas it can be argued that emotions associated with the memory triggered by *dùndún* are not *directly* evoked by music, the point should be made that the argument here is not about the causal factors of emotions in response to music; rather it is about stressing the interplay between music and human experience.

Orí wíwú (head swelling) aroused through *orí kíkì* (praising of the head) is better understood if the reaction to *oríkì* is construed as being dictated by culture and its beliefs and value system (as indicated earlier) as well as the common language/code shared by the people. From that perspective, it can be interpreted that when the head is called upon or addressed, the head swells in response, and when the head swells, different reactions follow. In other words, *oríkì*, being the most important element in *dùndún* music, works through the culture to feed into the emotional space of listeners to *dùndún*. The emotions – possibly mediated by other factors – thus aroused come in the form of *orí wíwú*. And depending on the part of the ‘head’ that is ‘touched’, different emotional states arise.

5.4.4 Indicators of emotional responses to *dùndún*

The question of how successful communication is determined in the world *dùndún* is better answered when one looks at signifiers of responses aroused through *dùndún* music. This section therefore addresses the indexes of emotional reaction to *dùndún* through the lens of two of the sub-components or indicators of an emotional episode: expressive behaviour and action tendency (see, Chapter Two, Section 2.2). Even though it has been mentioned that negative emotions can be aroused through *dùndún*, the section works with the general belief held by the participants that *dùndún* music is for the most part associated with positive reactions.

The pattern of activities of the drummers, dancers, listeners and other participants in each of the ceremonies I had witnessed were similar. For the drummers, if the people they were to entertain were seated, the drummers would move around from one table to another performing for the guests. They perform generally for all the guests seated at a table at first, and then zone in on each member of the seated group. The drummers employed the tools of communication, that is, *oríkì*, *òwe*, *àlùjọ* and others earlier mentioned. The guests then respond either by dancing and/or clapping, giving money and drinks to the drummers. Once the drummers see that the guests were satisfied, they would move on to the next table and the cycle would go on. In other instances, such as where a guest is just arriving at an occasion, I would see the drummers running to meet and greet the individual, with a chant of their *oríkì* if known, or *àlùjọ* and body

gestures if the person is unknown. Again, the guest at some point would react by dancing and/or giving gifts in appreciation of the drummers. The pattern was the same at the cultural festivals: the audience who had surrounded the performers would react to the music by shouting, clapping, or dancing with display of various acrobatic movements. I would later understand through discussion and interviews with the drummers and listeners that, the actions of the guests and audience at these events were an expression of their feelings and emotions. These behaviours are a few of the readily observable indicators of emotional reactions to *dùndún* music.

(Excerpt from observation field notes, 18 January 2016)

According to *dùndún* drummers and dancers interviewed, and from the observations of the researcher, there are different forms by which listeners express responses elicited through *dùndún* music. These include goose bumps, clapping, head nodding and the most obvious and common ones being dancing, giving of monetary and other gifts such as drinks or clothes. The participants stated that an affect has been triggered when a listener gives money to the performers. To the musicians, giving them, money and other gifts is not only a show of appreciation (of performer's prowess, for instance), it is also an indication of the level of satisfaction or happiness of the listener. *Orí wíwú*, according to some of the interviewees, is shown through behaviour bordering on insanity, extreme happiness, giving drummers gifts and, in most cases, listeners giving more to the drummers than they had initially intended giving.

The following are few of the drummers' perspective on the question: How do you know what your listeners feel to your music during your performances?

Ayanbanji Ayankunle in Ilọra: Láti ibi ówó ni. T'a bá mò pe inu wọn dùn, b'a ẹ̀n ẹ̀n ẹ̀n, inú ẹ̀ni t'ó bá dùn yoo ti ma ná owó fún wa. Ó lè na one one thousand naira bale, inú rẹ̀ dùn niyẹ̀n. Oun t'a ma fi mò ni yẹ̀n.

It is through money. For us to know they are happy, while we are performing, someone who is happy will begin to spray money on us. The person can spray one thousand naira bale, meaning they are happy. That is how we know.

(Interview, January 2016).

Azeez Ayansola in Igbó-Ọ̀rà: Tí ẹ̀ni tí a n lù fún àti àwọn èrò iwòrán ne ti wọn bá n nàwó fún wa, níbi tí a ti mò wípé yes! inú wọn n dùn òun ni yẹ̀n [...] Ẹ̀lòmii gan alárá tí ó bá ná'wo fún wa tán gan, wọn á tún kó ọ̀tí, ounjẹ̀ fún wa. Kò sí oun tí wọn ò ní fí fún wa, nígbà tí iṣẹ̀ tí a n ẹ̀ bá n mú inú wọn dùn. Ẹ̀lomii nee tún wà, bi ko ba nàwó, aa ma mì, aa ma jó, wọn n gbádùn iṣẹ̀ tí à ẹ̀ nee ni.

When someone listening and even onlookers spray money on us, that is how we know that Yes! They are happy [...]. Even others, after spending money, they would give us drinks and food. There is nothing they would not want to give us, when what we are doing is making them happy. And there are some, if they do not give money, they would be moving, they would be dancing, [that means] they are still enjoying our performance.

(Interview, November 2015)

Azeez Ayantoyinbo in Òṣogbo: Oun tí a fi ma n mọ bí inú àwọn èyàn bà dùn ni bi wọn bá n jó. Yàtò sí àwọn t'ó wà lójú agbo, àwọn ònwòran naa yoo ma jo. Kódà eni tí a o mọ rí, yoo wa nàwó fùn'yan. Eni tí orí è bá wú gidi, yoo na gbogbo oun tí n bẹ lapo rẹ.

We do know if people are happy when they begin to dance. Apart from the main audience in the arena, passers-by will also dance. Even a stranger who does not know us will give us money. Someone whose head is extremely swollen would spend all they have in their pocket.

(Interview, January 2016)

Rasaki Ayandiran in Igbó-Orà: Tí wọn bá gbádùn eré wa [...] wọn a ma jó ni, wọn á ma jó [...] nígbà tí inú wọn bá n dùn, owó á ma jáde, wọn a ma jó.

If they are enjoying our performance [...] they [listeners] would cheer up and they would be dancing. [...] when they are happy, they would bring money, they would be dancing).

(Interview, November 2015)

Again, *oríkì* is brought in as an antecedent to action and reaction to *dùndún* music in the statements connecting *oríkì*, *orí wíwú*, monetary gifts and dance. For example,

Ayanjimi Ayanjsoji in Ìlọra: Tí n bá fi ilù kì'yàn pé ọmọ lágbájá ọmọ lágbájá báyii, báyii báyii ni bàbá rẹ ti ma n ẹ, bàbá re kii ẹ bayii. Óun naa yóo ránti pé oni bí bàbá oun tí ma n ẹ. Kò nì mọ ìgbà tí yoo bó síta, ti yoo jo.

If I recite someone's oríkì saying lágbájá [so and so] the child of lágbájá, this is how your father used to do and not that. He/she would then remember the deeds of the father. He/she will not realise when they will step out and dance.

(Interview, November 2015)

Tajudeen Ayanjimi in Èdẹ: Tí n bá wá ni òju agbo tí àwọn tí ó bá wa níbẹ tí mo bá kí oríkì idílẹ wọn daadaa, orí wọn yoo wú... yoo wú de bi wípé wọn lè ti ibẹ bọ sí ijó kí wọn maa jó, kí wọn sì maa nàwó fún mi.

When I am performing, and I skilfully recite the family oríkì of those present, their head would swell... swell to the extent that they may begin to dance and be spraying money on me.

(Interview, December 2015)

When asked about the relationship between *oríkì* and money giving, Azeez Ayansola (interview, November 2015) says *oríkì* has taken its effect once money is being given to the drummers: *Ó ti sīṣẹ́ lára rẹ. Nígbà tó ti jẹ oríkì baba rẹ ni, ó ti sīṣẹ́ lára ẹ. Òun nee ló fì fún wa l'ówó* ('It [*oríkì*] has worked on them [listeners]. Since it is the *oríkì* of the father, it has worked. And that is the reason for giving us money')

From the accounts of the *dùndún* drummers, one is tempted to ask the question whether *dùndún* drummers perform solely for economic reasons or to satisfy their listeners emotionally. The general statements of most of the interviewed drummers at first glance seem to suggest that their intention before and during performance has a basis in attempting to preserve their existential security. However, there is the fact that most of the drummers have other jobs besides drumming, even though drumming is taken to be the first, being a family tradition. Given this fact, deeper interpretation suggests that money means more than just material survival. Monetary reward in relation to *dùndún* music performance can be seen as performing different functions. To the musicians, giving them money is not only an index of a listener's feelings; it is also a confirmation of the extent of musicians' input into, and impact on, performance. The amount of money realised determines how a performance is rated. The statements of some drummers also connote that the 'graduation' day of younger drummers (who have been following the elders) is marked when they are able to perform and obtain money from the listeners, following which they are capable of going on outings unmonitored (according to, for example, Ayantayo Kamiu, Azeez Ayansola, interview, December 2015). Monetary gifts in this sense thus serve as an indicator that a learner has gained a certain level of acceptable knowledge. It marks the approval of a learner or younger drummer's abilities.

From listener's perspective, money is a form of expression to which different meanings can be attached. It is an indicator of appreciation of good performance, as well as an index of a listener's feelings: when musicians perform impressively, listeners give money to show their appreciation or to encourage them. They also give money when they are happy or elated, and when they experience *orí wíwú*.

With respect to monetary rewards and emotions, the foregoing implies that, although musicians' intent might be based on eliciting money from listeners, fulfilling the intention requires that they tap skilfully into the emotional space of an individual. From this perspective, *dùndún* performers can be said to aim at expressive performance as well as proceed further to evoke emotional responses in listeners. An example is the use of *oríkì*. It was mentioned in

Chapter Four that *oríkì* is an essential element in the world of *dùndún* and the most important to learn. What makes it important is because to the musicians *oríkì* is a means of making money, as it is one of the major tools used in getting through to listeners. A listener who is then touched gives money. To musicians, *oríkì* is a means to an end – the end being money (where ‘money’ signifies different things as mentioned above). To listeners, *oríkì* is an emotional catalyst and money serves as a depiction of their reaction to *oríkì*.

It thus appears money plays an important role in the world of *dùndún* as it relates to happiness for both performers and listeners: it is an expression of happiness for listeners and a source of happiness for musicians. Indeed, by virtue of having listeners give gifts (monetary or otherwise), the knowledge that they are evoking emotional responses is an existential necessity for the performers. Even if one thinks that the musicians’ intention to evoke responses in listeners is only secondary to their objectives, *dùndún* performers agree they have an effect on people’s reaction to music, and that listeners confirm the effect of the music on them with their expressive behaviour and action. The conviction of the *dùndún* musicians that they can make people react corroborates the dancers’ assertion that there must be some response to *dùndún* music under normal circumstances. However, there are few cases in which people do not react to the music, for example, prior mood of the listener.

5.5 Conclusion

Dùndún musicians are no different from their counterparts in other parts of the world in terms of the importance given to music expressivity. This chapter has described how *dùndún* drummers approach expressivity through the use of different stylistic techniques and acoustic properties such as tempo and timbre. Not only do *dùndún* performers aim for expressive performance, they strive to optimise their listeners’ experience by contributing to inducing emotions in them using *oríkì*, proverbs, *àlùjò* and physical gestures, among other things. This is also confirmed by the listeners. The interaction between *dùndún* musicians and their listeners, especially communication through *oríkì*, works through the belief, ethos and value systems of the culture, which often embed the people’s psychological space. It is apparent *oríkì* is implicated in all possible emotions in response to *dùndún*; and even though the content might be the same at different times, the actual context of use determines which emotions are induced. Hence, the same *oríkì* which induces positive emotion in one context might bring on negative arousal in another. Negative emotions are also recorded, but all the noted emotions appear to be mediated by the input of the performer and the context. If the music is taken out of context,

will the emotion still be felt to *dùndún* music? Will *dùndún* performers be able to express different emotions? Is *dùndún* attached to only happiness? *Orí wíwú* is explained as having many facets, but will this hold true outside of the normal performance context? These are the questions considered in the next chapter which focuses on the experiment conducted in the field. The chapter is an attempt to corroborate (or contradict) the accounts given in interviews and from observation, and it will present the combined findings in the light of the theoretical frameworks of the study.

Chapter Six

Emotional Communication in *Dùndún* Music: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Data

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how *dùndún* performers approach expression and what factors are believed to contribute to reactions from listeners. This chapter presents the experiment, which aimed to test whether *dùndún* musicians would be able to express and communicate emotion outside of the normal performance context given that the performance of *dùndún* is inherently associated with socio-cultural events. The question arises as to what emotions can be reliably communicated through *dùndún* (in terms of what is encoded and what the listeners decoded), as well as the extent of the accuracy of communication in terms of what is perceived or felt by listeners. The experiment was carried out to provide an alternative approach (other than observation and interviews) to answering the questions posed by the study, and to corroborate the findings from the interview data. The design adopted for the experiment was similar to studies in which performers were instructed to perform and express certain emotions prescribed by the researcher, and then listeners' recognition of the emotions was recorded (for example, Gabrielsson & Juslin 1996; Juslin 1997a; Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Timmers & Ashley 2007; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Paquette *et al.* 2013).

Musical instruments that have been utilised in such studies include clarinet, flute, guitar, trumpet, violin and the singing voice. A few studies (Behrens & Greens 1993; Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000) have also employed percussion instruments. Differences in procedure include instructing musicians to perform melodic or rhythmic patterns (Laukka & Gabrielsson 2000; Laukka *et al.* 2013), or to improvise musical excerpts (Paquette *et al.* 2013) to express different emotions such as sadness, happiness, fear, anger and many others. While the recognition tasks of some studies only analyse the accuracy of communication, others focus on the process of the communication through analysis of acoustic cues used by the performers in encoding the emotions, and of the listeners responses in decoding them (for example, Balkwill *et al.* 2004; Bonini Baraldi *et al.* 2006; Laukka *et al.* 2013). In addition to the perception of emotions, some studies also included felt emotions in their studies to explore the relationship between emotions perceived and emotions felt (for example, Kallinen & Ravaja 2006).

Listeners' responses were recorded in various ways but the most common was the use of self-report (Eerola & Vuoskoski 2013) in which listeners could either choose from a predetermined list of adjectives (Schubert 2003), rate the degree of emotion on a Likert scale (Reniscow *et al.* 2004), or respond through measurement scales that allow a combination of predetermined choices and free responses (Zentner *et al.* 2008). With the exception of a few cross-cultural studies (Balkwill *et al.* 2004; Fritz *et al.* 2009; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Egermann *et al.* 2015), music stimuli in music-emotion studies are dominated by Western classical music. For instance, in their review of 251 studies within a 20-year period up to 2012, Eerola and Vuoskoski (2013:320) found out that 48% of the studies involved classical music, followed by 16% for mixed genre involving combinations of classical, pop or film music, while ethnic music (4%), pop/rock (3%), and film music (2%) constituted the lowest frequencies. In addition, the majority of the listening experiments involved university students or the 'WEIRD' (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich and Democratic) (Henrich *et al.* 2010) population as participants. While using a somewhat similar design as some of these studies, this research project is different in that it uses ensembles of percussive instruments as opposed to solo, as well as a non-Western population, a non-Western musical genre, and non-Western musical instruments. Hence, this study can be seen as a regional contribution to existing research. In addition, the study provides a novel approach by conducting a scientifically-informed study of music and emotion in an exclusively non-Western – non-WEIRD – context.

Combining accounts from interviews in this study and ideas in the literature, five emotions were selected for the experiment: *orí wíwú*, happiness, sadness, anger and fear. Apart from *orí wíwú*, which has been mentioned as unique to Yorùbá culture and language, and anger, which is seldom included in studies of musical expression of emotion (for example, Paquette *et al.* 2013), the rest of the emotions have been widely implicated in music-emotion studies (Juslin & Laukka 2004; Baumgartner *et al.* 2006; Fritz *et al.* 2009; Vuoskoski & Eerola 2012). These types of emotions are labelled 'basic emotions' (Ekman *et al.* 1987; Panksepp 1998; Ekman 1992b, 1999; Izard 1992, 2007). The emotional terms happiness, sadness, fear and anger, are employed based on their suitability for the study. The universality of these emotions is also acknowledged (Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1992; Ekman 1992b, 1999; Izard 1992, 2007), as they are present in *dùndún* music just as with the musical expression of emotion in other cultures (see Laukka *et al.* 2013).

The experiment can be described as involving two phases. The first phase (performing part) explored whether the performers could sonify the five emotions. Part of this process also involved the performers giving accounts of their experience. Hence this phase functioned not only to create the stimuli, but also to obtain feedback from the performers on the process as well as gaining insights into how the stimuli were created. The second phase (listening part) involving an independent group, aimed to determine if the emotions were perceived and/or felt in the ways that the performers intended. The experiment contributes to the overall study in that (a) it helps to explore other emotions beyond those focused on in the previous chapter, and which were not addressed in the interviews (for example, fear), as well as those that could not be determined through observation (for example, sadness); and (b) it strengthens the findings of the interview and observation components of the study.

6.2 Phase one: expression of emotion by performers

Four *dùndún* ensembles (ensembles A to D) in different locations participated in the experiment. The ensembles were selected from Òşogbo (ensemble A), Igbó-Orà (ensemble B), Ìlora (ensemble C) and Èdẹ (ensemble D). They were given the instruction to play music that could be perceived to be expressive of the given emotions (anger, fear, happiness, *orí wíwú*, sadness),¹ and which they also thought might induce responses in their listeners (5 emotion terms \times 4 groups = 20 samples). The duration of performance varied depending on the ensemble and ranged between 2.5 to 5 minutes. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the differences in duration and the decision not to give a fixed duration for the performance was largely influenced by the nature of *dùndún* performance as well as the application of an emergent method in the socio-cultural context. The entire performance and discussion session for each ensemble lasted approximately 60 minutes. Before the commencement of the experiment, instructions were read to the performers and they were asked to confirm that they understood the instructions. Consent to participate was also sought from them and audio-recorded prior to the experiment. No payment was made for the drummers' participation, since a complimentary fee had been given during the interview and observation phases. Recordings of each group took place in secluded areas devoid of external noise or any disturbance from the surroundings. The recordings were saved on a computer, from which selections were later chosen for the listening phase.

¹ Refer to the appended DVD (Appendix H: tracks 1,3,4,7 and 8) for samples of the represented emotions.

To explore how the performers, approach the expression of emotion, they were asked after each performance what came to mind on hearing the given instruction, and how and why they thought their performance would create the intended effect in their listeners. The musicians' accounts reveal that for the most part, context or scenario approach was employed in the presentation of the emotions. The emotions were presented through the use of cues available to the musicians, some of which are discussed in the following.

Dùndún performers' use of cues

Strategies and cues used by *dùndún* performers as discussed in this study, differ from studies that discuss the strategy of encoding and decoding of emotion in music in relation to acoustic or musical cues involving musical properties such as tempo, intensity, pitch, timbre and tonality (Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Laukka *et al.* 2013). A range of cues is accessible to a performer in representing any particular emotion. And although some types of instruments may not have as many cues as others, a limited number of cues does not impair accuracy of communication. For instance, in the study of Laukka and Gabrielsson (2000) involving non-melodic percussive instruments, two professional drummers were asked to express six emotions with three rhythmic patterns. They found that working only with the cues of tempo, timing and dynamics, both performers were able to perfectly encode all the emotions and the listeners could decode them accurately.

It has been suggested that the communication of emotion in music flows through two channels, namely universal and culture-specific cues (Balkwill & Thompson 1999). Hence, the emotions as presented by the drummers are discussed on the basis of the premise that culture-specific cues 'are best understood by listeners who are familiar with the particular musical style' (Laukka *et al.* 2013:436). The discourse of cues in the context of this study takes into consideration the literary function of the *dùndún*, in addition to the musical.

It is not the goal of this study to transcribe the recorded music because of (a) the various issues related to the subjection of African music to Western-derived theories, analysis or notation system (Agawu 1995; Rahn 1996, Nzewi *et al.* 2008); and because (b) the participants of this study analyse music aurally, taking into consideration the coded messages on the *dùndún* drum. Hence, in acknowledgement of the participants' perspective, more attention is devoted to the content of the coded text (*oriki*, proverbs, and other texts, as well as songs which are discerned distinctively from purely rhythmic patterns) utilised in conveying emotion, as different from

isolating specific acoustic properties to determine the expressive intentions of performers or the listeners accurate recognition (for example, Bonini Baraldi & Rodà 2001; Laukka *et al.* 2013). As mentioned in Chapter Two, such analysis is beyond the scope of this study. The contents of the coded text and the music taken together are construed as culture-specific cues in this study.

The use of cues in the representation of each emotion by the ensembles was characterised by some similarities and a few differences. Generally, and as noted in the interviews and observation data, *oriki* was very much implicated in the performances of all the ensembles. Depending on the emotion, proverbs were also utilised thus representing the basic ‘cues’ used for emotional expression in the world of *dùndún*. It was discovered that the emotional content of each rendition is determined by how an ensemble interprets the given emotion. For example, ‘fear’, which was associated with death by ensembles A and B, was performed in slow tempi. Compare this with ensembles C and D, who associated the same emotion with agitation and force. The performance of music that was meant to be perceived as, and to induce emotions of, sadness was generally slow in tempo across all the ensembles, with differences in content. Whereas ensembles B and D mostly fit their sad music into a context of conflict, ensembles A and C made use of a context of death. Example 6.1 provides the contents of the coded texts in the music representing sadness.

Example 6.1 Sadness

Context and content relating to death

a) Nítorí baba mi ni Ògèdè kú f'omọ è r'ópò	It is because of my father Banana dies and replaces itself with its child
Àjàyí dide dide Àjàyí arise arise	Àjàyí arise arise Àjàyí arise arise
Iná kú f'eérú b'ojú Ojúróngbé f'omọ è r'ópò wa	Fire dies it is replaced by ashes Ojúróngbé replaced us with his child
ah! igí dá Ikú pa babaláwo ó dàbí ẹni tí ò d'ífá	The tree is felled Death kills an herbalist; he is as one who never divinised
Ikú pa onísègùn ó dàbí ẹni tí ò lóògùn	Death kills a physician; he is as one who has no medicine
Ikú pa àfáà tó n kẹwú ó dàbí ẹni tí ò l'ólóhun ọba	Death kills an imam; he is as one who has no god king
N ò mà r'ẹni tí ò ní kú ah! ah! ó d'òriṣà oko	I do not see the one who will not die ah! ah! He becomes a local idol
Ojúróngbé o, gbéra nílẹ ko dide ah! Igídá	Ojúróngbé get up and arise ah! The tree is felled
Ikú pa Abírí Abírí ku Iku pa Abìrì Abìrì r'òrun alákeji	Death kills Abírí, Abírí dies Death kills Abìrì, Abìrì goes to heaven
ah! Ojúróngbé o Igí mà da, ẹmi ò mà r'ẹni tí ò ní kú	ah! oh Ojúróngbé The tree really felled, I really do not see anyone who will not die

Ojúróngbé òde òde ah
Abiyamo kú abiyamo lo
Ojurongbe o

Ojúróngbé arise arise
Child bearer dies, child bearer is gone
Oh Ojúróngbé

b) Ikú n p'omọ kékeré
Ikú n p'àgbàlagbà
Kò sí ẹni tí ò ní kú
Ikú n bẹ, Àlùmúntù

Olórún kó de ilẹ f'eniyan ire
Bí ẹni bá ku
Ẹni ní n kù

Death kills the young
Death kills the old
There is no one who will not die
Death exists, Àlùmúntù [death's
sobriquet]
May God grant peace to a good person
If one [person] dies
It is one [person] who remains

Content meant to provoke

a) Olóríburúkú òkú ìgbé
Omọ dìgbòlugi òkú ìgbé
Kò ní da fún baba wọn
Má da wèrè lóhùn
A í ẹ egbé wọn
Egbé baba wọn là n ẹ

b) *Ilé wọn naa nù un nì
Ilé abèrè wò bí ilé èkúté
Ilé wọn naa nù un nì

*also used for anger in ensemble D

c) Tí iké bá dàgbà tan
Apá bàbá ò ka
Áfí ẹ́kàrá

The unfortunate, bush corpse [wasted]
Belligerent, bush corpse [wasted]
Their fathers will be unfortunate
Do not reply the fool
We are not their mates
We are their fathers' mate

Behold their house
A hut like a mouse's hole
Behold their house

Once a hunchback grows old
[The] father cannot control it
Except for show off

As shown in the examples above, depending on the context, sadness is construed in different ways by the ensembles: sadness over the loss of someone, or unhappiness as a result of being ridiculed. While ensembles A and C (who relate sadness to death) make use of a mix of *oríkì* and proverbs, the content of ensembles B and D conveys directly abusive words to an imaginary listener. It addresses the person's unfortunate destiny, their poor house and poor character, and so on. In a culture where destiny, character and an individual's social status play important role, it could be imagined that such words would generate the desired effect. In terms of the properties of the music, studies on emotion have linked sadness to slowness (for example, Gabrielsson 2009; Juslin 2009b; Juslin & Timmers 2010; Gabrielsson & Lindström 2010). It thus seems *dùndún* performers apply the same principle in their representation of the emotion, whereby the intention to express and induce sadness informed the choice of slow tempi. Having said that, it is apparent that the contents of the coded text, if not the acoustic properties, also have a role in the expression of sad emotion.

Anger is almost similar to sadness in terms of the textual content. The contents comprise a mix of *oriki*, proverbs, texts of defiance and words of caution, among others (see Example 6.2 below). The idea behind anger music is for the most part similar across the ensembles: the emotion and the music representing it are related to warfare and battle, and especially related to *Égúngún*. The ensembles describe music for *Égúngún* as fiery and agitated, and that which is used in evocation of anger.

Example 6.2 Anger

a)	Oò lè ɕe bí baba rẹ̀ tí ń ɕe Gúlúgúlùṣé òjò dí ba lùmò yò Bóo kí baba bóò kí baba ìjà Tìjà tìjà ni baba ń bá kiri Olúwa mi Olúwaà mi Bó lè d'ogun kó d'ogun Bó bá d'ìjà kó d'ìjà B'ó bá d'ìjà tán kínni baba enikán lè ɕe Olúwa mi Olúwaà mi Jagunjugun kí jáfara lójú ogun Gúlúgúlùṣé	You cannot do as your father does Gúlúgúlùṣé, a raging rain Whether you greet father whether you do not greet father, it is still war He is the father of wars My lord, My lord If it will result in war, let it result in war If it results in fight, let it result in fight After it results in fight what will the father of anyone be able to do? My lord, My lord A warrior does not hesitate at war Gúlúgúlùṣé
b)	E fi abùkù kán Bó bá dúró ẹ̀ f'abùkù kan Abínú ẹnì Ẹ̀ ɕe wò Kẹ̀ má ba ɕ'orí burúkú Ẹ̀ ɕe wò	Taint him/her If he/she waits, taint him/her Jealous ones Behave So that you do not become unfortunate Behave
c)	Bóyá Ọlórún a ɕe Enìkan a sọ̀rọ̀ tó j'enu baba rẹ̀ lọ Bóyá Ọlórún a ɕe	Perhaps God will do it Somebody will utter words greater than their father's mouth Perhaps God will do it

Apart from relating anger music to the *Égúngún*, ensemble D also used the same content of sadness referring to unfortunate destiny and poverty in its presentation of anger music. This is not surprising given that anger and sadness, according to the dimensional theorists, exist on the same negative/unpleasant affect continuum, although with differences in the level of activation (Watson & Tellegen 1985; Barret & Russel 1998; Russel & Barret 1999). A difference in arousal level is also observed in the music as presented by the ensembles, as anger was presented with more energy than sadness was. Besides the performers' perception of sadness and anger in a similar manner, the contiguity of sadness and anger may also reflect in emotions felt, because a person being referred to as unfortunate could either be sad, angry or both.

There were two interpretations given to fear music as represented by the four ensembles (Example 6.3). For ensembles A and B (who linked fear to death) the text is mostly comprised of *oríkì* and proverbs, which address the attributes of some deceased persons, the pain of loss, and references made to the lineage of the deceased. It was explained that such music is used in announcing the passing away of someone and, hence, when it is being played, fear (of loss) is aroused in people. For instance, the people in the community of ensemble B were alerted and came to the venue of the experiment, with the fear that someone had died, thus resulting in the ensemble keeping the performance brief. In a different interpretation of fearful music, ensembles C and D presented energetic and fiery music, which was related to *Égúngún*, war and chaos. The explanation was that the presence of *Égúngún* (including its associated music) always creates fear in people – as do war songs. The content of fear in ensembles C and D was similar to anger in ensemble B.

Example 6.3 Fear

a)	Dide dide dide Dide o fi'dí b'eşin Dide o bo şòkòtò Orígitólá omọ oní şéşé ẹfu Adégbìtẹ Nílẹ̀ ni ikú wa omọ̀ Ògúnfúnkẹ̀ Bí ò si'kú ilé Wọ̀n ní t'òde ò lẹ̀ pa ni Orígitólá omọ̀ oní şéşé ẹfun	Arise, arise, arise Arise and mount the horse Arise and put on your trousers Origitola the child of the one who has white beads Adégbìtẹ It is at home that death rode the child of Ògúnfúnkẹ̀ If there is no death at home They say that of the exterior cannot kill one Orígitólá the child of the one who has white beads
b)	Ìgbàlájọ́bí ọ̀kùnrin lọ Ò wọ̀ şòkòtò fẹnu rẹ̀ sọlẹ̀ Ọ̀kùnrin lọ T'érin bá kú o digbó T'ẹ̀fon bá kú ó ñg̀bà Àjànàkú sùn bí òkè Dide dide Dide dide là n ş'ọ̀dún Dide dide là n ş'ọ̀şù	Ìgbàlájọ́bí [a] man goes He that wears trousers that touch the ground A man goes If an elephant dies it becomes ancient If a buffalo dies it becomes a period [An] elephant sleeps like mount Arise arise Arise arise is the way we celebrate years Arise arise is the way we celebrate months

The notion that *orí wíwú* is diversified – as shown in the previous chapter – is demonstrated in the emotional expression of the different participating ensembles. Although all played at a somewhat slow pace, the textual properties of *orí wíwú* are multiple and varied, which explains why different reactions are associated with this emotion. The contents include but are not limited to *oríkì* referring to ancestors, gods, affluence, pain of loss, nostalgia and pride in the

drumming profession and its artistry. Also featured were different proverbs as well as *àlùjò* rhythms. Some same contents of *orí wíwú* of ensemble B are shared with the fear of ensemble A and the sadness of ensemble C.

Example 6.4 *Orí wíwú*

a)	Ìlù náa ni Ìlù t'a lù lù t'a l'ówó l'ówó Ìlù náa ni	It is [the same] drum The drum that we beat that we became rich It is [the] drum
b)	Níhin l'ọlá wà nìbè nni kọ Aşéperí ọmọ Akónikóró Níhin l'ọlá wà, Nìbè nni kọ	Here is [the] wealth, it is not over there Aşéperí the child of Akónikóró Here is [the] wealth It is not over there
c)	Awo egúngún l'obirin lè şe Awo gẹlẹdẹ l'obirin lè mọ B'óbinrin f'ọjú kan orò Orò á gbe	It is an egúngún cult that a female can do It is the cult of gẹlẹdẹ a female may know If a female set her eyes on orò cult Orò will seize her
d)	Kórósólọlá ọmọ oní şésé ẹfun Adégbìtẹ gbéra nílẹ ko dide Kò lè dá mi lóhùn mọ Áwọn ọmọ ẹ ní n dáhùn fun Nílẹ ni ikú wà ọmọ Ọgúnfunke Lọ'gíílẹ d'oyè, erinmi l'ókun Àràbà pitàpità A tó baba má fàrigá O rọrun alákeji Nkan ni ikú, ikú yi ò da Ikú tí n fọ egun alágbára Ikú pa Abírí, Abírí kú Wón ní ò si nkan Nkan n bẹ Ikú pa Abìrì, Abìrì rọrun Wón ní ò si nkan Nkan n bẹ Ikú pa bütübúbù baba erùpẹ À fi ẹni ẹniyàn ò bá bí N'ikú ò lè pa Kórósólọlá dide èrùwà dide o	Kórósólọlá the child of the one who has white beads Adégbìtẹ arise and get up He cannot answer me anymore His children [now] answer for him It is at home that death rode the child of Ọgúnfunke He who prepares [the] tree for title, the hippopotamus The great cotton tree The great father [He] goes to heaven [This] death is something, not a good thing [The] death that shatters the bone of the strong Death kills Abírí, Abírí dies They say there is nothing [but] There is something Death kills Abìrì, Abìrì goes to heaven They say there is nothing [but] There is something Death kills dust the father of sand It is only the one not born of human That death will not take Kórósólọlá arise, oh èrùwà arise

Expressions of happiness featured many folk songs and *àlùjò* beats. Proverbs and *oríkì*, when used, were fixed in *àlùjò* rhythms or rendered in a song-like manner. The contents detailed different topics such as pride in the profession and pedigree, mention of someone's wealth, the importance of children, and a message to an imaginary enemy detailing achieved success, among other things (see Example 6.5).

Example 6.5 Happiness

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a) | <p>A rán'mọ l'áṣọ Iséyìn ni ò wun'sọ</p> <p>A rán'mọ l'áṣọ Iséyìn ni ò wun'sọ</p> <p>Aṣọ tí a ró olówó f'ara m'ólówó</p> <p>Èwù tí a wọ olówó jogún ìdèra</p> <p>Gèlè tí a wé ṣukuṣuku bam bam</p> <p>Èni tó bá wú kó bẹ</p> <p>A rán'mọ l'áṣọ Iséyìn ni ò wun'sọ</p> | <p>We sent for textile, it is Iséyìn that did not weave</p> <p>We sent for textile, it is Iséyìn that did not weave</p> <p>Our attire the rich moves with the rich</p> <p>Our garb the rich inherit ease</p> <p>Our headgear perfectly in place</p> <p>Whoever is envious does so in vain</p> <p>We sent for textile, it is Iséyìn that did not weave</p> |
| b) | <p>Lawani, ó dé towó towó</p> <p>Ó dọrìṣà oko</p> <p>Ó dé towó towó</p> <p>Lawani, a mu bí eyá</p> <p>Ó dé towó towó</p> <p>Kò mọ iyì erin</p> <p>Ènìyàn tó bá erin l'átẹ</p> <p>Kò mọ iyì erin</p> | <p>Lawani he came with money</p> <p>He became a local idol</p> <p>He came with money</p> <p>Lawani, sharp as a small leopard</p> <p>He came with money</p> <p>[He/she] does not know the value of elephants</p> <p>Human who meets elephants on a stall</p> <p>[He/she] does not know the value of elephant</p> |
| c) | <p>Àṣeeṣe tún ṣe</p> <p>Bí a bá ṣèyí tán áá ṣe mi si</p> <p>Àṣeeṣe tún ṣe</p> | <p>We will do and redo</p> <p>After we have done this, we will do another</p> <p>We will do and redo</p> |
| d) | <p>Ori mi ma je n p'ofọ</p> <p>Oṃọ lèrè ayé</p> <p>Èdá mi má je n p'òfo</p> <p>Oṃọ lèrè ayé</p> | <p>My head do not allow me fail</p> <p>Children are the reward of the world</p> <p>My being, do not allow me fail</p> <p>Children are the reward of the world</p> |

The content of each emotion presented by the musicians indicates multiplicity and diversity in interpretation: for instance, sadness interpreted as loss by one ensemble is construed as an impoverished or unfortunate state in another. Also, the similarities in the texts representing some emotions (for example, sadness and anger) show contiguity of the emotions in terms of negative or positive valence (Barrett & Russell 1998). However, despite the similarities in hedonistic tone, the distinctiveness of each emotion can also be seen. For example, while 'loss' is attributed to sadness, anger does not share the same attribute. This resonates with the basic emotion position in terms of discreteness of emotions (Ekman 1992). Whereas the contents of the other emotions are clearly distinguished in positive and negative terms, the contents of *orí wíwú* suggest its diversity and the tendency to be related to both positive and negative emotions. Worth noting is the interchanging of contents, which illustrates that no music of the *dùndún* (*oríkì*, proverbs or songs) is restricted a single event: *dùndún* musicians usually use the text of one occasion for another as long as the content is suitable.

Responses from interview session following the renditions of the emotions revealed that performers conjure up imagery and a scenario which are tied to context, in addition to the use of their own felt emotion. For instance, the lead drummer of ensemble D imagined himself in a feud with someone during the rendition of sad music. He believed the person at which the music was being directed would react because he ‘did not think anyone could stand humiliation’. Similarly, the lead drummer of ensemble C reported that he imagined the funeral of his deceased father and evoked the memory of his father in himself. The leader of ensemble B also stated that he thought of his father during the rendition of *orí wíwú*. In addition, he was seen shaking his head during the rendition of *orí wíwú*, a gesture that would later be interpreted by two of the listeners as ‘sadness’. Happy music across all the ensembles summoned thoughts about people’s actions and reactions in the context of festivals and celebrations, including the emotions that are associated with those events.

The finding that *dùndún* musicians approach expression through imagery and their felt emotion is similar to the findings of other studies (see, for example, Woody & McPherson 2010:411–414, for a brief overview of performers’ approaches to expressivity). By and large, *dùndún* performers think in terms of emotions and are able to replicate them with or without the context of a physical event. The musicians also understood each emotion to the extent of differentiating between *orí wíwú* and happiness, which are mostly understood as synonymous in the Yorùbá culture. Moreover, the fact that the performers depict the given emotions distinctively and with ease supports the notion that basic emotions are easier to express in music in comparison to complex emotions (Juslin & Laukka 2004; Juslin & Timmers 2010; Juslin 2013).

6.3 Phase two: emotions perceived and felt by the listeners

The listening session which assessed what listeners perceived and/or felt when listening to the music was carried out at three locations and involved twelve (12) *dùndún* musicians (all males) who had not yet participated in any phase of the study. Five participants were chosen from Èdè, four from Ìlọ̀ra, and three from Òşogbo. The musicians were selected as listeners because of the researcher’s access to the participants, as well as the exploratory nature of this part of the research. The consent of the participants was sought before the commencement of the experiment. The experiment in each respective town was conducted in an enclosed room that had only the participants, the researcher and the field assistant present. Data from responses were collected with the use of a questionnaire.

6.3.1 Stimuli

Five (5) of the twenty samples (one sample representing each emotion) were selected as music stimuli. Each of the stimuli was played for one minute during the listening session. Duration of stimuli in previous studies has varied depending on whether the focus of the study was on felt or perceived emotion. Whereas perception of emotion can involve excerpts as short as 1s (Bigand *et al.* 2005) or 1.6s (Paquette *et al.* 2013), judgement of felt emotions has been noted to involve durations ranging between 30 to 60s. This is because in contrast to perceived emotion, additional time may be needed for induced emotion to be realised (for an overview on duration in studies on emotion in music, see Eerola & Vuoskoski 2013:321). The duration utilised in this study is informed by the nature of *dùndún*, where language and music interact. As the stimuli involved textual content, it was decided to allow enough time to the listeners to make sense of the text and music, allowing the participants to consider all they could perceive in the acoustic properties of the music, the structure of the music and the Yorùbá text messages. Also, as felt emotion was investigated in this study, it was imperative to permit sufficient time for listeners to recognise their feelings. The stimuli were played via a Lenovo laptop, attached to two loudspeakers, which were used to create a performance ambience. Each session lasted about 1 hour.

6.3.2 Structure of questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised three sections of 30 items altogether, consisting of questions covering areas such as the participant's personal and musical profile, the perception of emotions in *dùndún* music, the participant's feeling of emotion (emotion induction), and evaluation of performance. The questionnaire was drafted in English and Yorùbá (see Appendices E and F), but the respondents made use of the Yorùbá version. The questionnaire used by each participant was eleven pages long. The first page provides research information, instructions and the participant's musical profile. The remaining ten pages were for responses (predetermined choices and free response) to the five stimuli. This means that for each stimulus the participants responded on a fresh page.

Section A of the questionnaire covered the personal profile of respondents. Participants were asked their names, their location, age, the number of years that they had been playing *dùndún*, and whether any of their family members were involved in the musical arts or *dùndún* in particular. The rationale behind these questions was to establish whether the practice of *dùndún* music is generational, as the interviews suggest.

Section B was comprised of 16 items addressing questions around expression and communication of emotions, which covers perceived and felt emotions. Respondents were asked whether they were familiar with the music, following which they were to indicate their opinion of the performers' dexterity and skilfulness ("The performers are very good at playing"; "The performers understand the techniques of playing the drums"). Six questions addressed whether emotions were induced through the music, and what emotions the participants felt. As it is possible to be neutral in terms of emotion felt, a question under this section asked the participants to indicate if they did not feel any emotion corresponding to what they heard. Another six questions looked at what emotion the respondents perceived in the music, and whether the music did or did not express anything ("The music does not 'bring something out' [express anything]"). A question also looked at dance as a reaction to *dùndún* music ("I feel like dancing to the music"). The choice of responses in this section was in form of *mi o mo* (I do not know), *boya* (maybe), *beeni* (yes) and *rara* (no). All five emotions were featured for all the questions in the second section, and the same pattern was repeated for the five stimuli. For this section respondents were asked to tick as many boxes in the questionnaire as they desired, which means that there was the possibility of more than one choice for any particular stimulus. This was done to (re)affirm their responses across all music and emotions.

Section C contained eight open-ended questions which required free responses from the respondents. Questions in the section included: "What came to your mind while listening to the music?" "Describe the feelings you had while listening to the music". "At what event would you prefer to hear the music?" "For what event is the music most suitable?". It should be noted that some of the questions relating the music to events assumed that music in the indigenous setting is mostly attached to a context.

The response format was presented in a simple manner to facilitate understanding, considering that majority of the participants could not read or write. The researcher read the questions for those who were unable to read or write, and whatever answer they chose was ticked by the researcher. Some participants gave additional information while responding to closed-ended questions in the second section. Notes of all comments and responses were made in the pages of the questionnaire. The notes were included in the analysed materials.

6.3.3 Respondents' personal and musical profile

Table 6.1 shows that 41.7% of the twelve respondents were located in Ede, 25% were based in Osoḡbo, and 33.3% were in Ilora. The mean age of respondents was 35 years (SD = 11), and the respondents' ages ranged between 21 and 53. Years of playing *dùndún* by the respondents ranged from 13 to 40 years (mean = 25 years, SD = 9). 91.67% stated that their family members were involved in the musical arts, and a single respondent did not give an answer to that particular question.

Table 6.1 Background characteristics of respondents

Respondents' age (years)

Mean (SD)	35 (11)
-----------	---------

Range	[21; 53]
-------	----------

Years of playing

Mean (SD)	25 (9)
-----------	--------

Range	[13; 40]
-------	----------

Lineage involvement in musical arts	Number	Percent
No	0	0.0
Yes	11	91.7
Not stated	1	8.3
Total	12	100

6.3.4 Results

Given that there were only 12 respondents, a number far too low for any meaningful inferential statistical tests (Van Voorhis & Morgan 2007), the study limits the presentation of results to descriptive statistics without any null-hypothesis significance testing. The overview of the results of the closed-ended section of the questionnaire is presented in frequencies and percentages, shown in barplots and tables. General discussion of results takes cognisance of the raw frequencies and percentages in addition to the open-ended responses and interview data.

From Figure 6.1 below, which shows the percentage of ‘yes’ responses to emotional expressions across corresponding questions, it can be seen that respondents were quite successful in identifying the performers’ intended emotion expression. Descriptively, the frequency of affirmation is high on each emotion rating of the music corresponding to the question related to the intended emotion, but not as high in other music stimuli. Only fear showed a low accuracy rating of 25% for fear music. The question of whether the music sounds like anger had a 66.7% affirmative rating to anger music, while the question of whether happiness was perceived received 91.7% affirmative rating for happy music. *Ori wíwú* obtained 83.3% affirmative recognitions for *ori wíwú* music, and sadness had a 58.3% rating for sad music.

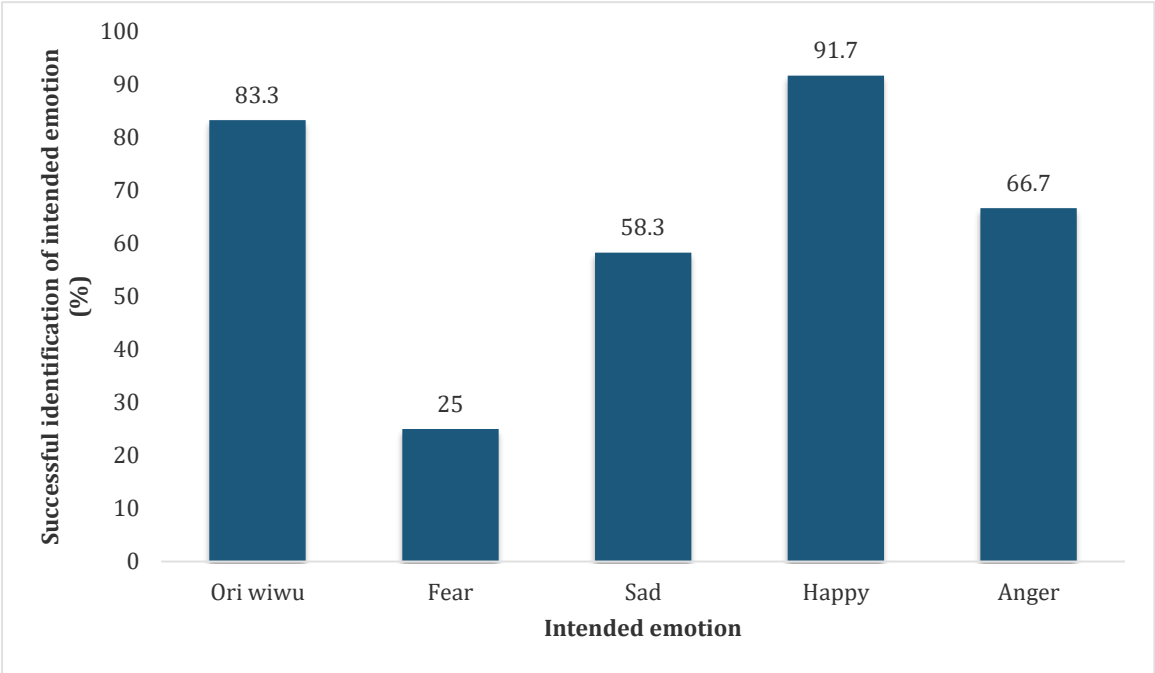


Figure 6.1 Percentage of positive (yes) responses regarding whether intended emotion was successfully expressed, grouped by emotion type

No respondent chose “I do not know” or “maybe” in response to any of the questions relating to the emotion intended by the performers, suggesting that the respondents perceived certain emotions in the music stimuli. This is further confirmed by the respondents’ agreement that the stimuli expressed something across all music, in response to the question: “The music does not ‘bring something out’ [express anything]”.

Table 6.2 features emotion choice across different categories of emotion expression as perceived by the respondents. For the question, “The music sounds like fear”, which relates to

the intended expression of fear, there were 41.7% ‘yes’ response to *orí wíwú* music, 66.7% for sad, and 25% for fear music. Anger had the highest percentage of 83.3%, while happy music is rated lowest at 8.3% in response to the question relating to fear. The question relating to perceived happiness (“The performers played happy music”) generated a positive affirmation of 91.7% for happy music, 50% for *orí wíwú*, 41.7% for sad music and 33.3% for anger music. Interestingly, fear music is highly rated (91.7%) as an expression of happiness. Unlike fear music which is rated as being perceived as positive emotions (91.7% each for happiness and *orí wíwú*), anger and sadness are not perceived in positive terms, as can be seen in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Emotion choice across different categories (perceived)

Emotion perceived	Related question on emotion	% ‘yes’ responses across different categories				
		Orí wíwú	Fear	Sad	Happy	Anger
Orí wíwú	The performers played <i>iwuri</i> music	83.3	91.7	58.3	83.3	58.3
Fear	The music sounds like fear	41.7	25	66.7	8.3	83.3
Sad	The music sounds sad	25.0	8.3	58.3	8.3	58.3
Happy	The performers played happy music	50	91.7	41.7	91.7	33.3
Anger	The music sounds like anger	8.3	8.3	50	8.3	66.7

It was anticipated that questions relating to *orí wíwú* would have a high percentage of positive affirmation across all emotional expression categories, based on the information gathered from interviews, where participants had to explain emotions such as happiness and anger in relation to *orí wíwú*. True to this expectation, whereas there was 83.3% decoding accuracy for *orí wíwú* music, there were misattributions regarding perception of *orí wíwú* across the music representing the other emotions. Happy and fear music are categorised as performers’ intention to convey *orí wíwú* at the respective percentages of 83.3% and 91.7%, while sad and anger music have 58.3% each. The high percentage of perception of fear music as *orí wíwú* is not surprising: the tendency to relate fear to *orí wíwú* could be attributed to the content of each emotional expression, where *orí wíwú* and fear music of the ensemble whose music was used

as stimuli was constituted mainly of *oríkì*. This could also explain why happiness was perceived in fear music. It is therefore likely that the listeners simply relate *oríkì* to *orí wíwú*, as findings in the previous chapter suggest. While the ratings of *orí wíwú* across all emotions gives the idea that it encompasses other emotions, that there was 83.3% perception of *orí wíwú* in happy music indicates a general propensity to associate positive emotions with *orí wíwú*. None of the respondents chose ‘maybe’ as a response in the questions relating to emotion perceived.

Six questions were directed at emotions felt through the music stimuli: five of the questions addressed the five emotions under study, while one question was posed to confirm whether any emotion was felt at all. Descriptive statistics, detailing the extent to which listeners felt the emotions expressed in the music (Table 6.3), show that 91.7% feel happiness in response to the intended happy music, 66.7% report having *orí wíwú* in response to the corresponding music, and half of the respondents (50%) reported they feel sad in sad music; 50% anger is also recorded for anger music, while fear has a very low rating of 16.7%. The result of participants’ felt emotion is interesting because, while all the respondents reported feeling happy to *orí wíwú* music, only 66.7% expressed a feeling of *orí wíwú* to *orí wíwú* music. Also, while 83.3% feeling of happiness was reported for the respective fear and anger music, happy music did not generate any high percentages of felt anger or fear emotion (8.3% each). No feeling of anger was reported in reaction to *orí wíwú* and fear music. While anger was barely felt to happy music (8.3%), sad and anger music generated the emotion of anger (41.7% and 50.3% respectively).

Table 6.3 Emotion choice across different categories (felt)

Emotion felt	Related question on emotion	% ‘yes’ responses across different categories				
		Orí wíwú	Fear	Sad	Happy	Anger
Orí wíwú	The music makes my head swell (<i>orí wíwú</i>) while listening to it	66.7	83.3	58.3	91.7	66.7
Fear	The music makes me fearful while listening to it	8.3	16.7	58.3	8.3	50
Sad	The music makes me sad while listening to it	16.7	16.7	50	8.3	8.3
Happy	The music makes me feel happy while listening to it	100	83.3	50	91.7	83.3
Anger	The music makes me angry while listening to it	0	0	41.7	8.3	50.3

Ori wíwú and happy emotions being highly rated across all the music performed indicates there is some consistency between the frequency reports and the interview accounts, where *ori wíwú* is associated with all emotions, and happiness is commonly reported. Again, except for fear music, the distinction between negative and positive emotions is clearly indicated in the responses of felt emotion. Distribution of percentages also shows the low ratings of feeling sadness compared to other emotions. As can be seen in the table, while 50% reported feeling sad to sad music, other music stimuli were rated even lower, pointing towards the propensity not to associate sadness with *dùndún* music.

A consideration of the question relating to dance (“I feel like dancing to the music”) as shown Figure 6.2 indicates that, by percentage, dance is more associated with *ori wíwú*, fear and happy music than with anger and sad music. 75% of respondents reported they felt like dancing to *ori wíwú* music. Fear music also has a 75% positive response, and 91.7% of participants reported feeling like dancing for happy music. Anger music obtained a 58.3% positive response, while sad music falls midway at 50%. The results support the notion that movement to music in the form of dance is associated with positive feelings (for example, Madison 2006; see also Zentner *et al.* 2008). In the case of fear, however, an explanation may be found in the incidence of *oríkì* in fear stimulus, where *oríkì* is associated with *ori wíwú* and thus a positive reaction, such as dance.

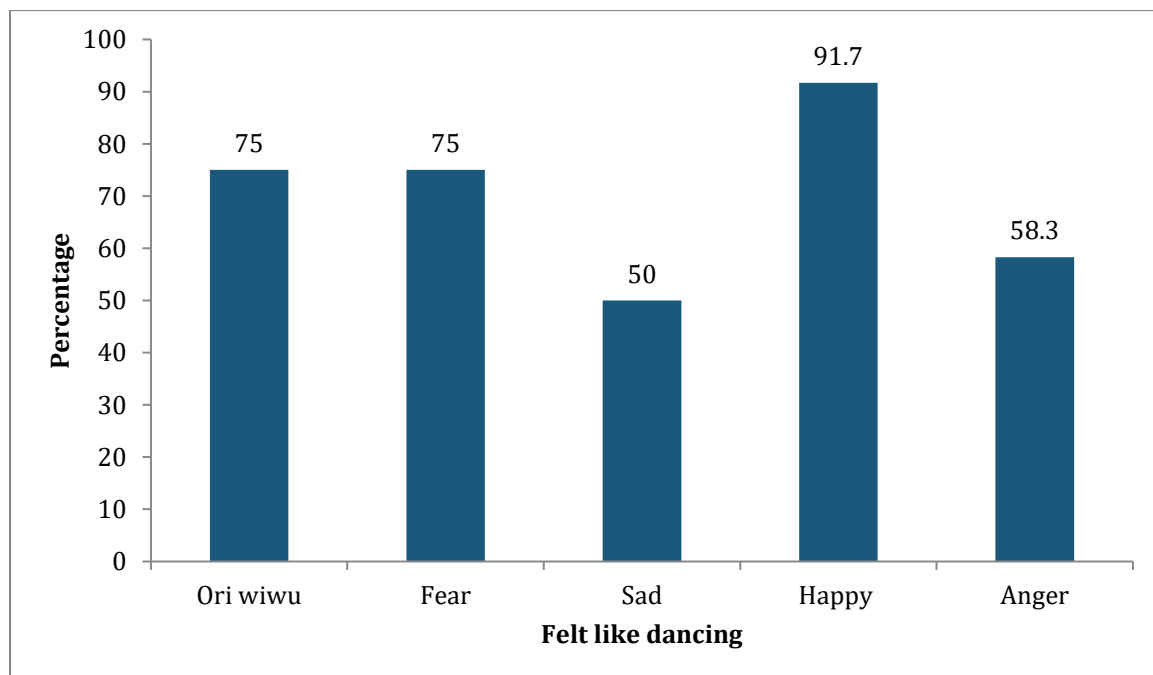


Figure 6.2 Percentage of ‘yes’ responses regarding whether respondents felt like dancing, grouped by music type

All respondents indicated a ‘yes’ response that the performers are good at playing the *dùndún*, and that they understood the techniques of playing the drum (questions 2 and 3 of questionnaire, Section B). There was also a unanimous response amongst the respondents that the music expresses something and that they at least had an emotional reaction to the music (questions 9 and 16).

6.3.5 General discussion

By and large, the results show that *dùndún* performers can express emotions effectively. In agreement with existing research (for example, Juslin 2000; Gabrielsson & Juslin 2003; Timmers & Ashely 2007; Laukka *et al.* 2013; Paquette *et al.* 2013), it has been demonstrated here that there is successful communication between performers and listeners, given the high level of accuracy in emotional decoding between the intended and the decoded emotions. However, ratings of induced emotion appear to be lower in comparison to perceived emotion, except for happy music (which appears consistent). This exception is perhaps not surprising, seeing as *dùndún* musicians regularly say, *Ibi ti o ba dun ni dùndún ti n dun* (‘*Dùndún* drum sounds where there is happiness’), implying that *dùndún* is naturally related to feelings of happiness. The difference in the ratings of induced and perceived emotion in this study confirms the positions of some authors that induced and perceived expression are conceptualised and processed differently (Gabrielsson 2002; Juslin & Laukka 2004; Evans & Schubert 2008; Zentner *et al.* 2008). Happiness, sadness and anger appear more easily discerned than fear. This is similar to the findings of other studies, where the decoding accuracy of fear was lower than for other emotions such as happiness and sadness (for example, Kallinen 2005; Paquette *et al.* 2013). Whereas perceived and induced fear was rated low in fear music, they have a somewhat higher rating for anger music. Even with different analytical methods, the overlap of fear and anger confirm previous findings (Eerola & Vuoskoski 2011). From the results obtained from 116 subjects (university students), where fear and anger were correlated with each other, Eerola and Vuoskoski (2011:34) suggest that ‘these two emotion concepts might not be easily distinguishable in the context of music’. Also, the relationship between fear and anger as depicted in the two-dimensional space of the valence-arousal model (Watson & Tellegen 1985; Russell & Barrett 1999) is reflected in the responses obtained in this study. Unlike the results of Eerola and Vuoskoski (2011), where anger also received high rating for the moderate example of fear music, anger has a low rating for fear music in this study.

The high rating for fear in anger music was explained in the discussion session following the experiment. There participants explained anger music as relating to *Égúngún* music (a type of music linked with fear and anger as reflected in the representation of the emotions, in which ensembles C and D share the same content and *Égúngún*-associated musical style). The explanation given by the participants indicates a tendency to relate each piece of music to situations before their judgement on the music, thereby showing the interplay between music and situation, and their role in emotion perception (Gabrielsson 2011).

Orí wíwú as an emotion coined from the Yorùbá language is somewhat different in expression. Whereas the other emotions are construed either in positive or negative terms (for example, having same emotional content for anger and sadness as distinct from the content of happiness in the expression of the emotions), *orí wíwú* takes many forms depending on how, where and for what it is interpreted. For example, if applied in an *Égúngún* festival context, *orí wíwú* may relate to anger; in a house-warming ceremony it is associated with happiness, while at a graveyard it will be associated with sadness. Interview accounts and the questionnaire survey suggest that even though *orí wíwú* has some negative emotions (such as anger and fear) attached to it, it mostly relates to positive emotions. Arousal level of *orí wíwú* implied as high in interview accounts could, however, not be determined quantitatively. This was because the arousal levels of emotions were not tested. Regardless of its difference from or similarity to other emotions, *orí wíwú* is also easily expressed and decoded, perhaps because of its connection to *oríkì* (which could also explain why fear and happiness emotions are associated with *orí wíwú* in the listening experiment).

The experiments show that indigenous music can be performed without an event context, but at the same time they also show the importance of that context. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, questions directed at the musicians' thought processes from the time of the instruction to the point of presentation show that the drummers make use of a scenario or context approach, where they conjure up imagery or scenes that can be related to the given emotions. The findings that the context is an important factor especially when comparing live performance with recorded music is similar to the findings of Coutinho and Scherer (2017), in that the performance settings make a contribution to induction of emotion in music. The scenario or context conceived by *dùndún* musicians is worth mentioning, because the complexity associated with adequate interpretation of emotional terms has been noted in the literature (Scherer 1995; Juslin 1997a). As stated by Juslin, a scenario or context approach has been

suggested by some researchers, but the criticism is that the method might make generalisation of results difficult because of its narrowness (Juslin 1997:413a). It is interesting that *dùndún* musicians employed the method without any specific instruction or cue from the researcher, which indicates that the method could be relevant in emotional communication studies in general. Furthermore, the fact that *dùndún* musicians conjure up thoughts before the rendition of emotional terms indicates that they *consciously* think about their performance and its emotional impact. In other words, they have expressive intentions (as also indicated in the interviews), contrary to the notion that ‘musicians do not consciously think in these terms’ (Juslin 1997a:414). One possible explanation for the approach adopted by the musicians could be the utility of *dùndún* amongst the Yorùbá and its undeniable relation to context. The communities, being part of an oral culture, could also influence the method. This is because the performance is mostly based on improvisation and not on a musical score, which would mean that the performers would be focused on, for instance, interpretation.

Effective communication in *dùndún* requires that the encoder and decoder have a clear and shared channel of communication, which may be influenced by semantics or prosody as stated in the previous chapter. Similar to the associations made during the emotional expression experiments, some listeners refer to anger music as warfare music, while others associate it with *Égúngún* music, which they constantly associate with agitation, energy and force. Happy music is called *àlùjò* (‘dance beat/rhythm’) and it is linked to ceremonies such as those of naming, weddings, the burial of an old person and other cultural festivals. Referring to happy music as *àlùjò* is also consistent with the interview accounts in the previous chapter. The music used as fear stimulus was perceived as *ìlù ìtúfò* (‘announcement of death’), a perception which perfectly depicts what the performers described as the thought behind the representation of the emotion. The music stimuli are not only associated with events but are also perceived in gendered terms. For example, happy music was referred to as *ilu obirin* (‘music for women’), because women are associated with dance, and dance with happiness. To further illustrate perception of music as expressive of gender, a participant stated that ‘female music is soft and solemn, but male music is forceful and energetic’. The practice of assigning male-female meaning to music is similar to the respective findings of Watt and Ash (1998) and Tagg (2006). The perception of *dùndún* simply exemplifies semantic and/or prosodic associations and perception of music using basic acoustic properties and cultural experience.

Respondents not only perceive the music in relation to context or gender, but also agree that the music stimuli can evoke emotional responses. Free responses to the questionnaire indicate that listeners tend to talk about their feelings, and that other possible emotions that can be evoked through the same music stimulus in another individual. For example, a two-way interpretation was given to rebellious or conspiratorial music meant to taunt in order to evoke anger in a context of conflict. For one party (the drummer, or another person whose side a drummer takes), it evokes happiness, and for the other party being taunted, anger is induced. This shows that the individual listener, as well as the context, is a factor in emotional communication in music (Juslin *et al.* 2008; Liljeström *et al.* 2013). Regarding respondents' subjective feelings in response to the music, some report that they feel the music as if the performers were referring to them. For example, a participant stated he felt like 'throwing something at the ensemble' while listening to the sad music, because the rebellious music touched him. The low rating of fear in perceived and induced emotion, as well as the rating of anger and sadness in felt emotions in the predetermined-choice section suggests that not only fear but negative emotions as a whole are rarely associated with *dùndún*.

Worthy of mention is the role of visual mental imagery in the expression and evocation of emotion in *dùndún* music. In a similar manner as the musicians who conjure up imagery associated with different performance contexts during the rendition of each respective emotion, listeners also invoke imagery and scenarios to discern emotions. The images conjured up do not only relate to the perception of emotion, but also transform into emotional experiences that are at once personal and communal. For example, a respondent stated that he imagined the burial ceremony of his father while listening to sad music. This imagery evokes sadness in him because of his father's demise, but at the same time he feels happy to see many people come pay their last respects as an indication of his father's good character. This account is similar to the report of the lead drummer of ensemble C. For fear music a respondent reported: 'When I hear the music, I think of war. *Égúngún* music is ... fear came to my mind. It feels like someone mighty; a powerful warrior is coming. I have a scary feeling like there is war ... but we are only celebrating [*Égúngún* festival]'. Another respondent says of *orí wíwú*: 'I picture a throne, a king and his chiefs. Then the drummers playing at his side. They are celebrating like it is a coronation. I see everyone dancing. It makes my head swell and I am moved to dance ... I am dancing...'. The accounts of the performers and the listeners suggest that individual and collective experiences form the basis of the imagery involved in expression and evocation of

emotion in *dùndún* music. However, while images associated with negative emotions often relate to the individual's personal experiences within a particular context, positive emotions were found to be more associated with the scenery of the imagery conjured up. Whereas there are similarities in the participants' perception of the music in terms of the associations made, the emotions felt are much more personal to each individual. In other words, everyone creates meaning to a certain music according to their personal encounter with the music.

In addition to visual imagery, episodic and semantic memory are also involved in the listeners' reported affect as triggered by the musical stimuli. For example, mention was made of remembering ancestors and departed relations, including the nostalgic feelings brought about while listening to *orí wíwú* music. As the stimulus for *orí wíwú* music is slow in tempo, someone remembered the style of royal beats and the pride that comes with playing for kings and chiefs, which consequently moved him. Two of the subjects mentioned that all the music stimuli made them remember the importance of Yorùbá culture, and the music aroused in them a feeling of pride and love for the culture. In the course of listening to anger music, some participants recalled their personal experiences while drumming for some *Égúngún*. During 'happy' music, someone reported feeling happy and proud, as he remembered a certain dance style his wife had once performed for her in-laws. Although recollection or memory does not necessarily mean emotion can be evoked, reports and emotion terms used by the subjects as they narrate their experiences indicate not only that they recall events, but that they also feel some emotions associated with the event. These accounts reflect the induction mechanism of episodic memory, which is triggered when music aids recollection of past events (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin 2013a). The various emotions perceived and felt through associations with events confirms Juslin's speculation that music emotions (beyond the basic emotions) most likely involved associative coding (Juslin 2013b:9). Whereas Juslin only mentions this in relation to emotional expression and perception, the results of the present study suggest that associative coding is also related to induced emotions.

It is speculated here that the use of forced-choice response had an effect on the results. Even though it has its advantages, the closed-ended response system has been critiqued because of the limitations it places on music-emotion studies including, among other things, the possibility that the 'predetermined choices might influence the participant to respond along the provided categories' (Zentner & Eerola 2010:193). In other words, one of the problems of forced-choice methodology is the likelihood that the available emotion terms fail to capture the range of

emotions which may be perceived or induced. Some researchers cater for this limitation by allowing participants to freely describe their feelings verbally (Gabrielsson 2010, 2011), or by obtaining and combining both closed- and open-ended responses (Juslin 1997c; Zentner *et al.* 2008). The aforementioned limitation and its effect are noted in this study. Whereas the second section of the questionnaire gives options of only five emotional terms, thereby restricting the respondents' alternatives in terms of what they perceive and feel, the open-endedness of the free-response section generates other emotions beyond the given five. The results also appear to have been influenced by order effects, given that the excerpts were presented in the same order for all the participants. In retrospect, experimental materials should have been presented to the participants either in a random order or through some other ordering methods such as the Latin square (<https://dictionary.apa.org/latin-square>). The order-effects influence might be minimal as the experiments took place in different locations, and the participants were neither pre-informed about each excerpt, nor were they privy to what each excerpt set out to test. However, it is probable that the listeners' responses were to some extent shaped by the order of presentation of the materials, especially for results collected from participants in the same location and who had listened to the excerpts at the same time. By listening together in the same sitting, an individual's response might have been influenced by another.

The occurrence of other emotions in the study shows that many emotions can be recognised in music. It is also an indication that the 'unique impressions of individual listeners' are a valid indicator of emotional expression alongside the degree of perception accuracy among listeners (Juslin 2013b:2). Free response also allows respondents to record the different emotions they felt during the music, as well as the reasons behind the arousal, which feature factors ranging from musical to extra-musical. Responses show that more than one (and probably unrelated) emotions are plausible and could be experienced by an individual in a single musical episode (see also Hunter *et al.* 2008, 2010; Gabrielsson 2010, 2011; Juslin *et al.* 2011). For example, some respondents report a feeling of *orí wíwú* during anger music because of the energetic nature of the music; some said they feel sad because of the content of the sad music, but happy about the manner of rendition in general, including the choice of the instruments used by the ensemble. This illustrates not only that mixed emotions can be aroused through a single musical episode, but also that respondents process different information in the music and the performance as informed by their auditory and visual perceptions. Other responses relating to the performance include being *moved*, happy and *enthralled* because of the musicians' dexterity

and technique of playing; and the feeling of *pride* in understanding the drum language. A respondent says of the *iyá ilù* drummer that ‘the way he twists his hand makes my head swell because he was not just playing “straight”’. His mention of playing ‘straight’ means ‘playing without expression’, an indication of the importance of expressivity to *dùndún* musicians, and the contribution of expressive music to emotional reaction. Other factors not related to the music or its performance were also noted. For instance, some of the subjects recorded happiness about seeing musicians similar to them, whom they referred to as ‘family’. In addition, some state that just being drummers contributed to their feelings: ‘it is inevitable for an *Àyàn* offspring to hear the drum and be moved’ says one respondent. Responses relating to pedigree or profession confirm the previous chapter’s interview accounts of the role of identity in evocation of emotion among the Yorùbá. They also reflect the suggestion that music expresses and builds identity (Becker 2001; Folkestad 2002; Martin 2006).

It has been noted that the type of instrument used in emotional expression can influence listeners’ emotional ratings (Behrens & Green 1993; Gabrielsson 1999b; Hailstone *et al.* 2009; Paquette *et al.* 2013). It is therefore possible that the nature of *dùndún*, as an instrument capable of imitating speech tone and rhythm, contributes to high decoding accuracy in this study. Further research on other indigenous musical instruments could shed more light on emotional communication in indigenous settings and the influence of musical instruments. In addition, the use of audio-visual recordings for the experiment could also positively contribute to the ratings of perceived and felt emotion, as have been found in studies that visual cues (including gestures) largely influence the expression and perception (Behne & Wöllner 2011; Vuoskoski *et al.* 2016) as well as the induction of emotions (Coutinho & Scherer 2017).

While it can be said that the evaluations of performances and subsequent responses were influenced by the respondents being musicians, studies have nonetheless shown that discrimination and evaluation of emotions (especially the basic emotions) in performance, as well as emotional responses to music, have no relation with musicianship (Juslin 1997a; Bigand *et al.* 2005; Vieillard *et al.* 2008; Juslin 2013b:10). It appears that the success of communication – not considering the nature of the respondents or the musical instrument involved – was shaped by the channel through which the emotions were conveyed and decoded: a shared culture which makes it possible to connect emotions with events or performance context. It can thus be deduced from the performers and listeners’ use of the same approach to encoding and decoding

of emotion that socio-cultural experience has a role to play in the communication of emotions (see Juslin 2013b:9–10).

6.4 Discussion of qualitative and quantitative findings using the theoretical frameworks

The findings thus far have demonstrated that emotional communication in *dùndún* can be discussed using the ideas presented in Juslin's (2009b) lens model and the reciprocal feedback model (Hargreaves *et al.* 2005). The findings are further elaborated in the light of some elements of the BRECVEMA model (Juslin 2013a), Koelsch's principles (2015), and embodied music cognition.

Communication of emotion as presented in the lens model involves three important elements: the performer, the listener and the expressive cues that are generated through performance. The basic principle is that successful communication is determined through four indices: achievement, cue weight, matching and consistency. Similarly, the basic premise of the reciprocal feedback model is that musical communication is a function of three determinants: the people involved in the communication, the music and the context of engagement with music. Hence, while the interaction between the performer, the music and the situation give rise to a performance, the response elicited from the performance exists as an interplay between the listener, the music and the context. This implies that a discourse on the communication of emotion will include a performer, a listener, the channel of communication and the context or situation in which the communication takes place, ultimately determining the success of the communication. In the case of *dùndún*, the key players in the communication process include the communicating individuals (i.e. the performer and the listener), the channel of communication (that is the path shared by the communicating parties) and the content of the communication (which is the affect that is being communicated), as well as the tools of communication.

The tools of communication in *dùndún* include the performance's expressive cues in the lens model. These cues are not only what the performers utilise in encoding the emotions, but also what the listeners use in decoding. They are identified as proverb, *àlùjọ́*, body movement, *oríkì* and other factors both musical and extra-musical (hereafter referred to as PABOO). Given that some of these elements are a product unique to the Yorùbá, it can be said that these tools are made available to the performers (and the listeners) through their culture. Indeed, that *dùndún*

music makes use of tools derived from the culture as well as acoustic cues such as tempo and timbre suggest the presence of universal as well as cultural cues (see Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Laukka *et al.* 2013). *Dùndún* listeners also relate to these tools as used by performers, because of a mutual communication pact; it can thus be said that the culture is the channel of communication. It is assumed that the context or situation of music listening has an impact, because the listener has something in common with either the type of music, the performer, or both. Hence, the context factor noted in the reciprocal feedback model is here replaced with culture.

Closely related to the reciprocal feedback model is the embodied cognition theory, which also stresses a form of reciprocal action between the performer and the listener as influenced by the environment. The findings from ethnographic observation in the previous chapters and the findings from the experiment indicate not only the importance of performance context but also the ongoing interaction between performers and listeners. For example, it was stated in Chapter Three that one of the criteria for the choice of performers-participants at the observed cultural festivals was the listeners' evaluation of the performance, as the listeners' actions and reactions have a direct bearing on the performance. The comments, clapping, dancing and so on, made by the audience, guide the performers actions and reactions. The reactions of the performers in turn influence the listeners' responses, thereby establishing a process of creation and recreation of responses from both parties. The mutual and participatory process also shows in the *àlùjò* ethnography excerpt given in Chapter Five, in which the drummer and the listener engage in a give-and-take process while synchronising their movements and behaviours with one another. Cross (2014) refers to this communicative process within the context of entrainment theory discussed in Chapter Two. Embodied cognition also reflects in the performers use of body movement and gestures which the audience overtly or covertly simulate. Another example of a 'dynamic interaction between performers, listeners, and their shared environment' (Bishop & Goebel 2018:2) as emphasised by the embodied theory is manifested in the experiment where it was reported that in producing the given emotions, the performers conjure up imagery and scenario which are tied to a context. Listeners also use a context approach in deciphering the expressed emotion, as well as determining their felt emotions.

Figure 6.3 illustrates the findings of this study in terms of the ongoing interaction among the performer, the listener and the culture, as well as the tools of inducing emotion and the resultant emotion. As can be seen, the culture incorporates elements shared between the performer and

the listener such as language, the music and the context of *dùndún* performance. It is through this channel that emotional content is encoded and decoded. In other words, while *oríkì*, proverbs, *àlùjò* and other communication tools deriving from the culture are used in expressing and arousing emotions (encoding), the listeners recognise and react to them (decoding) using the same communication pact. For example, the context shared by both parties plays a large role in what the performer expresses as well as what the listener decodes. The context is therefore extensively implicated in the type of emotion evoked by *dùndún* music.

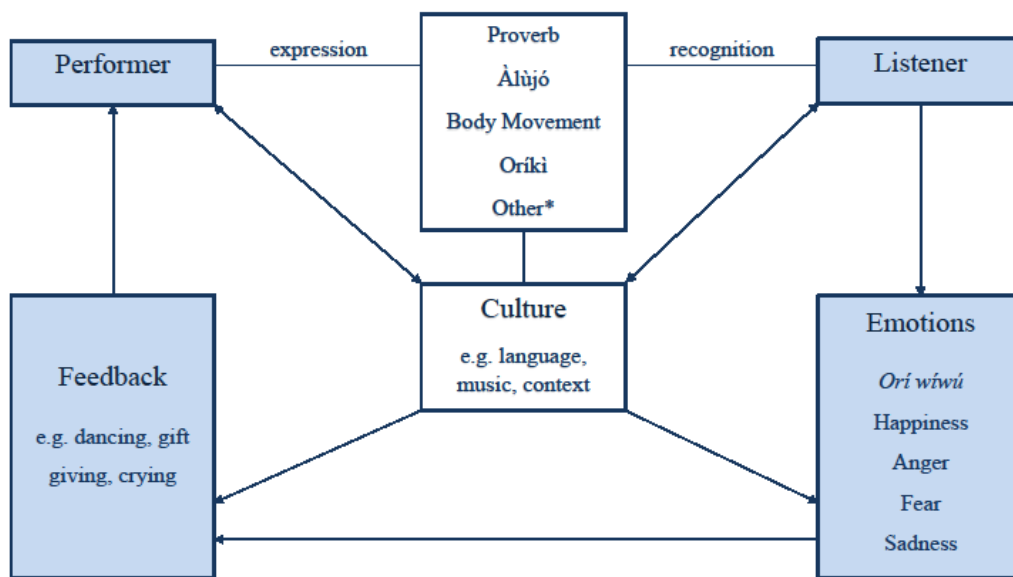


Figure 6.3 Interaction between *dùndún* performer and listener through culture. *Other musical and extra-musical elements.

The culture is implicit in the act of musical communication, hence reference to culture can also be in form of the values and a belief system being shared by the performer and the listener. For instance, a performer who knows the importance of *oríkì* in identity construction uses it on a listener. In turn, the listener (whose identity has been shaped by the culture) becomes happy or proud as a result of being identified with a name, a family and root provided by an *oríkì*. A listener consciously or subconsciously understands the meaning behind a performer focusing and directing a smile or laughter at him/her and shows his/her understanding by, for example, giving money to the performer. The performer in turn understands the expression of the listener that he/she enjoys the music. The musician's ability to perform a listener's preferred music in any context, a listener's familiarity with and liking for a certain kind of music, as well as non-

verbal communication such as body movement utilised in the communication process, all derive from a mutually recognised and acknowledged system between the performer and the listener. Other examples reflecting a common path can be found in the musical elements and techniques used by *dùndún* performers, and as understood by the listeners. A case in point is *ìjálù* (literally meaning ‘breaking the drum’), a technique of short and sharp strokes with the hand and stick. *Ìjálù* is used in the climax of a performance and at its perception a listener/dancer makes certain movements in the form of jerking the body, where dance movement is taken as an index of happiness. That the performers and listeners utilise the same PABOO cues in expression and recognition respectively resonates with the idea of cue weight featured in the lens model.

The *dùndún* performer can be seen as the mediator between the music and the listener. They are an important facilitator in people’s experiences with the music. The performer brings the music (in the form of *oriki*, *àlùjò*) to the listener, while at the same time bringing the listener into the music. Through the believed inherent knowledge from *Àyàn*, coupled with knowledge gained through participatory experience, observation, imitation and modelling, the *dùndún* musician incorporates expressiveness into his music, which could come in the form of techniques such as *ìrélù*, *ìjálù*, *ohùn arò*, *àfikún* and others. *Dùndún* musicians not only express emotion. Through the use of PABOO they also contribute to evoking emotion in their listeners. They are aware that their intention has been fulfilled once they receive feedback in the form of gift giving from the listeners and/or dancing. The feedback thus indicates the success of the performers in communicating emotions. This is referred to as achievement by Juslin (2009b).

The role played by a listener in their recorded emotions, whether felt or perceived, has been noted several times in the literature (Gabrielsson 2011; Liljeström *et al.* 2013). In the case of *dùndún* listeners, an individual’s familiarity with the music, cultural background, existing mood, evaluation of the performer, and preference were all found to contribute to listeners’ responses, in addition to the relevance of the music to the situation of the individual. For example, *àwídùn* or *ohùn arò* used in *oríkì* or proverb works in the arousal of sadness because of its suitability to a context of burial and the individual. While the context of engagement with *dùndún* music has been noted to play some major role in the emotions aroused, findings also suggest that the context is in some way also important for perception of emotion. For example, as discovered in the response to the experiment, listeners apply the same scenario/context strategy to discern what is being conveyed by the performers using the same strategy. Thus, as

a result of enculturation and shared experiences of both the performers and the listeners, the listeners are able to recognise anger music as such because it was related to *Égúngún* by both parties, and *àlùjò* music as happiness because they relate it to dance. This can be related to what Juslin (2009b) referred to as matching, which is the extent of similarity in the cues passed between the performer and the listener. Moreover, the fact that the performer uses PABOO to get through to the listener, who recognises them and reacts by giving feedback to the performer in form of dancing or gift giving, suggests some level of consistency in cue utilisation between the performer and listener. This therefore fulfils Juslin's (2009b) consistency requirement and hints that emotion is effectively communicated in the world of *dùndún*.

Besides seeing the data in the light of Juslin's (2009b) lens model, the reciprocal feedback of Hargreaves *et al.* (2005) and the embodiment theory, some of the actions and reports of the participants are also related to the mechanisms of contagion, aesthetic judgement, evaluative conditioning, use of visual imagery and episodic memory of the BRECVEMA model (Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Juslin 2013a). Added to these mechanisms are the social function, familiarity and resonance, as well as the memory and evaluation mechanisms outlined by Koelsch (2015). To give a short illustration of each of the mechanisms, contagion/empathy or resonance is likely activated when listeners laugh in imitation of the laughter of *dùndún* performers, which was probably caused by the happiness felt by a performer in seeing how a dancer reacts to his music. Similarly, extension of dancing among groups of listeners may be attributed to emotional contagion or emotional resonance. Another example is the use of *ohùn arò* (literally meaning voice of sadness). Juslin & Västfjäll (2008) suggest that a listener likely imitates the emotions they perceive in the music in the contagion process. In a similar vein, a listener to *dùndún*, such as the offspring of a deceased person in a burial context, likely imitates *ohùn arò*. This assumption is even more plausible if one accepts the premise that the human voice and music share the same emotional codes of expression (Juslin & Laukka 2003). Hence, a person may readily associate with *ohùn arò* of *dùndún*, a term that derives from the Yorùbá language and is mostly employed in vocal forms of music. Instances of episodic memory were reflected in the report on the experiment, where respondents mentioned feeling the same emotions they had felt during the burial of a deceased relative, a dancing wife and a royal celebration. It is also reflected in the accounts of the performers who 'make [listeners] reminisce', if they want to make them feel sad in a context of a burial. The aesthetic judgement/evaluation principle also seems to have an impact on the emotional response to *dùndún*. For instance, a listener who

becomes enthralled as a result of the performers' dexterity makes a judgement first, before the arousal of the emotion. In relation to emotions that are likely to be aroused by these mechanisms, it can be said that both positive and negative emotions can be aroused, although this depends on the interdependent factors of music, context, performer and music. However, it is safe to say that the sad emotion evoked by *dùndún* is largely memory-based, stemming from pain of loss and nostalgia, while contagion probably relates more to positive emotions.

Table 6.4 presents the combined findings of the research, as influenced by the theoretical models. The tools of communication are a combination sociocultural cues and psychoacoustic properties (except for body movement which does not involve psychoacoustic elements). The first column of the table is influenced by the lens model in terms of cues used by performer and listeners to encode and decode emotions respectively. The symbols beside each of the emotions likely to be perceived and/or aroused through *dùndún* music, which appear in the second column, represent the input of the performer, listener or context into the process of communication. The symbols are influenced by the reciprocal feedback model. The presence of one or two symbols for any emotion does not imply that the other factor(s) are or are not involved in the process. The symbols only represent the most dominant element(s). The third column involves the BRECVEMA model and emotion principles.

Table 6.4 Findings in the study in relation to the models

Tools of communication	Likely emotion	Likely mechanism/evocation principle involved
Proverb	Happiness $\emptyset \infty \blacksquare$ Sadness $\infty \blacksquare$ Anger $\emptyset \infty \blacksquare$	Memory, social function, understanding
Àlùjọ	Orí wíwú $\emptyset \blacksquare$ Happiness $\emptyset \blacksquare$	Contagion, conditioning
Body movement	Happiness \emptyset	Contagion
Oríkì	Orí wíwú $\emptyset \infty \blacksquare$ Happiness $\emptyset \infty \blacksquare$ Sadness $\infty \blacksquare$ Nostalgia $\emptyset \infty \blacksquare$ Fear \blacksquare Anger \blacksquare Pride $\infty \blacksquare$	Memory, contagion, understanding, social function, evaluative conditioning
Other (e.g. timbre, tempo, performer's skill)	Happiness $\emptyset \infty$ Orí wíwú $\emptyset \infty$ Sadness $\emptyset \infty$	Aesthetic judgement, social function, understanding
\emptyset = performer ∞ = listener \blacksquare = context		

6.5 Conclusion

Dùndún music is implicated in the music-emotion relationship to a large degree. As an instrument representative of musical arts practice in indigenous Yorùbá communities in terms of its combination of music and poetry, and also instrumental in dance, *dùndún* music conveys emotional messages, and those who share the same communication channel with what is being encoded perceive and decode these messages. What is more, not only is the emotional message perceived, but *dùndún* also induces emotions even in the absence of festivals or other events to which felt emotions may be attributed. When the music is not directly evoking emotions, it is acting as a catalyst. For example, it aids in remembrance of past events, which in turn leads to arousal of emotions. Hence, while it can be argued that indigenous music such as *dùndún* in the human experience is better appreciated in the context of its performance, it is still important to consider how each element in such contexts contributes to the experience. From the research it is clear *dùndún* music, through the input of its performers, plays a significant role in enhancing its listeners' psychological experiences.

Chapter Seven

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the process of communication of emotion through *dùndún* music of the Yorùbá ethnic group of Nigeria. The study emanated from general questions that have been posed in music psychology such as performers' approaches to expressivity, perception and induction of emotions in music, as well as the recent demand for the inclusion of non-Western music and cross-cultural studies in order to enhance generalisation of results. The study therefore sought to expand knowledge in these areas especially as related to non-Western indigenous cultures. With ample consideration of the role of the performer in the process of emotional communication alongside the already-noted roles of the context, the music and the listener, the study further explored, through engagement with selected *dùndún* practitioners and listeners, other extra-musical information (particularly emotion) that may be inherent in *dùndún* music. Hence analysis of data concentrated on providing answer to the primary research question which was:

How is emotion communicated through and in *dùndún* music?

The following were the sub-questions that guided the exploration of the main research question:

- How do *dùndún* performers learn expressivity?
- What strategies are employed by *dùndún* musicians in approaching expressivity during performance?
- What are the emotion-inducing tools utilized by *dùndún* musicians in communicating emotions to their listeners?
- What observable and self-reported emotional responses does *dùndún* music elicits in the listeners?
- How is successful emotional communication indicated within the *dùndún* performance tradition?

The objectives of the study were (i) to investigate, identify and describe the relationship between performers and listeners in terms of the strategies (tools) performers employ to achieve expressivity, and arouse responses from their listeners; and (ii) examine the responses elicited in the listeners of *dùndún* music.

Employing a convergent design, the study adopted a mixed method that combined primarily qualitative data with aspects of a quantitative approach (QUAL→quan). Data from *dùndún* musicians and listeners were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews, and an open and closed-ended questionnaire survey during two field trips spanning about eight months in six different locations in south-west Nigeria, namely Igbó-Orà, Ìlora, Èdè, Òşogbo, Ìpetumodù and Òyó. The use of different methods allowed for a closer view of activities in the world of *dùndún* and facilitated a substantial representation of the phenomenon under study. Concepts and theories around emotions from the relevant literature were employed and the findings of the study were subsumed under what was described as emotional communication in *dùndún* music.

7.2 Findings and conclusions

Chapter Two presented an overview of the state of affairs in the field of music-emotion in music psychology, starting with a philosophical review of the literature on music meaning in relation to emotion; this then led to a discussion of the differentiation of expression/perception, communication and induction of emotion in music psychology. These subjects and concepts provided the background for analysing the findings from interviews and the questionnaire survey in this study. Findings in this chapter point to the fact that emotion perceived and felt in response to music are a function of the music, the listener and the situation. Viewed as an aspect of a communication process, the performers are also a factor to be reckoned with, since they facilitate the performance event which gives rise to the responses. This is revealed through the lens model and the reciprocal feedback model of communication of Juslin (2009b) and Hargreaves and his colleagues (2005) respectively. This chapter also addresses communication between performers and listeners from the perspective of embodiment theory. This is necessary given the nature of *dùndún* performance that naturally occurs in live settings, which can be explained in terms of the embodiment theory, in contrast to the lens model that is useful in a recorded music context. The embodiment theory is particularly useful as it provides an alternative means to understand the performer-audience interaction within the world of *dùndún*, thereby complimenting the other models. In addition, a discussion of mechanisms underlying the induction of emotion was useful to further expand and explain the findings of the study. Also included in Chapter Two were the different theoretical approaches to studying emotion in music in order to give a complete overview of the field and account for the choice of emotions that were included in this study. A major finding of this chapter was that the literature and the

models of emotion included mainly Western music, while the dearth of cross-cultural studies and/or purely non-Western music has been a hindrance to developing the generalisation of results in the field.

The step-by-step process of data collection and analysis was presented in Chapter Three, including the list of the participants as a way of introducing them, as their voices would be presented in the subsequent chapters. Chapter Four presented the world of *dùndún* and discussed the different instruments of the *dùndún* ensemble, the socio-cultural and musical functions of the instruments, as well as the teaching-learning process and essential elements of *dùndún* performance. This chapter provided important findings such as the importance the Yorùbá placed on *òrìṣà*, which in turn influences some of the practices of performers of *dùndún* – for example, the belief that someone born into a drumming family is trained by *Àyàn*, the drum god. Highlighting some of the socio-cultural and musical functions of the *dùndún* drums indicates that the *dùndún* also transmits emotional information alongside semantic text messages. In addition, the importance of the *dùndún* tradition to the Yorùbá is evident in the utility of the drums in urban areas. This is also evident in the *dùndún* musicians' incorporation of elements such as the *àlùjò* to meet with the demands of the changing society. The finding that the learning of *dùndún* takes place through participation, modelling, observation and imitation answers the research question of how *dùndún* performers learn expressivity. Discovering what is important in the performance practices of the *dùndún* – for example knowledge of the *oríkì*, proverbs and *àlùjò* – enabled further understanding of the other questions, which were addressed in Chapters Five and Six. As references were made in the thesis to performers and listeners of *dùndún*, a section in this chapter addressed the concept of 'listener' in relation to *dùndún* performance. Various forms of listening practices in the world of *dùndún* were mentioned and a distinction was made between a performer and a listener. The purpose of this section was not to deny that *dùndún* performance involves collective participation, but to point out that, even in its participatory nature, everyone is assigned a role and a *dùndún* performer is clearly set apart from the others.

Chapters Five and Six discussed the respective qualitative and quantitative findings. Drawing mostly from the perspective of *dùndún* drummers and presented in their voices, Chapter Five indicated some of the terminology used by the drummers in describing expressivity in performance. The chapter also presented findings on the tools used by *dùndún* musicians in expressing emotion and arousing emotions in their listeners. The tools were categorised under five subheadings (PABOO) namely: proverbs, *àlùjò*, body movement, *oríkì* and other musical

and extra-musical factors such as phrase repetition, truncation or elongation of tones/syllables, tempo, dynamics as well as listeners' preference and prior mood, to mention but a few. Participants mostly reported happiness and *orí wíwú* as emotions aroused through the performance of *dùndún* music.

An important finding in this chapter reveals the similarities between *orí wíwú* and other affective states, which have been theorised in Western intellectual thought, such as 'awe', 'sublime' and 'being moved'. While it was not absolutely determined that *orí wíwú* is exactly the same as any of these affects, it is an interesting find that there could be a link between them, thus providing a comprehensive understanding of affective responses to music. Another important finding was the link between *oríkì* and *orí wíwú*, which could be explained in terms of the belief system of the Yorùbá regarding the importance of *orí* (origin, destiny; literally: head). In addition to *orí wíwú*, the chapter also outlines other emotions felt in response to *dùndún* music, with mentions of the possible elicitors of these emotions such as the *oríkì* and proverbs explained in detail later. In an effort to expand explanations on these elicitors as they are used in *dùndún* music, especially in connection with language and music, a closer look reveals that making (emotional) meaning of the *dùndún* language (and by extension, the reactions to the music) could be a function of not only semantics but also prosody (linguistic and/or musical).

The findings in Chapter Five were further confirmed in the sixth chapter, which presented the findings of the experiment. Findings in Chapter Six revealed that *dùndún* musicians adopt an awareness of context and utilise visual imagery in communicating emotions in the absence of a normal performance context. Listeners of the music also adopt the same approach, which thus enables successful communication of emotion in *dùndún* music. Using the theoretical framework as a guide, the combined findings of Chapter Five and Six indicate that the prevailing culture is a very important factor in the emotional responses evoked in and through *dùndún* performance practices.

Findings from the interviews and observation data presented in Chapter Five, and the experiment and questionnaire survey in Chapter Six, reveal that not only is emotional expression possible on *dùndún*, but that *dùndún* is also effective in arousing emotions. Hence, emotion is readily communicated in and through *dùndún* music. Based on the ideas of the lens model, the reciprocal feedback model and the embodiment theory, this study argues that communication of emotion in the world of *dùndún* entails an interaction among the performer,

the listener, the culture (which encompasses the context of performance and/or mutual language use) as well as the music. Exploring communication in *dùndún* music from the perspective of the lens and reciprocal feedback models, it can be said that each player in the communication process plays a significant role: the culture provides the performer with the PABOO tools used in communication and the listener connects with these tools because of a shared culture. As a result of social interaction and shared experience, the performer is able to use the elements of PABOO to get through to the psychological space of a listener. A listener connects with these elements through the processes of evaluation, memory, contagion, familiarity and identity, among others. When this happens, various emotions may be experienced in response to *dùndún*, including but not limited to *orí wíwú*, happiness, sadness, pride, nostalgia, anger and fear.

While it can be argued that just about any emotion may be transmitted through *dùndún* music when the same channel is involved, the study focuses only on five emotions in which three (happiness, sadness and *orí wíwú*) were chosen through interview data and observation, and the remaining two (fear and anger) were added from music-emotion studies focusing on basic emotions. Findings revealed that, of the five emotions focused on and others mentioned by the participants, positive emotions were more strongly associated with *dùndún* than negative emotions. This finding corresponds with various other findings suggesting that negative emotions are seldom felt to music (for example, Juslin & Laukka 2004; Laukka 2007; Zentner *et al.* 2008; Gabrielsson 2011; Juslin *et al.* 2011). Even in the experiment and questionnaire survey, where the emotions were linked to context, it is likely that most of the negative emotions were only perceived as such but might be experienced as positive emotions in a real performance context. An example would be the context of an *Egúngún* festival to which anger and fear were linked; if fear was perceived in the music, it is doubtful that fear was felt, considering the festive atmosphere of the occurrence of the music. But then again, if one considers sadness felt in a burial context, or the emotion felt at the announcement of a death, or if one imagines the given scenario where a performer is acting as a mediator between two fighting individuals (in which one is happy and the other is angry because of the message being transmitted on the *dùndún*), one could say that negative emotions are felt as much as positive ones. However, there is more evidence for the occurrence of happiness and *orí wíwú* than for anger, fear or sadness. In addition to the five emotions, the findings also showed the occurrence of emotions such as nostalgia, pride, admiration and enthrallment. It is thus speculated that negative emotions felt in response to *dùndún* are more context-dependent than they are music-

or performer-dependent (although arousal level of negative emotions may have more input from the performer), whereas positive emotions are influenced by the interaction of all the factors.

How is successful communication in the world of *dùndún* indicated? To the *dùndún* musician who intentionally uses PABOO to communicate emotion, the communication is successful if and when a listener gives a monetary reward, dances or gives other gifts such as clothes and drinks to the performer. To the listener, successful communication occurs when they are moved by the overall performance, which includes the process and the product of the performance. When the listeners are moved, they give some reward to the performer. This act serves as immediate feedback on the performance in general and the communicative process in particular. Successful communication is therefore determined when the intention of the performer to evoke emotions in a listener has been fulfilled, and when the expectations of the listener have been met. Money given as a reward is important in the world of *dùndún* as it not only indexes happiness on the part of the listener, but also does so for the performer: a listener gives money when they are happy or experience *orí wíwú*, a response which in turn creates happiness and *orí wíwú* in the performer. While it can be contended that giving gifts to a performer is more prescribed by cultural obligation than it is about emotion, the subjective reports of participants' feelings as well as observed dance reactions in addition to gift-giving point towards the generation of an emotional response. The argument that *dùndún* is more associated with positive feelings is well supported by the noted indices of emotional reaction, because giving money and dancing show positive feeling of enjoyment of music. Although, crying may indicate a range of emotions from happiness to sadness, it was reported as an index of sadness and *orí wíwú* in the case of *dùndún*.

This study acknowledges that viewing communication processes through these models (and largely based on the Shannon-Weaver concept of communication) is inadequate to explore the musical circumstances such as those involved in the world of the *dùndún*. As such, a different form of communication through the embodied cognition model and the communicative process theorised by Cross (2014) is considered as indicated in Chapter Two. *Dùndún* music involves a dynamic interaction between the performance, the audience and their shared environment. Such an interaction requires that each participant contribute to the performance in one form or another (dancing, clapping, gestures, verbal comments or even by-standing). The collective contribution made by each participant plays an important role in the success of the performance. As was observed during the festivals, listeners play a huge role in the product of the performance as their actions and reactions determine the quality of the performers and the

performance. These actions and reactions either encourage or discourage the performers. If encouraged, the performers increase their effort, energy and the zeal to arouse the listeners, who in turn, if further aroused, depict the reactions and represents the cycle of reciprocal actions and reactions. This process is depicted in the diagram of the ‘interaction between the performer and listener’ presented in Chapter Six, in which the performer arouses emotions in the listener who then shows the emotion through actions that serve as feedback to the performers. Communicating and sharing meaning through the process of entrainment as described by Cross (2014) was also found in the live performances where the performers and listeners not only lock into a common periodicity, but also synchronise their actions with one another. A good example of this could be found in a performance of *àlùjò* extensively described in Chapter Five, where it was deduced that performers and dancers imitated one another and possibly synchronise their emotions. Elements of ‘floating intentionality’ (Cross 2014:814) is also present in the world of *dùndún* as individuals within the same context experience the music differently. While the experience of *dùndún* may be shared, it is also personal. An example can be found in a burial performance context (of an old person) that is naturally marked by celebration. Despite its celebratory mood, which means mostly happiness for the others, for the offspring of the deceased, it is a combination of sadness, nostalgia and elements of joy. The feelings of individuals can also shift from time to time depending on the musical style being performed by the musicians. For example, within a single performance, a performer might decide to start with the *oríkì*, change to *àlùjò*, and then back to *oríkì*. In the same vein, the emotional reaction of an individual can also shift from sadness to happiness or vice versa as the *oríkì* is capable of arousing sadness, while the *àlùjò* is fundamentally attached with happiness.

In reference to the ways in which a *dùndún* performer learns expressivity, the findings show that expressivity is embedded in the overall teaching-learning process of the art, which involves imitation, observation, participation and modelling. The learning of expressivity thus takes the form of experiences garnered from these activities. In addition, the experiment which involved performance outside of any specific occasion revealed that a performer’s felt emotion was involved in expression of the emotions. This supports previous findings where musicians reported generating emotions in themselves as a strategy for expressivity (for example, Woody 2000; Lindström *et al.* 2003; Laukka 2004). One strategy used by *dùndún* musicians in generating their felt emotions and also expressing emotion was the context and/or scenario approach. This involves the performers either imagining recalling an emotion they felt in a particular situation or imagining a suitable or probable context for a performance, and them

bringing out the expression appropriate for such occasion. The impression that the context – even in its absence – is significant suggests that it is possible that the immediate context of a performance determines the expressive intentions of the *dùndún* performer. Indeed, emotion-inducing tools utilised by *dùndún* performers suggest there is ample consideration of the type of listener and context. In other words, in a performance context, the performer observes the situation and the listeners closely and uses the appropriate music or tool of emotional communication suitable for the occasion and the individual. *Oríkì*, for instance, is unique to each individual and family; consequently, a performer knows not to mix the *oríkì* of each individual, and he also knows what part of the *oríkì* to use in each situation that will arouse a certain emotion. In a similar vein, while the use of body movement can be used to regulate the prior mood of a listener in a festival context, for instance, the use of proverbs and the manipulation of timbre such as *ohùn arò* may be more suitable for a funeral context.

The performer plays a huge role in the process of emotional communication, at least as much as the other interacting factors such as the listener, the situation, and the music. For instance, if individuals in the right context listens to a poor performance of a certain kind of music to which they have a positive disposition, it is highly likely they will have a reaction which can be said to be caused by the music as influenced by the performer. The same is also plausible for music well rendered. Hence, a performer can contribute in some way to arousal, manipulation or regulation of a listener's mood alongside the contribution of the music and the context. The finding that perceptions of performers' dexterity, creativity as well as technical and expressive skills generate reactions from listeners of *dùndún* is an indicator of significance of the role of the performer in the music-emotion interaction. As such, emotion-arousing factors in the performer may include a performer's prowess, the manner of rendition of certain music, the demeanour of the performer, or even the relationship of the performer to the listener in terms of what the performer represents to the listener. That contagion or empathy may come from the performer apart from the music, as noted by Scherer (2004:245), offers further support for the role of the performer in the process of psychological engagement with music.

7.3 Limitations of the study

The study is not without its limitations and also does not claim to have produced answers that can be generalised across people or cultures. The study only contributes to the general discourse from the perspective of a small community of *dùndún* musicians and listeners. One limitation is the structure of the questionnaire, which was developed to suit the nature of the respondents,

but insufficient to capture all their possible responses to *dùndún* music. There are inherent shortcomings in the use of self-report measures of emotions in empirical studies, a few of which have been identified as the inability of listeners to explain verbally what they feel, an individual's limited awareness of their own emotions, as well as confusion of perceived with felt emotions (Gabrielsson 2002:127; Zentner & Eerola 2010:210–212).

Another limitation of the study concerns the sample size of participants. For the quantitative part of the study, the small group and the nature of their responses posed a difficulty in drawing statistically significant conclusions, hence findings are not conclusive. Although the use of a small sample size generally aided in gaining an in-depth understanding of how emotion in music is negotiated between *dùndún* performer and listener, generalisations cannot be made as this study does not claim to represent the voice of practitioners and listeners of *dùndún* in Yorùbá communities as a whole.

7.4 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of this study, and taking account of the limitations noted above, the following recommendations for further music-emotion studies are made:

- A study involving a larger number of *dùndún* performers and listeners to *dùndún* from other parts of Yorùbá communities in Nigeria should be undertaken to confirm the results of this study and draw more general inferences;
- A study focusing on the interaction between linguistic and musical prosody especially in relation to musical instruments such as the *dùndún*, which shares both literary and musical space should be undertaken. Such a study could provide a clearer understanding of perception of and reaction to *dùndún* music;
- A study focusing on other genres of music within the Yorùbá community and Nigeria at large would increase studies on non-Western music and contribute immensely to creating a balance in the field of music-emotion studies, to move the field towards more valid generalisation of results. Findings from these studies would furthermore enable comparisons between ethnic groups and/or musicians;
- Given the unique cultural ways in which the Yorùbá engage with music, future studies could explore the listening practices of the Yorùbá people, for example, by setting up and designing experimental-laboratory methods that would reflect the Yorùbá (*dùndún*) listening habits observable in live performances;

- The music-emotion field could benefit from the development of holistic model(s) which could be relevant and adequate for studies that cut across different cultures including non-Western as well as for different performance settings. The availability of such model(s) would move the field forward towards a better understanding of the uniqueness of each culture as well as commonalities across cultures. Again, such an understanding could influence valid generalisation of results;
- As findings have shown that the performer is very much implicated in the communication of emotion, empirical studies could enlighten us further on the performer as a factor in responses to music listening by focusing as much on the performer as on the other factors of listener, context and music, both in perception studies and emotion induction;
- Given that this study predominantly focuses on the use of socio-cultural cues in encoding and decoding of emotions, the use of acoustic and musical cues between *dùndún* performers and listeners should be investigated. Acoustic and musical parameters involved in the expression of the different emotions could be isolated to find possible associations between the cues and the performers' expressive intentions, as well as between the acoustic cues and listeners' judgement of *dùndún* music. The results could be compared with the findings in this study and possibly contribute to the discourse surrounding the utilisation of cultural and universal cues in emotional communication;
- Because of the limitations imposed by the use of self-reporting, more systematic study involving a combination of subjective reporting with other components of gauging emotions such as physiological responses, tendency to perform actions or expressive behaviour could shed more light on people's psychological experiences with *dùndún* and other genres of music in Nigeria;
- The classroom could benefit from a deeper understanding of indigenous knowledge systems; hence, a collaborative network between the indigenous and modern schools should be encouraged. For example, a review of the literature suggests that even though expressive skills can be taught and/or learned through modelling, verbal instruction and metaphor, among others, finding ways to translate this into expressive performance remains elusive, coupled with the fact that teaching of emotional expression is almost non-existent in classroom teaching (for example, see Karlsson & Juslin 2008). By adopting the scenario or context approach in addition to the other methods as

exemplified by the musicians in this study, teaching and learning of emotional expression in the classroom could be improved;

- It has been noted that ‘in-group advantage’ is evident in the perception of emotions (Elfenbein & Ambady 2002). In relation to music-emotion perception, in-group advantage refers to more precise understanding of music of a certain culture by people of the same culture compared with discernment of a culture’s music by people of other cultures. This is evident in a cross-cultural study of Laukka and his colleagues (2013). Such an advantage on the basis of a shared environment (culture) also manifests in this study, even though it is not a cross-cultural study. For even if people shared the same larger culture, in-group advantage could reflect how people are classified in terms of location, personality, music preference and so forth. Future studies in the music-emotion field could contribute further to the literature on the in-group advantage thesis by having people of other cultures judge *dùndún* music. The focus could also be on the people in rural areas compared to urban areas of the same culture. Furthermore, cross-cultural studies in music-emotion studies could benefit from the inclusion of different genres of indigenous music from diverse regions. Additionally, exploration of perspectives of the indigenous with Western perspectives could aid in validating previous results and theories in the field (or not), which could in turn influence generalisations.

It appears from previous findings and this study that at least recognition of emotion (if not feelings of emotion) would continue to manifest in-group advantage. Absolute universality may therefore be difficult to determine. Nevertheless, various studies in the fields of psychology, aesthetics, ethnomusicology, anthropology, biology and education continue to expand our knowledge about how music is perceived, and how it affects human experience. This study contributes to these fields by moving us a bit further towards a clearer and better understanding of how, through our enculturation, interactional and shared experience, we can make meaning of music, by understanding its effect on our actions and reactions. The findings of this study could contribute towards solving a few of the problems and controversies associated with the systematic study and understanding of two of the essential elements that define us as humans: music and emotion.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Research study information sheet and consent form

Title of research project:

Evoked responses embedded in the indigenous knowledge systems and performance practices of Yorùbá *dùndún* ensembles

Principal researcher: Durojaye Cecilia

Institution: South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.

With permission received from the Higher Degrees Committee of the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, I, Cecilia Durojaye, proceed to conduct the above stated research study.

The research project is aimed at studying different levels and aspects of interactions within *dùndún* groups and between *dùndún* performers and listeners.

The data for this study will be collected through observation and interviews and these will involve audio-visual recordings to aid analysis of the findings. As a participant, you are required to carry on with your performances normally, while the researcher observes the communications and expression of group members and may intermittently ask questions to clarify traditions and practices in which you are engaged. All information obtained is for the sole purpose of academic utility.

The research project will involve an interaction with your group for a period of sixteen weeks. During this period, the researcher intends to follow your group for outings, attend your meetings, observe and record your practices, traditions and modes of communication with the *dùndún* drums and other body languages.

The research is not an entertainment performance endeavour and does not require any extra expenditure from the participants. No monetary payments will be made by the researcher, except the payment of 'homage' as required by Yoruba tradition and custom where applicable.

Your participation will be deeply appreciated and there is no risk or harm involved in this research. Please be apprised that your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw your participation at any point should you wish to do so. Please sign the following consent form should you wish to take part in the research.

Consent

- I agree to participate in this research project;
- I agree to my responses being used for educational and research purposes on the condition that my privacy is respected (subject to my personal details being included in the research);
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project and my consent is voluntarily given;
- I understand that I will not be remunerated for taking part in this project;
- I understand that I reserve the right to withdraw from this project at any stage;
- I understand that this project might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of a thesis, the document will be available to the readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic format as well;
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

Signed:

Name of the Participant:

Signature of the Participant:

Name of the person who sought consent:

Signature of the person who sought consent:

Signature of the Principal Researcher:

Illiteracy Jurat

The participant is not learned in the English language; however, the contents of the information sheet and the consent form have been translated to the Yoruba language and have been

communicated to him/her and he/she fully understands the import and purpose of the research and freely consents to participate.

The translation was carried out by

Underage Jurat

The participant is below the age of 18 and is a member of the *dùndún* group. The consent of his/her parent or guardian has been sought for him/her to participate in this research. The parent or guardian has read and understood the consent form and information sheet, and consents that the minor participates in the research project.

Signed by the Parent/Guardian of the minor

Appendix B: Research study information sheet and consent form (Yorùbá)

Àlàyé lórí ohun tí iwádi dá lé lórí ati fòòmù mofaramọ

Àkólé iwádi:

Ìmòlára àti idáhùn tí ó sù jade ninu ìkòni àti eré síṣe àwọn ẹgbé alu dùndún ni ilẹ̀ Yorùbá

Olùwádíí: Durojaye Cecilia

Ilé-ìwé: Ilé-èkọ orin ti South Afrika, Unifásitì ilu Cape Town

Pèlú àṣe láti ọwọ̀ ìgbìmọ̀ àgbà ile-ẹ̀kọ̀ orin ti South Afrikà, Unifásitì ilu Cape Town, emi, Cecilia Dúrójayé tẹ̀ síwájú lati ṣe iwadii lori iṣẹ̀ ti a kọ̀ àkólé rẹ̀ síwájú.

Iṣẹ̀ yii dá lórí àwọn oríṣíríṣi ibáraṅiṣepò tí o maa n wáyé ninu ẹgbé dùndún àti laarin ẹgbé aludùndún ati awọn olùgbọ̀ wọn.

Iṣẹ̀ iwádii yii yóo gba bii osè méréndínlógún tí oluwadi yoo fi maa wà pèlú ẹgbé yín, nínú èyítí olùwádii yoo maa tẹ̀lẹ̀ yin lọ sí òde ati ipàdẹ̀, lati ṣe àkíyèsí ibasepò pèlú ara yín àti pèlú ilu dùndún. Eleyii ni a ó gbà sílẹ̀ nínú ẹ̀rọ.

Àwọn ọ̀rọ̀ idánílójú àti òdodo ni a o gba nípasẹ̀ àkíyèsí àti ifòròwánilénuwò, nínú eyi tí a o gba ohùn àti àwòrán silẹ̀. Gégébi olùkópa ninu iṣẹ̀ yii, ẹ̀ o maa ṣe iṣẹ̀ yin lọ bi ẹ̀ ti maa n ṣe, nígbàti oluwadi yoo ma ṣe akiyesi iṣẹ̀ ati àṣà ẹgbé, ti yoo si maa bèrè ibeere lórí àwọn àṣà àti iṣe yin. Fún ìmọ̀ tí ó péye ni gbogbo àlàyé ti a ba gbà wa fún.

Iṣẹ̀ yi ko na olùkópa ni owó kankan, beṅni awadii kò ni fun olukopa ní ohunkóhun yàtò sí ohun ibòwò fún àgbà gégébi iṣe ati àṣà ilẹ̀ Yorùbá.

Ìdunnú ni ikopa yín yoo jẹ̀ fún wa, kò si sí ewu kankan ti o wa ninu kíkó'pa. Ni àfikún, ikopa yii kii ṣe t'ipát'ipá, idunnu wa ni wípé kí ó wá láti ọkàn yin. Ẹ̀ sì ní ànfàani láti yònda ara yín nígbàkúgbà ti ẹ̀ ba fé. Ejiwọ̀ ẹ̀ ba wa tọ̀wọ̀bọ̀we ti ẹ̀ ba fé lókàn lati ko'pa.

Mofaramọ

- Mo gbà láti kópa nínú işé yi;
- Mo gba wipe ki a lo gbogbo ohun ti mo ba sọ fún èkó àti ìmò;
- Mo mò wípé ko pon dandan láti kopa ninu ise yii, ati wipe tókàn tókàn ni ikopa mi;
- Mo mọ wipe ise yii ki şe işé owó, nitorinaa, mo mò wipe a ko ni san owo kankan fún mi;
- Mo mọ wipe mo le yonda ara mi ní ìgbàkugbà ti mo bá fé;
- Mo mo wipe işé yii yoo jade si ita fún àwọn ènìyàn lati kà, yala lórí èrọ ayarábíàşa àbi ni àwọn ilé ikàwé, ki àwọn ènìyàn lè ni ìmò kùn ìmò;
- Mo ti ka ohun tí ise yii wa nipa rè, mo si ni etọ lati beere ohunkohun ti ko ba ye mi.

Ìbuwólùwé:

Orúkọ olùkópa:

Ibuwólùwé:

Orúkọ akàwé:

Ìbuwólùwé:

Olùwádii:

Àimọkọmọkà:

Olùkopa yii ko mọọ kọ, ko si mọọ ka, nítorínàa, a ti ka ohun gbogbo tí işé yi dá lé lórí nínú èyítí ó sì ti yé wọn dáadáa. Wọn sì gbà láti kópa

Ènití ó şe ìtumọ yii ni.....

Ọmọdé

Olùkópa yii jé ọmọ tí ko i tii tó ọdún méjìdílógún. A ti gba àayè lówó òbi/alágbatọ rẹ. Ohun ti a fé şe ti ye òbi/alágbatọ naa, wọn sì ti fún wa ni ìyònda wípé kí ọmọ naa kópa.

Ìtọwọbọwé òbi/alágbatọ.....

Appendix C: Sample interview questions

All participating *dùndún* drummers:

- For how long have you been playing *dùndún* music?
- How did you learn to play?
- Did you learn anything on your own? If yes, what did you learn? How did you learn it?
- What do you teach to your protégée? And how do you train them?
- As a master musician, what do you think is most important to include in the training sessions? Why is it important?
- Based on your experience, what do you think is the best method to teach *dùndún*?
- Do you teach children differently from adults?
- Do you have a goal in mind for your listeners during outings and performances?
- What are these goals?
- Do you intend to make your listeners feel what you do with the drum?
- What do you as a performer have to do to make the listeners feel your music?
- Do you think your listeners understand your actions with the drum?
- If yes, how would you know?
- Do you think that your listeners appreciate your music? If so, how do you know that this is the case?
- If your intention to make the listeners appreciate your music was not fulfilled, would you know? And how?
- During performances, such as in a funeral rite, do you think that your music can contribute to making a listener sad and/or cry? If so, do you perform the music in a certain way that would lead to this kind of response?
- How do you know if your music was well appreciated by your listeners?
- As a performer, is there any kind of *dùndún* music you like in particular? Why?
- Is there any kind you do not like? Why?

Leader:

Sample interview questions for the leader in addition to the ones listed above:

- As a group, what are your aims for coming together as an ensemble?
- As a leader, what are your aims for the ensemble?
- What does it take to be a member of the ensemble?
- What does a member of the ensemble learn by participating in the ensemble?
- What type of *dùndún* music can the ensemble play?
- What type do you play the most?
- How do you select your repertoires?
- How do you learn new materials?
- How do you direct the members of the ensemble? For instance, to play in conformity to the others or to verbally correct a mistake?
- Do you have any special language use within the group? If so, what are some of these languages and what purpose do they serve?

Other members:

- How long have you been playing *dùndún* music?
- What motivates you to play *dùndún* music?
- For how long have you been a member of the ensemble?
- Why do you like the ensemble?
- How did you learn *dùndún* music?
- What did you learn during your training?
- Is there anything you learnt by yourself? If so, what? And how?
- During performances, do you apply what you were being taught strictly or do you add your own ideas? How do you achieve either or both?
- If for instance, you did not take your own part very well during performances, will the others be aware? If yes, how would they correct you?
- Who gives the cue for what you do during performances?
- How does he go about it?

Appendix D: Sample interview questions (Yorùbá)

Àpẹ̀rẹ̀ ibéèrè ifòròwánilénuwò

Gbogbo onílù tí ó kópa

- Ó tó ìgbàwo ti ẹ ti n lu ilù dùndún yí?
- Báwo ni ẹ ẹ kól'ílú rẹ?
- Njẹ nkankan wà tí ẹ kọ fúnra yín? Tó bá jẹ ẹẹ, kinni ẹ kọ? ba wo ni ẹ ẹ kọ?
- Báwo ni ẹ ẹ n kọ awon omọ isẹ yín? kinni ẹ máa nkọ won?
- Gegebi agba onílu, kinni nkan to ẹ koko lati wa ninu isẹ ilu lílu? Kinni o ẹ pataki lati kọ pelu ẹko ilu lilu? Kinni o ẹ patati julo lati ko nigbati e ba n gbaradi fun ere siṣe? Kinni o fi ẹ pàtàkì?
- Pelu òpòlopò irírí yin nínú ilu lilu, ọna wo lo gbà rorun lati fi kóni ní lílu ilù dùndún?
- Njẹ ma n kọ awon omọ wewe ni ilu lilu yatọ si awon agbà?
- Kinni èròngbà tí ẹ máa n ni lókan nigbati ẹ ba ni ode ere? Njẹ ẹ maa ní lókàn pe awon ti ẹ ba lo bá ẹ ayeye, ẹ fẹ tẹ awon olùgbó yín lórùn?
- To ba ri bẹẹ, bawo ni ẹ se fẹ tẹ won lórùn?
- Tí ẹ bá lo sí ibi ayeye, njẹ ẹ ma nni isẹ kan tí ẹ fẹ jẹ fún awon ònwòran? Tó bá jẹ ẹẹ, bi irú awon isẹ wo?
- Njẹ ẹ ní èròngbà wípe kí awon olùgbó yin ni ìmòlára ilu yin?
- Gegebi onílu, kinni awon ohun ti e le se lati je ki olugbo ni imolara oun ti e n fi ilu se?
- Nje e ma n mo bi o ba ye awon olugbo awon ara ati ise ti e n fi ilu da?
- Bí ó bá rí ẹẹ, báwo ni ẹ ẹ fẹ mò pé won gbó?
- Njẹ ẹ maa n mọ bi awon onworan ba gbadun ilu ti ẹ nlu? To ba jẹ bẹẹ, bawo ni ẹ se maa n mọ?
- Tí erongba yin láti mú ori awon ònwòran yá kò ba ri ẹẹ, se ẹ maa n mọ? To ba ri ẹẹ, ọna wo ni ẹ fi máa mọ?
- Njẹ níbi ere yín, fun apẹ̀rẹ̀, ayeye oku, nje ilu lilu yin le mu ki awon ti o n gbómaa sukun tàbi banuje? To ba ri ẹẹ, njẹ o ni awon nkan kan pato ti ẹ maa nse lati mu ki eleyi ki o waye?
- Gégébi onsere, njẹ ẹ ni eyi ti ẹ fẹran julọ ninu awon orin dùndún yin? Ki ló dé ti ẹ fi fẹran rẹ jú?

- Njẹ awọn kan wa tí e ko fẹran? Kinni ìdí?

Olórí egbé

- Gégébi egbé, kinni ero ti ẹ ni lọkan ti ẹ fi darapọ mọ ara yín bi egbé òṣèré?
- Eyin gègèbi olori, kinni erongba yin si egbé yin?
- Kinni o ma ná èyàn láti jé ọmọ egbé
- Kinni o maa njẹ ànfàní fun ọmọ egbé to ba darapọ mọ yin? Ati wipe kinni ọmọ egbé maa n ko gegebi egbé?
- Irú dùndún wo ni egbé yín maa n lù?
- Irú èwo ni ẹ maa nlu jù?
- Báwo ni e se máa n mo irú orin tàbí eré ti e fe se níbi òde ti e bá n lo?
- Báwo ni ẹ se maa n kọ orin àbi ilù tuntun?
- Báwo ni ẹ se maa n darí àwọn ọmọ egbé ti oníkálukú fi maa mọ ohun tí ó yẹ kó lù àbí bí ó se yẹ kó lu ilù?
- Bí èniyàn bá se aṣiṣe ní àsikò tí ẹ n se eré lówọ tàbí tí ẹ bá n gbàradì fún eré ṣiṣe, báwo ni ẹ se maa n se àtúnṣe?
- Njẹ ẹ ní àwọn àkànገò èdè tí ẹ maa n lo lásìkò tí ẹ ba n se eré lówọ tàbí tí ẹ bá n kọ eré dùndún?
- Tí ó bá rí beẹ, irú àwọn èdè wo ni? Kí sù ni wọn ma n ṣiṣe fún?

Àwọn ọmọ egbé

- Ó ti tó ìgbàwo tí ẹ tí n lu ilu dùndún?
- Kinni awọn iwúrí tí ó mu kí ẹ maa lu ilu dùndún
- Ó ti tó ìgbàwo ti ẹ ti darapọ mọ egbé?
- Kinni ìdí tí ẹ fi fẹràn egbé onílù tí ẹ darapọ mọ yii?
- Báwo ni ẹ se kọ ilu dùndún?
- Kinni ẹ kọ lásìkò tí ẹ wà lẹnu èkóṣé?
- Sé nkankan wà tí ẹ kọ fuńra yín àbí gbogbo rẹ ni won ko yín?
- Gégébi onílù, njẹ lásìkò ti ẹ ba n šeré, se àwọn nkan ti wọn kọ yin nikan lẹ maa n lo ni tàbí eyin náà ma n fi oḡbọn àtinúdá tiyín kun? Ọnà wo lẹ n gbà se eyikeyi ninu rẹ?
- Fún àpẹrẹ, ti ẹ bá se aṣiṣe lásìkò ti ẹ n gbàradì ere àbi ti ẹ n šeré lówọ, nje awọn iyókù maa mọ. Tí wọn ba si mọ, báwo ni wọn o se se àtunse síi?
- Njẹ enikan wa pátó to ma n dari eré lasiko ti ere ba n lo lówọ? Bawo lo ti maa n seé?

Appendix E: Questionnaire

Dear Respondent,

You have been selected as participant in the study and your honest responses to the questions are valued. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from partaking at any point, should you so wish. Please, be assured that your information will be treated with strict confidentiality.

Cecilia Durojaye

SECTION

Participant’s personal and musical profile

Location

Name of Participant

Age

Gender

Years of playing *dùndún*.....

Are any of your family members involved in any musical arts practice such as: singing, dancing, drumming, or poetry?.....

Does any other of your family members particularly play *dùndún*?
.....

SECTION B

You will now watch a short performance on dũndún. Please tick the appropriate response that best expresses your position to the statement made below, where IDK = I do not know, M = Maybe, Y = Yes and N = No.

	STATEMENT	IDK	M	Y	N
1	Are you familiar with the music you have just heard?				
2	The performers are very good at playing				
3	The performers understand the techniques of playing the drums				
4	The music makes me feel happy while listening to it				
5	The music makes me sad while listening to it				
6	The music makes me fearful while listening to it				
7	The music makes my head swell (<i>ori wiwu</i>) while listening to it				
8	The music makes me angry while listening it				
9	I do not feel anything to the music				
10	I feel like dancing to the music				
11	The music sounds like fear				
12	The music sounds like anger				
13	The performers played happy music				
14	The performers played <i>iwuri</i> music				
15	The music sounds sad				
16	The music does not 'bring something out' [express anything]				

SECTION C

Free description

1. What came to your mind while listening to the music?
2. Is there anything the music makes you think of?
3. What does the music make you think of?
4. Describe the feelings you had while listening to the music?
5. At what event would you prefer to hear the music?
6. For what event is the music most suitable?
7. Can you picture any image to the music?
8. Talk about the music and the performers

Appendix F: Questionnaire (Yorùbá)

Olùkópa wa tòótó,

A yàn yín gégébí òkan lára àwọn olùkópa nínú isẹ̀ ìwádii yii, inú wa yoo si dùn si àwọn ìdáhùn òdodo yín sí àwọn ìbeere yii. Ìkópa yin jẹ̀ àtinúwá, nítorí naa ẹ̀ ní ànfàaní láti yònda ara yín ti ẹ̀ kò bá fẹ̀ kópa. A fẹ̀ kí ẹ̀ mọ̀ wípé, gbogbo ìdáhùn tí ẹ̀ bá fún wa ni a ó ló ní ọ̀nà tí ó tọ̀ àti tí ó yẹ̀.

Cecilia Durojaye

IPELE A

Ìwádii nípa olùkópa

Ìlú.....

Orúkọ Olùkópa.....

Ojórí.....

Ìsẹ̀dá.....

Odún tí ẹ̀ ti n lu dùndún.....

Ñjẹ̀ ẹ̀nikẹ̀ni nínú ẹ̀bí yín ma n kópa nínú nkan bii orin kíko, ijó, ilù lílù, tàbí ewi?

.....

Ñjẹ̀ ẹ̀nikẹ̀ni nínú ẹ̀bí yín n lu ilu dùndún ní pátó?

.....

IPELE B

Ní báyii, ẹ o wo iran dundún ní sọki. Ẹ jòwọ, ẹ fa ilà sí èyíkèyi ipo tí ẹ dúró sí nínú àwọn gbólóhùn tí a kọ sí isàlẹ yii; nínú èyi tí a ní: Mi ò mò, Bóyá, Bèeni àti Rará.

S/N	STATEMENT	Mi o mo	Boya	Beeni	Rara
1	Njẹ ẹ mò nípa irú àwọn ilù lílù àti àṣà tí ẹ gbọ tán yii?				
2	Àwọn onílù yii dára púpọ nínú ilù lílù				
3	Ó yé àwọn onílù yii àwọn àrà àti ọ̀nà tí a fí n lu ilu dundún dáadáa				
4	Ìlù yii jẹ kí inú mi dùn nígbà tí mo n gbọ				
5	Ìlù yii mú ọkàn mi bàjẹ nígbà tí mo n gbọ				
6	Ìlù yi mú kí ẹrù bà mi nígbà tí mo n gbọ				
7	Ìlù yii mú kí orí mi wú nígbà tí mo n gbọ				
8	Ìlù yi mú kí inú bí mi nígbà tí mo n gbọ				
9	Nkò tilẹ̀ mọ̀ ilù wọn lára rará				
10	Ó ẹ bi wípé kí n maa jó sí ilù yii				
11	Ìlù ìjaya ni àwọn onílù yii lù				
12	Ìlù naa dún bii ilù ìbínú				
13	Ìlù ìdùnnú ni àwọn onílù naa lù				
14	Ìlù ìwúrí ni àwọn onílù naa lu				
15	Ìlù naa dún bii ìbànújẹ				
16	Ìlù náà kò fí taratara gbé òkankan jade				

IPELE D

Ṣíṣe àpèjúwe bí o ti wá láti ọkàn

1. Kínni oun tí ó wá s'ọkàn yín gbàrà nígbà tí ẹ n gbọ ilù yii?
2. Njẹ ñkankan wà tí ilù yii mú kí ẹ rọ?
3. Kínni àwọn oun tí ilù yii jẹ kí ẹ maa rọ tàbí tí ó mu yín rántí?
4. Ẹ ṣe àpèjúwe oun tí ilu se fun yin ni ọkàn tàbí ní ara. Èyí tún mò sí wípé, àwọn ìmòlára wo ni ẹ mò lára yín nípasẹ ilù yii.
5. Irú àwọn ibi wo ni ẹyin yoo ti fẹ gbọ irú ilù báyii?
6. Irú kínni ilù báyii dára jù fún?
7. Njẹ ẹ le ṣe àpèjúwe ilù yii pèlú nkan kan? Yálà àwòrán tàbí ọrọ àfiwé tàbí oun kóhun tí ẹ le fi ṣe àpèjúwe
8. Ẹ sọrọ nípa ilù yii lápapọ àti àwọn tí ó luu

Appendix G: Photographs



Àyánsowápò ensemble Èdẹ, Òsun state Nigeria



Researcher with the palace drummers of Timi of Ede, Ogun state Nigeria



Researcher with Ọ̀pápéjú ensemble Igbó-Ọ̀rà, Ọ̀yọ̀ state Nigeria



Amúlùdùn ensemble Ìlọra, Ọyọ state Nigeria



Researcher, Mr Lawal (field assistant) with Amúlùdun ensemble Ọ̀sogbo, Ọ̀sun state Nigeria



Dùndún drummers performing at Egúngún Olúfàlè in Igbó-Qrà



A *dùndún* drummer performing at Egúgún festival Ìpetumodù, Oşun state



A dancer moving to *dùndún* music at Egúngún festival Ìpetumodù, Oṣun state.



A drummer in Igbó-Orà expressing his music through bodily displays



Egúngún dancing to *dùndún* music in Igbó-Ọrà



Dancers performing at Iṣeṣe day, Oṣogbo



Dancers moving to *dùndún* music at Oṣun Oṣogbo festival

Appendix H: Samples of field recordings (DVD)

Track 1 Anger

Track 2 Egúngún Festival at Ìpetumodù

Track 3 Fear

Track 4 Happiness

Track 5 Ìṣẹ̀ṣe and Ṣàngó Festival at Osogbo

Track 6 *Ìsẹ̀lù*, Ìṣẹ̀ṣe day at Igbo Ora

Track 7 *Orí wíwú*

Track 8 Sadness