LITERATURE AND MUSIC IN FUSION: USE OF *ORÍKÌ* AND *ÒWE* IN GENERATING EMOTIONAL RESPONSES THROUGH TALKING DRUMS

Cecilia DÚRÓJAYÉ-PRUEFER, Ph.D.

Abstract

Available evidence suggests that both music and language share some commonalities with regard to structure, properties and their ability to convey and communicate emotions. This study explores the music-language relationship as exemplified by the use of literary-musical genres of poetry and proverbs in the expression and evocation of emotions through the Yorùbá *dùndún* talking drum. The utility of poetry and proverbs in talking drum performance not only demonstrates the intermingling of language and musical properties in the same acoustic signal, but the fusion also provides cultural tools at the performers' disposal to arouse emotions in their listeners. By employing qualitative methods comprising interviews and observation of musical performances, the study sheds light on the complex relationships between music, language and emotion in human expressive behaviours from a non-Western perspective. The findings of the study confirm the importance of culture, context and identity in emotional responses to music with the conclusion that *dùndún* music tends to be effective in a systematic way in generating responses in the listeners.

Keywords: emotion, music, language, talking drum, Africa

Introduction

In European discourses, there has been a prominent tradition to discuss language and music as phylogenetically related forms of acoustic human communication that have split up to serve complementary functions, with language placing emphasis on semantic and denotative meaning and music

focusing on emotion communication (Brown, 2000; Cross & Woodruff, 2009; Dunbar, 2004; Mithen, 2005). Both forms have been repeatedly compared in terms of their commonalities and differences with regard to structure, semantics, and most pertinent here, their ability to convey and communicate emotions (Osborne, 1984; Springer, 1956). At the same time, aesthetic practices of language and music have made use of that potential and developed it further (Cross, 2014), with music even being apostrophised as the "language of emotions" since the 18th century (see, for example, Cooke, 1959). These long-held notions have been taken up by psychologists who seek to understand how exactly emotion communication via language and music works and if there are shared properties (Jäncke, 2012; see also, Kraus & Slater, 2015). Through empirical evidence, they were able to identify the most important factors that drive emotion perception in language and music alike (semantic stimulus features and acoustical stimulus features such as tempo, mean pitch, pitch contour/shape of melody, dynamics, timbre (Coutinho & Dibben, 2013; Ilie & Thompson, 2006; Juslin & Laukka, 2003; Scherer, 1995), less so, however, for emotion generation. Although these studies contribute to the understanding of affect in language and music, however, the majority of these studies are carried out in a Western culture, mostly laboratory-based setting, using Western art music and with Western participants or the 'WEIRD' population (Henrich *et al.*, 2010). [1] There is little or no perspective from the majority of the world's cultures, which thus poses a limitation to the proposed universality of their findings as they may or may not be relevant for specific non-Western forms. In contrast, the fields of ethnomusicology, linguistics and anthropology offer interesting contributions from non-Western perspectives (for a review, see Feld and Fox, 1994), including the language-music relation in various drum speech surrogates in Africa (Euba, 1990; Villepastour, 2010, 2014). However, to the author's knowledge, research concerning music-emotion relations in surrogate languages is non-existent.

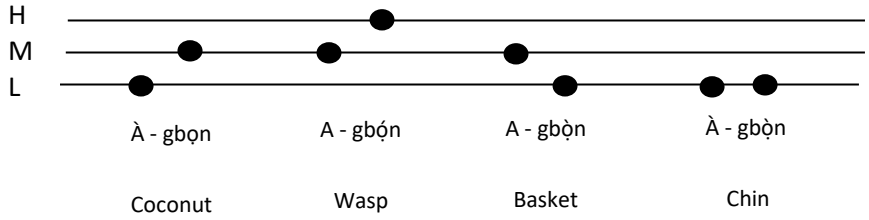
A unique intertwining of language and music can be found in the Yorùbá *dùndún*, one of the many musical instruments that are also perfectly fit for linguistic usage in what can be described as musical speech surrogates (Mcpherson, 2018; Nketia, 1971). This type of hourglass-shaped, variable-

[1] WEIRD = Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic.

pitched membranophone allows to manipulate pitch levels and gliding contours, in ways corresponding to the differentiation of linguistic tone levels and contours in the Yorùbá language. Yorùbá is a tone language wherein the relative pitch is vital to distinguish or inflect the meaning of words. It should be noted that talking drum practices are applicable, not only to tone languages but also to non-tonal languages (Tang, 2007; Winter, 2014). Also note that while the case of the present study concerns an hourglass-shaped tension drum used for linguistic functions, speech surrogate functions is not limited to only this category. Non-hourglass-shaped drums, too, are perfectly capable of speech surrogacy (see, for example, Villepastour, 2010, on Yorùbá bata), as are many other instruments such as trumpets (Kaminski, 2008), flutes (Moore & Meyer, 2014), and xylophones (McPherson, 2018; Strand, 2009; Zemp & Soro, 2010).

Different instruments make up the *dùndún* family of instruments including *ìyá ìlù, gúdúgúdú, omele ìṣáájú, omele ìkẹyìn*, and the occasionally-included *kẹ́ríkẹ́rì or gángan*. Here, focus is on the *ìyá ìlù dùndún* (mother of drums), which has the role of the "talker" and enjoys the freedom of employing a variety of the most complex rhythmic patterns in a traditional ensemble performance. The Yorùbá language, which the drum imitates, uses three relative tone levels: Low (grave accent), Middle (usually left unmarked) and High (acute accent). The relative pitch tones are essential for word signification and even demarcate opposite utterances, as shown in the examples below.

Example 1
Semantic function of tone levels in Yorùbá language



N **ó** lọ - I will go
N **ò** lọ - I will not go

Like the language, the pitch also marks one of the main properties of the *dùndún* talking mechanism. It provides a tool for the drum's close imitation of Yorùbá tones and speech contour, a point which has been documented by various scholars (Euba, 1990. See also Akinbo (2019) and Durojaye, et al. (2021) for acoustic studies of Yorùbá linguistic and *dùndún* tones).

The case of *dùndún* is a particularly apt object of study in this endeavour. It is a prevalent form of artistic expression among the Yorùbá and has received much scholarly attention regarding musical structure, literary, social and religious functions (Adegbite, 1988; Euba, 1990; Sotunsa, 2009; Vidal, 2012a), which serve as an excellently detailed context for the present study's specific focus. Among the musical and literary genres performed on the *dùndún*, the *oríkì* (commonly translated as 'praise poetry') and *òwe* (proverbs) are particularly prominent. Hence, this study focuses on these two genres in exploring the topic of emotions generated through the *dùndún.* Of particular interest is how performers attempt to evoke emotions with regard to the combination of semantic and musical features embedded the *oríkì* and the *òwe*.

Language-music connection in the *oríkì* and the *òwe*
The *oríkì* and the *òwe* are two popular Yorùbá oral literary genres, which also fall under 'musicking' (Small, 1998) among the Yorùbá when chanted as in vocal music or performed on the drum. Note that the word 'music' has no Yorùbá equivalent, although there is the presence of the concept as there

are words for drumming, dancing, singing and chanting. Hence, when a Yorùbá talks about music, they refer to any or all of these art forms.

For this study, the understanding of 'music' follows the same as the Yorùbá reference. Of the music-language relationship in African music, firstly, influence is drawn from the writings of Agawu (2016), who draws a parallel between (speech) tone and tune (melody) and contends (like many other African music scholars) that language forms the basis of African music. Because tones are essential in tonal languages for lexical meaning, the musical melody, for the most part, is influenced by the dictates of the linguistic intonation, thereby creating a link between the two. This interdependence of speech tone and music is true of *Yorùbá* indigenous music where, as described by Villepastour, "song melody is informed by the pitch contour of natural speech" (2014, p. 34). Agawu stresses this speech-melody relationship when he states that "to live within the linguistic world of (tone) is to live within a *musical* or *proto-musical* world; to inherit a tone language as sense as sound is to be acutely aware of relational pitch and […] rhythm" (2016, p. 123). From this perspective, tone languages blur the boundary between music and language not only because of pitch and rhythm but also because the existence of one (singing) is dependent on the other (language). This blend of music and language is manifested in sung or chanted as well as the drummed renderings of *oríkì* and *òwe* as the melodic and rhythmic contour is heavily dependent on the texts (whether uttered/sung or not).

Secondly, one can view the literary-musical attribute of *oríkì* and *òwe* from the perspective of Yorùbá oral literature, which lies between *ọ̀rọ̀ sísọ* (speaking) and *orin kíkọ* (singing) including various forms of chants such as *ìyẹrẹ ifá* (chant of *ifá* divination priests) *ìjálá* (chant of hunters), *rára ìyawo* (bride's lament), and *oríkì* amongst others (Olajubu, 1981; Olatunji, 2005; Villepastour, 2014). For some authors, drum speech is readily subsumed under these categories of oral literature (for example, Okphewo, 1985; Sotunsa, 2009). For others, poetry and music are synonymous, given the integrated nature of musical performance, which categorises singing, drumming, poetry, visual arts and dancing as one interrelated unit in indigenous communities (Euba, 1975; Nzewi, 2003). From these various perspectives, *oríkì* and *òwe* are as much literary as they are musical. Besides

providing a music-language link, these two genres are relevant for emotion communication. However, there has been no research on this aspect of *oríkì* and *òwe*. As such, these genres provide a unique example for studying the effects of language and music on emotional responses.

So far, several studies in music psychology have addressed the link between language and emotions. Drumming as language, speech surrogacy, and the history and functions of drums have also been widely researched in ethnomusicology. However, the effect of drum language on emotions and how linguistic and musical elements might interact with each other are still under-researched, and so are the cultural factors influencing emotional reactions to (indigenous) music in general. Focusing on the use of *oríkì* and proverbs in *dùndún* performance contributes to filling this gap and also creates room for fulfilling the aims of the study earlier mentioned.

Methodology

This study is part of a larger research project which investigated evoked emotional responses in *dùndún* performances using various methods. Perception and reception studies carried out in music psychology commonly employ quantitative methods; however, the nature of music-making in indigenous Africa mostly involves the context. As a result, using only quantitative methods seems inappropriate for the setting. The report given here is based on the APA *Journal Article Reporting Standards for Qualitative Research* (Levitt et al. 2018)

Data collection

Two separate but related fieldwork trips were carried out within six towns in south-west Nigeria. The towns included Ẹdẹ, Igbó-Ọrà, Ìlọra, Ìpetumodù, Òṣogbo and Ọ̀yọ́. The locations were chosen because they are arguably very rich in the *dùndún* tradition (Euba, 1990) and also because of the ease of gaining authorised access within the setting. The findings presented in this paper are based on interviews (in-depth, semi-structured and open-ended) with *dùndún* performers and audience, observation of *dùndún* performances, and informal conversations with the participants. An interview guide was developed (Charmaz, 2014) comprising forty guiding questions that addressed different parts of the research. Other related questions were influenced by observations made in the field, as well as the direction of

informal everyday conversations. All interviews were conducted in the Yorùbá language, ranging from 10 to 50 minutes, depending on the interviewees and the theme of discussion.

The observation method allowed for informal yet informative conversations with the participants and provided insight into the interaction between *dùndún* performers and listeners, which is not salient and cannot be obtained through interviews. Data were captured in text format in the form of field notes and memo writing (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013), as well as through visual and audio recordings made with the consent of the interviewees (Loizos, 2000; Myers, 1992).

Participants

Twenty-seven interviewees, including selected members of *dùndún* ensembles, as well as listeners and dancers, participated in the study (Table 1). Participants' ages ranged between 19 and 90. Of the 27, six participants were female, and all are monolingual. All participants agreed to their names being included in the study.

Table 1

Number of interviewees from each location

Location	No. of Interviewee (performer, listener)
Ẹdẹ	6 (4, 2)
Igbó-Ọrà	5 (4, 1)
Ìlọra	4 (2, 2)
Ìpetumodù	4 (2, 2)
Òṣogbo	6 (3, 3)
Ọ̀yọ́	2

Method of Analysis

Thick description (Geertz, 1973) and a grounded theory (GT) strategy were of data analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2012, 2013). Grounded theory can be applied to a range of epistemological and methodological approaches (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2012). This flexibility thus provides a valuable means for obtaining a rich and detailed data. Here, the guidelines of GT analysis provided by Thornberg

and Charmaz (2012) were followed. To begin, the interview data were transcribed in Yorùbá language and translated in English language using the transcription guidelines provided by the Unified Committee of the Afro-American contribution, and the Southern Maryland Folklore Project (2003). Then, the transcripts, as well as the audio and video data, were imported and coded using NVivo (version 11.4.1) QDAS. Only the Yorùbá version was, however analysed to retain the nuances and more profound meanings which could have been lost during translation to the English language.

Data interpretations and validity were checked through the "researcher's lens" and "member checking" (Creswell, 2016, pp. 191–194). The researcher's lens validity check was done by comparing codes and their dimensions to the data segments (such as quotations), which are related to the codes. Member-checking involves making telephone calls to the leaders of the ensembles who participated in the study, to confirm if adequate accounts of their statements have been created.

Findings and Discussion

Oríkì

Oríkì has been described by various authors as "praise poetry", "descriptive poetry", "descriptive song" and "hymn of praise" (Adeeko, 2001; Awe, 1974; Barber, 1991; Olatunji, 2005). Vidal, writing in 1969 (republished 2012), defines *oríkì* as "one of the oldest traditions in Yorùbá music consisting of a unification of poetry and music" (Vidal, 2012b, p. 151). Barber describes *oríkì* as a "genre of Yorùbá oral poetry that could be described as attributions or appellations [...] addressed to a subject" (1991, p. 1). Some writers, however, contend that the origin of *oríkì* derives from "elaborations of individual names" (Adeeko, 2001, p. 182). *Oríkì* is very important to the Yorùbá as it is performed in very diverse contexts. In addition to describing or praising, *oríkì* is a means of documenting and transmitting history (Awe, 1974). There are various types of *oríkì*, such as *oríkì orúkọ/ìnagijẹ* (personal names/aliases), *oríkì orílẹ* (lineage), *oríkì òrìṣà (*gods), and *oríkì ilu* (derived from person's town) (Awe, 1974; Barber, 1991; Olatunji, 2005), and the implementation is dependent on the type and the context of use.

Many treatises have been completed on the *oríkì*, including studies of its history, structure, content, style and form, to mention but a few. Of relevance here, however, is the hitherto not yet studied psychological importance of *oríkì*, especially in terms of how *dùndún* performers utilise *oríkì* in evoking responses. The hoped-for psychological effects of *oríkì* have been noted (albeit in passing) in the literature. Awe 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" can be expected to arise in the audience (1974, pp. 332–333). Babalola (as quoted in Olatunji 2005, p. 67) 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". *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, "*oríkì* invokes the spirits of the ancestors, propitiating them and soliciting them for help and support" (2012b, p. 157). 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" (as quoted in Olatunji, 2005, p. 67). These mentions of the effects of *oríkì* are brief and are submerged within other discourses 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. As Vidal points out, "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" (2012b, p. 159). This assertion is true insofar as *dùndún* musicians who participated in this study clearly stated they could and do manipulate their listeners' reactions with the use of *oríkì*. To achieve this goal, *dùndún* drummers combine the semantic and associative content of *oríkì* with the manipulation of musical elements such as the tempo, dynamics, and timbre in a single performance of *oríkì*. Indeed, this combination is evident from the account of the drummers who employ

language and music-related terms interchangeably to refer to what they do. For example, when asked how he makes his listeners feel his music, Ayanjimi Ayansoji, the lead drummer of the Ìfẹ́sowápọ̀ ensemble in Ọ̀yọ́ stated:

> *When I am with the drum, and I want someone to feel what I am drumming, 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 particular manner. He would not be conscious of when the music will move him/her. (Interview, January 2016)*

It should be noted here that the concept of being 'moved' relates to both feeling and embodied behaviour in the form of dance. Dance is an intrinsic element in the world of the dùndún and one of the means through which emotions experienced in the body are overtly expressed. Another drummer, Azeez Ayansola (interview, December 2015) said, "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 [are emotionally dead]". "Head swelling" is a literal translation of a particular emotion called "orí wíwú" amongst the Yorùbá which shares some attributes with the proposed feeling of "being moved" (see, for example, Cova and Deonna (2014) on being moved and Durojaye (2019) on orí wíwú). The statements of the drummers show not only the importance of *oríkì*, and its assumed effect on the listeners of *dùndún*, but by stating that they "drum and say" and "drum and recite" substantiate their fusion of linguistic and musical elements in their performance of *oríkì*. In addition, metaphorically referring to feelings of emotions in terms of headedness points towards a likelihood of the head being believed to be the centre of emotions in Yorùbá culture just as the 'heart' is in some other cultures.

Observation and account of the participants indicate that of the different kinds of *oríkì* earlier identified, *dùndún* musicians mostly make use of *oríkì orúkọ/ìnagijẹ* (personal names/aliases), *oríkì orílẹ* (lineage), and *oríkì ilu* (derived from person's town). Although these categories of *oríkì* appear to

be distinct from one another, however, the contents of any *oríkì* used by *dùndún* drummers are usually inclusive of the combination of names, lineage, town, character and other attributes that distinguish an individual and connect them to a root. Being identified with an origin (name, lineage, or town) is a significant part of the Yorùbá worldview, and these forms of *oríkì* offer a Yorùbá an avenue to relate with that origin. An example of an *oríkì* addressed to a person named Àdìgún is shown below:

Example 2

Oríkì as used by dùndún drummers

Àdìgún ìjà	Àdìgún combat
Ọmọ Ajíbìkẹ́, ajímáperin	Child of Ajíbìkẹ́, [one] who wakes but does not kill elephants
Àdìgùn ìjà	Àdìgún combat
Ọmọ onígbó obì	Child of [a] kola nut orchardist
Àdìgún	Àdìgún
Ò wọ ṣòkòtò fẹnu rẹ̀ sọlẹ̀	He that wears trousers which touches the ground
Ọmọ Lákésin, ọmọ Ìjẹmọ̀	Child of Lákésin, of Ìjẹmọ̀
Ọmọ olóhùnmẹ́rìndínlógún	Child of sixteen voices
Bẹ́ẹ̀ 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 his 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 are alluded to in the fourth line (in former times, kola nut plantations were a great source of wealth) and extended to the sixth line, which indicates the addressee is wealthy enough to afford suitable material of clothing. 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 defines its unique place in *dùndún* music. The statement by Ayanjinmi Ayansoji quoted earlier, succinctly describes not only how the threesome of name, ancestry and character can form a content **o**f *oríkì*, but

also the awareness of the musicians in utilising them and their subsequent effect in arousing listeners.

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, p. 136). Identity (personal or social) is one of the essential factors influencing people's behaviour, including emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). By being identified with an origin, a good name, a family and an acceptable character, the different kinds of *oríkì* indicate and create in an individual a sense of belonging to and acceptance by a community and a family. It makes individual contentment within themselves and in good relationships with others, where these sensations are rooted in the individual listener's personal and communal life experiences. As it appears to be a characteristic of Yorùbá aesthetics for *oríkì* to generate emotional responses, it is therefore highly likely that when *oríkì* is being recited, a listener, because of their experiences, will be expected to respond emotionally through such behaviour as dancing. 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. Social identity plays a significant role in emotional responses as *oríkì* and proverbs not only construct identity, but through their contents, the constructed identities have emotional effects on the listeners.

While so far, the effects of *oríkì* seem to be exclusively linked to its linguistic content and the semantic associations and memories evoked by it, even if only drummed, non-verbal elements exist as well. Sometimes, *dùndún* musicians use a combination of various drum patterns to enhance the effect of *oríkì* on their listeners. While the same *oríkì* can be used on different occasions, the *oríkì* becomes more suitable and more effective for the event when musical properties such as tempo, dynamics and timbre are manipulated in different ways. For example, for the most part, performances for women are associated with fast tempo while those of kings and aristocrats are slow and solemn. This is done to not only improvise and transform the *oríkì* but for the musical properties to generate responses from the listeners. In a burial situation, a drummer would perform the *oríkì* with manipulation of the timbre of the drum in what they refer to as '*fi ilu sukun* or *ohùn arò'*

(crying with the drum or sorrowful tone/voice). This timbral quality used as an imitation of crying is believed to have a contagious effect in making a listener cry.

In another context, performers may turn the *oríkì* to '*àlùjó*' (dance rhythm) or include a technique of '*ìjálù*' (breaking the drumming), which involves a drummer playing with energy, heavy, single successive strokes with the use of alternating hand and stick technique. When *àlùjó* or *ìjálù* is used in *oríkì*, a listener is expected to be happy and dance (dancing is one of the indices of being joyful or happy). If they want a listener to feel the dance more, the tempo of the music is increased. Although dancing more does not necessarily translate to a listener being happier, however, the words of Lasisi Atantunji that "*bí wọ́n bá ṣe jó sí náà ni a fi ma mọ̀ bí inú wọ́n se dùn*" [we know how happy they are through their dance], indicates this to be the case in the world of the *dùndún*. Rasaki Ayandiran, another drummer, further added he increased the pace of his music in one of the observed performances to make a dancer feel the music more and dance more. This simply exemplifies how *dùndún* musicians manipulate the tempo and possibly the emotions of the listener.

As textual and musical elements are combined in the performance of *oríkì*, one wonders which has a more significant impact on the listeners' affective response especially given the practice of using the same *oríkì* in different contexts. The findings suggest that in *dùndún* music, the text of the *oríkì* alone is hardly sufficient without the musical elements. The question of the relative impact of music versus lyrics on emotion evocation has been explored by a couple of studies, albeit with divergent results. Ali and Peynircioğlu (2006), for example, examined the effect of lyrics and melodies in songs. Their results show that even though lyrics have a stronger impact on negative emotions than positive emotions, yet, the melody largely influenced and dominated over the lyrics in emotion evocation. Sosou's (1997) study found similar results of a more significant effect of melody over lyrics in an exploration of the relative influence of text versus music on mood. In contrast to these findings, the results of Stratton and Zalanowski (1994) support the domination of text over music on mood state. However, behavioural and fMRI data of Brattico et al. (2011) conclude that lyrics are

effective in the induction of sad emotion, while instrumental acoustic cues have a stronger effect in the feeling of happiness.

In the case of the *dùndún*, even though the content of an *oríkì* is all-important to a listener, the music is able to control the actual emotional and behavioural effect the *oríkì* will have on its listener. This would explain why one type of *oríkì* would have to be manipulated in different ways to suit the intended emotion. However, concerning the kind of emotions, it appears that the text takes precedence in the evocation of sad emotions, while the music largely influences positive emotions (as in the case of *àlùjó* rhythm). Indeed, this is apparent if one considers that, the *dùndún*, being a musical instrument, is first associated with rhythm and dance, hence positive expression. In the same vein, the ability of the *dùndún* to communicate negative emotions depends first on the drum text. While not all responses to oríkì may have an emotional basis, both *dùndún* drummers and their audience agree that *oríkì* is a means of creating deep emotions in people and that different emotion can be aroused through it.

There are various ways in which music and poetry can elicit emotions (for music, see Juslin, 2013), the most important ones being emotional contagion/empathy and association / autobiographic memory. While in modern Western art music, contagion plays a major role, expecting an expressed emotion to elicit a related response in the listener, for *dùndún* performances of *oríkì*, a mechanism comparable to semantic association / autobiographic memory seems to play a more substantial role. Hence, a listener may feel any emotion ranging from joy, pride, sadness, anger to shame regardless of the emotion expressed in an *oríkì* if any. This is because, as mentioned earlier, ancestry, name, and character are part of what makes a person in the Yorùbá culture. It is also believed that family members must uphold the family values alongside identification with their roots. As such, every Yorùbá person jealously guides the family name and strives to avoid whatever would defile the name and lineage while embracing attributes that reflect well on their identity. Therefore, elements such as *oríkì*, which can be employed in building or tarnishing one's identity, are believed to be a strong force in actually arousing emotions in listeners as opposed to only recognising the emotion expressed through the *oríkì*. *Dùndún* drummers are

thus conscious of the choice of contents, which they include in or omit from their repertoire during performances.

Òwe

Apart from *oríkì*, *dùndún* drummers also make use of different *òwe* (proverbs) to get the desired emotional response from their listeners. Like *oríkì*, proverbs in the Yorùbá culture are intertwined in the worldview of the people. Sotunde defines a proverb as a "short familiar sentence expressing a supposed truth or moral lesson" (2009, p. 1). Proverbs reflect the "philosophy of a people" (Sheba, 2006, p. vii) and are meant to impart knowledge as well as guide people's relationships with others (Sotunde, 2009). Proverbs are present in every culture, and they perform more or less similar functions. Their ubiquity across cultures makes them a very useful tool in communication and general social life.

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 contexts, where the immediate context of use helps in deciphering the meaning. As reported by the participants of this study, proverbs used in *dùndún* music perform three functions: *àpọ́nlé* (regard), *ìyẹ́sí* (honour) and *èébú* (vilification or vituperation). Just as in the case of *oríkì*, the participants believe that the content and context of a proverb have an immediate effect on emotions, motivations or behaviour. Hence, in the words of Sikiru Ayanwale (interview, November 2016), a proverb such as "*E fi sùru si, àrò kan ò gbóná giri giri giri k'ó má tutu"* (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.

Proverbs are very much implicated in *dùndún* performance. However, in contrast to *oríkì*, which requires the musicians to have adequate knowledge of their 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. Besides mixing different proverbs with *oríkì* or *àlùjó* (dance rhythm) during performances, musicians employ proverbs when they have little or no information about a listener. Utilising proverbs to elicit reactions from an audience can be in response to a direct request. For instance, Azeez

Ayantoyinbo in Osogbo (interview, January 2017) says if he wants someone to dance, he may use such proverb as "My friend, rise and transform, defecation is not an errand on which to send one's child, rise and transform". Similarly, where others in a gathering have already shown their appreciation of the music with a monetary reward, he may nudge someone to give money by saying, "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".

The ultimate goal of *dùndún* musicians is to arouse emotions in their listeners. Hence, in a performance context, the performer assesses the situation and the listeners closely before choosing a proverb, as it is crucial 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:

> 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 were 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 2017)

Although it appears the varied semantic contents of proverbs allow 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.*

Despite the vital role of the content of the proverbs, still, like *oríkì*, the content can only be utilised to its full potential if different musical elements are employed in a suitable and relevant manner to the occasion and the individual listener. This is brought to the fore by Ayansipe Saibu, a participant in Ẹdẹ, who stated the following when asked how he uses proverbs on different occasions:

> Yes, we use numerous proverbs….but for a drummer we have to determine which is best for the outing [performance], the character or the appearance of the person [on whom the proverb is to be used]. I may use only one proverb for ten outings [performances] but the manner in which I will…sometimes I may make it fast, sometimes draw it back [play the proverb slowly], and some other times I may mix it with àlùjó. But that one proverb, it can do different things [on a listener] (Interview, January 2016)

The vital contribution of the music to the content in proverbs further foregrounds not only the critical place of music in the music-lyrics discourse as seen in the case of the *oríkì* but also provides further evidence for the intermingling of literary and musical elements in a single artistic genre. Also, the preceding accounts of proverb usage suggest that a single proverb may not only acquire different meanings in different situations but also generate different reactions in different contexts, even for the same individual.

The participants' accounts further highlight the role of performance context as the immediate context of a performance influences the expressive intentions of *dùndún* performers as well as the listeners' reactions. For example, even though the content of *oríkì* and proverbs might be the same in different situations, the actual context of use (e.g. house warming or burial) and the performance setting, in addition to the type(s) of musical elements employed, will determine which emotions are induced. Occurrences of emotions are indicated by the (re)actions of the audience in the situation, for example, crying as an indication of sadness, dancing to show happiness or giving gifts to performers to indicate being moved by the music. Hence, the context is implicated in determining whether the aim of the performer to arouse emotion has been achieved. This finding resonates with other studies that have found context to be a significant factor in emotional communication (Juslin et al., 2008; Liljeström et al., 2013)

Conclusion

The paper highlighted how the *dùndún* of the Yorùbá is employed in emotional communication through its use of poetry and proverbs in *dùndún* drum language and how linguistic and musical aspects are intertwined with

each other. *Oríkì* and *òwe*, on so many levels, connect music and language. From the tonal language influencing its composition, the combination of lyrics and melody, the structural elements of pitch and rhythm shared with music and language, to the transfer of the spoken or chanted form to the drum, which again combines the text and music.

The study shows that the text of the *oríkì* and *òwe* are essential in the evocation of emotions. However, the musical properties are equally important and aid in the kinds of emotion evoked, whereby texts contribute more to negative emotions and acoustic features more to the positive. The contents of *oríkì* and *òwe* are based on the *Yorùbá* value system and enhance the expression of identity, one of the essential factors influencing people's behaviour, including emotions. Because of the role of the text, emotions evoked through *oríkì* and *òwe* depend on semantic association and episodic memory, which constitute part of the main mechanisms of emotion evocation. This study thus concludes that with the use of materials elements intersecting with language and music, such as the *oríkì* and *òwe*, and potentially with the understanding of the drum language, *dùndún* music tends to be effective in a systematic way in generating responses in the listeners.

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