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The Dùndún Talking Drum of the Yorùbá Community in South-West Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

Numerous drum ensembles characterize the music landscape in Nigeria. The *dùndún* of the Yorùbá, however, provides a unique exemplar for the understanding of indigenous art forms in Nigeria in general and the Yorùbá culture in particular. Given the significant role of the drum among the Yoruba, the paper gives a detailed introductory insight into the *dùndún* tradition with a specific focus on the definition and origin, the *dùndún* ensemble formation as well as the musical and socio-cultural functions of the drum. The paper aims to contribute to the preservation and appreciation of indigenous music and musical instruments.

Keywords: *dùndún*; Yorùbá; music; drum; culture

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1. Introduction

The Yorùbá of south-west Nigeria are an ethnic group characterised by diverse but interconnected subcultures. 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, and sometimes a combination of two or more of these media. This diversity also characterises the music instruments used (Akpabot, 1986; Euba, 1990; Vidal 2012). Instrumental ensembles play a pivotal role in Yorùbá communal activities as evident in performances for sacred, social and recreational purposes. Hence, various types of music instruments exist such as agogo (bell), àgídígbo (lamellaphone), şèkèrè (rattle), ehín erin (ivory trumpet), igbin (drum), and oge (reed pipe) to mention but a few. However, of the various and numerous musical instruments and ensembles found amongst the Yorùbá, drums are predominant (Akpabot, 1986; Euba, 1990). The connection of the Yorùbá people to drumming is exemplified by the fact that certain families (known as the 'family of Àyàn'), are associated with the art.

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 (Durojaye, 2019a).

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Each of the drums used amongst the Yorùbá has its own particular time and occasion for which it is used: for instance, the bàtá is associated with worshipping Šàngó (god of thunder), the agèrè drum is used during hunters' celebrations, ìpèsè (three-legged drum) is used during Ifá (divination) celebrations, and gbèdu (drum) is associated with the Ọba (king) (see Euba, 1990; Omojola, 2012 for other examples).

The dùndún drum is, however, unique and arguably the most popular, probably because of its unique 'talking' capability, its amenability to all occasions (sacred, cultural, secular etc.), and its usability amongst people of different ages and 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. The popularity of the dùndún transcends the boundaries of the delineated Yorùbá region of south-west Nigeria, as the variants of the drum can be found in many other ethnic groups within and outside of Nigeria (for example, the Hausa of Nigeria, Dagbamba of Ghana, Mande in Mali and Wolof in Senegal amongst others).

While there are extensive treatises on the dùndún tradition (for example, Euba, 1990; Durojaye, 2019a, 2019b), the primary intention of this article is to advance a better understanding and appreciation of the drums and its tradition in a more concise and accessible manner. This paper, therefore, provides a detailed introductory insight into the dùndún culture with a specific focus on the definition and origin, the dùndún ensemble formation as well as the musical and socio-cultural functions of the drum.

I collected the data for the study during a fieldwork trip to south-west Nigeria between 2015 and 2016. In addition to observations of dùndún music performances at various ceremonies and cultural festivals during this period, I also conducted in-depth structured and semi-structured interviews with dùndún musicians in six Yorùbá communities namely Èdè, Igbó-Ọrà, Ìlọra, Ìpetumodù, Òşogbo and Òyó. Additional data were gathered through audio-visual recordings as well as formal and informal conversations. Data collection took between 2015 and 2016.

2. The dùndún of the Yorùbá

The dùndún, commonly known as the 'talking drum' because of its ability to reproduce the rhythms and tones of the Yorùbá language, can generally be described as an hourglass-shaped, double-sided membrane drum, sometimes adorned with brass bells. Note that while the case of the present study concerns an hourglass-shaped drum used for linguistic functions, the generic labelling of hourglass-shaped drums from West/Central Africa as talking drums is misleading. First, many hourglass-shaped drums are not used for talking purposes. Secondly, non-hourglass-shaped drums, too, are perfectly capable of speech surrogate functions (see, e.g., Villepastour, 2010 on Yorùbá bata), as are further instruments such as trumpet ensemble (Kaminski, 2008 on Asante) or xylophones (Strand, 2009 on Sembla xylophone from Burkina Faso). However, despite the 'talking' capability of most musical instruments found in West Africa, the dùndún has been argued to be the most eloquent (Akpabot, 1986; Euba, 1990). The term dùndún has also been described as a 'type of music played by any combination of the Yorùbá hourglass tension drums' (Euba 1990, p. 3). The precise definition of dùndún seems elusive as dùndún practitioners themselves do not have a specific description for it. It is not uncommon to have dùndún drummers identify the lead drum of a dùndún ensemble, iyá ìlù (literally: 'mother drum') as dùndún (Durojaye, 2019b). They also sometimes mention that the other drums in the dùndún 'family' shaped as iyá ìlù are also called dùndún, with the difference being their sizes and adornment of iyá ìlù with brass bells. As such, even though a dùndún ensemble usually includes a drum of a different shape known as gúdúgúdú, the designation 'dùndún' is commonly conceived and widely accepted to be the hourglass-shaped drum.

The origin of dùndún is not known as different versions in the form of oral narratives exist. Also varying in their accounts are the limited existing written sources on the dùndún. Some sources have it that the dùndún originated from the town of Sàwòró in Ibàribá, from where it migrated to Ọyó and eventually to other parts of the Yorùbá region. Another version holds it that the dùndún was brought from Mecca to Ilé-Ifè, and went from there to Ọyó (see Euba, 1990, p. 38–44 for a detailed account of the various versions of the origins of dùndún). The narrative that appears to be the most common, however, is that the dùndún originates from Ọyó, an ancient city of the Yorùbá. The belief in a common Ọyó origin could explain why, despite different dialects spoken among the Yorùbá, dùndún only imitates the Ọyó dialect (see also, Akpabot, 1986; Euba, 1990). Ibankale (2007) records that a man

called Kunsanri Àyàn invented dùndún in the old Ọyọ empire. Dùndún drummers that are interviewed for this study contend that they originated from Ọyọ before dispersing to their various destinations. And for this reason, they always refer to themselves as ọmọ Àyàn ('the offspring of Àyàn'). The belief 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.

3. Àyàn

Àyàn represents a significant figure in the world of dùndún and some other indigenous drums in Yorùbá land. In the belief system of the Yorùbá, Àyàn is recognised as the drum god (òrìṣà). Lindon (1990, p. 205) defines òrìṣà as 'deified remote ancestors and/or natural forces', while Barber describes òrìṣà as a 'combination, in varying proportions, of deified human hero, force of nature, and a being of heavenly origin' (Barber, 1990, p. 313). There are several òrìṣà recognised among the Yorùbá with each performing different roles (Alana, 2004; Barber, 1981; Lindon, 1990). However, the Olódùmarè ('the supreme deity') is placed as the head of all òrìṣà (Ekanola, 2006; Idowu, 1962). Omojola classified the Yorùbá òrìṣà 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 (2010, p. 32). All three categories are in some way related to the dùndún. Still, Àyàṅàgalú, the deity directly associated with the drumming tradition, falls under the second category of deified great humans. Some believe that Àyàṅàgalú is the first Yorùbá drummer to have been gifted in the skills and art of drumming by Olódùmarè (Ibisankale, 2007). The prowess of Àyàn led to him being made a deity. Hence, he is worshipped as the god of drums and the patriarch of all Yorùbá drummers (Villepastour, 2015). Àyàn plays a vital role in the lives of drummers as he not only determines the names given to Yorùbá drummers, but he is also believed to control their activities. Because of the importance attached to this deity, drummers customarily worship Àyàṅàgalú once every year. People (drummers and non-drummers) believe in the god to answer their prayers or requests; as such, prayers and appreciation of Àyàn are for the most part characteristic of the ritual. Although, 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. The homage is usually a recitation of the oríkì (panegyric) of the god, and it 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.

4. The dùndún family

Dùndún and the other drums that make up a dùndún ensemble are referred to as a 'family' 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 1). The gúdúgúdú is referred to as bàbá ìlù ('father drum'), and the lead drum as iyá ìlù ('mother drum'). Sometimes when applying to sizes and roles, drummers refer to drums such as omele as siblings. The siblings are also assigned a gender status as male or female.

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 organisation in Yorùbá communities (see Akinjogbin, 2002). The performance and the occasion determines the number of children the family will have, but the father (gúdúgúdú) and the mother (iyá ìlù) must always be present. Although gúdúgúdú does not share the same physical attributes as other instruments in a dùndún ensemble, it is inseparable from dùndún family. The siblings include kẹríkẹrì, omele and kànnàgọ. Omele is 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 ịṣáájú (front guard) and omele ịkẹhìn (rear guard) respectively. 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. Drummers believe that dùndún drums produce sonorous songs and rhythms when combined instead of any of them playing as solo instruments. Apart from iyá ìlù and sometimes gúdúgúdú, others such as omele cannot be played alone during performances. The

reason is because while *iyá ilù* and *gúdúgúdú* can improvise at will, the single tone of *omele* does not allow for improvisation.



Figure 1. Ifesowapọ ensemble in Èdẹ: L–R, *iyá ilù*, *gúdúgúdú*, *iyá ilù*, *kẹríkẹrí*, *omele*, and *omele*. Photo credit: author.

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 attached 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. *Gúdúgúdú* is played with two thongs (dried, intertwined leather strips, Figure 8), while the others are played with a stick known as *òpá* or *kòngó*. (a curved stick shaped like a lower case 't' without the cross (Figure 3). Leather strings (*ọsán*) 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 twines running from its 'face' (membrane) are already fixed with the aid of pegs attached to the bottom. The leather strings or thongs of *iyá ilù* are held, and tension 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 ilù* has *şaworo* (brass bells). However, a drum in the hourglass category without *şaworo* can also be referred to as *iyá ilù* when the leather strings are left unfastened, giving it a broad range of pitches. The drum becomes *omele* when the twines are tied in the middle so that the drum can only produce one fixed tone. In other words, the position of the strings of each drum at the time of performance determines the designation of the drum in that context.

5. 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. Provided below is a detailed description of each of the drums.

Ìyá ilù (mother drum): this is the lead drum in a *dùndún* ensemble (see Figure 2). It gives direction to the other members of the family during performances. Unlike other drums that have either one or two tones, *iyá 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. Hence it is the drum doing most of

the 'talking' in the group. Ìyá ìlù also can lead songs and play a variety of the most complex of rhythmic patterns in the ensemble. The drum imitates the Yorùbá language, which is tonal in structure using three distinct tones levels (low, middle and high) for phonemic differentiation of word meaning, plus some non-phonemic usage of glide or contour tones (rising or falling). The ìyá ìlù thus can imitate Yorùbá speech by simulating the levels and glides of the linguistic tones. While the pitches of the ìyá ìlù are more variable than the Yorùbá speech tones, they are mostly perceived in the manner of the language when used as speech surrogate. During a performance, high, middle and low sounds on ìyá ìlù require tightening, reducing or completely releasing the tension on the thongs.

In terms of stages of learning, the ìyá ìlù is usually the last (thus representing the highest level of dùndún knowledge) because of its complexity. Hence, it is not uncommon to have the ìyá ìlù being played by the oldest person in an ensemble (see Durojaye, 2019b on dùndún drum pedagogy). Ìyá ìlù 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 ìlù can be distinguished in an ensemble by the position of the leather strings during a performance. Aesthetically, accessories of ìyá ìlù are designed in such a way as to enhance its visual effect. The apa ìlù (strap) is made of a colourful designed fabric, and the same type of material is used as igbàjú (a leather band used in covering the rim of the drum). Among dùndún drummers, ìyá ìlù is always metaphorically referred to as a being with a saying Òkú ewùré tí ní fòhùn bí èniyàn ('A dead goat that sounds like human') relating to the membrane and the function of the drum. They also refer to the drum as Isòyè (A native medicine believed to strengthen the memory) and an 'ornamented woman'.

Şaworo (brass bells) are an essential adornment to ìyá ìlù as it is perceived as performing several roles. First, it is regarded by dùndún drummers as ewà ìlù (literally: 'beauty of the drum') (see Figure 3) likened to jewellery that adds to a woman's beauty. Hence, ìyá ìlù perceived as a woman is conceived as needing ornaments for it to be beautiful. It is crucial to have them on occasions that involve kings and chiefs because, according to some of my interview partners, the presence of brass bells on a drum not only represents beauty, but they are also a form of prayer.

Furthermore, it is a common saying amongst drummers that a drum without brass bells can never be found with expert drummers because such drums are not regarded highly, which in turn means disregard for the ones using such a drum. There is a saying by the drummers to underline the point, and it is often drummed on the ìyá ìlù: 'Şaworo ni' lu wa, ìlù tí ò ní şaworo kì ní şe' lù gidí' ('Şaworo is our drum; a drum without şaworo is not genuine'). To some dùndún musicians, the brass bells are the reasons why drums are being referred to as 'Àyàn' because they (brass bells) confirm the authenticity of drums and authentic drums are the ones found among Àyàn descendants.

Gúdúgúdú (also known as Ọpọ̀n): The only differently-shaped drum in the family of dùndún, the gúdúgúdú, is a conically-shaped, single-membrane drum (see Figure 4). This is the second most crucial drum in a dùndún ensemble (both musically and in the social organisation of the dùndún drums). Legend has it that gúdúgúdú was invented before the other drums in the dùndún group. It is therefore given a leadership role and called 'father of drums'. In addition to its role as 'father', gúdúgúdú is assigned a spiritual function. It is regarded as sacred amongst all the



Figure 2. Ìyá ìlù dùndún. Photo credit: author.



Figure 3. Şaworo (brass bells) attached to ìyá ìlù. Photo credit: author.

drums, because it is essential during any ritual activities of the Àyàn family, for example, Àyàn bíḅò (rituals of Àyàn, god of drum), the naming ceremony of a child born into the Àyàn family, initiation and so forth. Drummers highly revere Gúdúgúdú as it is believed to be the representation of Àyàn, the god of drums.

Drummers contend that for anyone to know how to play the òyá ìlù, the person must first have been able to play gúdúgúdú at the highest level. Hence, a lead drummer must have full knowledge of gúdúgúdú. During performances, gúdúgúdú serves as a 'guide' to other drums, as it usually follows as soon as the òyá ìlù begins the music before the other drums join in. Whereas the 'sibling' drums in a dùndún ensemble are expendable, gúdúgúdú is indispensable as it alone can be used as an accompaniment to the òyá ìlù, and still yield same performance results as a full ensemble. 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 usual sound will not be produced. The area around the *ida* gives the lower tone, while the edge of the drum provides a higher tone. The two voices of the gúdúgúdú are called male and female. Gúdúgúdú does not require any tuning before a performance as long as the wax is on its 'face' (membrane), and the pegs holding its strings are appropriately placed. Gúdúgúdú executes the roles of both front and rear omele, thus strengthening the inner voice parts during a music performance. Unlike omele, which is mostly characterised by a fixed repetitive rhythm gúdúgúdú is suitable for rhythmic improvisations.



Figure 4. Gúdúgúdú. Photo credit: author.

Omele: In a dùndún ensemble, all the other drums serving as backups for the mother (òyá ìlù) and father (gúdúgúdú) are generally called omele, but the drums referred explicitly to as omele ìṣáájú and omele ìkẹ̀hìn are relatively smaller in size than kẹ̀rìkẹ̀rì and òyá ìlù. The omele gives the standard, simple, recurring rhythmic patterns upon which òyá ìlù improvises. It is either tuned to akọ/ìṣáájú (male/front or lead) or abo/ìkẹ̀hìn (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 up (see Figure 5). The omele ìṣáájú is usually tighter when tied than the ìkẹ̀hìn. In other words, the tauter an omele is, the higher the voice the drum produces. Hence, the tone of ìṣáájú is high, while that of ìkẹ̀hìn is low. Omele come in different shapes and sizes, but the significant difference between them and òyá ìlù is the brass bells and the position of the ọ̀sán (thongs) as at the time of playing, which then influences the tone(s). Omele ìṣáájú and ìkẹ̀hìn are also important because the training of dùndún begins with omele.



Figure 5. Tied omele. Photo credit: author.

Some other drums in a dùndún ensemble are àdàmò and kànnàgò. These two drums are minimal in sizes. Kànnàgò, 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. Àdàmò (popularly called gangan) can be seen as

a smaller version of ìyá ilù as it can also be used for drum speech, but with the voice not as deep as that of ìyá ilù. Àdàmò, 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 by the interview partners to be the favourite of musicians of those types of music.

6. Functions of dùndún

As mentioned earlier, the dùndún plays essential roles in Yorùbá communities; from musical purposes to socio-linguistic, and symbolic functions. 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, p. 55–90). Stressing the importance of the dùndún in the society, some drummers interviewed for this study would liken it to 'salt' for the dùndún is as essential in Yorùbáland as salt in a household. 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 celebrations. Through the entertainment function of the dùndún, the drums contribute to people's emotional fulfilment on different occasions.

Dùndún as a mediator: There is a belief amongst drummers and their audience that the 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 most significant percentage of activities at the shrine. As singing and dancing are accompanied with drumming, the drums are expected to lead in invoking the spirit of the deity being worshipped. Unlike some other drums that are particularly associated with a specific god, the dùndún is autonomous, which means that it is not exclusively connected to any particular deity but is yet present in all deity worship in the Yorùbá area.

Dùndún in cultural preservation: 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 enable them to probe into the past and as a result, enlighten the people. Dùndún thus serves to enrich people's awareness. Also, 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. 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 essential agent of cultural preservation.

Dùndún as a communicator and informant: In addition to verbal communication amongst Yorùbá, the dùndún drums are used as a means of communication. Part of this communicative function is the use of the drum as a 'signal' in some Yorùbá palaces, 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. They however use another signal to announce the arrival of an unknown caller at the palace. Other vital messages or happenings about which the king must be aware are also transmitted through the dùndún.

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, p. 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 1.

Various texts used by dùndún drummers

Condemn or ridicule:

A ó débi t'a fé.dé
È.bàà t'ènu b'èpè, k'è t'ènu b'àşę

We will get to where we want to get to
Even if you dip [your] mouth in curse and dip
[your] mouth in authority

A ó débi t'a fé.dé

We will get to where we want to get to

Teasing:

È şęnu b'ó ti wà
È má şęnu yákan yàkan sí wa mó.
E şęnu bo ti 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
Ènikan a sòrò.tó j'ènu baba rẹ.lọ

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

Bóyá Ọlórún a şé

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 (Amegago, 2014; Euba, 1990; Omojola, 2012). 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).

7. Summary

The paper gave an overview of the dùndún of the Yorùbá: its origin, functions, and organisation of the ensemble. As a valuable instrument in the dissemination of cultural and historical knowledge, the dùndún symbolises a culture and contributes immensely to identity formation. The functions of the dùndún are diverse, and the features that set the dùndún apart from other drum ensembles in Nigeria have not all been identified here. For example, moving beyond its traditional setting, the relevance of dùndún drums in contemporary popular music and urban areas is yet to be extensively explored. The fusion of dùndún drums in different music and geographical locations genres, however, indicates that, despite its densely social embedding and its similarity to those that enmesh music in other traditional societies, the dùndún appears susceptible to change as the music moves beyond its language group. Such a change could result in the loss of certain aspects of its functionality. Nevertheless, that the dùndún has survived numerous changes, shows its importance among the Yorùbá. Also, the integration of the drum in other social settings contributes to the preservation of the long-standing dùndún tradition.

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