

VOLUME 29 Nos.1&2 2005

ISSN 0002-0087

Special Edition
(ETHNOMUSICOLOGY)



AFRICAN NOTES

JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, NIGERIA

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The Art of Female *Dùndún* Drumming in Yorubaland

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Introduction

The Yorùbá are the second largest ethnic group in Nigeria, comprising approximately 26 percent of the country's total population (FGN, 2006), and numbering close to about 32 million people throughout the region of West Africa. Majority of the Yorùbá live in the Southwestern parts of Nigeria even though there are also several Yorùbá communities in the Republic of Benin, Togo and Sierra Leone, as well as in the Diaspora such as Cuba and Brazil. The scope of this paper is however, limited to Nigeria.

Drumming occupies a central place when discussing the subject of musical arts in Yorubaland. As an important feature of Yorùbá music, it constitutes the principal medium of instrumental music (Euba, 1990:27). The import of this art in Yorùbá culture is illustrated not only by its wide incidence, but also by the proliferation of drum ensembles. Beier (1954), Laoye (1973), Omibiyi (1979), Olaniyan (1993) and Okunade (2005) among several scholars agree that the drum, especially the *dùndún* type (hourglass tension drum) is typical of the Yorùbá. *Dùndún* is a drum

ensemble comprising *iyáàlù*, *kerikeri*, *isáájú*, *àtelé* (*ikehin*), *kànàngó*, *gáangan*, *àdàmo* and *kósó*. In addition, a type of kettle-drum known as *gúdúgúdú* is also associated with *dùndún*. It can safely be concluded that *dùndún* drumming is not only unique to the Yorùbá, but it has also remained an organic part of the people's social system from time immemorial. Thieme (1969) unequivocally declares that any discussion of Yorùbá traditional musical instruments should logically begin with the *dùndún* drum family, while Oba Laoye I, the late Timi of Ede submitted that of all the Yorùbá drums, the *dùndún* is the most popular and has a diversified use. It can be used to play all the rhythms played in the worship of all Yorùbá deities without much inhibition (Laoye, 1973). Not only does *dùndún* enjoy widespread popularity of all instruments, members of its ensemble are also readily accessible and utilised in music making at various religious, ceremonial and social events.

Àyàn Àgalú is historically believed to be the father of the art of drumming. Laoye (1959) observes that he was venerated and is still being worshipped today as the god of drumming by

traditional *dùndún* drummers who are generally known and addressed as *Àyàn*. Bankole *et al* (1975) agree with this view when they noted that *Àyàn* is the Yorùbá drum deity whose name the members of his families usually use as prefix to their own names, such as Ayanniyi, Ayanwumi and Ayandokun amongst others.

All over Nigeria, men dominate in playing instruments, and in extreme cases, women hardly play any instruments. Consequently, it is not customary to find female *dùndún* drummers in Yorubaland. It is even a common belief that the art of drumming is exclusively restricted to males in many West African societies, a view supported by numerous scholars. For instance, Bankole *et al* (1975:49) submit that Yorùbá *dùndún* drumming as a profession is restricted to males, and until adulthood when each person freely chooses either to aspire and graduate to become master drummer or otherwise opt for another profession, all boys of the House of *Àyàn* receive training to prepare them for the drumming profession. Olaniyan (1993:55) corroborated this view when he notes that "... the son of a *dùndún* drummer is expected to become a drummer". According to him, a male child who automatically becomes a young *Àyàn* is given intensive training in addition to his more informal efforts to imitate his father and other more experienced drummers in his family. Another scholar who confirmed the male gender theory of the art of *dùndún* drumming of Euba. He notes "... a drumming family includes not only a drummer and his children but also his brothers and their children" (Euba, 1990:89). He also remarked that the list contains all male members of the drumming family.

The foregoing suggests that gender roles are strongly marked in *dùndún* drumming. However it is not only in music that gender stereotypical expectations are pronounced, they permeate many aspects of Yorùbá culture. For example, women are allowed to participate in certain cultic activities including *egúngún* (ancestral spirit) and *gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀* but

they are forbidden from viewing *orò*, which is an all-male cult. This view finds expression in a Yorùbá adage: "*awo egúngún l'obinrin le se, awo gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀ l'obinrin le mo, b'obinrm fojú k'orò, orò á gbe*", meaning "women are permitted to know the secrets of both *egúngún* and *gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀* cults; if she dares to look upon the secrets of *orò*, she would suffer the consequences". Vidal (1987) notes that this was one of the ways of ensuring social control within the traditional Yorùbá society.

Thus, many societies including the Yorùbá, do prescribe (expressly or implicitly) traditional roles for its members. The roles are often based on societal values and ideologies, i.e. culturally approved actions. Most times, these prescribed roles are jealously guarded until new developments within that society make it apparent that further resistance to imminent changes, such as switching of roles, would be an exercise in futility. To this end, every culture by predisposition, both embraces and resists change. Resistance often comes from established habits, religious precepts and from the integration and interdependence of culture traits.

The stereotypical gender belief that women should not play the drum has remained customarily so, such that some even considered it a taboo to have female drummers in Yorubaland (Olaniyan, 2001:70). However, a look at contemporary Yorùbá society reveals some level of changes in such traditional restrictive practices. This is evidenced by the emergence at public performance of female *dùndún* drummers on the music scene. This event underscores the subject of cultural dynamism which has long generated extensive academic discussions in many quarters, invariably leading to the theory of continuity and change identified with Herskovits and Bascom (1975) and Blacking (1978). The theory, which is one of the foundations upon which this paper is built, has been adopted by scholars such as Alaja-Browne (1989) and Adegbite (1992) in their studies.

The other theory upon which the paper is

anchored is the Social Learning Theory (SLT) commonly attributed to Bandura (1965). According to him, significant learning often occurs completely without error, through the act of watching and imitating another person known as a model. Social learning theory posits that learning will most likely occur if there is a close identification between the observer and the model and if the observer also has a good deal of self-efficacy. Social learning theorists such as Deaux (1985) and Ashmore *et al.* (1986), therefore, propose that many kinds of complex social activities, including the acquisition of gender roles, aggression, prosocial responses, and resistance to temptation among other things are learned primarily through observing others. They emphasised the importance of learning through observation and imitation of the behaviours displayed by others (Bukatko and Diehler, 2001). In line with tradition, female *dùndún* drummers did not study drumming within a formal school system, but rather through assimilation using participant observation method.

This paper, therefore, examines female involvement in *dùndún* drumming as an indication of changing nuances of gender in Yorùbá music. At the same time, it explicates the training of female *dùndún* performers and acquisition of gender roles in the light of the social learning theory, and on this basis, anchors its advocacy for the integration of African indigenous knowledge systems into Nigerias music educational system.

The investigator used ethnographic techniques including key informant, In-Depth Interview (IDI) to collect information from female *dùndún* practitioners. Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) sessions were also held with their male counterparts as complementary data especially with regards to the general philosophy and traditional performance practices of *dùndún* drumming in Yorubaland. Participant Observation (PO) method was used to collect data in form of audio recordings of the performances of the female

dùndún drummers with the aid of functional audio tape recorder and still/digital camera during the various stages of fieldwork.

The paper is organised into five main sections. The first is the introduction, the second appraises the attributes of a Yorùbá *dùndún* drummer as dictated by culture. Section three makes a presentation of the biographical profiles of the selected female *dùndún* drummers according to the stylistic forms they practice. Supported with relevant musical examples, the fourth section discusses the repertoires as well as the resource materials with which their compositions are formed. It also submits that to a large extent all the female drummers used as case studies are *dùndún* musicians in their own right. The sixth and concluding section makes some suggestions on how Yorùbá culture could be further promoted in the light of female involvement in *dùndún* drumming and also how to take Nigeria's music education to the next level.

Attributes of a Yorùbá *Dùndún* Specialist

It is essential to provide answers to the following questions: who is a Yorùbá drummer?, and secondly, are there truly female Yorùbá drummers in Yorubaland? These questions are informed by the arguments of some male Yorùbá drummers whose position maintains the stereotypical stance that there is no such thing as female Yorùbá drumming in Yorubaland. Some of these hardliners tenaciously hold on to an age long belief especially handed over by their forefathers. First among them is that the physiological structure of any female who chooses to become a drummer particularly her sexual organ would be adversely affected and supernaturally disordered as time progressed. Second is the perception that women are usually more susceptible to spiritual attacks if placed under any spell by any rival drummers or disgruntled passer by who feels offended by the female drummers music and third, perhaps most importantly is the notion that drumming is highly



Plate 1: *Aare Onilu* (President of Drummers) and his *dùndún-sekere* ensemble in front of *Timi's* palace in *Ede* (Source: Author's fieldwork)

spiritual; a craft which has grave and deeper implications than what a woman can handle.

In answering the question who is a *dùndún* drummer, one needs to examine the attributes of a typical Yorùbá *dùndún* drummer as commonly found in Yorùbá culture. This is because the degree to which a drummer displays these qualities often determines the level of respect and recognition members of the society accord the artiste and invariably determines the level of patronage the drummer and his ensemble enjoy from members of the public.

Age

Age is an important factor especially when it comes to determining the leader of a *dùndún* ensemble. The leader must have acquired a great deal of experience over the years. As a result, the leader is usually relatively old, experienced and highly skilled in the art of drumming. The

organisational structure of a typical *dùndún* ensemble is systematic in such a way that the position of the leader is unmistakable. The chain of command is orderly, such that there is usually a second-in-command, third, fourth, fifth, and so fourth down the ladder. In the absence of the leader, the next in command is usually delegated to lead the group. At the palaces of both the *Aláàafin* of *Òyó* and *Timi* of *Ede*, there are *Aare Onilu* (president of drummers), followed by *Òtun* (right hand person), then *Èkẹta* (third in command), *Èkerin* (fourth in command), *Èkarun* (fifth), and so on.

The creation of these offices in a systematic order at both palaces respectively attests to the fact that there is hierarchy in the arrangement of their ensembles. In both cases, those who occupy the office of the president are relatively old.¹

What is being reiterated here is that age is important, but certainly not the only factor taken

into consideration in determining the leader of an ensemble. Indeed, other attributes are equally essential.

Versatility in Knowledge of Oral Literature of Traditional History of Towns

It is essential for a *dùndún* specialist to be well versed in oral literature of traditional history of towns especially their genealogy, chronicles of kings, their praise names and that of their lineages. All of these must be clearly articulated in musical performances. Bankole *et al* (1975:77) observe that a master drummer is seen and known as a walking encyclopaedia of traditional philosophy, such as proverbs, wise sayings, riddles and myths amongst others, which he expresses through puns and figures of speech.

Good Memory

Furthermore, the *dùndún* specialist must possess a good memory especially for poetry and historical genealogy such as was mentioned above. Olaniyan (1984:155) submits that the art of composing for *dùndún* drums equires a reliable musical memory. The drummer must be able to retain and utilise musical ideas whenever the need arises. Memorisation of the principles governing tuning of *dùndún* drums, their playing techniques as well as the framework which foregrounds each musical type is very essential.

Skill in the Art of Playing *Dùndún* Drums

The drummer must be highly skillful in manipulating all *dùndún* drums especially the *iyáàlù* and *gúdúgúdú*. Olaniyan (1984:168) states that a *dùndún* specialist should possess a high level of technical skill, and must have mastered the techniques of playing all the instruments in the ensemble and be able to correct the mistakes of others. Such an individual must possess supple

wrist with which to skilfully produce the right kind of tones and dynamics (Nketia, 1988).

Mental Alertness and Possession of 'Good Ear'

The drummer must be able to concentrate well so as not to get distracted by the parts of other drummers. This ability is developed very early in life. Indeed, it explains why an apprentice is not allowed to change to another drum until he has mastered the one assigned to him for practice for some years. The primary aim is to assist the individual to be mentally alert and gradually develop relevant skills to locate and maintain the various rhythmic and melo-rhythmic patterns.

Creativity and Resourcefulness

These could be described as a twin mark of distinction which cannot be compromised when defining a *dùndún* specialist. Musical ingenuity of a drummer is profoundly expressed through his linguistic creativity. There is a lot of freedom of expression on the part of the *dùndún* performer and an ample opportunity to display possessed skills, talent and ability. All these are achieved by means of numerous resource materials such as *oriki*² (descriptive poetry), *òwe*³ (proverbs) and *àfojúinúwò*⁴ (imagination) among others at the drummer's disposal. The leader must be able to create the right atmosphere and mood for musical dexterity.

Effective Control and Coordination of Performance

Moreover, the power to exercise control and effective coordination of the entire performance rests squarely on the leader. He has the responsibility of setting the correct rhythmic motifs, tempo and mood for other members of the ensemble to follow as well as ensure good rapport with the dancers. Where there is the need to effect

a change in the music from one *isise* (movement) to the other, the drummer never fails to indicate this and immediately provides necessary impetus through appropriate cues, thereby showing the direction to move. A *dùndún* specialist can artistically attain any possible level through notable extemporisation in various styles. All these are done to eliminate monotony and boredom.

Non-musical Leadership Quality

Besides all the aforementioned qualities, there is a non-musical attribute which a *dùndún* specialist must possess. This is leadership quality. Omibiyi (1983:26) observes that the success of any musical group depends on good leadership. In the same vein, Olaniyan (1984) notes that there are notable differences in the abilities to lead *dùndún* ensembles, because some *dùndún* drummers are more proficient than the others. To become a successful leader of a *dùndún* ensemble, one must be able to manage members of the ensemble. The leader is expected to take into account individual personalities, backgrounds and differences, and must be able to coordinate them effectively well (Euba, 1990). The master *dùndún* drummer is expected to lead rather than dominate the ensemble. The full cooperation of other members is paramount to the success of the entire performance to prevent a situation where group members are running at cross purpose. The improvisations of a great drummer would be meaningless without the other rhythms. This is because the lead drummer is the focus and not the basis of the music (Chernoff, 1979: 112). As a result, the quality of his improvisation depends on their ability to highlight the other drums.

There is no gainsaying that the female *dùndún* drummers being discussed in this paper possess and display many of the attributes highlighted in the foregoing section albeit in various proportional degrees. Apart from being effective leaders of their various musical groups and ensembles, each one

of them is duly recognised in their various locations. Indeed, the recognition given to some of them transcends the Nigerian borders. The classical traditional form practitioners in particular have excelled in these qualities especially when one considers on the average, the frequency of invitations they receive from their patrons and the general public to perform in the society.

Yorùbá Female *Dùndún* Drummers

At present, two classes of female *dùndún* drummers can be identified. These are:

- those associated with the classical traditional form and
- the urban popular *dùndún* drummers, whose music exhibit strong influence of Westernisation and invariably producing a synthesis of their forms.

Classical Traditional *Dùndún* Practitioners

The female drummers, referred to as classical traditional *dùndún* practitioners are those whose works and repertoires consist mainly of well established traditional forms and styles. They exhibited a very high level of proficiency on the *iyáàlù* and *gúdúgúdú* drums, both of which are the chief members of *dùndún* ensemble. They also demonstrated rich knowledge of traditional compositions such as *aponrán wọrọ*, *ẹgọ*, *gbandikan*, *etike* and *jalansín* commonly played by the traditional male *dùndún* drummers. Ayannike Odeyoin, Aina Ayanbanke Lawani and 'Deola Ajoke Ayan Adegoke are examples of female drummers in this category. They are publicly recognised as *dùndún* drummers who sometimes perform as itinerant musicians at social ceremonies within and beyond their immediate environment. They sometimes participate in annual traditional festivals such as *egúngún*,⁵ *ọsun*,⁶ *ògún*⁷ and so on. Biographical profiles of two of this class of artistes are hereby presented:

Mrs. Ayannikẹ̀ Oḍḍoyin, an indigene of Oṣogbo was born about fifty years ago in Iyè⁸ to a drum family of Pa Ayantayọ̀ Fasọ̀la⁹ and Madam Wosilatu Adeḍla Fasọ̀la of Arubiewe compound, Oṣogbo, Oṣun state. She is the first born and the only female of the six children. In addition to drumming, her father was also a successful farmer and a famous trader.¹⁰ Ayannikẹ̀ dropped out of school in Primary 2 owing partly to the itinerant nature of her fathers business and partly because it was considered not beneficial to parents to give formal Western education to the girl child at that time.

Ayannikẹ̀ grew up in a musically stimulating environment where she had the opportunity of witnessing various performances of *dùndún* music by her father's ensemble. The musical group, which mainly comprised her father, his brothers and cousins performed at numerous religious festivals such as the annual *oṣun*, *egúngún* and *ògún* festivals in Oṣogbo and its environs. The fact that she was a little girl did not prevent her from going to witness musical performances at some of these occasions. Her father, who was liberal, took note of her inquisitiveness and indulged her in many ways. First, he created time to answer her many questions bordering on Yorùbá history and issues relating to traditions. On the other hand, he allowed her to fondle with the drums and on few occasions, showed her some tricks on how to play the *gúdúgúdú*. He taught her many *òwe* (proverbs) and *orin ibilẹ̀* (folksongs). Ayannikẹ̀ initially did not contemplate taking drumming as a profession. However, the entire experience made acquisition of drumming skills easier as much as her interactions with her father and uncles who were her mentors. She attributed acquisition of her skills on the *dùndún* to divine inspiration; nonetheless, she acknowledged the impact of her early exposure to the musical environment in which she grew up.

Although Ayannikẹ̀ Oḍḍoyin had been performing in and around Oṣogbo for more than twenty years, she formed her *dùndún* musical

group about twelve years ago. The ensemble comprise four of her siblings supported by a boy that plays *sẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* (gourd rattle). She leads the ensemble to perform at various traditional festivals in and around Oṣogbo. In particular, His Royal Majesty, the Atọ́ja of Oṣogbo personally recognised and granted her access into the palace to perform for the listening pleasure of his guests especially during the preparations for and actual performance of the annual Oṣun festival in Oṣogbo. In addition, they perform at social ceremonies including naming, weddings, *ayeyẹ̀ igbadé* (coronation ceremony), *iwúyẹ̀* (chieftaincy), house warming, burials of aged persons and so forth.

Aina Ayanbanke Lawani was born on August 20, 1992 in Ilọra, her hometown,¹¹ to the family of Pa and Mrs Ayandele Lawani. The father is a renowned master *dùndún* drummer in Ilọra. In terms of educational background, Ayanbanke attended Baptist Primary School, Ilọra between 1998 and 2004. At the time this study was conducted, she was a first year Senior Secondary School (SSI) student of Baptist High School, Ilọra.

As early as when she was about five years old, Ayanbanke had desired and shown interest in learning how to play the drum. Each time her father was to lead his *dùndún* group on any public outing including her two older brothers, she had always insisted on following them. Her pleas and requests repeatedly fell on deaf ears, which always made her cry uncontrollably. It was even reported that she fainted on a number of occasions, whenever her father refused her requests.¹² However, after much persuasion from some members of her fathers *dùndún* ensemble especially two of her uncles, the father obliged her. As a result, she was introduced to drumming at a tender age and allowed to join the group on outside engagements.

Ayanbanke's mode of training was in accordance with tradition. Her father constructed a little drum called *kàràngó* which he gave to her to play along each time the group had an engagement. As time went on, she was given omele

isáájú to play and later *àtélé*. She later graduated to playing the *gúdúgúdú*, an instrument on which she had to practise before taking breakfast each day for several months. After her father had 'certified' her competent enough on the *gúdúgúdú*, she was allowed to start to learn how to play the *iyáàlù*. She became versatile on the instrument and became well known in Ilora, Òyó, Akinmọ́rin, Aawẹ, and Jóbèlè as well as many other Yorùbá urban centres. Her training was estimated to have lasted about nine years before she started to lead a *dùndún* ensemble on public performance outings.

Ayanbanke formed her *dùndún* ensemble in 2003. The group is made up of five *dùndún* drummers, sometimes accompanied by *şekere* (gourd rattle) and also *bàtá* players. They have performed at several occasions in some major Yorùbá towns and cities including Ibadan, Oşogbo, Abèòkúta, Ileşa, Ile-Ife to mention but a few. She has also performed for numerous dignitaries including the royal fathers such as *Iku Baba Yeye*, the Alaafin of Òyó, Oba Olayiwola Adeyemi III and Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Şijuwade Olubuşe II. In addition, many politicians in Yorubaland particularly in Òyó state had engaged her services at one time or the other at their electioneering campaign rallies. According to Ayanbanke, since Àyàn – the progenitor of drummers – is a friend to all, she tries to honour many invitations to perform at any event irrespective of political affiliations of her patrons.

Urban Popular *Dùndún* Practitioners

From their appellation, urban popular *dùndún* practitioners are distinctly identified by their kind of music which can be correctly categorised as a sub unit of popular music in Nigeria. Nigerian popular music is primarily a hybrid of music predominantly found in urban centres. The urban popular female *dùndún* practitioners as represented by Ayanbinrin and Ara had some level of western education, but became drummers purely by

personal interest. They are noted for playing the *gárgan*, which is the hourglass drum manipulated with the armpit. Both of them combine drumming with singing. Their compositions are often times derived from Yorùbá folklore with the themes of some of their music addressing topical issues within the Nigerian society. Their biographical profiles are presented below:

Ayanbinrin's full names are Oluwatosin Esther Olakanye. She is the first child of a family of four, born to Engineer and Mrs. Olakanye. She has two brothers and a sister. At the time this study was conducted, Ayanbinrin was in her early thirties. She attended the State Primary School, Dọpẹmu, Lagos, Egbado College, Ilaro (now known as Yewa College) in Ogun State for her primary and secondary school education respectively. Thereafter, she proceeded to Lagos State University (LASU), Epe campus where she studied Chemical Engineering and Polymer and graduated in 2006.

In terms of childhood experience, Ayanbinrin grew up mainly among boys and was always interested in playing and competing with them. Above all, she was fond of wearing a pair of trousers like a man and loved climbing trees. She was thus nicknamed 'tomboy' because she liked to engage herself in plays and activities often associated with boys. Perhaps, this was why she opted for professions often associated with men – Engineering and Drumming.

She was actively involved in several Yorùbá cultural activities right from her childhood and the home where she grew; particularly her parents exerted a great influence on her. They bought and played many records of notable Nigerian musicians for the listening pleasure of everyone at home and also encouraged her to sing along and dance to the music. She, therefore, grew up listening to the music of some Nigerian popular musicians including King Sunny Ade and Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey.

Tosin joined a group known as *The Landmark*



Plate 2: Ayanbinrin on her *gangan*

Folk Voices as an undergraduate of the Lagos State University (LASU) in 1999. This opened a new vista in her search for fulfilment in music. The group tried to promote African traditional culture by staging many productions which involved singing, dancing and sometimes dramatic sketches. As time went on she tried to incorporate drumming into *ijálá* – a traditional vocal composition for which she had some flair. This was based on her conviction that introducing rhythmic accompaniments would make people move and shake their bodies to her chanting and also positively impact an impact on her performance as a whole.

In 2003, Ayanbinrin as she is now known, left The Landmark Group to form her own group named '*Tiwa 'n Tiwa*' (Truly Ours) Folks Music Group. It was about the same time that she began to learn how to play the *dùndún*. She earnestly sought for a master *dùndún* drummer who could possibly teach her "everything she needs to know" on the drum. This made her hop from one tutor and one 'drumming school' to another¹³ until she met Muri Ayangbòla – the master *dùndún* drummer who gave her the much desired exposure especially to public performance. Muri was for many years

the lead drummer for *Lágbájá*.¹⁴ Ayanbinrin joined Muris group as a back-up singer and drummer. After while, Muri provided a platform for her to showcase her talent to the public by starting every public performance involving him and his ensemble for about ten minutes. Gradually, the audience became aware of her talent and showmanship.

Presently, Ayanbinrin handles the *gangan* efficiently, although she claimed she also mildly lays her hand on the *iyáàlù dùndún* and *bàtá*. She confessed that she found *gúdúgúdú*, described as *Baba ilu* (father of drums) most difficult to play, an instrument she has excluded from her ensemble because she could not get a competent player much as she would have loved to use it in her performances. In terms of ensemble management, lack of strong financial base has been a major constraint in Ayanbinrins efforts at keeping a permanent musical band on a regular basis. Her past efforts in this regard proved unsustainable, forcing her to revert to her initial organisational method of using ad-hoc musical band. She, therefore, looked for reliable and understanding members whose commitment would be unflinching. As at the time the study was conducted, Ayanbinrin and the *Tiwa 'n Tiwa* Band, on the average, regularly parades a twelve-man band comprising eight instrument-talists and four singers who also double as dancers.

Ara's stage name was coined from her real names: *Aralọla Ọlamuyiwa*. According to Ara, the name Arabia literally means "Wealth is a Mystery". She was born in Lagos on January 23, 1975 to the family of Alhaji and Alhaja Ọluwemimo Hammeed Ọlamuyiwa She hails from Ondo town in Ondo State. The family comprises nine children (four girls and five boys) from two mothers. Ara whose other names are Ọnẹnibalọla Sherifat is the last female, but has two younger brothers.

Aralọla attended Methodist Primary School and Nana Primary School, both in Warri.¹⁵ She later proceeded to Our Lady High School, Effurun,

also in Warri and Fiwasaye Girls Grammar School, Akure in Ondo State for her secondary school education. Although she gained admission into the University of Ilorin to study Law, she 'dropped out' of school in search of her dream – entertainment industry. Ara recounted how as a little girl, she always dreamt of growing up to be great in life and become as famous as Michael Jackson, Diana Ross and other globally renowned American musicians. She did not complete her university education as later attempts at Ambrose Alli University (AAU), Ekpoma in Edo state to study English, or the Performing Arts were botched again in pursuit of full-time music when the opportunity came to realise her dream through Atunda Entertainment.

Ara had performed as an amateur with various bands across the country. She ventured briefly into Afrobeat music between 1996 and 1999 before she met Mr. Wanle Akinboyo¹⁶ – the founder of Atunda Entertainment Promotion Outfit. He discovered the potentials in Arabia and was willing to showcase her talent to the entertainment world. When she joined Atunda Performing Group, Ara was offered the *gangan* and was asked to do all she could with it. She had her fears initially and resisted because she had earlier been informed that it was a taboo for a lady to play the *dùndún*. In the end, she was happy she agreed because within a week, she became familiar with the rudiments of playing the instrument. Ara observed as follows:

I had to eat with it, sleep and wake up with it and do almost everything with it. Now, I am glad that the spirit of the instrument agrees with me because every instrument has a spirit. (Fieldwork, 2008)

She claimed that within a week of learning how to play the instrument, she became very familiar with the tones and was able to manipulate the drum on her own without much assistance. Her learning process was very interesting as the in-house talking drummer gave her a lot of tutorials, showed her some tricks peculiar to the instrument

as well as took her through the rigours of training. Though, she felt some pain in her armpit initially, but because she enjoyed what she was doing, it was of no consequence to her at all. She however further developed her skills by watching video tapes and live performances of Nigerian artistes who use the talking drum in their music and stressed that on a daily basis, the in-house band had long hours of rehearsals.

Ara's first public show with the *dùndún* drum took place at LaCampagne Tropicana in Ikeja, Lagos. This was barely within a month of learning how to play the talking drum and after series of in-house shows. Members of the audience were so impressed by her performance that they wondered for how long she had been learning the *dùndún*. Ara's costumes and outlook are uniquely African in many ways. They are distinctly selected in order to ensure her identity. Ara today is probably the only unique Nigerian female artiste who wears long braids which take combined efforts of hair stylists¹⁷ about eight hours to complete to give her that distinctive look. The hairstyle is sometimes beautifully decorated with multi-coloured beads. Ara also has the tradition of entering and performing on stage accompanied by a bodyguard.

Ara was the only female artiste that featured at a command performance at the summit of the Heads of Commonwealth held in Nigeria in December 2003 with the Queen of England in attendance. Ara had also performed at many international shows including the international Wakie-wakie shows held in Ghana, Kenya, Egypt, South Africa, London, Paris, and Hamburg. Besides, she had performed alongside notable American pop artistes such as Steve Wonder and Wyclef, to mention but only two.

Ara won her first music award – the AMEN Music Award as the best up-coming artiste on August 8, 2004. Other awards followed and they included Nigerian Music Award as the most innovative female performer (2004), Nigerian



Plate 3: Ara playing the *gangan* at a show in Abuja

Music Award (London) as the Performing Musician Association of Nigeria (PMAN) artiste of the year (2006), and African Heritage Award as best female entertainer (2006). In addition, she was awarded 'Purple Ball' as Cultural Ambassador and Young Female Achiever (2006) and Ayan Agalu Foundation, Ibadan Recognition Award of Excellence as the Foremost Female Talking Drummer (2007) amongst several others. Ara has also won honours and laurels including Freedom Key to the City of Miami, Miami Dade County, Florida, USA, Distinguished Visitor to the City of Miami Dade County, Florida, USA, as well as the first Ambassador of the Down Syndrome Association, Lagos, Nigeria.

The pact into which Ara entered with Atunda Entertainment in the year 2000 finally ended in September 2007 when she became discontented with the terms of the contract which at the onset looked attractive. Most of her needs, which were once met with her share of the proceed, could no longer be sustained by the contract signed in 2000. She alleged that the 70:30 sharing ratio formula in

favour of Atunda Organisation was no longer justifiable. Consequently, Ara demanded for a review. This however was not forthcoming. As a result, she bluntly refused to renew the contract when it lapsed. What started as a mild and harmless disagreement between both parties soon escalated, and degenerated to a massive conflict. Suddenly, things fell apart, and the centre could no longer hold between them. Ara, therefore, left Atunda Entertainment to form anew organisation She launched her own musical band called Ma Mega Band which recently released a single album. Her first major complete album is expected to hit the market before the middle of 2009.

As was mentioned earlier, the female *dùndún* drummers possess and display many of the attributes of Yorùbá *dùndún* drummers, although at different levels. The repertoires and manner in which they utilise various compositional resource materials at their disposal will now be discussed, including the internal structures of their music by way of analyses.

Repertoires of Classical Traditional Female *Dùndún* Drummers

Aponrán

Aponrán is an ancient *dùndún* music performed for social ceremonies. According to Olanian (1984) it was reported to have been introduced by *dùndún* drummers who performed for aristocrats and dignitaries in important cities especially Lagos and its environs. *Aponrán* was translated by *dùndún* drummers as 'sharp' or 'clever', for it requires skilful and experienced dancer, who must not be 'defeated by the music'. The music is often presented as a distinct movement in composed form. It is sometimes linked with *àlùjò* (rhythm for dance gestures) and in exceptional cases, played as part of a medley of dance rhythms including *ẹgò*, *atike*, *wọrọ* and *jalansín*.

In terms of text, it consists of several narrative ideas developed into themes, but usually guided

by short repetitive motifs which occur throughout each of the composition. Generally speaking, *iyáàlù* female drummer is at liberty to include metaphors, idioms, *òwe* (proverbs) as well as *oriki* (praise poems) for both the dancers and audience present. Some of these sayings are in loose, irregular beat, which can best be described as tempo rubato. In some instances however, they follow strict rhythm as illustrated in example 1 performed by *Ayanbanku Lawani* in a commissioned recording:

The *iyáàlù* often introduces *dùndún* music. In example 1, *Ayanbanke* did so with the statement 'Mo ni à - se bere ni, *dín dín dà, dín dín dín, à bere*', indicating the commencement of the performance. *Dín dín dà, dín dín dín* on the other hand are nonsensical words used rhythmically.

Aponrán dance steps are quite complicated; therefore they require much calculation to get them right. In fact, there is a sort of healthy competition

between the drummers and dancers of *aponrán* as the *iyáàlù* drummer often makes use of gesticulation syllables such as '*dá gojọ gojọ gojọ* (bend gracefully)' or, *pon, pon, pon*' (nonsensical syllables) and so forth to stimulate dancer's response. According to *Ayanbanke*, the performance requires that the drummer tests the dancers' expertise until either of them retires from the performance due to exhaustion. Sometimes, the dancer through body response provokes the drummer by demanding for harder patterns. Whenever this happens, it is usually said of the dancer: '*ó jálù*' (he cuts the dance) indicating he has emerged the winner of the competition.

Etike

Etike is an ancient *dùndún* music in compound dupie (6/8) time. Its dance movement is translated as 'hard to pull'. This is because the dancer of *Etike* music is required to do so gracefully; one

Example 1

Allegro

Mo ni a se bere ere, a se bere ni, dín dín dà, dín dín dín, à bere. A tún bú baba ba
 won ma se se, dá gojọ gojọ gojọ, ka t, Ó ni le ni o nigba fun Ó ni le ni o nigba
 fun agba ra o jo, ko fo un o ni le wo, Ó ni le ni o nigba fun,

Mo ni à se bere ere, a se bere ni
Dín dín dà, dín dín, à bere
A tún bú baba won, má se
Dá gojọ gojọ kiá,
Onilé ni ò ní gbà fun,
Àgbàrá òjò, kò l'ò l'òun ò n'ile wó
Onilé ni ò ní gbà fun

I say, we have just begun the performance
 Dín dín dà, Dín dín dín, we just begun
 We abused their father, there is no need to deny it
 Bend gracefully
 It is the owner of the house that will prevent it
 The rain torrent will not hesitate to bring down the building
 It is the owner of the house that will prevent this from happening

Example 2

I re niwaju. I re leyin o di pe ki. e ti ke. o di pe ki. I re gbogbo pàdè mi.
na. o di pe ki. e ti ke, ra ka ka ka mọ'jò ta ra mu ra s'ijò. da bi. da bi.
so di wu ke si mi, so di, so di, so di wu ke o ya so di, so di, so di. e ti ke

Ire niwájú, ire leyin
Ó di pẹ kí, Ètikẹ, Ó di pẹ kí,
Ire gbogbo pàdè mi l'òná, Ó di pẹ kí
Ra kakaka mọ'jò, tara múra s'ijò
Dàbi, Dàbi, sọdì wùkẹ si mi, sọ dí,

Fortunes before me, fortunes as my rearguard
I am fortunate *etikẹ*, I am fortunate
Every good thing meets me on the way, I am fortunate
Stick properly to the dance, common on, stick, to the dance
Dabi (nonsensical syllables) shake your buttocks to my music

who could pull and drag the feet. According to Olaniyan (1984), some older male *dùndún* master drummers who had a bit of western education opined that *Ètikẹ* is an adulterated word for etiquette (although this is quite doubtful). Depending on the response of the dance, the *dùndún* drummers could play *Ètikẹ* as a single movement or in two contrasting movements (slow and fast). The slow part, known as '*wọrọ etikẹ*' is likened to the prelude in Western classical music, while the second half/fast movement – the main *Ètikẹ* – is the main dance.

There are a lot of changes in the *isise* (movement) of the music. In the performance of example 2 above, Ayannikẹ constantly communicates with the dancers through drum texts. For instance, she requests active vigorous steps from the dancer with this saying: '*ra ka ka ka mọ'jò tara múra s'ijò*' (stick properly to the dance) as in the example above.

In the foregoing excerpt, Ayannikẹ expressed

joy and delight in that she was surrounded by all forms of goodness in her engagements. The portion '*sọ dí wùkẹ, simí, ó yá, sọ dí, sọ dí, sọ dí*', which means 'shake your buttocks in response to my music, come on, shake your buttocks, shake it, shake it' is a directive to the dancer to move rhythmically to the drum beat. It could also be seen that she intermittently interjects the term *etikẹ* as the music progressed.

Wọrọ

Wọrọ is a Yorubá traditional music in compound duple time. While many other forms could alternate between compound duple time and simple quadruple time, both *wọrọ* and *etikẹ* are strictly in 6/8 time. On many occasions, both forms are performed as a medley. Ayannikẹ noted that except for very experienced and specially trained ears, points of transition from one movement to another may not be quite distinct during performances because one form naturally flows into the other. A

good example of a *worọ* piece performed by Ayannike is illustrated in example 3 below:

Example 3: Excerpt from funeral music (*ilù isinkú*)

The text of the foregoing *ilù isinkú* (funeral music) is both philosophical and filled with prayers. It reiterates the wish of the Yorùbá to be survived by worthy children who would give one a befitting burial after one's death.¹⁸ Ayannike, therefore, enacted the prayer of every Yorùbá who wishes to be survived by responsible children who would preserve his/her memory through endless remembrance celebrations. In terms of structure, *worọ* is an additive bell rhythmic pattern common in Yorùbá music. Below is a typical example of *worọ*.

Gbandikan

Gbandikan is literally translated as 'hard and stiff'. It requires the dancer to put so much energy into it. Olaniyan (1984) suggest that *gbandikan* as a dance form evolved in the early 1950s, when young cocoa farmers became successful and wealthy from proceeds of the sales of their products especially after experiencing unprecedented boom and bountiful harvest. As a result of their new found socio-economic status, they acquired new and higher taste which they exhibited at social gatherings. They always demanded for special music which required vigorous dance steps that would enable them display some youthful exuberance. It was in response to this demand that the *dùndún* drummers composed *gbandikan* among

Example 3

O kuo lo wo, o sun me je, o kuo lo si, o sun me fa, o kuo lo me a
 sin i sin tan, din da da da da da da din din dan, O mo o mi ni o sin mi,
 o mo o mi ni o sin mi, bi mo ba da gba fa gba ti mo
 ja de la ye, o mo o mi ni o sin mi

Okú olówó, osù méje
 Okú olòṣì, osù mefà,
 Okú oḷomo, à sin i sin tán
 Dín, dà dà dà dà dà dín dín dàn,
 Omo o mi ní ó sin mi
 Omo o mi ní ó sin mi
 Bi mo bá d'àgbàlagbà, tí mo j'áde láyé
 Omo o mi ní ó sin mi

The burial (ceremony) of the rich lasts seven months
 While that of a poor man lasts only six
 The burial of one who dies with many children is endless
 Dín, dàdà dà dà dà dín dín dàn,
 It's my child that would give me a befitting burial
 It's my child that would give me a befitting burial
 When I become old, and pass on at a full ripe age
 It's my child that would bury me

Example 4



other types.¹⁹

The music is poetically realised and distinguished by its identifiable repeated phrase 'gbandikan'. In example 5, Ayanbanke presented the piece in a regular metric narrative discourse, constantly punctuated with the repetitive phrase 'gbandikan'.

Jalansin

This is an entertainment music played for the listening pleasure of aristocrats in traditional Yorubá society. It is enjoyed by dignitaries especially chiefs. The dance movements are graceful and often described as 'jẹlẹ́kẹ' (easy and

poise). Jalansin could be played as a movement on its own or as a medley of dances along with *etike* and *ego*.

Ayannike used philosophical statements as well as proverbs as texts. These were carefully woven as messages to deride critics of the dancer in example 6, which is an *iyáálù* part extracted from the full ensemble.

Ìlù Ọ̀ṣun

This is a festival music performed annually in honour of Ọ̀ṣun – the deity of the River Ọ̀ṣun. The medley below is an excerpt from the example performed by Ayannike and her ensemble as they

Example 5

1 *iyáálù*
Mo sa ke ke, mo mu re'gbo I fa, gbandikan (A de le ke) Mo

3
b'a ba ja mo mu re di o pe, gbandikan dun dum, dun dum, Mo se b'o jo o ro.

8
b'o jo o ro, b'o jo o ro, gbandikan O jo pa gi la pa kan o

12
da pa kan si, O jo pa mi o mu se p'o re mi, gbandikan

Mo sa kẹkẹ, mo mú re 'gbo Ifá, Gbandikan
Mo b'ábàjà, mo mú re 'di ope Gbandikan
Mo se b'ójó o rọ, b'ójó o rọ, Gbandikan
Ọ̀jò pa 'gi l'ápá kan o d'ápá kan sí
Ọ̀jò pa mí o má se p'ọ̀rẹ́ mi Gbandikan

I have *kẹkẹ*,²⁰ which I took to the forest of *Ifá Gbandikan*
I have *ábàjà*,²¹ which I took to the palm-tree *Gbandikan*
I suppose it might rain, I suppose it might rain, *Gbandikan*
Rain, beat the tree on a side and leave the other untouched
Rain, beat me, but do not beat my friend

Example 6

Ra ka ka ka mọ 'jó, tara múra sí 'jó
Lau vrvb, vrvb, láú,
Owó ilé là nlò,
A ò ma yá 'wó fi sé o,
Láú, ẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀ erebe láú,

Stick properly to the dance, concentrate on the dance
 Lau vrvb, m vrvb láú,
 We have enough money at hand to spend,
 Never can we resort to borrowing,
 Láú, ẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀ erebe láú,

joined other *dùndún* drummers to play at the annual *Oṣun Oṣogbo* festival.

The music is a supplication to *Oṣun* for her

assistance to solve their multiple problems including childlessness and all sorts of illnesses.

The text, 'Baba Adewale' in bar 7 is however the

Example 7

Bá mi sé, Oṣun Oṣogbo, Bá mi sé,
Kó ma k'emi nikan,
Bá mi sé, Oṣun Oṣogbo, Bá mi sé,
Kó maa d'bi tui mó wa (2x) Olori buruku
Seleru agbo, Agbara agbo,
L'Osun fi nwe omọ re, ki Dokita o to dé

Do it for me, *Oṣun Oṣogbo*, do it for me
 Let me not be left alone
 Do it for me, *Oṣun Oṣogbo*, do it for me
 Prevent the ill-fated person from coming near my habitation
 Before the advent of orthodox medicine
Oṣun has been using herbal products to bath her children

Example 8

Bo ba se pe mi ni wo ni. ni wo ni, ni ba fu pa jo, fa pa jo fu pa jo, bo ba
 5
 se pe mi ni wo ni, i wo ni, ni ba fe se jo, fe se jo, fe se ju, bo ba se pe mi ni wo ni.
 10
 i wo ni, ni ba li gbo gbon ra jo ju gi ji gi ji gi ji
 13
 gi ji gi ji gi ji gi ji gi ji gan ni

B'ó bá se p'emi niwo ni
Nbá f'apá jó, f'apa jó, f'apa jó,
B'ó bá se p'emi niwo ni
Nbá f'ese jó, f'ese jó, f'ese jó,
B'ó fi gbogbo are jó jigi jigi gan ni.

If I were in your shoes;
 With swinging hands would I dance gaily
 If I was the one in your shoes;
 With graceful feet would I dance
 If I were in your shoes;
 Vigorously would I dance with ever inch of my body

Example 9

O'lo uno ba wase... o'lo uno ba wase... O lo riburuku nseti e lo to, o'lo uno ba wase o, o ro
 9
 ken ke, gbe se ken ke, gbe se ken ke, o lo un o ba wa se o;
 14
 ba wa se, ba wa se, ba wa se, ba wa se, ba wa se, ba wa se

Ól'oun ò bá wa se, ól'oun ò bá wa se,
Ólórí bùrúkú nse ti e l'òdò
Ól'oun ò bá wa se o
Orò ken ke, gbèse ken ke, ken ke
Ól'oun ò bá wa se o
Bá wa se, bá wa se, bá wa se, bá wa se

He chose to remain aloof, he chose to stand aloof
 Ill-fated person has parted ways with us
 He has chosen to remain aloof
 Big issue, big debt (he has incurred by this foolish act)
 He chose to remain aloof
 Far from us (he chose to distant himself from us)

Example 10

Won npe wo ni, i wo ni, won npe wo ni, i wo ni, i won a ko. O lo run o ba ma ma

ni, won npe wo ni, i wo ni... ta ra ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta ta

Won npe 'wo ni, Iwo ni (2x)
Iwo naa ko, Oloru n Oba mo mo ni;
Won npe 'wo ni, Iwo ni . . . tara ta ta ta

They all thought these deeds were by your might
 It isn't you after all; It is God, the King at work in you
 They all thought your success was by your power

name of a passer-by known to Ayannike. She merely acknowledged the man's presence, and his name has nothing to do with the performance. A portion in the music attests to *Osun's* herbal products as potent medicine for treating and healing all manners of sicknesses of devotees who annually congregate to seek her assistance. Consequently, it is only an ingrate that would prefer any other form of treatment to that of *Osun* today.

Àlùjò

This is rhythm with dance gesture. It is used in combination with any of the foregoing forms and could be described as a free form. It is noteworthy that *àlùjò* is the only repertoire which traditional and urban popular female *dùndún* practitioners have in common. For the classical traditional female drummers, *àlùjò* is often overlaid with various resource materials such as *owe* (proverbs), *orin àbàláyé* (folksongs), *àfojúínúwú* (imagination) and others. In their utilisation of the foregoing, they also employ embellishments of all sorts characterised by nonsensical syllables on the *iyáàlù*. Urban popular form practitioners on the other hand, simply perform *àlùjò* on their *gàngan* as they address the audience mostly dancers to their music to strive for excellence in the performance. Example 8 is an excerpt from *àlùjò* form performed

by Ayanbanke.

The next two examples of *àlùjò* form are taken each from the music of Ara and Ayanbinrin respectively:

One basic characteristic feature of *àlùjò* is the constant use of various nonsensical rhythmic phrases such as *ji gi ji gi*, *báwa se, báwa se*, and *ta ra, ta ra*, and so forth as could be noticed in Example 8-10 above.

Conclusion

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this paper. Firstly, women are now involved in drumming in Yorubaland. To state the exact date of their involvement might be difficult, however in the paper it has been suggested that it is a recent phenomenon, probably dating to about two decades ago. Towards the end of the fieldwork leading to this paper, more female *dùndún* drummers are beginning to emerge²² especially in the cosmopolitan arena. They seemed to be following the examples of Ara and Ayanbinrin. Hence, one might conclude that female *dùndún* drumming is emerging as an established musical art form in Yorubaland.

Secondly, this paper submits that the female *dùndún* practitioners possess and display the requisite attributes of a typical *dùndún* drummer as dictated by Yorùbá culture. These include

skilfulness in the art of playing *dùndún* drums, creativity and resourcefulness as well as leadership quality amongst others.

Thirdly, it was established that at present, two distinct stylistic forms are practised by the female *dùndún* drummers. These are the classical traditional form and the urban popular form. The classical traditional form practitioners were from the *Àyàn* lineage and were all given proper musical training in form of rigorous drum lessons right from childhood just like their brothers. The environment in which each of them grew up was greatly instrumental in the development of the art and their practice of this stylistic form. They exhibited a very high level of proficiency on the *iyààlù* and *gúdúgúdú* drums, both of which are the chief members of *dùndún* ensemble and they also demonstrated nch knowledge of traditional compositions such as *apónrán*, *gbandikan*, *ego*, *woro*, *etikee*, *jalansin* and *àlùjò* amongst others.

On the other hand, the urban popular form practitioners as represented by Ayanbinrin and Ara had some level of western education, but became drummers purely by personal interest. They are noted for playing the *gáangan*, which is the hourglass drum manipulated with the armpit and their music is highly characterised by the use of only the dance mode – *àlùjò* (rhythm with dance gesture). They however have a comparative advantage of public exposure and thus appear more popular. This is because they are both strategically located in Lagos – an urban centre with its numerous promotional advantages such as media publicity, association with corporate firms who engage their services and contracts. Besides these, they have individually received numerous awards both locally and internationally.

The success stories of the female *dùndún* artistes appear to mirror the shifting paradigm in the societal perception regarding the profession or vocation any individual could successfully engage in in life irrespective of gender. This is in the light of cultural dynamism otherwise referred

to as the theory of continuity and change. It therefore follows that given early and proper musical training, adequate exposure and an enabling environment, more talented females woilld become proficient in traditional and urban popular forms of *dùndún* drumming.

The effectiveness of the method of training of the female *dùndún* drummers particularly the classical traditional form practitioners has some implications for Nigeria's musical arts education. It is hereby proposed that this method should be integrated into music programmes in Nigeria's institutions of learning. This is because of its potentials for making music learning more culturally relevant to music students at different levels. As rightly submitted by social learning theorists, the contributions of models in the training of individuals cannot be over-emphasised. The services of traditional master musicians if enlisted as facilitators and instructors for music programmes would ensure attainment of proficiency in different Nigeria's traditional musical instruments. The foregoing recommendation, therefore, underscores the need for a total overhauling of music education system in order make it more pragmatic and position it to be in tune with contemporary global realities.

Finally, musicologists in Nigeria are challenged to assiduously work further on documentation of traditional ethnic music, musicians and musical instruments particularly from other groups from Nigeria, all of which had not attracted much scholarly attention till date. Genuinely committed people should, therefore, engage in meaningful researches to prevent many of the atrophying cultural practices from going into total extinction.

Endnotes

1. Not middle-aged men, but not necessarily the oldest persons.
2. Praise cognomen which describes a person's personality, his ancestors, their virtues, qualities,

and special attributes.

3. These are short, memorable and condensed wise sayings often embedded with imagery based on sages experience.
4. Compositions filled with imageries and ideas not verbalised.
5. Ancestral spirit.
6. Yorùbá deity of the River *Oṣun*.
7. Yorùbá god of iron.
8. A town very close to Ilobu in Osun state.
9. Her father took after the grandfather, who was a versatile *dùndún* specialist in and around Oṣogbo.
10. Who sold his farm products and engaged in various other forms of trading from one town to another around Oṣogbo.
11. About 3 kilometres from Òyó town.
12. Personal communication with Ayanbanke's father.
13. She had attended not less than five of such 'schools' held in the compounds of the tutors.
14. The popular Nigeria's masked musician.
15. Formerly Bendel, now Delta state.
16. Mr. Akinboboye is a renowned and active stakeholder in the Nigerian entertainment industry with numerous international connections.
17. Comprising five boys from Badagry.
18. This is evident in the custom of the Yorùbá who mark the remembrance of their departed parents with pomp and pageantry accompanied by great feasting from time to time.
19. This situation is quite similar to the experience of socialites in urban centres in Nigeria especially in Lagos and Calabar at the twilight of highlife music.
20. A type of Yorùbá facial mark given on each cheek of a newly born baby. It often contained ethnographic information on the place of birth or family of the child.
21. Another type of facial mark. The practice of giving facial marks on babies' faces is gradually becoming extinct in Yorubaland.
22. Two examples of such female drummers trying to make waves in Lagos are Ayangbajumọ and Ayanbukọla.

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